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Bakalářská práce

**EXTREMIST CHRISTIANS IN THE UNITED STATES
TODAY**

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Prohlašuji, že jsem práci zpracovala samostatně a použila jen uvedených zdrojů a literatury.

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Barbora Turková

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1. INTRODUCTION

Societies have been fighting different kinds of religious, ideological, political, cultural, racial, or behavioral extremism for centuries. The United States immediately identified Muslim extremism as a viable threat to their national security after the 9/11. However, most Americans as well as media and law enforcement agencies still overlook the threat of Christian extremism. The Oklahoma City bombing represents the deadliest terrorist attack on American soil perpetrated by Christian extremists. Timothy McVeigh and his conspirator Terry Nichols detonated homemade explosives under the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in downtown Oklahoma City on 19 April 1995. The explosion resulted in 168 dead and 680 injured people. McVeigh detonated the bomb because of his hatred of the federal government, opposition to gun control laws and anger at the FBI for its actions during the Ruby Ridge siege and Waco siege. Though the terrorist attack on Oklahoma City happened almost two decades ago, right-wing extremism remains a significant domestic threat to American security. In January 2011, Jared Lee Loughner killed six people at a shopping center in Tuscon, Arizona. In July 2012, James Holmes killed 12 people and wounded 58 during the midnight premiere of *The Dark Knight Rises* in Aurora, Colorado. These are just few examples of threat posed by militant extremism that brought renewed attention to the danger of Christian extremism in the United States.

The FBI has reported that roughly two-thirds of terrorism in the United States was conducted by non-Islamic American extremists from 1980–2001, and from 2002–2005 it went up to 95 percent. The Department of Homeland Security released a report in 2009 stating that the economic and political climate bears important similarities to the conditions of the early 1990s when right-wing extremism experienced a dramatic resurgence. Since 2000, the number of hate groups has increased by 54 percent.

This thesis will examine Christian right-wing extremism in the United States which is currently on the rise and attracts more and more attention of the Department of Defense, Department of Homeland Security, Department of Justice, FBI, and media because of the threat they pose to American citizens. This thesis is divided into 6 parts – chapters. Each chapter is related to a specific issue of Christian extremism and individual findings are summarized in the conclusion. The aim is to analyze Christian right-wing extremism with the

focus on its historical roots, current situation and reasons behind the upsurge of anti-government, racist and fundamentalist extremism.

In theoretical introduction, extremism, hate groups and hate crimes are explained for better understanding of the whole context. It is important to understand that there is no universal and undisputed definition of the extremism and therefore the perception of what is extremism depends on the subjective view of each observer – in this case on the view of the government of the United States, watchdog groups, and also media. The second theoretical chapter examines historical backgrounds of American extremism. The brief history of American extremism is outlined with the focus on its causes and reaction of American legislation to these threats. The extremist movements benefit from the 1st and the 2nd Amendment of the United States Constitution. The First Amendment guarantees the freedom of religion and the freedom of speech. The Second Amendment states that the right of the people to bear and keep arms shall not be infringed. The rise of mass shootings has resulted in increased efforts of Obama administration to impose stricter gun control measures, but these measures are strongly opposed by the powerful gun lobby.

The third chapter analyzes the reasons behind the current upsurge of right-wing extremism. This surge has been fuelled by anger and fear over the national's ailing economy, an influx of non-white immigrants, election of the first African-American president, debates about abortion and same sex-marriage, gun control measures, and the advent of the Internet and other information-age technologies. These reasons are then applied on three types of extremism – anti-government, racist/white supremacy and religious/fundamentalist extremism.

The fourth chapter examines historical analysis of anti-government extremism with the focus on current situation, violent incidents and few examples from the broader Patriot movement like the Oath Keepers, the Militia movement and Sovereign Citizens. They believe that the federal government is conspiring to take American's guns and destroy their liberties as it paves the way for a global authoritarian one-world government – the so called New World Order. The growth of such groups is associated especially with the gun control efforts, government's increasing involvement in the everyday affairs of the people, a shift in power to the federal government at the expense of the states, and America's more extensive engagement in world affairs. They call themselves "patriots" committed to the ideas of the Founding Fathers.

The fifth chapter is focused on racism in America, its historical analysis and the eldest and most infamous racist hate group – the Ku Klux Klan. Over the years since it was formed in 1865, the Klan has typically seen itself as a Christian organization, although in modern times Klan groups are motivated by a variety of theological and political ideologies. Other examples of the racist extremism like the Christian Identity movement, skinheads and neo-Nazi are discussed. The reason behind the upsurge of these groups is the increase of non-white immigrants and the election of Barack Obama as the first African-American president.

The sixth chapter is about the religiously motivated extremism which tries to support what is perceived as God's will. Groups like the American Family Association which promotes fundamentalist Christian values and opposes same-sex marriage, pornography and abortion, are described. The Phineas Priesthood is a Christian Identity movement that opposes the mixing of races, homosexuality and abortion. The rise of these groups is caused by resistance to the legalization of abortion and same-sex marriage.

2. EXTREMISM

Extremism is a complex phenomenon without objective, undisputed and universal definition. Most simply, it can be defined as: “*Activities (beliefs, attitudes, feelings, actions, strategies) of a character far removed from the ordinary...However the labeling of activities, people, and groups as extremist, and the defining of what is ordinary in any setting is always a subjective and political matter*” (Bartoli – Coleman 2010: 2). The perception of some extremist act depends on the observer’s values, politics, moral scope and the nature of their relationship with the extremists. That is the reason why the same act of extremism can be seen by some as just and moral and by others as unjust and immoral (Bartoli – Coleman 2010: 2).

The Teaching Documents from the Defense Department of the United States from 2013 define extremist as: “*A person who advocates the use of force or violence, advocates supremacist causes based on race, ethnicity, religion, gender, or national origin, or otherwise engages to illegally deprive individuals or groups of their civil rights*” (Judicial Watch 2013). The document states that there are many examples of extremism in American history. The colonists who sought to free themselves from the British rule and also the Confederate states who sought to secede from the Union are two examples of extremist ideologies and movements according to the Defense Department (Judicial Watch 2013).

Many extremist movements have adherents who are devoted to their vision and are willing to break the law and use violence to achieve their goal. Some extremists come from the far right primarily in the form of racist, anti-Semitic and anti-government hate groups. Others come from the far left in the form of environmental and animal rights extremists (ADL 2013a). As Michi Ebata expressed it: “*In contrast to mainstream norms and standards, violence is not unthinkable but is a ‘legitimate’ option and necessary strategy for the extreme right*” (Mulloy 2005: 19). Bjørge agrees that an acceptance of violence can be one of the basic elements of right-wing extremism, but argues that “*violence and terrorism do not follow automatically from the holding of a right-wing extremist world view*” (Mulloy 2005: 19).

Hate crime, hate groups, and watchdogs are terms related to extremism which needed to be explained to better understand a complexity of this issue. Watchdogs are groups which monitor activities of the extreme right. There are approximately 300 watchdog groups nationwide and this thesis works mainly with the sources from the two biggest watchdogs – the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). The Anti-Defamation League was established in 1913 in Chicago and was concerned mostly with

Jewish issues including countering anti-Semitism and support for the state of Israel. The ADL expanded its operations and devoted much of its influence to exposing and countering right-wing extremism (Michael 2003: 9–16). Some people consider the ADL a right-wing group because of its controversial extensive surveillance on individuals and groups across political spectrum and its illegal activities (Sleiman 2012). The groups like the ADL and the SPLC often work closely with government agencies but other groups usually with left-wing orientation do not cooperate with government. The Southern poverty Law Center was founded in 1971 in Montgomery by Morris S. Dees and Joseph J. Levin and is among the most feared of the watchdog groups by the far-right. It is well known for its innovative use of civil suits to combat far right opponents. They focused on issues such as fighting poverty and discrimination but today they also want to eradicate the death penalty from the American criminal justice system. The examples of other watchdog groups are the American Jewish Committee, the Center for Democratic Renewal, Political Research Associates, the Center for New Community, the Militia Watchdog, Hatewatch, and Anti-Racist Action (Michael 2003: 18–35).

Hate groups are defined by the SPLC as those that *“have beliefs or practice that attack or malign an entire class of people, typically for their immutable characteristics...Hate groups activities can include criminal acts, marches, rallies, speeches, meetings, leafleting or publishing”* (SPLC 2014). The FBI defines hate group as: *“An organization whose primary purpose is to promote animosity, hostility, and malice against persons belonging to a race, religion, disability, sexual orientation, or ethnicity/national origin which differs from that of the members of the organization”* (FBI 2012b).

The FBI defines hate crime as: *“criminal offenses that are motivated, in whole or in part, by the offender’s bias against a race, religion, sexual orientation, ethnicity/national origin, or disability and are committed against persons, property, or society”* (FBI 2013).

Hate crime laws protect citizens against hate crimes. The U.S. Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as a part of hate crime legislation. This law made it illegal to injure, intimidate, or interfere with anyone because of person’s race, color, religion, or national origin. This was reaction to the wave of violence that was happening during the Civil Rights era. In 1978 the first state hate crime statute, California’s Section 190.2 was passed. It defined four types of protected status: race, religion, color, and national origin. The range of protected status increased to gender, disability, age, marital status, sexual orientation, and ethnicity with

the passage of new hate crime laws. Statistics about hate crime were first given voluntarily and were published as a part of the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) program of the FBI (Streissguth 2003: 20–24).

Hate crime statistics are collected at state and national level by state and federal government authorities and by nongovernmental organizations. All states except for Arkansas, Indiana, South Carolina, Georgia, and Wyoming have passed some form of hate crime law, although Utah law on bias-motivated violence makes no reference to race, religion, ethnicity, or other specific grounds of discrimination (McClintock 2005: 83–84). The passage of Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 2009 gave the federal government the authority to prosecute violent hate crimes based on gender, sexual orientation, and disability. It also provides funding and technical help to state, local, and tribal jurisdiction for better investigation and prevention of hate crimes (FBI 2013).

3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS

Christianity is the largest religion with almost two billion adherents all around the world. Although all Christians acknowledge the authority of the Bible, three main divisions have emerged: the Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant churches. Protestantism embraces a variety of movements that during the Reformation of the 16th century rejected Roman authority and established reformed national forms of Christianity. Protestantism is characterized by the belief that Bible is the only source of truth and it is possible to have a direct relationship with God. Among the most influential Protestant movements were Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Anglicanism which were during the European colonization of the 17th century brought into the North America (Heywood 2008: 316–317). Religion has been a significant factor in shaping the American identity and values from the beginning of the American history. United States still remain highly religious and religion plays a prominent role in public life. U.S. Religious Landscape Survey from February 2008 indicates that majority of Americans (78.4%) identify themselves as Christians. 51.3% of Christians in the United States are Protestants, 23.9% are Catholics, and 0.6% are Orthodox (Pew Research Center 2008).

3.1 Overview of American extremism

The role of religion was very important in the colonization of America. America had become a refuge for those who wanted to escape the religious persecution in Europe. The Pilgrims came to America aboard the Mayflower in search of religious freedom in 1620. The Puritans soon followed for the same reason. These religious dissidents arrived at the shining “city upon a hill”, as John Winthrop called it, where everyone was free to practice his or her own faith. Religious diversity had become a dominant part of colonial life. But religion was also used to discriminate, suppress, and even kill. It is true that the vast majority of first Americans were Christians, but the battles between various Protestant sects and between Protestants and Catholics presented an unavoidable contradiction to the widely held notion of America as a “Christian nation” (Davis 2010).

The United States have a long history of religious and racist extremism illustrated by their bloody and violent attitude towards racialized “others”. English and other European Protestants dominated in the North America’s religious scene from the 1600s to the 1800s. Their religious views incorporated notions of their superiority and inferiority of non-Europeans. The early English Protestants regarded themselves as civilized Christians, but

those they conquered regarded as unchristian and savage. Christians associated evil, the devil, and non-Christian religions with notions of spiritual darkness and blackness. The explanation for the exploitation and enslavement of other groups drew on an old religious myth based on the biblical story of Noah and his sons. Africans were said to be the descendants of Ham, the son of Noah, who was cursed by his father after looking at his naked body. Old Christian images of darkness and blackness as sinister were transferred to the dark-skinned peoples exploited in the system of slavery (Feagin 2003: 71–75).

The first example of violent extremism can be seen in the genocide of the American Indians. When the English Protestants established first permanent settlements in North America, many wars with indigenous people started. The result of these wars was the high number of dead and enslaved Native Americans. The majority of Native American tribes maintained a considerable degree of political and cultural autonomy, but it changed in the 1830s, when President Andrew Jackson decided to expel Cherokees and other Native Americans from the southeastern states by force. This infamous “trail of tears” resulted in at least 4000 dead Native Americans. They lost their ability to make treaties in 1871 and were forced onto federally supervised and segregated reservations (Feagin 2001: 37–39).

