

A Dark & Constant Rage

25 Years of Right-Wing
Terrorism in the United States

ADL
Anti-Defamation League®

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Executive Summary

- Right-wing extremists have been one of the largest and most consistent sources of domestic terror incidents in the United States for many years, a fact that has not gotten the attention it deserves.
- The Anti-Defamation League's Center on Extremism has compiled a list of 150 right-wing terrorist acts, attempted acts, and plots and conspiracies that took place in the United States during the past 25 years (1993-2017). These incidents were perpetrated by white supremacists, anti-government extremists, anti-abortion extremists and other types of right-wing extremists.
- The vast majority of right-wing terror incidents have stemmed from white supremacists and anti-government extremists (such as militia groups and sovereign citizens), with the two broad extremist movements being responsible for almost the same number of incidents (64 related to white supremacists, 63 to anti-government extremists).
- Most acts were committed by small number of extremists acting on their own rather than at the behest of organized extremist groups. About half of the 150 incidents were actually committed by lone wolf offenders.
- Right-wing extremists have killed 255 people in these attacks and injured over 600 more.
- Overwhelmingly, firearms and explosives were the most common weapons chosen: 55 of the incidents involved use or planned use of firearms; 55 involved use of explosives. Overall, incidents involving firearms were more likely to be deadly.
- Right-wing terror incidents have involved a wide array of targets, with government, law enforcement, racial and religious targets the most common.
- Right-wing terror incidents occur consistently because the movements from which they emanate are mature extremist movements with deep-seated roots. The Internet has made it easier for extremists to meet each other (and thus engage in plots), as well as to self-radicalize and become lone wolf offenders.
- Right-wing terrorism is a subject under-covered by the media, in part perhaps because so many right-wing terror incidents take place far from major media centers and urban areas. One consequence of this relative lack of coverage has been an inadequate awareness among policy-makers and the public alike of the threat that violent right-wing extremists pose.
- If the United States does not treat right-wing extremism as a real threat, the list of right-wing terror incidents can only grow.

A Dark and Constant Rage: 25 Years of Right-Wing Terrorism in the United States

IN MARCH 2017, a white supremacist from Maryland, James Harris Jackson, traveled to New York City with the alleged intention of launching a series of violent attacks on black men to discourage white women from having relationships with black men. After several days, Jackson chose his first victim, a 66-year old black homeless man, Timothy Caughman. Jackson later allegedly admitted that he had stabbed Caughman with a small sword he had brought with him, describing the murder as a “practice run.”

However, after the killing, Jackson’s angry energy dissipated and he turned himself over to the authorities. A week later, New York prosecutors announced that they were charging him with second-degree murder as a hate crime and also with a state charge of terrorism.

Jackson’s aborted killing spree was a shocking example of right-wing terror in the United States but it was unfortunately far from an isolated example.

For over a century and a half, since “burning Kansas” of the 1850s and the Ku Klux Klan of the 1860s, right-wing terrorism has been an unwelcome feature of the American landscape. Yet today, many people are barely aware that it exists and most people don’t recognize its frequency or scope.

Far more attention in recent years has been given to the threat of homegrown radical Islamic terror—a danger that has generated such horrific acts as the Orlando and San Bernardino shooting sprees. Yet the very real specter of radical Islamic terror in the United States has existed alongside an equally serious threat of terror from right-wing extremist groups and individuals.

Both movements have generated shooting sprees, bombings, and a wide variety of plots and conspiracies. Both pose threats so significant that to ignore either would be to invite tragedy.

To illustrate the threat of right-wing terrorism in the United States, the Anti-Defamation League’s Center on Extremism has compiled a list of

150 right-wing terrorist acts, attempted acts, plots and conspiracies from the past 25 years (1993–2017). These include terrorist incidents from a wide variety of white supremacists, from neo-Nazis to Klansmen to racist skinheads, as well as incidents connected to anti-government extremists such as militia groups, sovereign citizens and tax protesters. The list also includes incidents of anti-abortion terror as well as from other, smaller right-wing extremist movements.

ADL’s Center on Extremism defines *terrorism* as a pre-planned act or attempted act of significant violence by one or more non-state actors in order to further an ideological, social or religious cause, or to harm perceived opponents of such causes. Significant violent acts can include bombings or use of other weapons of mass destruction, assassinations and targeted killings, shooting sprees, arsons and firebombings, kidnappings and hostage situations and, in some cases, armed robberies. *Domestic terrorism* consists of acts or attempted acts of terrorism in which the perpetrators are citizens or permanent residents of the country in which the act takes place.

The right-wing terrorist incidents in ADL’s list include those that best fit the above criteria. They are drawn from the much larger pool of violent and criminal acts that American right-wing extremists engage in every year, from hate crimes to deadly encounters with law enforcement. Right-wing extremists annually murder a number of Americans, but only some of those murders occur in connection with terrorist acts. There are, after all, hundreds of thousands of adherents of right-wing extremist movements in the United States and all such movements have some degree of association with criminal activity. No one should think, therefore, that the incidents listed here represent the breadth of right-wing violence in the U.S. But, as acts of terrorism, they do show right-wing movements at their most vicious and ambitious.

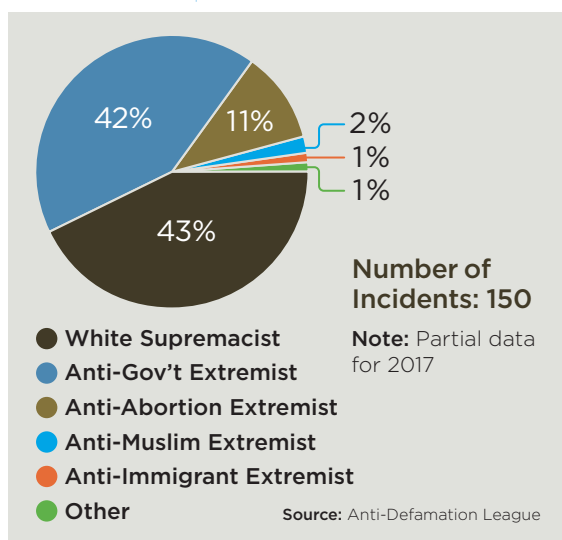
The Perpetrators

The people who committed or attempted the terrorist acts listed here came from a variety of right-wing extremist movements. In a few cases, extremists connected to terror incidents here even adhered to more than one right-wing extremist movement; in such cases, the

seemingly dominant ideology was selected for statistical purposes. Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh, for example, was primarily an anti-government extremist but also had white supremacist leanings. Richard Poplawski, who gunned down three police officers in Pittsburgh, was a white supremacist who also had leanings towards the anti-government movement.

Right-wing Terror Incidents in the United States

1993–2017 | by Movement



Most right-wing extremists in the United States fall into one of two broad umbrella movements or spheres: white supremacists and anti-government extremists. An overwhelming majority of the terror incidents listed here (85%) were committed by adherents of one of these two spheres. Moreover, the number of acts attributed to each sphere is almost identical: 64 terror incidents are related to white supremacists, while 63 are related to anti-government extremists. Many people, when picturing right-wing terrorism, tend to think of white supremacists, but anti-government extremists such as militia groups and sovereign citizens pose just as much of a threat.

White supremacists involved in right-wing terror incidents include adherents of every major segment of the white supremacist movement, including neo-Nazis, racist skinheads, “traditional” white supremacists (such as Ku Klux Klan groups), white supremacist prison gangs, the religious sect Christian Identity, and the alt right.

Leaving aside dual-movement extremists such as Timothy McVeigh, the worst white supremacist terrorist was Dylann Roof, a “traditional” white supremacist who embarked upon a deadly shooting spree at the Emanuel AME church in Charleston, South Carolina, in 2015, killing nine.

The anti-government extremists, who are often collectively termed the “Patriot” movement, consist primarily of adherents of the tax protest movement, the sovereign citizen movement, and the militia movement (with the latter including Oath Keepers and Three Percenters). Though the “Patriot” movement goes back to the mid-1960s, it was in the mid-1990s that it really came into its own in terms of becoming a major domestic terrorist threat, one that equaled the threat posed by white supremacists. Oklahoma City bombers Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols were dedicated adherents of the “Patriot” movement and their 1995 attack on the Murrah Federal Building gave notice that anti-government extremists now posed a major threat.

It is common for the media and others to assume that anti-government extremists are also mostly white supremacists, but this is not the case. Though there is some overlap between the two spheres, the main anti-government extremist movements direct their anger at the government and there have long been people of color in these movements.

Indeed, the sovereign citizen movement in particular has unfortunately seen particularly strong growth within the African-American community in recent years. Two of the sovereign-citizen related incidents on this list, the LaPlace, Louisiana, shootings in 2012 and the Columbus, Ohio, bomb-making attempt in 2016, involved African-Americans. Two incidents not included on this list involved extremists who were primarily black nationalists but who had secondary sovereign citizen affiliations: the 2014 plot by two men to blow up the Gateway Arch and kill law enforcement officials in St. Louis, Missouri, and the 2016 deadly ambush killings of three police officers in Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

The militia movement has spent much of its history trying to distance itself from accusations of racism or white supremacy but in recent years much of the movement has willingly embraced a particular type of bigotry: anti-Muslim hatred. This Islamophobia has taken numerous forms,

from armed protests in front of mosques to a major terrorist plot in October 2016 in Garden City, Kansas, where three militia members were arrested in connection with an alleged plot to blow up an apartment complex that primarily housed Muslim Somali-American residents. The militia movement could produce more such terror attempts aimed at Muslims in the future.

Anti-abortion extremists are responsible for 11% of the terror incidents collected here. Compared to the incidents connected to white supremacists or anti-government extremists, the number of abortion related terror attacks and attempts is low. However, given the small number of anti-abortion extremists relative to adherents of the other, much larger movements, the consistent stream of terror incidents that flow from this movement is worrisome.

Anti-abortion extremists are an example of what is called “single-issue extremism.” Single-issue extremists are typically the extreme wing of a broader, more mainstream movement dedicated to a single cause or issue. While most people in those movements would not think of committing acts of violence, adherents of the extreme wing of those movements are more likely to consider violent activity, operating under a sense of extreme urgency and with a conviction that the ends justify the means. A few other right-wing single issue extremists, such as anti-Muslim extremists and anti-immigration extremists, have also committed violent acts included among the 150 listed here.

All of the perpetrators and alleged perpetrators listed in this report have ties to extremist ideologies, but not all of them actually have had connections to specific extremist groups. Indeed, “terrorist groups” as such—i.e., groups that form and exist largely for the purpose of committing terrorist acts—are rare in the United States, where the rule of law is strong and such groups have great difficulties in finding purchase. Even when extremists are connected to specific groups, they rarely commit their actions at the direction of the group. Rather, extremist groups in the United States tend to serve a purpose of radicalization more than anything else, whether of their own members or, as in the case of Dylann Roof, of non-members who may be influenced by their propaganda.

The perpetrators of some of the incidents on this

list were part of formal groups, while others were essentially involved in “cells”—informal associations of extremists banding together to commit an act. But just as common as these two types were lone offenders—the “lone wolf” terrorists responsible for a large number of America’s terror incidents. Indeed, approximately half of the 150 incidents listed in this report involved lone wolf offenders. Today, thanks to the Internet, it is easier than ever for someone to become steeped in extremist ideologies, even to the point of being willing to commit acts of great violence, without ever being involved in an organized extremist group.

The Incidents

The list in this report includes 150 incidents involving acts, attempted acts, and plots of right-wing terrorism from 1993 through part of 2017. A few of these terror acts are well-known, such as the bombings conducted by Timothy McVeigh and Eric Rudolph, while many other incidents garnered little more than local media coverage and are unknown to most Americans. Such lists always involve some value judgments on the margins and there are some incidents on the list that some people might think don’t belong on such a list, while there are items missing from the list that some people might think should be included, such as the armed standoffs involving members of the Bundy family and others in Nevada in 2014 and Oregon in 2016.

In many cases where a possible incident was not included, it was for one of several reasons. First, for some reported incidents, an extremist connection has never been satisfactorily established or has in fact been disproved. For example, in 2014 Dennis Marx attempted to use firearms and explosives to attack an Atlanta courthouse; some media outlets reported or speculated that Marx was a sovereign citizen. However, no evidence confirming this ever emerged and the police eventually acknowledged he had not been involved in the movement. Similarly, some media speculated that Jared Lee Loughner, who shot Congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords and 18 others in a 2011 shooting spree in Arizona, was a sovereign citizen, but this also turned out to be untrue.