Another example of violent extremism is the American entrenched system of slavery. The first Africans were brought into the English colonies by the Jamestown colonists in 1619. Those people of African descent had become a major source of labor. The “negro” status was socially and legally inferior to the European’s status and they had to become Christians in order to have any legal rights. Most Americans considered slavery as a natural condition for inferior Africans, who were not worthy of constitutional rights and full citizenship. The Constitution was made by elite white men who had strong ties to the entrenched system of slavery. Thomas Jefferson, the progenitor of American liberty, who stated that “all men are created equal”, was a slaveholder. Like many wealthy men, Jefferson and Washington gained their prosperity because of the slavery. The number of slaves increased from about sixty thousands in the early 1700s to about four million by the 1860s. There was a major slave revolt in New York City in 1712 and in later retaliation whites hung, starved or roasted to death fifteen African Americans. For majority of African Americans police-state repression of their lives lasted, under slavery and segregation, until the 1960s (Feagin 2001:40–56).

After the Civil War, the U.S. government passed the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, which abolished slavery, asserted the civil rights

of black Americans, and guaranteed black men the right to vote. During the Reconstruction of the South, the right-wing extremism reached its peak due to the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) reign of violence. This white terrorism destroyed the progressive southern state governments and thousands of people were severely beaten, killed, or raped by the Klan and other white supremacy groups. The last federal troops were withdrawn from the South on the order of President R. H. Hayes in 1877, which eliminated much federal protection of black southerners. Between the Civil War and the 1990s, about 6000 lynchings have been perpetrated in the southern states (Feagin 2001: 57–60).

The most notorious extremist group, the Ku Klux Klan, was established by a veteran Southern officer Nathan Bedford Forrest in Pulaski, Tennessee in 1865. The Klan's membership is estimated to have reached about half million during the Reconstruction period. The main targets were Freedmen and radical Republicans. Although the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments gave black Americans new rights, these rights were denied by the southern legislature. The southern states immediately passed series of new laws known as Jim Crow, which separated the white and black population. The Jim Crow laws were supported by a series of Supreme Court's decisions. Segregation was given the highest legal sanction in 1896 by Supreme Court's decision in *Plessy vs. Ferguson* which stated that separate facilities were equal. This doctrine of 'separate but equal' reigned in the South until the Civil Rights era of the 1960s. The second era of the Ku Klux Klan reached its zenith in the 1920s and targeted blacks but also Catholics, Jews, and morally lapsed White Anglo-Saxon Protestants (Streissguth 2003: 8–13).

Another wave of extremism appeared as a reaction to increased immigration. Americans felt prejudices against different religious groups like Catholics and Jews. Catholics were suspected of conspiring to overthrow established governments and were target of violence and bigotry. Only Protestants were granted full citizenship and Catholics and Jews were prevented from holding public offices from the late 18th century until the 19th century. There were many immigrant groups in the 19th century – northern, southern, eastern Europeans, and Asians. That was the reason behind the further development of racial, religious, and ethnic bigotry. The number of attacks against immigrants usually increased in times of bad economic situation when the public sought out scapegoats for punishment. The formation of the Know-Nothing movement in the 1850s was a direct result of the widespread fear and mistrust of new immigrants. The Know-Nothing movement, whose official name was the American Party, was a political movement with the goal to rid the government and

business institutions of all Catholics and immigrants and thus support nativism. They suspected Catholics of plotting to overthrow the American government and replace it with a government controlled from the papal headquarters in Rome. They formed lodges, invented secret rituals and handshakes, wrote inflammatory books and pamphlets, and ran for public offices. The Know-Nothing movement considered Protestantism as the true faith of genuine American citizens and was involved in violent confrontations with Catholics and immigrants in New Orleans, Louisiana in 1858. New theories based on the Anglo-Saxon and northern European's superiority appeared. During the Great Depression of the 1930s and during the Second World War, the immigrants were again blamed for the economic downturn and were victims of many violent attacks. After the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, the Japanese-Americans were attacked particularly on the West Coast because many people feared an invasion (Streissguth 2003: 4–14).

Violent extremism appeared again as a reaction to the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s. The most important event of the Civil Rights campaign was the yearlong Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955-56), which brought Martin Luther King to the forefront of the fight against segregation. In 1960, four black students staged a sit-in at a lunch counter when they were refused service. Many similar sit-ins as a form of nonviolent protest followed. Following incident are just few examples of the ongoing campaign of violence during the Civil Rights era. In May, 1961 a group of Freedom Riders was attacked by white mobs in Anniston and Birmingham. On May 11, 1961 after the bomb planted by the Ku Klux Klan exploded at the home of M. L. King's brother, the rioting raged out of control for a few days. On September 15, a bomb exploded at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church and killed four young black girls. The small victory of the Civil Rights movement was the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which banned discrimination based on race, color, religion, and national origin (Streissguth 2003: 16–18).

According to Hewitt, the right-wing terrorism has occurred in two waves since 1955. The first wave began during the Civil Rights era in the 1950s and lasted until the 1970s. There were 56 fatalities attributed to the right-wing violence. Fifty percent of victims were targeted because of their race or ethnicity. 44.6 percent of victims were civil rights workers. The second wave started in 1978 and still continues according to Hewitt. The representatives of the state have been targeted with increasing frequency, but still the majority of victims were people of different race or ethnicity. There were 120 fatalities in the second wave. According to Ehud Spinzak's theory, terrorists at first avoided confrontations with authorities but

eventually they convinced themselves that the government is not doing enough to protect the “original community” and the state became a target for them. The majority of terrorist activity during the first wave occurred in the South (82%), but during the second wave it mostly occurred outside the South (64%). The various Klan organizations played a much lesser role in the second wave (Michael 2003: 87–88).

The Greensboro Massacre of 1979 was a clash of a neo-Nazi party (the National Socialist Party of America) and Ku Klux Klan members with demonstrators led by members of the Communist Workers Party in a “Death to the Klan” rally. Five members of the Communist Workers Party were killed. It was the first high-profile incident of right-wing extremism since the Civil Rights era and it also showed that Klansmen and neo-Nazis could cooperate. The Order was a Christian Identity white supremacist terrorist organization established by Robert Jay Matthews in 1983. The inspiration for this organization was a novel *The Turner Diaries*, written by Dr William Pierce under the pseudonym Andrew Macdonald. The novel tells the story of white supremacist group conducting a terrorist campaign against the U.S. government, which wants to confiscate their guns. Although The Order did not achieve much, it marked significant change in the right-wing orientation to the new enemy – the United States government (Michael 2003: 89–95).

Jim Ellison, a Christian Identity minister, founded a community in Arkansas known as the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA) in the late 1970s. This group was linked to few episodes of terrorism, for example the firebombing of the Jewish community center in Bloomington and a church in Springfield. The mistakes of The Order and CSA and failure of organized right-wing terrorism in general led to the new modus operandi known as “leaderless resistance”. This can be described as lone wolf operations in which individuals or small groups use violence without official movement, leader, or network of support. The most notorious act of leaderless resistance is the Oklahoma City bombing of 1995. Timothy McVeigh detonated his homemade bomb under the Murrah federal building in Oklahoma City, leaving 168 dead people. This was his reaction to the government’s siege at Ruby Ridge and Waco. The Murrah federal building was chosen to punish the ATF¹ and FBI for their involvement in these sieges (Michael 2003: 96–99).

¹ The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives

3. 2 First Amendment

The First Amendment was adopted on December 15, 1791, as one of ten amendments forming the Bill of Rights. “*Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances*” (U.S. Const. amend. I).

The Anti-Federalists repeatedly highlighted that the Constitution as drafted would open the way to tyranny by the central government and demanded amendments which would guarantee individual liberties and limits upon government control and intervention. James Madison was the author of these amendments later ratified as the Bill of Rights (National Archives 2013). The 1st Amendment prohibits the establishment of state-supported church, requires the separation between church and state, and guarantees freedom of religion, speech and the press, right to peaceable assembly, association and petition. The majority of Courts believes that the First Amendment rights are not absolute (Illinois First Amendment Center 1995).

The Free Exercise of Religion Clause reveals two impulses, one giving free exercise a broad scope, the other a narrow scope. The question is whether the free exercise clause protects only the religious belief or also religiously motivated conducts. Thomas Jefferson in his famous “wall of separation” letter of 1802 to the Danbury Baptist Association did draw a sharp distinction between protected belief and unprotected action. Until the 1940, the free exercise clause applied only to actions by the federal government. In *Cantwell v. State of Connecticut*, the Court incorporated the Free Exercise of Religion Clause into the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and applied it to the states. In its first interpretation in *Reynolds v. United States* (1879), the Supreme Court limited the practice of polygamy required by the Mormon religion. The rational basis test became a standard for determining, whether a law that interfered in the religious practice violated the free exercise clause. But since then the Supreme Court adopted the compelling interest standard and protected religiously motivated actions. This pro-exemption approach ended with the *Employment Division v. Smith* case of 1990, when the Court declared that the free exercise clause did not grant an exemption from generally applicable drug law to members of a Native American religion that used peyote in its religious services. The passage of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA) of 1993 again opened the way for the broader scope, but in

1997, the Supreme Court in *City of Boerne v. Flores* declared that Congress overstepped its bounds by forcing states to provide more protection for religious liberty than the 1st Amendment as interpreted in *Employment Division v. Smith*. The RFRA is applicable to the federal government but no longer to the states, although 11 states have already passed their own RFRAs which restore the compelling interest standard (Berg 2012).

The United States are almost alone among Western liberal democracies in not punishing hate speech. Hate speech is oral or written message that stir up hatred against person or group on the basis of their race, religion, sex, ethnicity, or sexual orientation. Hate speeches in America are allowed so long as the speaker does not threaten to use violence. Majority of Americans doubt that hate speech inflicts real harm on vulnerable minorities (McConnell 2012).

Religious and racist extremists can easily benefit from the 1st Amendment and especially from the freedom of speech and individual expression. Those who believe absolutely in the 1st Amendment also believe that racist ideas deserve same protection as any other idea in a free democracy. There is a legal distinction between racist acts – assault, battery, vandalism, arson, murder, lynching, physical harassment, which are punishable and racist words and ideas, which are protected as acts of individual expression. In *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul* of 1992, the Court decided that the cross burned in the front yard of an African-American family by white teenagers was a form of protected symbolic speech (National Center for Human Rights Education 2000).

Form the 1st Amendment also benefited members of the Westboro Baptist Church who believe that God is punishing soldiers for America’s tolerance of homosexuality. In March 2006, they attended the funeral of Matthew Snyder, who had been killed in Iraq. Their signs said things like “Thank God for 9/11” and “Thank God for dead soldiers.” The Supreme Court case, *Snyder v. Phelps*, upheld Westboro’s right to picket a military funeral as a right protected by the First Amendment (Cohen 2010).

3. 3 Second Amendment

“A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed” (U.S. Const. amend. II).

During the centuries two main schools interpreting the legal meaning of the 2nd Amendment emerged – the individual rights school and the states’ rights school (collective

rights school). The states' rights school is based on the Weberian myth, that the state has a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence. The amendment guarantees a right to bear arms only within the context of a militia and not individual right for self-defense or hunting. The individual rights school argues that it protects the individual right to bear arms. The focus on self-defense comes from the social contract. Citizens entered the social contract to secure their own safety, but government cannot always protect its citizens so people have right to self-defense. This myth proposes that people should be allowed to resist only private attackers not government agents. But Americans embraced another more populist myth about self-defense that the people have right to arms so they can resist also the corrupt government. When the government is corrupted, people have right to revolt, overthrow the government and install more faithful one. But the Framers' myth, in contrast with these two, recognize that neither the state nor its citizens can be wholly trusted (Williams 2013: 5–9).

The Framers wrote the 2nd Amendment to protect the Body of the People, which combines the state and individuals. People in militia are not servants of the government but if state became corrupt, the militia would rise against it. The 2nd Amendment gives the people right to own arms to resist government and the Article I gives Congress right to raise army or militia to resist insurrection. The militia was raised and trained by the state to ensure its universality and virtue, but it was also ready to resist government. An army posed two great threats of corruption – it can become a tool of executive usurpation or it can pose a risk of professionalization and factionalism. According to republican theory, the militia offered protection against all these threats (Williams 2003: 15–28).

According to the Framers, the right of revolution belongs to the Body of the People. There is a difference between resistance made by the people for the common good, which they called a revolution, and resistance made by a faction for a faction, which they called rebellion or insurrection. In 1776, the American colonies overthrow the British government in bloody revolution and declared independence. Americans celebrate this act of political violence against government. In sharp contrast with the American Revolution is the Oklahoma City bombing of 1995. Timothy McVeigh was in his mind following in the footsteps of the Founding Fathers by resisting an oppressive central government. But this act of violence met with revulsion of Americans (Williams 2003: 1, 57).

Many Americans have engaged in violence against government claiming the legacy of 1776 but none of them received enough support to achieve its aims. All were eventually

branded as criminal acts. People have the right to revolt, but Congress has the right to suppress any revolt in the beginning because of the constitutional system of checks and balances (William 2003: 2, 16). Power differences play important role when defining extremism. The activities of the members of low power groups tend to be viewed as more extreme than similar activities committed by members of groups advocating the status quo. For example the extreme activities of the dominant groups, such as the attack in Waco by the FBI, were not labeled extremist (Bartoli – Coleman 2010). From the historical point of view, winners or those in power have the right to label some action either rebellion or revolution. When the American colonists defeated the British government, they call it revolution but the British government called it rebellion. The change of this perception came when the Teaching Documents from the Defense Department from 2013 stated that colonists who sought to free themselves from the British rule are example of extremists. This is in a contradiction to the traditional view of the American Revolution as a heroic revolution (Judicial Watch 2013).

The controversial issue of the 2nd Amendment is gun control and whether the government can regulate private gun ownership. Gun control measures are not a modern invention. During the American Revolution, several states passed laws providing for the confiscation of weapons owned by people who refused to swear an oath of allegiance to the United States. Laws regulating firearms became more common in the 19th century. There were three categories – laws prohibiting the carrying of concealed weapons, laws prohibiting the sale of such weapons, and laws prohibiting the firing of a gun under certain circumstances (Cornell – DeDino 2004: 502–513).

The Supreme Court's decision in *District of Columbia v. Heller* (2008) declared for the first time that the 2nd Amendment protects individual right to keep and bear arms and therefore gun control laws prohibiting possession of handgun violate an individual's right to self-defense. The Court suggested that the United States Constitution would allow regulations prohibiting criminals and mentally ill people from firearm possession. The Court strengthen the individual right to bear arms through its 2010 decision in *McDonald v. City of Chicago*. McDonald argues that the right to bear arms is fundamental right that states should not be able to infringe. The Court declared that individual right to keep and bear arms applies also to the states (Cornell University Law School).

4. CURRENT UPSURGE OF EXTREMISM

The current economic and political climate has some similarities to the 1990s when right-wing extremism experienced dramatic resurgence fueled by an economic recession, outsourcing of jobs, and the perceived threat to U.S. power and sovereignty by foreign powers (FBI 2009b). The anger over racial changes in the population, election of the first African-American president, bad economic situation, increasing public debt, gun control measures, abortion, and same-sex marriages are just few examples that stir up the right-wing anti-government, religious, and racist extremism in these days. Hate groups stayed at record levels despite the collapse of the second largest neo-Nazi group. The anti-immigrant groups increased by almost 80 %, adding about 136 new groups during 2009. The biggest upsurge was in the number of “Patriot” groups which reached an all time high of 1360 in 2012 (Potok 2010).

The following statistics confirm that extremism is on the rise. According to the SPLC, there were 1007 active hate groups in 2012. The number of active hate groups increased by 54 percent from 2000 to 2008. The SPLC identified 602 active hate groups in 2000, 888 in 2007, 926 in 2008, 1002 in 2010, and 1007 active hate groups in 2012 (see Appendix A). Most of the hate groups are located in the South – Texas with 62, Florida with 59 and Georgia with 53, but the highest number of documented hate groups has California with 82 (see Appendix B) (SPLC 2014a). The FBI hate crime statistic from 2009 reported 6604 criminal incidents involving 7789 offenses. In 2010 there were 6628 hate crime incidents involving 7699 offenses. In 2011 the U.S. law enforcement agencies reported 6222 hate crimes involving 7254 offenses (FBI 2009b).

4.1 Reasons behind resurgence

The following subchapters examine 4 specific reasons behind the dramatic resurgence of extremism which are then applied to three types of right-wing extremism. The first reason is related to entrenched racism in American society. The election of Barack Obama as the first African-American president increased racial prejudices and the perception that illegal immigrants are taking away American jobs. The second reason is use of the Internet as a tool of propaganda and recruitment. Another important reason is anti-government hostility and gun control legislation which is seen as a threat to the right to bear arms and has led to increased weapons and ammunition stockpiling and participation in paramilitary training

exercises. The fourth reason is same-sex marriage and abortion which are in opposition to traditional Christian values.

4.1.1 Racism

White supremacy, which sees whites as inherently superior to those of other races, is currently on the rise in the United States. Having racist beliefs is not against the law but is protected by the First Amendment. There are many white supremacy groups which are motivated by various religious or political ideologies. The number of lone offenders and small factions of larger group is growing and it makes detection of these crimes tougher. White supremacy extremists target racial, ethnic, and religious minorities and their tactics include assault, murder, threats, intimidation, and bombing (FBI 2012a).

The election of Barack Obama as the 44th president of the United States was hailed by many people as a great milestone in overcoming racism but reality is different. The Obama's election only stimulated suspicion, fear, and hatred. To understand the current resurgence of hate, anger, and suspicion directed at people of different race, one must be aware of American long history of white supremacy that dates back to the first days of the American colonies and was first confined into law in 1790 when the First National Congress passed a unique immigration law that linked whiteness and American identity. Dewey argues that race prejudice derives from an instinctual universal antipathy toward anything or anyone different from our habituation. Much of the racist fear and suspicion is a product of different social, political, and economical vectors, including the extreme stress caused by the current recession, momentous demographic trends that are changing the face of America, and the election of the first president of different color. European-Americans defined themselves according to the legal category of racial whiteness that was granted a great number of exclusive legal, social, political, and cultural privileges and rights. The "one drop rule" defined whiteness as a pure racial category that could be sullied by even one drop of non-white ancestry (MacMullan 2010: 93–110).

4.1.2 Internet

The Internet has provided right-wing extremists an opportunity to reach a much larger audience than ever before and portray themselves as legitimate. The Internet has provided them with instant and anonymous access to propaganda that inspires and guides criminal activity. It helps them to more effectively coordinate their activities and offers them new ways to make money. People can find there instructions for making bombs, instructions for using

knives and brass knuckles in fights against minorities, but also names and addresses of targets (ADL 2013b).

U.S. domestic extremist groups started to exploit the Internet more than a decade ago. Nowadays they are using emails, instant messenger, online forums and chat rooms for communication, propaganda, and recruitment purposes. This side of Web used by extremists and terrorists is called the “Dark Web”. American domestic extremists were among the early users of computer bulletin boards that eventually evolved into the Internet. Extremists’ exploitation of Internet-based tools benefits from several characteristics, such as ease of access, anonymity, huge audience, and lack of regulations (Guanpi – Hsinchun – Jialun – Yilu 2007: 1–2).

4.1.3 Gun control and anti-government hostility

The most controversial question concerning the Second Amendment is whether it prevents Congress from passing gun-control laws. According to the Supreme Court and lower courts, the 2nd Amendment gave the state militia a right to bear arms but not individuals. Before the 1970s, the National Rifle Association (NRA) had been devoted to non-political issues like gun safety. But in 1977 the radical change at the group’s annual convention brought a group of committed political conservatives to power – as part of the new, more rightward-leaning Republican Party. The group pushed for a new interpretation of the 2nd Amendment that would give individuals and not just militias the right to bear arms. At first their views were widely scorned but NRA kept pushing. Ronald Reagan’s election in 1980 brought a gun-right enthusiast to the White House and eventually in *District of Columbia v. Heller* (2008), the Supreme Court embraced the individual-right view of the 2nd Amendment. So the government cannot ban handguns, but it can probably ban other weapons and therefore the scope of the 2nd Amendment will be determined in the future as much by politics as by the law (Toobin 2012).

After Newtown shooting² in 2012, some states that had already lax gun laws, mainly in the South and Midwest, moved to relax and further, in the apparent belief that a Wild West approach would promote a safer citizenry. But the irony is that many states with the poorest gun laws already have the highest rates of gun deaths and by further relaxing restrictions on weapons those states will invite even more gun violence. Other states mainly controlled by

² Adam Lanza, 20, opened fire at Sandy Hook Elementary School, Newtown in December 2012. He killed 20 children and 6 adults with a semi-automatic rifle before killing himself (BBC 2013).

Democrats, responded to the Newtown shooting by toughening gun laws (The Washington Post 2013).

The anti-government hostility can be characterized as a shared belief that Obama and his administration pose a threat to the United States. Some people accuse Obama of plotting to bring socialism or fascism to the U.S. They believe that Obama and his administration will restrict individual freedoms and civil liberties. Obama is portrayed as “the other” dangerous foreign element. The anti-government extremists believe in paranoid conspiracy theories and are convincing themselves that the government is illegitimate and so they should act as the Revolutionary War patriots did and overthrow the allegedly tyrannical government (ADL 2009).

4.1.4 Enemies of traditional Christian values

The Supreme Court’s decision in *Roe v. Wade* (1973) legalized abortion. The extremist wing of anti-abortion movement seek to end abortion rights and provisions not on a legal and political front but on the front lines by targeting abortion providers and pro-choice rights and advocacy groups. Their tactics include bombing, arson, assassination, assault, death threats, kidnapping, invasion, vandalism, burglary, but also murder of abortion clinics personnel. The justification for anti-abortion extremism and violence are typically religious that killing an unborn baby is a murder that should be punished as any other murder. Members of some racist movements also engage in anti-abortion violence. White Aryan Resistance makes a distinction between white abortion, as a form of white genocide, and abortion on African-Americans which is viewed as a positive practice. Several retirements of Supreme Court Justices and new appointments made by Obama would most likely uphold *Roe v. Wade* against conservative opposition. Another factor that can spur anti-abortion violence is Obama’s health care reform, particularly regarding abortion and whether it will be covered and funded, whether tax payers will have to pay for it, and whether states, employers, insurers and doctors will have the right to opt out of guaranteeing, paying for or providing abortion (Winter 2013: 224–238).

Another example of threat to traditional Christian values is LGBT community which made significant advances in 2011, with the repeal of the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy on gays and lesbians in the military³, the growing acceptance of same-sex marriage and the

³ Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell (DADT) policy was introduced by President Bill Clinton in 1993. Under this policy, homosexuals serving in the military were not allowed to talk about their sexual orientation or engage in sexual

legalization of such bonds in some states. But exactly these advances set off a furious rage on the religious right, with efforts to ban or repeal marriage equality. Most of the religious groups that started opposing abortion moved on to attacking LGBT people. For Christian Right, the gay rights movement and its “homosexual agenda” are the prime offenders in the destruction of American society and culture (Potok 2012).

activity, and commanding officers were not allowed to question service members about their sexual orientation. Clinton introduced this policy as a liberalization of existing policy which excluded gays from the military. But many gay rights activists criticized the policy for forcing military personnel into secrecy and it was far from a policy of complete acceptance. In 2010 both the House of Representatives and the Senate voted to repeal the policy and President Barack Obama signed the legislation on December 22, and the policy officially ended on September 20, 2011 (Britannica 2014a).

5. ANTI-GOVERNMENT EXTREMISM

The anti-government extremists have lost faith in the federal government and they no longer believe that it operates for the benefits of white citizens. Many refer to the federal government as a ZOG (Zionist Occupational Government) which is characterized as a secret cabal of Jews, liberals, plutocrats, and multinational corporations. Anti-government movement had a variety of supporters – white supremacists, Christian Identity followers, Patriot groups, Posse Comitatus adherents, common law advocates, and survivalists. They all share absolutist faith in the Constitution and think that it should be interpreted in accordance with its original intent. They refuse to accept any form of gun control because they believe that it would be the first step towards the abandonment of the Constitution. Anti-government constitutional theorists have interpreted the Constitution to establish two types of citizens. There are so called natural citizens, who claim citizenship from the federal government through the Bill of Rights, and Fourteenth Amendment citizens, who gained citizenship from the passage of the 14th Amendment. The natural citizens have no obligations to follow any laws of the federal government but the 14th Amendment citizens must follow federal laws (Atkins 2011: 177–179).

5.1 Rise of anti-government extremism today

The Patriot movement appeared in large numbers in late 2008 when the economy collapsed and first African-American president was elected. Many Americans, infused with populist fury over bank and auto bailouts and a feeling that they had lost their country, joined Patriot groups. From 149 groups in 2008, the number of Patriot organizations went up to 512 in 2009, 824 in 2010, 1274 in 2011, and 1360 in 2012 (see Appendix C). That is staggering 813% growth during four years. Militia groups as part of the Patriot movement comprised of 42 groups in 2008, 127 in 2009, 330 in 210, 334 in 211, and 321 in 2012 (Potok 2013c).

The FBI reported 87 violent attacks that were perpetrated by militias or other anti-government groups between 1990 and 2011. Almost half of these attacks were committed during the second half of the 1990s (48.2%). Since then there have been limited violent activity of the militias, except for a sharp rise during 2010 of 13 attacks. However, in 2011 the number returned to the level observed in previous years (between 1–4 attacks per year; 2 attacks). While there may be a rise in the number of active militia groups, it does not reflect the rising level of violence (Perliger 2012).

5.1.1 Reasons behind the upsurge

Patriot movement believes that the federal government is conspiring to take American's gun and destroy their liberties as it paves the way for a global one-world government. Gun and ammunition sales rose in the wake of Obama's re-election as the result of conspiracy theories about Obama's secret plan to confiscate American's guns. The rise of mass shootings sparks gun control efforts of Obama administration but these efforts are strongly opposed by Republicans and the National Rifle Association. Senator Rand Paul proposed a law that would nullify any executive gun control actions by Obama, accusing the president of having a "king complex". Representative Trey Radel said that president could be impeached for those actions. State lawmakers in Arizona, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee proposed laws that would prevent federal gun control from applying to their states (Potok 2013c).