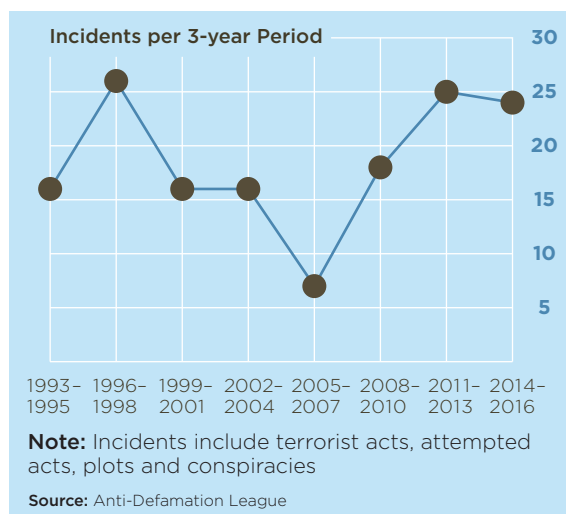
An additional group of incidents did not make the list because, while an extremist definitely

committed an act of significant violence, the act was a spontaneous act of violence without noticeable premeditation; such acts are usually not included here. Finally, some incidents—usually discoveries of extremists with major illegal arsenals of weapons and/or explosives—were not included because there was insufficient evidence of any target or intent to use the weapons for an act of terrorism. The incidents in these two categories are serious criminal violations but not really incidents of terrorism.

Those omissions still leave 150 terror incidents from the last quarter-century. This lengthy string of dangerous attacks and plots illustrates how deeply seated the threat of right-wing terrorism is in the United States.

Right-wing Terror Incidents in the United States

1993–2016



A look at these 150 incidents over time reveals that two specific surges of right-wing terrorism have occurred over the past 25 years. The first was the surge of the mid-to-late 1990s, a result of a great increase in right-wing extremism as a result of a variety of factors that include the election of Bill Clinton, the passage of NAFTA, the passage of gun control measures such as the Brady Law and the Assault Weapons Ban, and the deadly standoffs at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, in 1992 and Waco, Texas, in 1993, which energized white supremacists and anti-government extremists, respectively.

The 1990s surge had died down by the turn of the century and right-wing terrorism occurred less frequently in the early-to-mid 2000s. Events ranging from the non-event of a Y2K-related disaster to the replacement of Bill Clinton with George W. Bush to the 9/11 terror attacks all played a role in dampening right-wing furor.

Unfortunately, this state of affairs did not last. Near the end of Bush's second term, right-wing terror incidents began to increase again and this trend accelerated by 2009, thanks in part to the election of Barack Obama, whom both white supremacists and anti-government extremists hated, and to the major economic disasters of the Great Recession and the foreclosure crisis. The latter two in particular allowed the sovereign citizen movement to greatly expand. The result was a second surge of right-wing extremism, one that was accompanied by a surge of right-wing terror incidents. This increased level of terror-related activity remains high today, though whether or not it will sustain itself during a Trump administration remains to be seen.

The worst right-wing terror attack, the Oklahoma City bombing, killed 168 people and injured hundreds more. Thankfully, none of the other incidents achieved anywhere near that level of lethality and destructiveness. In large part, this has been due to effective law enforcement, at both the federal and state/local levels, who have uncovered and prevented many attempts at terrorist acts. Indeed, only a minority of the incidents recorded here—65 out of 150—could be considered “successful” acts, by which is meant that the terrorist(s) succeeded in carrying out part or all of their plan or were able to wreak some sort of damage (such as shooting someone) while attempting to carry out their plan. This does not include bombs that were successfully planted but which failed to go off.

Some of the attempted acts never had a good chance of success, while others could easily have been deadly. Even though most terror incidents were not successes, the minority that did succeed resulted in 255 deaths and approximately 603 people injured (not all injury counts are consistent). Were it not for the efforts of law enforcement to detect and prevent right-wing acts of terror, that deadly toll would be far higher still.

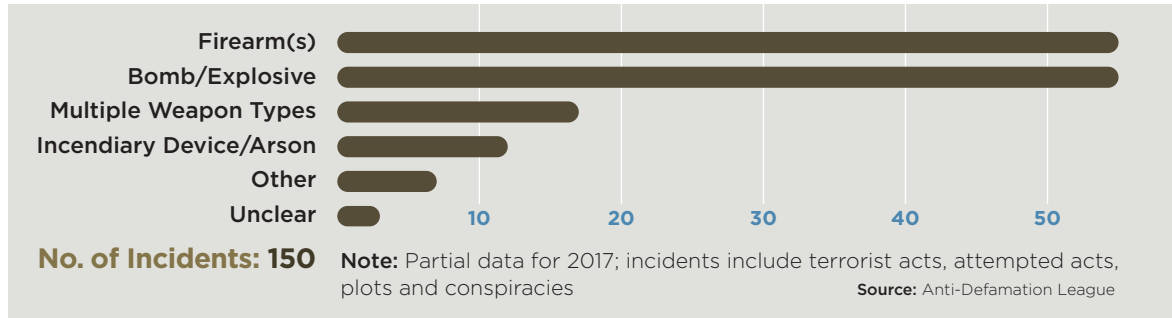
To accomplish their deadly aims, extremists used a variety of tools and tactics, but overwhelmingly

firearms and explosives were the most common weapons chosen. Indeed, 55 of the 150 terror incidents involved use or planned use of firearms, while another 55 involved explosives. Moreover, of the 17 incidents involving multiple weapons types, firearms and explosives were by far the most common combination.

of murder, such as using the deadly toxin ricin or poisoning a water supply or trying to build a radiological weapon.

Whatever weapon they planned to use against their targets, right-wing extremists have had no shortage of targets. Indeed, some ambitious plots

Right-wing Terror Incidents | 1993–2017 | Weapons of Choice



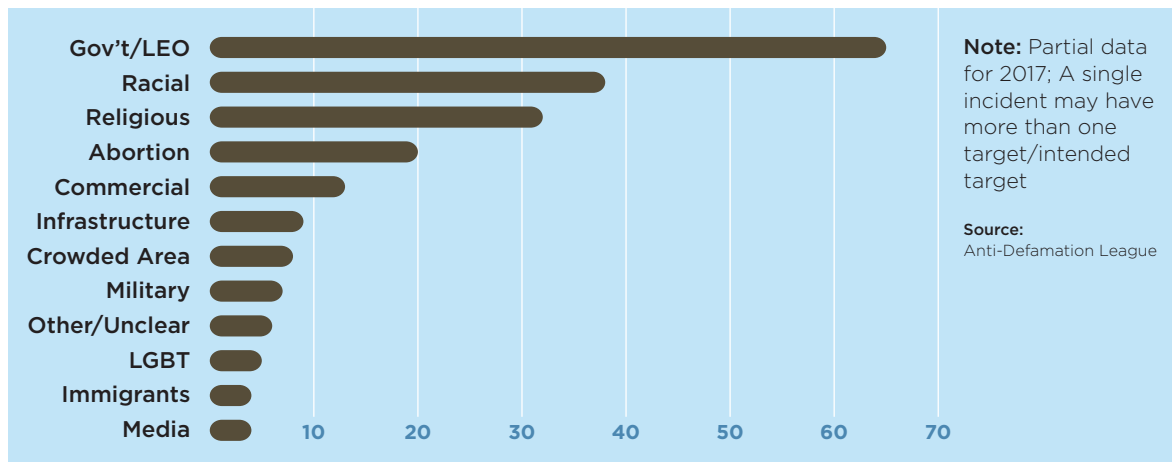
It is worth noting that, although bombs were used or considered by extremists just as often as firearms, their *successful* use rate was much lower. This is largely due to the fact that explosives are far more difficult to obtain and to use in the United States than are firearms, which are abundant, easy to use, and very deadly. There is far better regulation of explosives than firearms in the United States.

have contained an entire array of targets slated for death and destruction.