Barack Obama tried to propose stricter gun controls after series of mass shootings in Newtown, Aurora, Oak Creek, and Tuscon.⁴ After the shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary, Newtown in 2012, President Obama announced that Vice President Biden would lead an effort to develop a set of concrete policy proposals for reducing gun violence. Obama proposed several federal gun control measures, including tightening the background check system to make it harder for convicted criminals to buy guns but Congress refused to pass them under pressure of powerful gun lobby. In January 2014, Obama administration proposed two new gun control regulations aimed at clarifying restrictions on gun ownership for the mentally ill and strengthening a database used for background checks before firearm purchases (Mason – Rampton 2014).

Support for gun control has collapsed in the United States over the past 20 years. Three quarters of Americans wants to keep the right to own handguns. States have loosened gun laws to allow citizens to carry their weapons with them almost anywhere they go. Although the gun ownership has risen in Obama years, it still remains lower than in the 1960s when majority of Americans demanded stricter laws. The United States are getting safer than

⁴ James Holmes opened fire in an Aurora, Colorado movie theater, killing 12 and injuring 50 people during the midnight premiere of *The Dark Knight Rises* in July 2012. Wade M. Page entered a Sikh temple in Oak Creek, Wisconsin in August 2012 and killed 6 people with a handgun. Jared Lee Loughner shot the U.S. Representative Gabrielle Giffords in Tuscon, Arizona in January 2011. 13 people, including Giffords, were hurt and 6 people were killed (USA Today 2013).

ever before but TV news revel in showing violence and it only encourages people to buy guns (Frum 2012).

Current anti-government hostility is partly motivated by racism and partly by strong distrust and anger towards the government. Many militias are transforming itself into more explicitly racist groups primarily because of the election of first African-American president, high level of non-white immigration, and decline in the percentage of whites overall in America. Despite growing indications that the militias are influenced by the racist and xenophobic rhetoric, this is not reflected in the militias' violence. Two thirds of the attacks were directed against the government and its law enforcement (66.2%), while attacks against minorities (8.4%) and infrastructure (6%) comprised most of the rest (Perliger 2012).

Militia members tend to come from rural areas and small towns, to be Christians, especially the fundamentalist Christians, and to be predominantly white men from lower-middle class. Members are usually conservative older people who like to wear camouflage and play soldiers in the woods. They accept some government on the local or state level but oppose federal regulations of all kinds. They consider federal government repressive and refer to themselves as freemen or sovereigns (Mulloy 2005: 3– 4). Many of the militia followers are frustrated young males. These angry, young, white males are not able to fulfill their American dream because they lack the job skills and blame other people for their problems. Many military veterans feel that their country owes them a good living for their service and become angry when it does not happen. The militias give them an opportunity to blame the government for that (Atkins 2011: 214).

Anti-government activists have always preferred Republican to Democratic administration. A prominent conspiracy theory in the anti-government movement is that Obama was not born in the United States but was sent by forces of the so called “New World Order” to destroy American sovereignty and institute one-world socialist government. They believe that one day federal forces will suspend constitutional government and institute a police state, declare martial law and confiscate their guns. Wayne LaPierre, the vice president of the National Rifle Association, shares this belief in his book entitled *The Global War on Your Guns: Inside the UN Plan to Destroy the Bill of Rights*. They also suppose that Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) will send the members of Patriot militias to concentration camps. These theories made inroads into the mainstream national discourse

thanks to the cable news hosts like Glenn Beck (Fox News) and Lou Dobbs (CNN) and also thanks to the Internet (Zaitchik 2010).

The role of the Internet as a tool of propaganda and recruitment is very crucial for anti-government extremists. Militias have used various ways to recruit members – gun shows, word of mouth, talk show, but much of the recruiting has been conducted over the Internet. All groups maintain active internet presence to recruit new members and raise funds for their operations. Anti-government sites frequently post information about judges, law enforcement officers, and other government officials (Atkins 2011: 214).

5.2 Examples of anti-government groups

Anti-government extremism has a long history in the United States. During the Cold War, many people were convinced that communists had infiltrated the U.S. government and were working to seize the American society. These ideas led to the first committed anti-government organization – the John Birch Society. The John Birch Society was founded by Robert Welch in 1958 as an anti-communist organization but turned into anti-government movement. Welch claimed that various prominent American politicians including President Dwight David Eisenhower had been part of the communist conspiracy. He also believed that African Americans had been compelled by communist agents to protest for civil rights. After peaking in the mid-1960s, it steadily lost members but it was the most successful far-right organization in American history. Another example is the right-wing paramilitary organization, the Minutemen which was active in the 1960s and 1970s. Its leader Robert DePugh wanted to form an underground paramilitary group with the mission to fight against the imminent communist takeover of the United States. Dan Smoot, another anti-government extremist, attacked both the federal government and liberals during the 1950s and 1960s. He formed a radio program *Dan Smoot Report* which gave him freedom to express criticism of American government and society (Atkins 2011: 182 – 191).

The Duck Club was an anti-government group active in the early 1980s. It was founded by Robert White in 1980 and was fighting against the U.S. government conspiracy to create one-world government. The Christian Patriot Defense League was a paramilitary survivalist group with strong anti-government orientation. They planned to use their weapons and survival skills to establish a new, smaller America in the Midwest. The Posse Comitatus Movement became the leading anti-government organization in the 1970s. It was founded by Henry Lamont Beach and William Potter Gale in Portland in 1969. All adherents of this group

believed that local sheriff is the supreme government figure and that all government authority flowed from this office. They believed that the U.S. Constitution was a divinely inspired document but all amendments after the Bill of Rights were unconstitutional and void. The only individuals allowed to participate were white Christian males. They refused to pay taxes and to obey federal and state regulations and laws. The most famous Posse Comitatus personality was Gordon Kahl who accepted the views that the 16th Amendment was illegal and informed Internal Revenue Service (IRS) that the income tax law was unconstitutional and that he would no longer pay taxes. Kahl killed two U.S. marshals in North Dakota in 1983 and escaped. Later he was killed and declared to be the first martyr of the Second American Revolution. By the early 1990s, this group has withered away as a national movement and its members moved to other extremist groups (Atkins 2011:194–202).

The Committee of the State was an offshoot of the Posse Comitatus movement formed in 1984 by William Potter Gale. One of the key features was the declaration that all IRS laws were null and void. Gale had become active in creation of the California Rangers, a group that wanted to build underground network of right-wing extremists to conduct guerrilla warfare in case of a communist takeover. Closely tied to the Posse Comitatus movement was also the Redemption Movement which was popular in the farm belt in the 1980s. It was founded by Roger N. Elvick as an anti-government movement that attacked the American banking system. The Arizona Patriots was a forerunner of the modern militia movement founded by Ty Hardin in 1982 after a dispute with the IRS over taxes. Besides resentment towards the federal government he also harbored strong views toward Hollywood (Atkins 2011: 202–210).

5.2.1 Patriot movement

Patriot movement has experienced a dramatic resurgence since 2008. In 2012, there were 1360 active anti-government Patriot groups. They define themselves as opposed to the “New World Order”, engage in conspiracy theorizing, or advocate extreme anti-government doctrines. Not all of them have advocated or have been engaged in violence or criminal activities but some have. Patriot movement includes militia groups, Sovereign Citizens and many other groups (SPLC 2014b). One example of recent Patriot group is a group called the Oath Keepers. It is military and police organization that was founded by Steward Rhodes in 2009. Members vow to fulfill the oaths to the Constitution not to the politicians and stated that they will not obey unconstitutional and immoral orders. They swear not to obey any order

to disarm the American people, orders to impose martial law, orders to confiscate the property of American people, and orders to force American citizens into any form of detention camps (Scoville 2013).

5.2.1.1 Militia movement

The Militia movement began to appear in early 1994, following the formation of the Militia of Montana and Michigan Militia. Their appearance is associated with the Ruby Ridge siege, Waco siege, and successful passage of gun control legislation known as the Brady Bill. Randy Weaver was a white supremacist and Christian Identity adherent who lived with his family and friend in an isolated cabin high on Ruby Ridge in the Selkirk Mountains of northern Idaho. He was arrested for selling two illegal shotguns but he failed to appear for his trial and announced that he would never surrender to the authorities. The siege of his cabin by the agents of the FBI and ATF in 1992 resulted in the death of Weaver's son, his wife, and Deputy U.S. Marshal. For militia members it was seen as a clear example of oppressive government agencies at work trying to prosecute Weaver for his unorthodox religious and political beliefs. Another important siege of the ATF occurred at Mount Carmel, near Waco in 1993 against David Koresh, the leader of a religious sect called the Branch Davidians, an offshoot of the Seventh Day Adventist Church. The ATF suspected that Koresh and his followers were involved in the manufacture and sale of illegal weapons and explosives, drugs and there were also concerns about child abuse. The ATF agents entered Mount Carmel and it resulted in an intense gun battle which lasted two hours and killed four agents and six Davidians. The FBI then launched a long-term siege attempting to negotiate with Koresh and force him to surrender his property. In total 82 people died as a result of Waco siege which outraged many extremists. The Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act was signed by President Clinton in 1993. It instituted a five-day waiting period for handgun purchases. This was followed by provisions in the Violent Crime Control Act of 1994 banning the sale or use of nineteen types of semi-automatic assault weapons and placing a ten-bullet limit on gun clips. It was seen by the militia members as an attack on the fundamental constitution right of American citizens to keep and bear arms. All these things together contributed to the rise of anti-government sentiment in the 1990s (Mulloy 2005: 12–16).

One hundred sixty extremist leaders held a meeting in Estes Park, Colorado, in October 1992, called by the Christian Identity minister Peter J. Peters. They agreed on the outlines of a militia movement that would have militia organizations in all of the states. The

aim of these paramilitary organizations was to prepare for the common military defense against the federal government. Soon after the Estes Park meeting, militia groups formed in more than 20 states within a year. Militia leaders adopted Beam's leaderless resistance concept that would prevent them from infiltration and elimination. Timothy McVeigh's bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City was the most violent outcome of the anti-government movement. A homemade bomb inside a rental truck parked in front of the building exploded on April 19, 1995 and killed 168 people and wounded more than 680 people. His friends Terry Nichols and Michael Fortier were his conspirators. This building was picked because McVeigh believed that the orders for the attack on the Branch Davidians had come from officials in this building. McVeigh was sentenced to death and was executed in 2001. Nichols received a life sentence in federal prison and Fortier received a 23-year prison sentence. Some anti-government extremists still believe that the bombing was a product of government plot to take over the United States. Eric Robert Rudolph decided to protest against the federal government by undertaking a bombing campaign. The first of his four bombings was at Centennial Olympic Park in Atlanta, Georgia, at the Summer Olympic Games on July 27, 1996. It killed 1 woman and wounded 111 people. The Oklahoma City bombing remains a turning point in the anti-government movement. There was an immediate growth of the militia movement within a year of the bombing but gradually it has lost most of its steam. The presidency of George W. Bush and his pro-gun orientation also played a significant role in decline (Atkins 2011: 219–255).

In 2011, there were 334 militia groups and in 2012, their number slightly fell down to 321 groups. The current resurgence has several causes. It is a response to real societal stresses and strains from the rise of multiculturalism, bad economic situation and liberal administration headed by a black man (Beirich – Potok 2009: 8). There are many examples of threat they pose. Four members of the Georgia Militia were accused of plotting to bomb federal buildings, assassinate public officials and attack cities with deadly ricin. They were arrested by FBI agents in 2011. Thomas and Roberts were sentenced to five years in prison for conspiring to buy explosives and firearms to kill federal agents. Crump and Adams could be sentenced to life in prison for conspiring to make and disperse ricin. In 2010, nine members of the Hutaree Militia were arrested and accused of plotting to murder a police officer and then use homemade bombs and missiles to attack the hundreds of other officers who would attend his funeral. In 2011, state and federal agents arrested commander of Schaeffer Cox and four followers in the Alaska Peacemakers Militia on weapons and

conspiracy charges related to an alleged plan to kill Alaska state troopers and a judge (Morlin 2012).

On November 1, 2013, Paul Ciancia killed a Transportation Security Administration agent and wounded 3 other people in Los Angeles International Airport shooting. He was shot and arrested. His materials expressed anti-government sentiment. FBI found his manifesto stating that he made the conscious decision to kill TSA employees so he would instill fear into their traitorous minds. His manifesto also included references to the “New World Order” and anger toward the Secretary of Homeland Security, Janet Napolitano (Potok 2013b).

5.2.1.2 Sovereign Citizens

Sovereign citizens originated in the Posse Comitatus movement of the 1980s. Sovereign citizen’s ideology is rooted in anti-Semitism and white supremacy. It claimed that whites are higher kind of citizens and are subject to common law not to the government. On the other hand black people, the 14th Amendment citizens, must obey their government. Sovereigns believe that American government set up by the Founding Fathers, with the legal system called common law, was secretly replaced by a new government system based on admiralty law, the law of the sea, and international commerce. Under common law, they would be free men but under admiralty law, they are slaves. They believe they are not obliged to pay federal taxes, follow most laws, or comply with requirement for driver’s license and vehicle registrations (SPLC 2010).