In a minority of cases, right-wing extremists attempted arsons or incendiary devices such as Molotov cocktails; abortion clinics were a frequent target of such violence. And, from time to time, extremists would select more exotic means

Of the various targets of right-wing anger, it is governmental and law enforcement institutions that are most often threatened. Of the incidents examined here, 66 involved some sort of government-related target. This is largely due to the fact that white supremacists and anti-government extremists alike, as well as most of the lesser right-wing movements, hate government and law enforcement. This category includes federal, state and local branches of government and law enforcement.

Target(s) of Right-wing Terror Incidents | 1993–2017



White supremacists are responsible for most of the racial and religious targeting. Virtually any person or institution associated with a non-white race can be a potential target for white supremacists, but African-Americans, Hispanics, and multi-racial couples/families have been the most common groups victimized. The most frequent religious targets were, not surprisingly, Jews and Muslims (including non-Muslims perceived as Muslims). Actual or perceived immigrants, as well as LGBT targets, were also subject to victimization.

Abortion-related targets, typically clinics that provide abortion services as well as the people who work at such places, were also common. While anti-abortion extremists were the extremists most likely to attack abortion-related targets, other right-wing extremists, most noticeably white supremacists, also occasionally attempted such attacks.

Right-wing extremists have also taken aim at a variety of other targets. Commercial targets have included various businesses and, in particular, financial institutions. Infrastructure targets include a wide range of installations, from refineries to dams to water supplies. In some cases, extremists have simply targeted crowded public areas, hoping to cause significant human casualties.

The Present and Future of Right-Wing Terrorism

Over the past 25 years, right-wing terrorism has exhibited a considerable amount of stability. Part of this is due to the fact that most of it comes from two mature and well-established movements: the white supremacist movement and the anti-government “Patriot” movement. They have specific goals and specific enemies and can be expected to produce a steady stream of extremists willing to use violence to achieve those goals or harm those enemies. Moreover, though fringe movements, they nevertheless have deep roots in American society and cannot simply be rooted out or eliminated. Right-wing terrorism is not going away anytime soon.

On the plus side, law enforcement is collectively far more familiar with right-wing extremist movements than it may be with newer types of extremist movements, which enables it to utilize informants and undercover officers to a much fuller extent than might otherwise be the case. It is no coincidence that a number of the prevented acts

recounted in this study were prevented thanks to “sting” operations, which are one of the most consistently successful law enforcement tools against terrorism—as long as law enforcement is sufficiently familiar with the relevant movement(s).

Most of the 25 years examined here for right-wing terrorism have occurred in what can be deemed the “Internet era.” However, the Internet of the mid-1990s was very different than that of ten years later or today’s on-line world. Overall, right-wing terrorism has remained pretty consistent throughout this era, but the evolution of the Internet has resulted in some changes.

In particular, the social networking revolution that occurred during the period 2006-2009 has made it easier for extremist ideas and tactics to spread very far, very fast. This can allow new extremist movements, such as the white supremacist Alt Right, to quickly gain purchase, and can allow established movements, such as the sovereign citizen movement, to rapidly resurge. Social networking has also allowed extremists to meet each other and even to plot on-line. The October 2008 school attack plot in Tennessee and the Georgia militia plot of February 2014 are two examples where extremists who met on-line later joined up in the “real world” to plot terrorist acts.

The Internet may also have made lone wolf terrorism—terrorism committed by a lone perpetrator not acting at the behest of any organized group—a more common phenomenon, because one can now self-radicalize using on-line resources with little need to engage with other extremists in the “real world.” The shooting sprees of Keith Luke in 2009 and Dylann Roof in 2015 are examples of terrorist acts committed by lone extremists who radicalized on-line with little or no real interaction with other extremists. Lone wolves have long existed within America’s radical right, but could be even more likely in the future.

Finally, for the past quarter of a century, right-wing terrorism has been a consistent feature in the landscape of American violence, but it has garnered far less notice than some other forms of terrorism, most notably Islamic terrorism. Though a few incidents, such as the Oklahoma City bombing, or the bombings of Eric Rudolph, received extensive media coverage, many of the incidents collected here received scant media attention, particularly from major national media sources.

One reason for this under-coverage may be very simple: a surprising number of the terrorist acts and plots listed here originated away from major media centers. While some incidents took place in locations such as New York City, Chicago, or Los Angeles, many others occurred in out-of-the-way places such as Garden City, Kansas; Fairbanks, Alaska; or Lenoir, Tennessee. As a result, such incidents are less likely to get national media attention and, if they get any, less likely to get sustained coverage.

Whatever the reasons for the lack of coverage, one of its consequences has been an inadequate awareness among policy-makers and the public alike of the threat posed by violent right-wing extremists. Today, the United States still does not even have a federal domestic terrorism statute. Federal spending on training law enforcement on issues such as right-wing violence and terrorism is extremely low.

One thing is certain: if the United States does not treat right-wing terrorism as a real threat and react appropriately, there is no chance of lessening the danger posed by violent right-wing extremists and the 150 terror incidents described in this report will be joined by still more.

Right-Wing Terrorism Inventory, 1993–2017

2017

New York, New York, March 2017: Police arrested white supremacist James Harris Jackson after the fatal shooting of an African-American man. Jackson had allegedly traveled to New York to launch a series of violent attacks on black men and had stabbed his victim as a “practice run” for later attacks. He was charged with second-degree murder as a hate crime and with a state charge of terrorism.

Myrtle Beach, South Carolina, February 2017: FBI agents arrested white supremacist Benjamin McDowell of Myrtle Beach, South Carolina, on a weapons charge in a sting operation after allegedly learning that McDowell made repeated anti-Semitic postings on social media and wanted to commit an act of violence “in the spirit of Dylann Roof.” Based on Internet postings McDow-

ell allegedly made, he may have been considering targeting a local synagogue. An undercover FBI agent posing as someone associated with Aryan Nations allegedly recorded McDowell’s statements about wanting to conduct a “big scale” attack. McDowell, a convicted felon prohibited from owning a firearm, was arrested after allegedly buying a gun from the undercover agent.