One important sovereign conspiracy theory is the Redemption Theory, which claims that U.S. government went bankrupt when abandoned the gold standard basis for currency in 1933 and began using citizens as collateral against foreign debt. Each citizen has a monetary net worth, which they believe is kept in U.S. Treasury Direct account and redemption offers a way for adherents to make fortunes with the use of certain document. Their tactics are now spread in online forums like suijuris.net or via DVD courses available through organizations such as Paper Advantage or Citizens of the American Constitution. The economic recession and mortgage crisis fueled a surge in the movement (Sanchez 2009).

There is no central leadership and no organized group so it is hard to estimate how many sovereigns are there. People usually attend seminars, visit websites and watch online videos on this subject and then choose how to act. A reasonable estimate of hard-core sovereign believers in early 2011 would be 100 000 with another 200 000 just starting out by

testing sovereign techniques. Their tactics include paper terrorism – harassment and intimidation of law enforcement, court, and government officials by filling hundreds of pages of pseudo-legal nonsense. They think that they can have anything they want – freedom from taxes, unlimited wealth, and life without licenses and fees (SPLC 2010). They usually find criminal sources of income as they teach fraudulent tactics to others for a fee, participate in white collar crime – mail, bank, mortgage, and wire fraud, money laundering, tax violations, and illegal firearms sales and purchases (FBI 2011).

Most new recruits are people who have found themselves in a desperate situation, often due to the economy or foreclosures. Others are attracted by the notions of easy money and a lawless life. Many sovereigns today are black who are apparently unaware of the racist origins (SPLC 2010). Sovereign's focus on their supposed right to drive without any regulations has brought them into conflict with law enforcement officials. On May 20, 2010, a father and his son murdered two West Memphis police officers and wounded two sheriff's officials during a traffic stop. The largest group of organized sovereigns, the Alabama-based Republic for the united States of America (RuSA) has not engaged in any known violence yet (Potok 2012).

6. RACIST EXTREMISM

White supremacy is a variant of racism which has developed in the South but has expanded through the whole nation. It claims that white race is superior to other non-white races. Racism comes into conflict with modern science. Modern evolutionary biology has proven that humans have evolved genetically from a common ancestor in Sub-Saharan Africa. According to these findings, some scientists believe that races do not exist but individual differences have developed because of geographical distance and evolutionary factors. Despite these scientific evidences, racism remains rooted in American extremist culture. The eugenic movement became an ally of white supremacy. Much of the efforts of American eugenicists were in restricting immigration in the 1920s, but their argument of the superiority of northern Europeans and inferiority of others reinforced racism in the United States. The racial consensus ended after the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* ended school segregation in 1954. It was followed by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which effectively dismantled white supremacy regime in the South. Most American extremists have never forgiven the loss of Anglo-Saxon white dominance and it caused the resurgence of white supremacy in the late 20th century that continues to this day (Atkins 2011: 1–2, 33–34).

6.1 Rise of racist extremism today

From the early 1990s until 2008 there has been a clear increase in the number of attacks. During the last twenty years the violence has shifted from the center/South to the coasts and the North (with the exception of Texas). Two states at the top of far-right violence are California and New York. Top four states in the number of attacks also have the highest number of combined African American and Hispanic residents. The emergence of the American far right has traditionally been seen as a result of socio-economic crisis. Between 2007 and 2011 there is a rise in the number of victims, to the highest levels documented so far. The majority of attacks are directed against property (43%) and specific human targets (42%). Just 3% of the attacks were intended to cause mass casualty incidents. 65% of the attacks were directed against various minorities. The core components of the far right ideology are internal homogeneity, nativism, xenophobia, racism, and exclusionism and therefore it is not surprising that outsiders are the main target (Perliger 2012: 87–124).

The white supremacy movement in the United States has a strong association with violence and criminal activity. Few examples of their violent activities are listed below. Keith

Luke, an affiliated white supremacist, killed two Cape Verdean immigrants and raped and shot a third in Brockton, Massachusetts on January 21, 2009. White supremacist and Holocaust denier James Von Brunn opened fire with a rifle inside the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, killing a security guard before being shot by another guard in Washington D.C. in June 2009. Travis Ricci and Aaron Schmidt, members of the Vinlanders Social Club, shot at an interracial couple and fatally wounded the white female in Phoenix, Arizona in October 2009. Thirty four white supremacists were arrested in California in 2010 as part of multi-agency sting operation called “Operation Stormfront”. The multi-agency law enforcement investigation resulted in the arrest of a number of white supremacists with ties to prison and street gangs and included charges that ranged from extortion to conspiracy and solicitation of aggravated assault to murder. In January 2011, a self-proclaimed white supremacist Daniel Wacht murdered and decapitated 54-year old Kurt Johnson in Cooperstown, North Dakota. Five white supremacists associated with Blood & Honour and the racist prison gang Aryan Circle firebombed the residence of an interracial couple in Hardy, Arkansas in January 2011. White supremacists Charles Cannon, Michael McLaughlin, and Brian Kerstetter allegedly attacked a 29-year old African American man at a Houston bus stop while hurling racial epithets at the victim. White supremacist and anti-immigration extremist J. T. Ready shot and killed four people, including an infant, before killing himself in Gilbert, Arizona on May 3, 2012. White supremacist Wade Michael Page allegedly opened fire in a Sikh temple, killing six and wounding four before killing himself in Oak Creek, Wisconsin on August 5, 2012. Page was a member of the skinhead group Hammerskins and he also played in the white power bands End Apathy and Definite Hate (ADL 2012).

6.1.1 Reasons behind the upsurge

The re-election of Barack Obama in 2012 and the impending loss of a white majority have helped an explosive growth of the radical right. Racial prejudices are more widespread now than when Barack Obama was elected in 2008. The 2012 Associated Press poll found that 51% of Americans expressed explicitly anti-black attitudes, compared to 48% in 2008. The number of Americans who implicitly expressed anti-black attitudes jumped from 49% to 56%. Obama has faced many conspiracy theories accusing him of not being born in the United States but in Kenya or of being a secret Muslim (Harris 2012).

Backlash against immigrants has been fueled by demographic changes resulting from an influx of Latino immigrants and by predictions that whites will constitute less than half of

the population by 2043. Americans accuse immigrants of poverty, job loss, urban decay, crime, and environmental degradation. They believe that immigrants want to destroy American culture and replace it with uncivilized and inferior foreign culture. This paranoid style is also associated with variety of conspiracy theories. Since 2005, the dominant conspiracy theory is the so called “North American Union” describing a plot to surrender American sovereignty in a planned merger with Canada and Mexico. Other theory the so called Aztlan conspiracy is based on “Plan Espiritual de Aztlan” to “reconquer” the seven Southwestern states and merge them with Mexico (Beirich 2007).

The United States have experienced an explosive rise in nativism and anti-immigrant sentiment since the late 1990s. The “nativist extremist” groups go beyond pushing for legislative changes or stricter border controls to personally confront suspected undocumented workers and border crossers. They also want to repeal the 14th Amendment in order to deny citizenship rights to Hispanic children born within the United States. There were 144 such groups in 2006 and 319, the highest number, in 2010. But since then their number has plummeted to 185 in 2011 and only 38 in 2012. The movement’s three largest formations – the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, the Minuteman Project, and the Federal Immigration Reform & Enforcement Coalition – are either defunct or nearly so. This collapse was propelled by several factors, many of them self-inflicted. The most devastating was the 2009 double homicide in Arivaca of a Latino man and his 9-year-old daughter by a woman who had been a member of several Minutemen organizations. The violence scared off prominent members of the movement. Since 2010 many nativist leaders have abandoned their narrow focus on immigration and inserted themselves into other right-wing movements like Patriot groups or Tea Party. The decline is also associated with harsh anti-immigrant laws but Obama’s administration is planning a major push for comprehensive immigration reform, including a path to legal status for undocumented immigrant. A prior bipartisan effort to pass such bill collapsed in 2007 under pressure from groups like Minutemen and NumbersUSA, but this time it is more likely to pass and it will probably outrage anti-immigrant movements and provoke them to take action (Beirich 2013).

Online hate consists mainly of websites and blogs maintained by hate groups. Hate groups were one of the earliest adopters of the Internet. Don Black created the first hate site on the Internet called Stormfront in 1995. It is still the most popular meeting place for anti-Semites, neo-Nazis, and other white supremacists. Visitors and members to Stormfront’s electronic forum interact with other white supremacists from around the world discussing

ideology, upcoming events, and recruitment strategies. The site's logo is "White Pride, World Wide". Following the election of Barack Obama, so many white supremacists tried to post messages that it became overloaded and the site was temporarily shut down. Its Internet radio program broadcasts shows hosted by white supremacists and anti-Semites (ADL 2008). Many teenagers turn to music genres and subcultures to help define their identity, and hate music take advantage of this (see Appendix D). White hate rock remains widespread not just on hate sites but on file-sharing sites and mainstream services such as YouTube and iTunes. Two main distributors of hate rock CDs are Resistance Records and Panzerfaust Records. Hate groups make a similar effort to appeal to youth through video games. Among the most racial video games are *Ethnic Cleansing*, *Shoot the Blacks*, *White Law*, and *Border Patrol*. Online social networks encourage group interaction and strengthen connection between group members. Sites like Facebook and Twitter are used in order to join and recruit group members through fan pages, group feeds, or hateful groups (MediaSmarts 2012).

6.2 Examples of racist groups

The Ku Klux Klan was not the only white supremacist movement active in the United States in the period after 1945. One of the oldest white supremacy organizations is the Pioneer Fund founded by W. P. Draper in 1937. Draper believed that the so-called "Negro race" was inferior to other races and wanted African Americans repatriated to Africa. Many of its financial resources have been directed to support the "New Eugenics Movement" in the journal *Mankind Quarterly*. It has been an active financial supporter of the anti-immigration Federation for Immigration Reform (FAIR). The White Citizens Council (WCC) was a white supremacist organization formed to fight behind the scenes against the Civil Rights movement in the South. WCC was founded by Robert Patterson in Indianola in 1954. Its goal was to promote segregation and discourage integration among both the white and black populations with the main objective to preserve separate schools. They decided to establish a national organization under the name the Citizens' Councils of America in 1956. Unlike the Ku Klux Klan, it avoided violence and most of its operations were held in the open. The Citizens' Council of America remained a potent political force throughout the 1960s and 1970s but then it began losing members as civil rights became more accepted in the South (Atkins 2011: 34–38).

The Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC) was founded by Gordon Lee Baum in 1985 as a successor to the WCC. It has a strong pro-South agenda. Its members espouse the

preservation of the white race by preserving the Southern way of life, its symbols, and its monuments by restoring states' rights. Another white supremacist organization was the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission (MSSC) founded in 1956 with the goal to preserve segregation. Agents of MSSC began to infiltrate civil rights organizations and target suspected critics of white supremacy. Public funding of the MSSC ended in 1973, but its secret files were not open until 1988. Evidence from the files indicated that Mississippi resembled a police state from the late 1950s until the 1980s. Edward R. Fields and J. B. Stones founded the National States' Rights Party in 1958 with membership restricted to white Christian Americans. In the monthly publication *The Thunderbolt*, Stones and Fields proclaimed their anti-Semitic and anti-black attitudes (Atkins 2011: 38-44).

6.2.1 Ku Klux Klan

The oldest and most widespread white supremacy movement is the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan itself had three periods of significant strength – in the late 19th century, in the 1920s, and during the 1950s and 1960s. KKK was founded by six veterans of the Confederate Army in 1865 in Pulaski, Tennessee. Their distinctive wardrobe consisting of the white robes and hood served to represent ghosts of Confederate veterans. At first it remained a glorified social club with strong racist overtones but it soon developed into a political force in the South. Southerners used the Ku Klux Klan to preserve the white power structure by intimidating the black population and representatives of the Union government during the Reconstruction. A close affiliation between the KKK and the Democratic Party has developed. Once it became popular in Tennessee, it began spreading to other states and the violence increased. Their primary goal was to discourage social integration of blacks. The situation in the South became so bad that President Ulysses S. Grant used the U.S. Army to crack down on the KKK when he signed the Ku Klux Klan Act⁵ of 1871 declaring martial law. By the 1872, the Klan has completely disbanded because it had been supplanted by enforcement of white supremacy by officers of the law (Bullard 2011: 7–15).

The second wave emerged in 1915 and lasted until the late 1920s thanks to the success of the pro-Klan movie *Birth of a Nation* by D. W. Griffith. William Joseph Simmons saw an opportunity to revive the KKK and started the Knight of the Ku Klux Klan in 1915. Their

⁵ Ku Klux Klan Act was passed by Republican Reconstruction supporters to protect the constitutional rights guaranteed to blacks by the 14th and 15th Amendments. Nine southern countries were placed under martial law (Britannica 2014b).

goal was 100 percent Americanism and the supremacy of the Caucasian race. Their enemies were not just African Americans but also Catholics, Jews, and other non-white Christians. Even President Warren Harding joined the Ku Klux Klan and most politicians were scared to challenge the Klan openly. At the peak of its popularity, the Klan had between 4.5 and 6 million members. It elected 16 U.S. senators, 11 governors, and countless congressional representatives and local politicians. The second wave collapsed because of series of scandals. An early scandal was the Mer Rouge murders when Klansmen brutally murdered two young white men from Mer Rouge. But it was the trial of Grand Dragon of Indiana, David C. Stephenson, for the rape and murder of Magde Oberholtzer that badly hurt the popularity of the Klan. Instead of national organization, a series of state Klan organizations emerged mostly in the South (Atkins 2011: 6–11).