2016

East Kingdom, New Hampshire, January

2016: An FBI sting operation resulted in the arrest of Daniel Musso and his indictment on four counts of receiving and possessing unregistered explosive devices (grenades). Musso allegedly was attempting to find someone to sell him grenades, shoulder-fired rockets, and C-4 explosives, among other items. Musso allegedly bought four grenades from an undercover informant, describing himself as part of a group of people who wanted to “bring forth the original constitution.” As of this writing, Musso seems to still be awaiting trial.

Columbus, Ohio, April 2016: Sovereign citizens Alphonso D. Mobley, Jr., and Roberto M. Innis, Jr., were arrested after Mobley blew his own hands off while allegedly making the deadly explosive TATP. Authorities claimed that the two planned to set off a bomb as a diversion while they carried out a bank or armored car robbery. They were charged with aggravated arson and criminal use, possession and illegal assembly of a chemical weapon. In early 2017, Innis pleaded guilty to aggravated arson and criminal use of an explosive device.

Stockton, Utah, June 2016: Militia leader William Keebler of Stockton, Utah, was arrested in June 2016 after allegedly attempting to set off a bomb at a Bureau of Land Management facility in Arizona. Keebler had allegedly scouted the facility in October 2015 along with LaVoy Finicum, who a few months later would become a ringleader in the armed takeover of a federal wildlife refuge in Oregon—and be killed by law enforcement officers attempting to arrest him. Keebler also allegedly scouted a mosque, an FBI office and an Army National Guard building as possible targets. He allegedly attempted to obtain two bombs for his plot from someone who turned out to be an undercover FBI agent. He was charged with one count of attempted damage to a federal facility by means of fire or explosive.

Garden City, Kansas, October 2016: Three members of a small militia group called The Crusaders were arrested in connection with an alleged terrorist plot to use truck bombs to blow up an apartment complex inhabited primarily by Somali immigrants and where a small mosque was located. Arrested were Curtis Allen, Gavin Wright, and Patrick Eugene Stein, charged with conspiring to use a weapon of mass destruction. According to authorities, the militia members thought that Somalis and immigrants presented a threat to American society and that the defendants allegedly hoped that the bombing might inspire other militia groups and “wake people up.”

Earlton, New York, October 2016: In a “sting” operation, FBI agents arrested militia adherent Robert Twiss of Earlton, New York, on a charge of unlawful possession of a rifle by a felon. The investigation began after the FBI allegedly learned that Twiss was forming a militia group with possible plans to engage in violence. During the investigation, the FBI allegedly learned that Twiss spoke of actions such as firebombing the FBI office in Albany and attacking the Federal Emergency Management Agency. Twiss also allegedly boasted about his ability to turn a propane tank into an explosive device and said that he was “extremely dangerous.” During the investigation, the FBI learned that Twiss, a convicted felon, had an M-1 rifle in his possession (felons are not normally permitted to own firearms) and arrested him on that basis.

2015

Elkins, West Virginia, February 2015: FBI agents arrested Jonathan Leo Schrader, a man described as being known for his “venomous anti-government, anti-law enforcement rhetoric,” on explosives charges related to what was described as a plot to blow up a federal courthouse. He also allegedly talked about setting off explosives during a popular festival, then shooting at first responders. Schrader had stolen 1 1/2 sticks of C-4 explosives. He pleaded guilty in April 2015 to possession of stolen explosives.

Sequatchie County, Tennessee/Hancock, New York, April 2015: The FBI arrested Robert Doggart, an ordained minister and anti-Muslim extremist from Tennessee, on charges related to a plot to attack Muslim-owned buildings, including a mosque and school, in Hancock, New York, and

to shoot occupants. Hancock is the location of “Islamberg,” a commune associated with a small Islamic sect. Doggart accumulated weapons and explosives and attempted to recruit militia groups to help him with this attack. Doggart was charged with one count of solicitation to commit arson of a building, one count of solicitation to commit a civil rights violation and two counts of threat in interstate commerce. A South Carolina militia member, William Tint, was also arrested in connection with the plot and eventually entered into a plea deal, pleading guilty to lying to federal agents.

Charleston, South Carolina, June 2015: White supremacist Dylann Storm Roof conducted a deadly shooting spree at the AME Emanuel Church in Charleston on June 17, 2015, killing nine people. Roof deliberately targeted the church because its parishioners were African-American; he hoped to incite a “race war” that he thought whites would win. Both federal and state authorities charged Roof in connection with the massacre; in January 2017, Roof was convicted of the federal charges against him and sentenced to death.

Tremonton, Utah, June 2015: A federal judge sentenced anti-government extremist John Huggins to 27 months in prison in June 2015 after Huggins pleaded guilty to one count of possession of an unregistered destructive device in connection with what authorities described as a plot to attack a police station and kill two police officers. He also discussed bombing other targets in order to foment an uprising against the government.

Lafayette, Louisiana, July 2015: White supremacist John Russell Houser killed himself after conducting a vicious shooting spree at a movie theater in Lafayette, Louisiana, that left two people dead and nine others injured. Houser, obsessed at the perceived moral decay of the United States, may have chosen the movie theater as his target because it was showing the Amy Schumer movie *Trainwreck*.

Gaston County, North Carolina, August 2015: Federal agents arrested three North Carolina men—Walter Eugene Litteral, Christopher James Barker, and Christopher Todd Campbell—on federal conspiracy and explosives charges. Authorities said that the men had stockpiled weapons and ammunition, and attempted to make pipe

bombs and grenades, in order to combat the federal government, which they believed was going to declare martial law. All three eventually pleaded guilty and were variously sentenced to 21 or 22 months in prison.

Pullman, Washington, September 2015: An unknown perpetrator firebombed a Planned Parenthood clinic, causing extensive damage. No one has been arrested in the incident.

Mineral Wells, West Virginia, September 2015: Thomas David Deegan, an adherent of the anti-government sovereign citizen movement, was arrested on a state charge of threatening to commit a terrorist act in connection with a plot Deegan had to take over the state government of West Virginia in Charleston by force, as a stepping stone to taking over the United States government. “An overwhelming show of force,” Deegan was reported as saying to others he hoped would help him, “will dictate there will probably not be a shot fired.” Deegan was convicted in 2016 for making terroristic threats and for a previous drug charge, getting a total sentence of 6-8 years for the two convictions.