In 1946, black voter registration increased dramatically in the South and this threat to political structure led to a series of lynchings of blacks in 1946 and 1947. The Klan members supported “separate but equal” schools for the races. A third wave of the KKK became important politically in the late 1940s and lasted until the 1970s. After the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision on integrating schools, the most significant of the more militant Klan groups was the United Klans of America (UKA) formed in 1961 with the goal to halt the Civil Rights movement in the South. Members participated in the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham in 1963 that killed four young black girls. Other members were involved in the murder of Lieutenant Colonel Lemuel Penn in 1964, the shooting of Viola Liuzzo in 1965, and the hanging of Michael Donald in 1981. The FBI’s program called COINTELPRO began to make inroads into the operations of the UKA in the early 1970s. The demise of the UKA was a result of the 1987 trial of the UKA for its role in the murder of 19-year-old Michael Donald. Even more violent Klan group was the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi founded by Samuel Holloway Bowers in 1964. It targeted civil rights activists, blacks, and Jews in their mission to fight integration. In 1964, two members of this group were responsible for the murder of the three civil rights leaders Jim Chaney, Andy Goodman, and Michael Schwerner. The National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was a serious rival to the United Klans of America in the late 1960s (Atkins 2011: 15–21).

KKK had resurgence in the 1970s, but did not reach its past level of influence. Since then, the Klan has become just one element in a much broader spectrum of white supremacist activity. David Duke founded the Knights of the KKK in 1973. In 1980, Duke resigned from this group and founded the National Association for the Advancement of White People

(NAAWP). As the Klan lost its appeal, members began to move to other extremist groups like the Aryan Nations, Christian Identity or Militia movement. The Imperial Klans of America (IKA) began to form in the mid-1990s under the leadership of Ron Edwards. Several IKA members brutally beat a teenager Jordan Gruvez in 2006 because they had mistakenly classified him as an illegal immigrant. Klan groups are still active today but the Klan movement has become so decentralized that anyone can claim leadership and recruit few members. In 2006, the SPLC estimated that there were 86 Klan groups still in operation and promoting hate. The latest issue that these groups are exploiting is the anti-immigration theme (Atkins 2011: 24–31).

Over the last years, KKK violence has consistently constituted a small part of overall far right violence which is a dramatic change from the 1950s and 1960s when it held a monopoly on the violent struggle. We can observe significant activism during the 1990s and between 2003 and 2008. The question is whether the decline, which began in 2008, is temporary or is an indication of further accelerated decline (Perlinger 2012: 124 – 128). The Ku Klux Klan of Virginia is using Obama's second term to recruit new members. Residents of Mechanicsville have received two KKK fliers in January 2013 which stated things like "wake up white America" and "the majority of hate crimes in America are committed by blacks against whites". One of the interviewed Klansmen said that since Obama's first term their numbers have doubled and after his re-election it is supposed to triple (Strasser 2013). In December 2013, a Maryland Ku Klux Klan group has been given permission to meet in a country government building to plan the impeachment of Barack Obama for being an illegal president. The group had to be given permission to use the government building because of the First Amendment right to peaceably assembly (Edwards 2013).

6.2.2 Skinheads and neo-Nazis

There were 120 fascist organizations in the 1930s and four of them made a national impact – the Khaki Shirts of America, The Silver Shirts, the German American Bund, and the America First Committee. After the World War II, there still remained admirers of fascism and Nazism who wanted to rid America of Jews, deport African Americans to Africa, purge American politics, and create a fascist political state. Examples of postwar neo-Nazi groups were the Columbians, the National Renaissance Party, the American Nazi Party, the National Socialist Party of America, the American Nationalist Party, and the American Nationalist Socialist Workers. In 1974, William Pierce founded neo-Nazi organization, called the

National Alliance (NA) with the aim to preserve white supremacy. The organization has a publishing arm, National Vanguard Books, which is a major supplier of far-right propaganda. It also has a shortwave radio and internet broadcast program called “American Dissident Voices”. The National Alliance has recently capitalized on the growing popularity of violent home video games with the release of “Ethnic Cleansing”. The National Vanguard was founded by Kevin Alfred Strom in 2005 and began to recruit disaffected members of the National Alliance. Another significant neo-Nazi group is the White Aryan Resistance (WAR) formed by Tom Metzger in 1983. His goal has been to make the WAR into a mass political movement. He adopted the so called Third Position which is a European philosophy that rejects both the capitalist West and the communist East. Metzger was one of the first far-right activists to take advantage of computer technology. He created a computer bulletin in 1989 that linked together like-minded activists. Other projects include a website, recorded message on a telephone line, and a television program *Race and Reason*. Stephen Donald Black is one of the leading white supremacist extremists thanks to his position as a web master of the Stormfront website which was launched in 1995. This website serves as a forum for Ku Klux Klan members, neo-Nazis, white supremacists, and white nationalists to present their views (Atkins 2011: 55–58, 65–113).

Skinheads first emerged on the American scene in the early 1980s and their music has served as a recruiting mechanism. It is a genre of music that provokes and insults while it glorifies racial hatred. The most significant figure has been George Burdi. In 1990, Burdi and three of his friends formed the music group RAHOWA (Racial Holy War). To market his music, Burdi founded Resistance Records in 1994 and it was later sold to William Pierce. One of the early American skinhead groups was the Romantic Violence also known as the Chicago Area Skinheads founded in 1987. One of the largest and most significant skinhead organizations is the Hammerskin Nation. Funds to support the Hammerskin Nation came from a close association with one of the most influential distributor of hate rock CDs, Panzerfaust Records. In 2004, leaders of the Hoosier State Skinheads, Keystone State Skinheads, and Ohio State Skinheads united to form the Vinlander Social Club (Atkins 2011: 61–62, 115–120). Erich Gliebe, the leader of the National Alliance which dominated the U.S. neo-Nazi scene, has announced in September 2013 that the group has ceased to function as a membership organization. This announcement was the latest stage in a decline that began in 2002 when NA founder William Pierce died (Potok 2013a).

Skinheads and the neo-Nazi groups were more active in the last decade than in the 1990s but now there is a decline in violent attacks. There were 55 attacks perpetrated by skinheads between 2005 and 2007 in comparison to 21 during 2008 and 2010. Neo-Nazi violence is also in decline since 2008. 34 incidents occurred between 2006 and 2008, in comparison to 16 in the three following years (Perliger 2012: 128–135).

6.2.3 Christian Identity

Christian Identity has its origins in the British-Israelism which refers to a belief that the British are lineal descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel. Christian Identity has no central body but it is a very loose network of individual believers and small congregations. British-Israelism spread to the United States by the late 19th century. The foremost American believer was Howard Rand, whose Anglo-Saxon Federation distributed thousands of pieces of literature. British-Israelism started to evolve and embraced anti-Semitism through William J. Cameron in the 1930s (Barkun 1996: 4–26).

The leading figure in the Christian Identity movement became Wesley Swift who converted British-Israelism into a modern religious ideology that combined its fundamentalism with supremacy racist ideology. Swift is the author of the “two-seed” theory which stated that Aryans are descendants of Adam and Eve, and non-Aryans are descendants of Eve and serpent. Jews are the seed of Satan and therefore they deserve to be eradicated. White people come from Adamic race which is superior to other minorities, the so called “mud people”. Christian Identity adherents believe that the world is in its final days, the so called millennialism. Christian Identity penetrate most of the extreme-right movements – neo-Nazis, Klan leaders such as Thomas Robb and Louis Beam, Hammerskins, tax protest movement, the Sovereign Citizens, and the Militia movement. Christian Identity racist and apocalyptic views led to several incidents of domestic terrorism perpetrated by groups such as The Order, the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord, and the Phineas Priesthood (ADL 2005).

The Christian Defense League (CDL) was involved in paramilitary activities, with accusations of the involvement of CDL members in violent attacks against minorities, and a plan to assassinate Rev. Martin Luther King. While the CDL declined in the late 1960s, two of its main leaders, William Gale and Richard Butler, became leaders of new organizations – Gale’s Posse Comitatus and its militant offshoots, and Butler’s Church of the Jesus Christ Christian and its political wing the Aryan Nations. Butler founded the Aryan Nations in 1974

and it has become the most important Christian Identity group. Aryan Nations combined militant white supremacy with anti-Semitism. They adopted the concept that the United States were under the control of the ZOG. Prisoners in many federal and state prisons formed an offshoot group called the Aryan Brotherhood. Butler's lack of militant action resulted in a loss of few members as more active groups like The Order formed. Despite his efforts to avoid violence, the Aryan Nations received a legal setback that bankrupted the organization and Butler resigned. Nowadays it has a four-member leadership council to run the organization (Atkins 2011: 140–144).

Silent Brotherhood, or The Order, was the most violent offshoot of the Aryan Nations founded by Robert Jay Mathews in 1983. Mathews decided to undertake a campaign to destabilize the U.S. government with the intent of forcing it to allow a white homeland in the Pacific Northwest. The most successful robbery conducted by The Order was of a Brinks armored vehicle near Ukiah, California which netted 3.8 million dollars. Other violent attacks were the assassination of Alan Berg, a Jewish liberal radio host, the bombing of a pornographic theater in Seattle, Washington, and of a synagogue in Boise, Idaho in 1984, and the bombing of the house of a Catholic priest in August 1986 in Coeur D'alene, Idaho. The FBI succeeded in penetrating the group and detaining most of its members in less than a year after it was formed (Perliger 2012: 79).

The ongoing decline of the Aryan Nations culminated in 2004 with the death of its founder Richard Butler when it began to lose cohesiveness. The most successful of its descendants is Paul Mullet's Crusaders of Yahweh, with branches in no less than 17 states. Other current influential Identity organizations include Pete Peter's Scriptures for America/La Porte Church of Christ, Dan Gayman's Church Israel, and Chuck Kuhler's Virginia Christian Israelites. The overall movement include between 25 000 and 50 000 members and approximately 60–70 active ministers. In comparison to their counterparts on the far right scene, they were the least violent group. Only 66 attacks, targeted on minorities and financial institutions, were linked to Identity groups and around half of them were perpetrated by members of Aryan Nations. They were more active in the 1990s than in the 2000s (Perliger 2012: 138–140).

7. FUNDAMENTALIST EXTREMISM

During the 19th century, a fierce battle was fought within American Protestantism between modernists, who adopted a liberal view of the Bible, and conservatives (later fundamentalists) who took a literal view of it. The agendas of all fundamentalisms in the world are alike. List of their enemies include feminism represented by liberated women who do not follow orders and get abortion when they want, homosexuality which disturbs traditional image of family consisting of man and woman, and many others perceived enemies (Loehr 2005: 37–45).

The new Christian Right which emerged in the late 1970s sought to fuse religion and politics to turn America back to Christ. The new Christian Right is an umbrella term describing a broad coalition of groups that is primarily concerned with moral and social issues and wants to maintain or restore what they see as Christian culture. In the 1970s it campaigned for the restoration of traditional family values and its particular targets included affirmative action, feminism, abortion, and the gay rights movement (Heywood 2008: 317–318). The gay rights movement and its “homosexual agenda” are the prime culprits in the destruction of American society according to the Christian Right. Their tactics include defamation, dissemination of contemptuous facts about gays that are not truth, and even violent attacks. The idea that being gay is a choice is a key concept in the anti-gay movement (Beirich 2014). Another enemy is the abortion industry which is perceived as a mechanism for the systematic killing of innocent and pure human beings, sometimes described as “new Holocaust”. Those who support abortion are representatives of the devil, and pro-life forces acknowledge that their struggle is part of an ongoing war between Satan and God’s children. Since every human being is created in the image of God, it is a sin to end their lives before they have been able to enjoy it (Perliger 2012: 37–38).

7.1 History of fundamentalist extremism

Since the late 1970s Americans have witnessed an increased number of violent attacks against the abortion industry initiated by groups and individuals with strong fundamentalist sentiment. Opponents of abortion, the so called pro-life groups have been dominated by religious leaders and associations since the Supreme Court’s decision to legalize abortion in *Roe v. Wade* in 1973. In 1979, Peter Burkin ignited a gasoline can in a nonprofit abortion clinic in Hampstead, New York. In the following years, individuals affiliated with the Army of God perpetrated similar acts of violence. The Army of God became the public face of the

violent campaign against abortion clinics and their staffs during the 1980s and 1990s. The level of violence intensified dramatically in the early 1980s when Army of God members adopted extreme tactics such as kidnappings of abortion clinic owners and employees, incendiary and pipe bombing of abortion clinics, and assassination of prominent medical personnel in Florida, Washington DC, Virginia, Maryland, and other states on the East Coast. During the years 1977-2000, anti-abortion adherents perpetrated more than 80 successful arson attacks, 31 attacks with various explosive devices, almost 30 incidents of chemical vandalism, and approximately 10 assassination attempts. In most cases the violence was initiated by individuals or small cells of 2–3 people (Perliger 2012: 36–38, 82).