Chesterfield, Virginia, November 2015: FBI agents arrested three white supremacists on a variety of charges related to plans to incite a “race war” by measures such as bombing or otherwise attacking black churches and synagogues, and other violent acts, including committing armed robbery to finance their other plans. Taken into custody were Robert Doyle, Ronald Chaney III, and Charles Halderman. In 2016, Halderman agreed to plead guilty to one count of conspiracy to affect commerce by robbery and others also subsequently made plea deals. Ronald Chaney III was sentenced to nearly nine years in prison; Doyle to 17 and a half years in prison; Halderman to seven years.

Minneapolis, Minnesota, November 2015: Police arrested Allen “Lance” Scarsella in November 2015 after Scarsella and others travelled to a Black Lives Matter protest in north Minneapolis, where Scarsella opened fire on protesters there, shooting five people, though thankfully none fatally. During his trial in early 2017, prosecutors showed jurors text messages in which Scarsella had described his intent to kill black people. Scarsella was convicted of 12 counts of first-degree assault and one count of riot.

Colorado Springs, Colorado, November 2015:

Anti-abortion extremist Robert Dear opened fire at a Planned Parenthood clinic in Colorado Springs, killing three people—including one police officer—and injuring nine more. After being taken into custody, Dear was charged with first degree murder but in May 2016 he was ruled by a judge to be incompetent to stand trial and ordered indefinitely confined to a mental hospital.

Whitehall, New York, December 2015: FBI agents arrested Shane Robert Smith, an 18-year-old man, charging him with two felony counts of illegally possessing machine guns and one felony count of possessing a silencer, in connection with a plot to target Jews and African-Americans for assassination. Smith hoped to form a new “hit squad” that he dubbed the “Silent Resistance Army.” Smith had been the creator of the New York Nazi Division, a white supremacist website. Smith pleaded guilty in 2016 to illegal possession of a machine gun and received a sentence of 37 months in prison.

2014

Rome, Georgia, February 2014: FBI agents arrested three North Georgia members of a militia group, charging them with conspiracy to receive and possess unregistered destructive devices. According to the FBI, Terry Eugene Peace, Brian Edward Cannon and Cory Robert Williamson, attempted to obtain thermite and pipe bombs in order to launch terrorist attacks against the federal government. Based on on-line comments they made, the trio seem to have hoped to spark a government overreaction that would cause the militia movement to rise up against the government. The trio pleaded guilty in May 2015.

Katy, Texas, March 2014: FBI agents arrested anti-government extremist Robert James Talbot, Jr., of Katy, Texas, charging him with attempted interference with commerce by robbery and solicitation to commit a crime of violence. According to a criminal complaint, Talbot, trying to establish a group dubbed the American Insurgent Movement, sought to recruit five to six like-minded people to blow up government buildings, rob banks and kill law enforcement officers, as well as to attack mosques as “training missions.” Talbot was on his way to commit an armored car robbery with inert explosives provided by an un-

dercover agent when he was arrested. In October 2014, Talbot pleaded guilty to the charges against him, receiving a 78-month sentence.

Overland Park, Kansas, April 2014: Long-time Missouri white supremacist Frazier Glenn Miller launched an attack on Jewish institutions in the greater Kansas City area, opening fire at two institutions in a shooting spree that took the lives of three people, including one child, before police were able to take him into custody. Miller told police and the media that he launched the attacks “for the specific purpose of killing Jews.” Miller was convicted of capital murder charges and in November 2015 was sentenced to death.

Las Vegas, Nevada, June 2014: Husband and wife anti-government extremists Jerad and Amanda Miller assassinated two Las Vegas police officers in June 2014, killing them while they were eating lunch at a restaurant. The couple then crossed the street to a Wal-Mart, where they killed a civilian who attempted to intervene. Jerad died in a subsequent shootout with police. Amanda also died, killing herself at the scene after being shot by police.

Tremonton, Utah, July 2014: After receiving a tip about a man who allegedly had talked about assassinating police officers and blowing up a police department headquarters, FBI agents launched an investigation that ended with the July 2014 arrest of anti-government extremist John Huggins on explosives charges. According to court documents, Huggins hoped to “cause the community to rise up against the government.” During the investigation, agents conducted a search of Huggins’ home and allegedly found notebooks detailing the activities of Tremonton police officers, instructions on how to build bombs, as well as an improvised device and other explosive materials.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, July 2014: After being tipped off by his girlfriend, officers from the Baldwin Borough Police Department searched the home of white supremacist Eric Charles Smith and found 20 home-made bombs, related equipment and materials, and white supremacist literature and paraphernalia. One of the bombs had anti-Obama writing on it. Smith pleaded guilty in 2015, receiving a 7½ year prison sentence. “The defendant’s possession of the device with anti-government and racist sentiment

indicates a malicious purpose for the devices themselves,” stated one of the prosecutors.

Austin, Texas, November 2014: Larry Steve McQuilliams of Austin, Texas, a suspected adherent of the racist and anti-Semitic religious sect known as Christian Identity, launched a shooting attack in downtown Austin, Texas, firing over 100 rounds of ammunition at targets including the Austin Police Department, a federal court house and the Mexican consulate. According to police reports, McQuilliams had improvised explosive devices, a map of 34 other targets, including churches, and a copy of the Christian Identity-related book *Vigilantes of Christendom: The Story of the Phineas Priesthood* in his rental van. McQuilliams died at the scene after an Austin police officer shot him at long range.

2013

Seale, Alabama, January 2013: Self-described white supremacist Derek Mathew Shroud plotted to kill a teacher and five classmates who were African-American, and one student he believed to be gay. The plot was uncovered after a teacher at Russell County High School in Seale, Alabama, found a journal containing plans of an attack and alerted police. Investigators found bomb-making materials and weapons in Shroud’s home. In April 2014, Shroud pleaded guilty to first-degree attempted assault. A weapon of mass destruction charge was dropped. He received a sentence of two years’ probation followed by three years in prison.

Denver, Colorado, March 2013: White supremacist Evan Spencer Ebel of Denver, Colorado, shot and killed a pizza delivery driver, then used the deliveryman’s clothes as a ruse to assassinate Colorado Department of Corrections director Tom Clements. On the run, he died a few days later in a shootout with Texas law enforcement officers. Ebel was a member of the 211 Crew, a Colorado-based white supremacist prison gang.

Claxton, Georgia, June 2013: On December 19, 2013, a federal judge in Virginia sentenced Georgia Ku Klux Klan member Michael Lee Fullmore to 52 months in prison for selling assault rifles to a convicted felon. According to evidence presented during his plea proceedings, Fullmore sold the guns in order to fund violence against minority-

related targets. In June 2013, FBI agents arrested Fullmore after he told an undercover agent that he wanted to fire-bomb a local Catholic church in a Hispanic community in the Claxton, Georgia, area.