Anti-abortion extremists are responsible for many violent acts directed against abortion providers. In March 1993, Dr. David Gunn was shot to death by Michael Griffin in Pensacola, Florida. In August 1993, Dr. George Tiller was shot and injured by Rachelle Shannon at his clinic in Wichita, Kansas. In July 1994, Dr. Bayard Britton and his escort, James H. Barrett, were shot and killed in front of a clinic in Pensacola, Florida by Paul J. Hill. In December 1994, Shannon Lowney and Leanne Nichols were shot and killed by John Salvi at two clinics in Brookline, Massachusetts. Five others were injured in the attack. In January 1998, Officer Robert Sanderson was killed during a clinic bombing in Birmingham, Alabama. A nurse at the clinic, Emily Lyons, was severely injured. Eric Robert Rudolph was responsible for bombings of two abortion clinics including the Birmingham clinic, bombing at the Olympic Park, and a gay bar. In October 1998, Dr. Barnett Slepian was shot and killed in his home in Amherst, New York by James Kopp (National Abortion Federation 2012).

Anti-gay movement has also a long history of violent acts against homosexuals with just few examples described here. On June 24, 1973 a fire in gay bar in New Orleans' French Quarter killed 32 people and injured many others. It was the largest mass killing of gay people in U.S. history. The police investigation ran cold and no one has ever been prosecuted (Time 2013). Harvey Milk was a neighborhood activist elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1977. He was murdered along with the city's mayor, George Moscone by a former supervisor named Dan White on November 27, 1978. Milk was among the first openly gay elected officials in the country. White was sentenced only to seven years which outraged many gay men and lesbians who initiated White Night riots in San Francisco (Ananda 2008). Matthew Shepard, 21-year old student of Wyoming was lured out of a bar on October 6, 1998, when he was robbed, beaten with a pistol butt and left for dead tied to a wooden fence at the

edge of Laramie. He was found unconscious the next morning and taken to a hospital where he died five days later (Janofsky 1999).

The Phineas Priesthood is the terrorist wing of the Christian Identity movement. The most prominent figure, Richard Kelly Hoskins, advocated use of violence to carry out God's will by killing mixed-race couples, homosexuals, civil rights leaders, abortion providers, or any other perceived enemies of the Christian Identity movement. Members of the Phineas Priesthood robbed a gay bookstore in Shelby, North Carolina and executed three people in the store and killed fourth by setting fire. A self-proclaimed Phineas Priest, Larry Gene Ashbrook, shot 15 people, killing 4 teenagers and 3 adults at the Wedgwood Baptist Church in Fort Worth, Texas in 1999 (Atkins 2011: 53–55).

7.2 Fundamentalist extremism today

The anti-abortionists have been extremely productive during the last two decades. They are responsible for 227 attacks, many of them perpetrated without the responsible perpetrators identified or caught. They were more violent in the 1990s when they perpetrated 90% of attacks. California and Florida experienced the highest number of attacks. The majority of the attacks (more than 70%) were intended to cause damage to abortion clinics rather than cause direct harm to people (Perliger 2012: 140). The only exception being Dr. George Tiller, who was shot to death in his church in Wichita, Kansas by Scott Roeder in May 2009. The attacks intended to cause damage to abortion clinics include firebombing of the American Family Planning Clinic in Pensacola, Florida in January 2012 perpetrated by Bobby Joe Rogers, who was sentenced to ten years in prison. In April 2012, Francis Grady was sentenced to 11 years for arson of a Planned Parenthood facility in Grand Chute, Wisconsin (National Abortion Federation 2012).

A small but vocal group of extreme politicians and conservatives has recently helped to introduce, pass and sign a record number of bills to cut off women's access to safe and legal abortion. Since 2010, more than 160 restrictions on abortion access have become law in 30 states. Senators R. Blumenthal, T. Baldwin and Representatives J. Chu, L. Frankel and M. Fudge introduced the Women's Health Protection Act in 2013, a federal law that would block state restrictions on access to abortion. The passage of this act would probably meet with resistance of religious extremists who want to defend traditional Christian values (Richards 2013).

In early 2011, the Obama's administration announced it would no longer defend the constitutionality of the discriminatory Defense of Marriage Act, signifying a shift in the president's political position on marriage equality. Later in 2011, Congress repealed the discriminatory law Don't Ask, Don't Tell which banned openly gay people from serving in the United States military (The National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs 2011: 5). This together with the legalization of same sex marriage bonds in some states set off a furious rage on the religious right. Nowadays there are 16 states which extend marriage rights to gay and lesbian couples – Massachusetts, Connecticut, Iowa, California, New Jersey, Vermont, New Hampshire, Washington D.C., New York, Rhode Island, Delaware, Minnesota, Hawaii, Illinois, Maine, and Maryland (Huffingtonpost 2014). The number of anti-gay hate groups in the United States rose markedly, going from 17 in 2010 to 27 in 2011 (Potok 2012).

The National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs (NCAVP) released a report on hate violence against LGBT people in the United States. It took 2011 data from 16 anti-violence programs in 16 states. In 2011, it documented 30 anti-LGBT murders, the highest yearly total ever reported. This was an 11% increase from the 27 people murdered in 2010. 87% of the 30 reported hate murder victims were LGBT people of color. This reflects a disproportionate targeting of people of color for severe and deadly violence and is an increase over 2010 where 70% of 27 victims were people of color. Those most at risk for murder are transgender and gender non-confirming people, people of color, and gay men (The National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs 2011: 9).

Anti-gay violence in New York has spiked dramatically in 2013. A spate of high-profile incidents, including the murder of Marc Carson in Greenwich Village in May have created the impression that New York is becoming vastly intolerant. The question is whether crimes are really increasing so dramatically, or they are just more reported. In August 2013, a couple leaving a Chelsea movie theater was attacked by a group of men spewing anti-gay slurs, resulting in one of the victim being hospitalized with lacerations on his face. In Long Island City, an interracial couple was attacked in August 2013 (Del Signore 2013).

7.3 Examples of fundamentalist hate groups

Most of the anti-gay groups are religiously motivated and their propaganda is demonizing homosexuals and other sexual minorities. Abiding Truth Ministries serves as a launching pad for an international anti-gay campaign. Its founder, Scott Lively claimed that Hitler was a gay and that the Nazi Party was controlled by militaristic homosexuals. In a 2007

open letter to the Russian people, he asserted that homosexuality is a personality disorder that involves various, dangerous sexual addictions and aggressive, anti-social impulses. According to Lively, the goal of the gay movement is to defeat the marriage-based society and replace it with a culture of sexual promiscuity. Methodist minister Donald E. Wildmon formed the National Federation for Decency in 1977, changing its name to the American Family Association (AFA) in 1988. The AFA seeks to support traditional moral values, but in recent years it has seemed to specialize in combating the homosexual agenda. Americans for Truth About Homosexuality (AFTAH) was formed as a part-time venture in 1996 by Peter LaBarbera. AFTAH's website carries essays describing homosexuality as a lethal behavior addiction, a dangerous practice that is neither normal nor benign. It also claimed that there was a disproportionate incidence of pedophilia. American Vision is one of the primary exponents of the Christian Reconstruction doctrine, the idea that the U.S. were founded as a Christian nation and that its democracy should be replaced with theocratic government based on Old Testament law. American Vision supports the death penalty for practicing homosexuals. Family Research Council claims that one of the goals of the homosexual rights movement is to abolish all age of consent laws and to eventually recognize pedophiles as the prophets of a new sexual order (Schlatter 2010).

Westboro Baptist Church is known for its harsh anti-gay beliefs and crude signs its members carry during the controversial protests that should raise awareness of the church and its belief. According to the groups, America has damned itself through its tolerance of homosexuality, and God is punishing the country by inflicting tragedies on its citizens. When two sets of twin girls drowned in Massachusetts in separate incidents in July and August 2010, the Westboro Baptist Church blamed their deaths on the state's legalization of same-sex marriage. In 2005, the group began picketing the funerals of American soldiers killed in Iraq and Afghanistan. WBC members have been banned from other countries because of their hateful views which are protected in the United States by the 1st Amendment (SPLC 2014c).

Army of God is the primary proponent of anti-abortion violence in the United States. This movement uses leaderless resistance as its organizing principle. Their Web site is full of shocking images, mainly detailed and graphic pictures of aborted fetuses with quotes from the Bible. These pictures have a high propaganda value. Neal Horsley is a leading anti-abortion Webmaster and voice of the extreme Christian Right. His first Web site Christian Gallery appeared in 1995 and carries his anti-gay and anti-abortion writings. The Nuremberg Files exists on the Christian Gallery site and offers extensive personal information about abortion

providers. Horsley claims that site only gather information that will be used to prosecute abortion providers when abortion becomes illegal. But this list reads more like a list for assassination (Bowman-Grieve 2009). Recent example of anti-abortion extremism can be seen in Texas, when anti-abortion group known as “Praying for you” urged extremists on the Abolish Human Abortion Facebook page to kidnap women on the way to terminate their pregnancies by pretending to be involved with Cicada Collection, an anonymous community organization that provides abortion services (Osborne 2013).

8. CONCLUSION

The aim of this bachelor thesis was to analyze Christian right-wing extremism with the focus on its historical background, current situation, and reasons behind the upsurge of Christian anti-government, racist, and fundamentalist extremism in the United States. United States have a long history of extremism and each period of American history had different reasons behind the upsurge of extremism. All extremist groups can benefit from the 1st Amendment, which guarantees freedom of speech and expression, and the 2nd Amendment, which guarantees right to keep and bear arms. The current economic and political climate has some similarities to the 1990s when right-wing extremism experienced dramatic resurgence. Hate groups stayed at record levels in those days. According to the SPLC, the number of hate groups increased by 54 percent from 2000 to 2008. There were 1007 active hate groups in 2012 with the highest number in California and in the South. But the threat posed by Christian extremists is still overlooked by majority of Americans.

Anti-government extremists believe that the federal government has a secret plan to confiscate their guns and create a global one-world government called the New World Order. The rise of Patriot groups is associated with the gun controls proposed by the Obama's administration after series of mass shootings in Newtown, Aurora, Tuscon, and Oak Creek. Congress did not pass these stricter gun control measures under pressure of powerful gun lobby. In 2014, Obama's administration proposed two new gun regulations with the aim to restrict gun ownership for the mentally ill and strengthen a database used for background checks before firearm purchases. Current anti-government hostility is partly motivated by racism and partly by strong distrust of the government. Many militias have transformed itself into more explicitly racist groups because of the election of first African-American president and high level of non-white immigration. But this racist rhetoric is not reflected in the militia's violence when two thirds of the attacks were directed against government and its law enforcement. Almost all militia groups maintain active internet presence to recruit new members and raise funds.

The biggest upsurge was in the number of Patriot groups which reached an all time high of 1360 groups in 2012. From the total number of Patriot groups, there were 334 militia groups in 2011 and 321 in 2012. The number of militias remains high because of societal stresses and strains from the rise of multiculturalism, bad economic situation, and liberal administration headed by a black president. Sovereign citizens believe that they do not have to

pay taxes, drive with licenses and pay fees. Their beliefs have already brought them into conflict with law enforcement officials. It is estimated that there were 100 000 Sovereign citizens in 2011 with another 200 000 just starting out by testing sovereign techniques.

White supremacy groups believe that white race is superior to non-white races. Between 2007 and 2011 there is a rise in the number of attacks, the highest levels documented so far. The re-election of Barack Obama in 2012 and the impending loss of white majority have helped an explosive growth of the radical right. Backlash against immigrants has been fueled by demographic changes resulting from an influx of Latino immigrants and by predictions that whites will constitute less than half of the population by 2043. The most infamous white supremacy group is the Ku Klux Klan, which had three periods of significant strength – in the late 19th century, 1920s, and during the 1950s and 1960s. There has been also significant activism in the 1990s and between 2003 and 2008. Skinheads and neo-Nazi groups were more active in the last decade than in the 1990s but nowadays there is a decline in violent attacks. There were 55 attacks perpetrated by skinheads between 2005 and 2007 in comparison to 21 attacks between 2008 and 2010. Neo-Nazi violence is also in decline since 2008. 34 incidents occurred between 2006 and 2008 in comparison to 16 in the three following years. Christian Identity combines fundamentalism with white supremacy ideology. Among the most important Christian Identity groups were The Order, the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord, the Phineas Priesthood, and the Aryan Nations. The overall movement include between 25 000 and 50 000 members and approximately 60–70 active ministers. In comparison to their counterparts on the far right scene, they were the least violent group. They were more active in the 1990s than in the 2000s.