Albany, New York, June 2013: FBI agents arrested Glendon Scott Crawford, a member of a Ku Klux Klan group, and Eric Feight, on charges related to a plot to murder Muslims in upstate New York using a “death ray” device that would emit lethal radiation. Feight pleaded guilty and received an 8-month sentence. Crawford was convicted in 2015 of attempting to produce or use a radiological dispersal device (or “dirty bomb”) and conspiring to use a weapon of mass destruction. He received a 30-year federal sentence.

Montevideo, Minnesota, May 2013: Agents with the FBI arrested militia member Buford Braden “Bucky” Rogers, of Montevideo, Minnesota, after discovering two Molotov cocktails, two “black powder and nail devices,” a pipe bomb, and a semi-automatic rifle at his home. Rogers was a convicted felon prohibited from possessing firearms. An FBI affidavit asserted that Rogers regularly talked of plans to use his militia group, a tiny group called the Black Snake Militia, to cut off communications to the City of Montevideo, raid the National Guard Armory, and bomb the Montevideo Police Department. Rogers pleaded guilty to being a felon in possession of a firearm and possessing an unregistered destructive device and received a 40-month prison sentence.

Las Vegas, Nevada, August 2013: Las Vegas police arrested two sovereign citizens, David Allen Brutsche and Devon Newman, accusing them of plotting to kidnap and kill police officers. In 2014, Brutsche, as part of a plea deal, pleaded guilty to a charge of felony conspiracy to kidnap police officers. Newman pleaded guilty in December 2013 to a misdemeanor charge of conspiracy to commit false imprisonment.

Birmingham, Alabama, October 2013: Federal prosecutors in Birmingham, Alabama, charged white supremacist James David Kircus with unlawful possession of an unregistered firearm and a destructive device. According to an affidavit, Kircus constructed a bomb out of automobile airbags he took from the auto shop where he worked. Co-workers said he described himself as an “Aryan” and allegedly threatened to “kill all those niggers at the half-way house by blowing

them up.” He was convicted in March 2014 and received a 10-year sentence.

Los Angeles, California, November 2013: Paul Anthony Ciancia, an anti-government extremist fixated on the Transportation Security Administration (TSA), allegedly targeted TSA officers during a November 2013 shooting rampage at the Los Angeles airport. According to police, Ciancia approached a TSA checkpoint and began shooting TSA officers, killing one and injuring two others, as well as a civilian. Ciancia, who engaged in a gun battle with police, was shot multiple times as they who pursued him into an airport terminal. Referring to himself as a “pissed-off patriot” who believed his constitutional rights had been violated, Ciancia allegedly penned a letter that expressed anger at the TSA and stated that he intended to “instill fear” by killing multiple TSA officers. In 2016, Ciancia pleaded guilty and received a sentence of life in prison without parole, plus 60 years.

Maplewood, Minnesota, December 2013: FBI agents in Minnesota arrested self-described militia leader Keith Michael Novak on fraud charges for allegedly stealing confidential personal information of hundreds of military personnel in order to create fake military IDs for members of his militia group, the 44th Spatha Libertas. At a hearing in mid-December, an FBI agent testified that Novak had discussed blowing up a National Security Agency building and said that he had a “target package” for investor Warren Buffett. Novak pleaded guilty to stealing identification information and received a two-year sentence in 2014.

2012

Benson, North Carolina, February 2012: A federal judge sentenced Ku Klux Klan leader Charles Robert Barefoot, Jr. of Benson, North Carolina, to 180 months in prison followed by three years supervised release following his conviction on charges of conspiracy to possess stolen firearms, possession of stolen firearms, solicitation to commit a crime of violence, receipt of explosives with intent to kill, illegal storage of explosive materials and distribution of explosive materials. The convictions stemmed from a plot in the early 2000s to blow up Johnston County Sheriff Steve Bizzell, the county courthouse, and the county jail. Six other defendants involved in the plot pleaded guilty to related charges.

Mendota Heights, Minnesota, April 2012:

FBI agents arrested two Minnesota white supremacists, Samuel James Johnson and Joseph Benjamin Thomas, on weapons and drug charges, respectively, in connection with what authorities said was a plot to attack the U.S. government, minorities, and “left-wing” targets. Both men were members of Johnson’s Aryan Liberation Movement and former members of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement. Johnson pleaded guilty to being a felon in possession of a weapon and was sentenced to 15 years in prison. Thomas pleaded guilty to possession with intent to distributed methamphetamines, and received 10 years in prison.

Grand Chute, Wisconsin, April 2012: In February 2013, a federal judge sentenced anti-abortion extremist Francis Grady to eleven years in prison for the arson of a Grand Chute Planned Parenthood building. In April 2012, Grady started a fire inside the building using a homemade incendiary device.

Plano, Texas, June 2012: Anti-government extremist Anson Chi pleaded guilty in federal court to charges of possession of an unregistered firearm or explosive device, the malicious use of explosive material and attempting to blow up an Atmos Energy natural gas pipeline on June 18, 2012. Chi was a member of both the sovereign citizen and tax protest movements. As part of the plea deal, prosecutors dropped a charge of carrying a destructive device during a crime of violent. Chi was sentenced to 22 years in prison.

Joplin, Missouri, August 2012: Jedediah Stout twice committed arson against a mosque in Joplin, Missouri, in August 2012, the second of which succeeded in burning down the religious institution. In 2016, Stout pleaded guilty to the arson, along with two attempted arsons of a Planned Parenthood clinic in Joplin the following year, in October 2013. Stout pleaded guilty and was sentenced to slightly over five years in prison for the various arsons in October 2016.

Oak Creek, Wisconsin, August 2012: Racist skinhead Wade Michael Page opened fire at a Sikh temple in Oak Creek, Wisconsin, killing six people and wounding four others, including a police officer responding to the shootings. Page killed himself at the scene after being shot by police. Page was a member of the Hammerskins, a racist skinhead group. He also played in the white power bands End Apathy and Definite Hate.

LaPlace, Louisiana, August 2012: A pair of ambushes by a group of sovereign citizens left two St. John the Baptist Sheriff’s deputies dead and two other deputies seriously injured. The first shooting incident occurred at a Valero corporation facility parking lot, where a deputy working a private traffic detail was shot at and wounded by the occupants of a pickup truck. Deputies followed the truck to a trailer park. While they questioned two suspects, another man with an assault rifle fired at them, killing two deputies and wounding a third. Deputies arrested seven suspects, including Brian Lyn Smith and Kyle David Joekel, who were charged with two counts of first-degree murder of a police officer and three counts of attempted first-degree murder of a police officer.