The new Christian Right is an umbrella term describing a broad coalition of groups which is primarily concerned with moral and social issues and wants to maintain or restore what they see as Christian culture. Their enemies include affirmative action, feminism, abortion, and gay rights movement. Abortion industry is perceived as a mechanism for the systematic killing of innocent and pure beings. The anti-abortion extremists have been extremely productive during the last two decades. They are responsible for 227 attacks. Army of God is the primary proponent of anti-abortion violence. They were more active in the 1990s when they perpetrated 90 percent of attacks. The majority of attacks were intended to cause damage to abortion clinics. But they are also responsible for killings of many abortion providers mostly in the 1990s, but the latest victim of their shooting being Dr. George Tiller who was shot to death in May 2009. LGBT community is described as the prime culprit in the

destruction of American society. In 2011, Congress repealed the discriminatory law Don't Ask, Don't Tell which banned openly gay people from serving in the military. This together with the legalization of same-sex marriage bonds in some states set off furious rage on the religious right. The number of anti-gay hate groups rose from 17 in 2010 to 27 in 2011. In 2011, there were 30 anti-LGBT murders, the highest yearly total ever reported. 87 percent of the 30 murder victims were LGBT people of different color. Examples of anti-gay hate groups are Abiding Truth Ministries, Americans for Truth About Homosexuality, American Vision, American Family Association, Family Research Council, Westboro Baptist Church, and many others.

American society often proclaims itself a nation of immigrants. The metaphor "melting pot" coined by an immigrant Israel Zangwill was introduced in 1909 to describe the idea that immigrants arriving to the United States would mix with one another to create new American population. The aim was assimilation of the immigrants into the unified American culture. But for ethnic minorities, complete assimilation was never an option. Jim Crow laws were established and racial stereotypes became popular nationwide. The first generation of European immigrants was able to assimilate because they were physically similar to first settlers. On the other hand, ethnic minorities were not afforded the same opportunities and were sealed off from the larger society. Immigrants from China met with hostility and were forced into "Chinatowns" and other ethnic enclaves in the larger cities followed. Race prejudices emerged as the greatest barrier to assimilation and innate racial characteristics made complete assimilation almost impossible. Until 1882, the U.S. government practiced an open door immigration policy, but at the end of the century, it began to control immigration by excluding prostitutes, criminals, alcoholics, and Chinese, among others, from coming to the country. Many people started to believe in the racial superiority of northern European-Americans and demanded immigration restrictions to stop "degeneration" of American superior white race.

The ideas of cultural pluralism and multiculturalism have replaced the idea of assimilation. Each ethnic and national group has the right to maintain and preserve its cultural distinctions and integrity and does not need to assimilate. America is a country in which many diverse cultures exist, co-exist and find common grounds as Americans. Multiculturalism supports loose immigration controls and programs such as bilingual education and affirmative action which offer certain privileges to minority and immigrant groups. Critics argue that separating citizens by ethnicity or race and providing special privileges to immigrants can

harm the same groups they are intended to help. By calling attention to differences between these groups and the mainstream it only stimulates racial prejudices.

I think that neither the idea of the “melting pot” nor the idea of multiculturalism have fully succeeded in the creation of unified American society. The first ideology failed to integrate ethnic minorities into the mainstream society which led to the creation of distinct ethnic enclaves in many cities and discrimination in many areas of social life. The latter enabled growth of different ethnic cultures within American society which only highlighted how diverse American society can be. Multiculturalism supports benefits for ethnic minorities which only stimulates suspicion and prejudices of the mainstream society. American society cannot be fully unified until it overcomes prejudices. It can be seen in the rising popularity of extremist groups which benefits from hostility against people belonging to race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity that differs from the mainstream society. Extremist groups help to divide American society and make it more difficult to overcome these differences.

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10. ABSTRACT

This bachelor thesis entitled *Extremist Christians in the United States* demonstrates that right-wing Christian extremism in the United States is currently on the rise. Its aim is to analyze three specific types of right-wing extremism with the focus on its historical roots, current situation, and reason behind the upsurge.

In theoretical introduction, this thesis explains extremism and examines historical backgrounds of Christian extremism in the United States with the focus on the importance of the 1st and the 2nd Amendment of the United States Constitution to extremist culture. The second part depicts the current rise of extremism in the United States with analysis of possible reasons behind the upsurge. Historical overview, current situation, violent incidents, and reasons behind the resurgence of anti-government, white supremacy, and fundamentalist extremist groups are explored.

Finally when all books, articles, internet sources, and other materials are explored, a conclusion is drawn and gained knowledge is summarized.

11. RESUME

Tato bakalářská práce, nazvaná Extremističtí křesťané v současných Spojených státech amerických se snaží ukázat, že pravicový křesťanský extremismus ve Spojených státech je v současné době na vzestupu. Jejím cílem je analyzovat tři specifické typy pravicového extremismu se zaměřením na jejich historické kořeny, současnou situaci a důvody vzestupu.

V teoretickém úvodu bakalářské práce je vysvětlen extremismus spolu s prozkoumáním historického pozadí amerického křesťanského extremismu se zaměřením na důležitost prvního a druhého dodatku americké ústavy pro extremistickou kulturu. Druhá část popisuje současný vzestup extremismu spolu s analýzou možných příčin vzestupu. Historický přehled, současná situace, násilné incidenty a důvody vzestupu protivládních, rasistických a fundamentalistických extremistických skupin jsou prozkoumány.

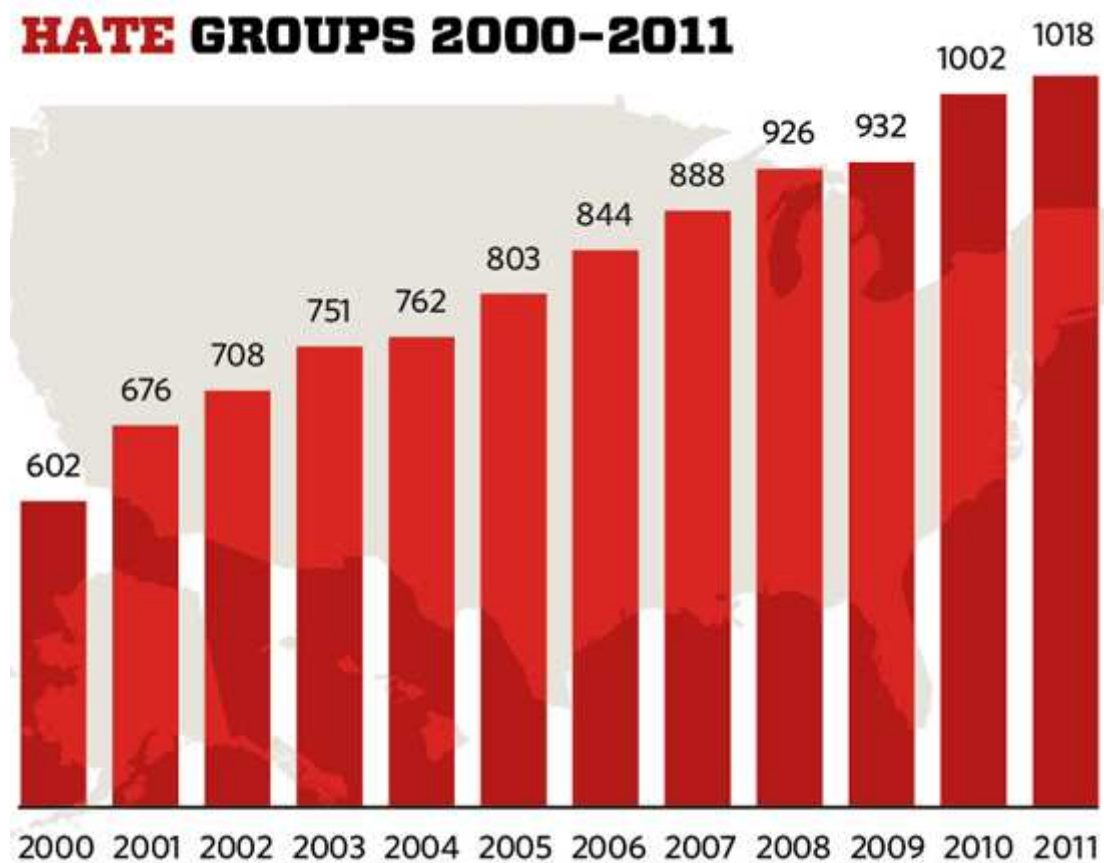
Na závěr, když jsou všechny knihy, články, internetové zdroje a jiné materiály prozkoumány, je sepsán závěr, ve kterém jsou shrnuty získané poznatky.

12. APPENDICES

Appendix A

Hate groups graph retrieved February 20, 2014 from

<http://www.splcenter.org/home/2013/spring/the-year-in-hate-and-extremism>



Appendix B

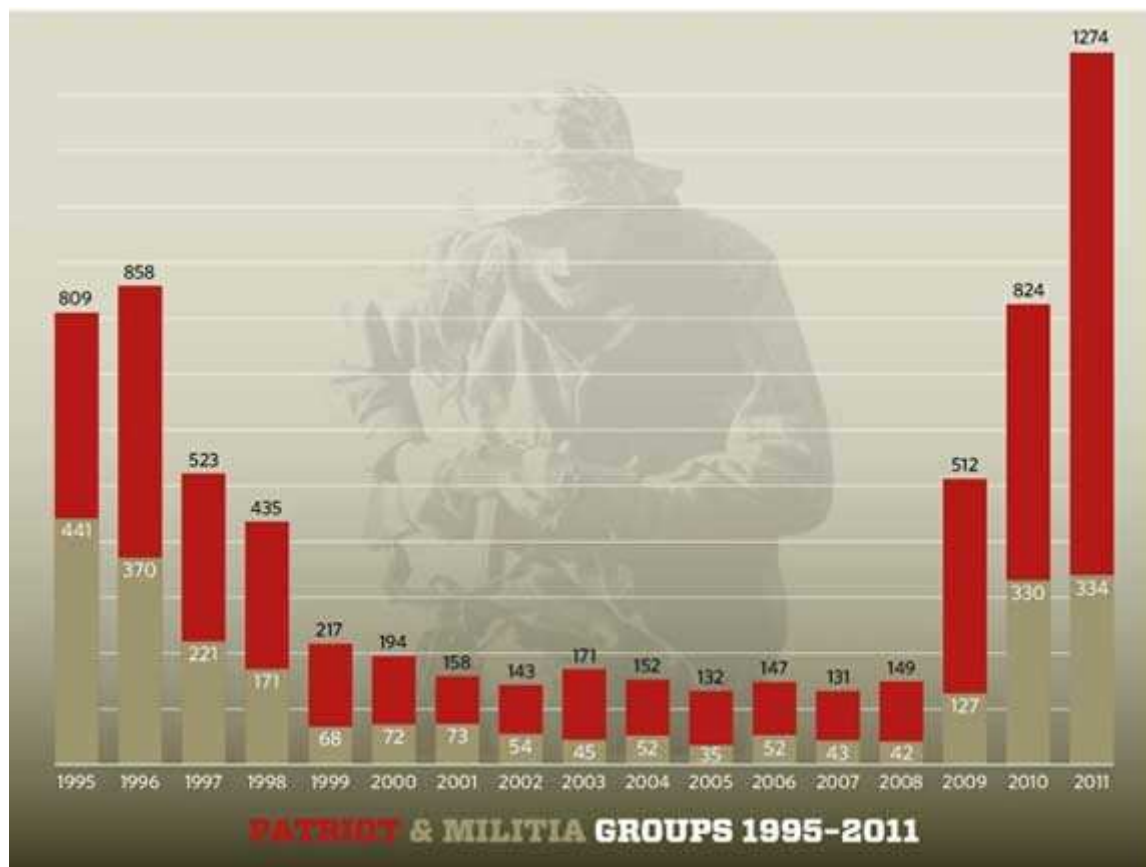
Map with the number of active hate groups in each state retrieved February 20, 2014 from <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/hate-map>



Appendix C

Patriot groups graph retrieved February 20, 2014 from

<http://www.splcenter.org/home/2013/spring/the-year-in-hate-and-extremism>



Appendix D

Example of hate rock song called "Living in America" retrieved April 10, 2014 from <http://www.fightthatred.com/videos/anti-semitic-music/1141-the-hammerskins-dominate-much-of-the-white-power-hate-music-scene>

Living in America amongst the mud and the slime,
 It can't be much longer now, until we have our time.
 White pride in the world today,
 Don't pay attention to what they say.
 For the blood and the soil,
 And the honor that I will never betray.
 Our forefathers built this country,
 For our family and our rights.
 Now it's taken over by jews
 And flooded with non-whites.
 We are raped and robbed everyday,
 For our women and our land,
 I think that the time has come
 For all white men to make a stand.
 With short cropped hair and steelcapped boots,
 And our history on our sleeves.
 Everyday we're outnumbered and probably always be.

Examples of Hammerskin lyrics retrieved April 10, 2014 from http://archive.adl.org/learn/ext_us/h_lyrics.html

"H.S.N." by the Brawlers

In a darkened nation, a strong flame burns
 A different breed of people, one that won't turn
 A total dedication to our race
 We fight the opposition, face to face....

We will raise our hands, Sieg Heil!
 When the battle is done we will raise our flags Hammerskins!...

"Hammerskins" by the Bully Boys

We're proud of where we're from
 We're proud that we're white
 Proud that we're Skins
 Proud that we fight....

It's the way we are, it's what we believe
 Hatred is what I feel, peace I don't need...