Arlington, Texas, October 2012: Federal prosecutors charged sovereign citizen Phillip Monroe Ballard with attempting to hire someone to kill U.S. District Judge John McBryde. Ballard, while in custody awaiting trial on tax-related charges, allegedly offered another inmate \$100,000 in cash to kill the judge overseeing his case. Ballard allegedly wanted to kill Judge McBryde because he believed the judge would sentence him to the maximum sentence of 20 years in federal prison. In 2014, Ballard received a 20-year sentence for the solicitation.

Bowling Green, Ohio, December 2012: While investigating Ohio white supremacist Richard Schmidt for trafficking counterfeit goods, FBI agents discovered that Schmidt possessed a large cache of weapons and a notebook with evidence that Schmidt was targeting Detroit-area Jewish and African American leaders. In July 2014, Schmidt, a convicted felon, pleaded guilty to federal weapon and counterfeiting charges. Schmidt had connections to the National Alliance and the National Socialist Movement, both neo-Nazi groups.

2011

Apache Junction, Arizona, January 2011:

A federal grand jury indicted white supremacist Jeffrey Harbin, who had ties to the National Socialist Movement, for possessing and transporting an explosive device. He was sentenced to two years in prison after pleading guilty. Prosecutors in the case alleged that Harbin made

the explosive devices to be used during vigilante operations on the Mexican border and designed them to cause the most carnage possible.

Hardy, Arkansas, January 2011: Racist skin-heads associated with Blood & Honour Arkansas targeted the home of a bi-racial couple in Hardy, Arkansas. Jason Walter Barnwell, Gary Don Dodson, Jake Murphy, and Dustin Hammond devised a plan to use Molotov cocktails to firebomb the couples' home during the Martin Luther King, Jr., holiday. Dodson drove the group to the victims' home, where Barnwell, Murphy, and Hammond threw the cocktails. Luckily, the couple was not injured. All four ended up pleading guilty to federal hate crimes charges; another defendant, Wendy Treybig, also a white supremacist, pleaded guilty to obstructing justice in connection with the incident.

Spokane, Washington, January 2011: In March 2011, the FBI arrested white supremacist Kevin Harpham for attempting to bomb a Spokane, Washington, Martin Luther King, Jr., Day parade. Harpham confessed to planting a backpack along the parade route containing a pipe bomb designed to be triggered by a radio frequency system. Luckily, the bomb failed to go off. Harpham was sentenced to 32 years in prison.

Fairbanks, Alaska, March 2011: Four sovereign citizens and militia members in Alaska were arrested in 2011 on federal and state weapons and conspiracy charges related to a plot to murder federal and state government officials engaged in criminal cases against some of them. They dubbed it the "2-4-1" plot, because they decided they would kidnap or kill two officials for every militia member arrested or killed. Charges against a fifth defendant were dropped after he agreed to testify against the others. On January 8, 2013, a U.S. District court judge sentenced Alaska Peacemakers Militia members Schaeffer Cox and Lonnie Vernon to over 25 years in prison each. Lonnie Vernon's wife Karen received a sentence of 12 years in prison. Coleman Barney received a five-year sentence on weapons charges.

Madison, Wisconsin, May 2011: A Dane County Circuit Court jury in Madison, Wisconsin, convicted anti-abortion extremist Ralph W. Lang of Marshfield, Wisconsin, of attempted first-degree intentional homicide for plotting to kill Planned Parenthood employees in Wisconsin in 2011. The charges stemmed from a May 2011 incident when Lang accidentally fired a bullet through the door

of his motel room. During questioning by the police, Lang admitted that he was planning to kill staff members at the Planned Parenthood clinic in Madison the following morning. Lang was sentenced in August 2013 to 10 years in prison.

Washington, Oregon, and California, September 2011: White supremacists David Pedersen and Holly Grigsby engaged in a multi-state killing spree that resulted in four murders in three states. The couple murdered Pedersen's father and stepmother in Washington, a white man in Oregon as part of a carjacking, and an African-American male in California as part of another carjacking. In court, Pederson said he targeted the Oregon man because he believed he was Jewish and the Californian man because he was black. After their arrest, the couple admitted they had been headed to Sacramento to find a prominent Jewish person to kill.

Macon, Georgia, November 2011: A federal grand jury indicted four people associated with a North Georgia militia group for plotting to buy explosives and trying to make ricin to use in attacks against the government. The men had discussed dispersing ricin dust in major U.S. cities, assassinating federal officials and employees of federal agencies, and had surveilled target buildings in Atlanta, including the offices of the ATF and IRS. Frederick Thomas and Dan Roberts were each convicted of giving undercover agents money and a firearm in exchange for an M-4 assault rifle silencer and what they believed were C-4 explosives. They were each sentenced to five years in prison. Samuel Crump and Ray Adams were convicted of conspiring to produce a biological toxin and received 10-year sentences.

Fort Stewart, Georgia, December 2011: More than a dozen members of a militia group called Forever Enduring Always Ready (FEAR) were arrested in Georgia in connection with a double homicide in which FEAR members shot and killed one of their own members, whom they suspected might become an informant. They also killed the man's girlfriend. FEAR members feared that their terrorist plans, which ranged from bombings and crop-poisoning all the way to assassinating the president, might be exposed. FEAR leader Isaac Aguigui was also charged with murdering his pregnant wife in order to get insurance money with which to buy guns, ammunition, and other materials for the group's actions. Those arrested pleaded guilty or were convicted of

various charges against them and received varying sentences of up to life in prison.

2010

Pensacola, Florida, January 2010: Anti-abortion extremist Bobby Joe Rogers was arrested on a federal charge of damaging a building by fire or explosive. According to an affidavit, Rogers admitted to setting fire to the American Family Planning clinic in Pensacola, Florida, due to his “strong disbelief in abortion.” No one was injured in the fire, but the blaze caused approximately \$300,000 in damage. In October, he pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 10 years in prison.

Austin, Texas, February 2010: Tax protester Joseph Stack set fire to his home, drove to an airport and boarded a plane he owned. He then deliberately flew the plane into a building in Austin, Texas, that contained local IRS offices, killing himself and one other person in the process and wounding 13 more.

Arlington County, Virginia, March 2010: In March 2010, John Patrick Bedell of California, drove cross-county to the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. Bedell opened fire with a handgun at a security checkpoint, wounding two Pentagon officers. The two officers, despite being injured, were able to return fire and critically injure Bedell, who died shortly thereafter. Bedell was convinced the world was run by dark forces and malignant conspiracies. His conspiracy-oriented beliefs included an anti-government element.

Jacksonville, Florida, May 2010: In May 2011, anti-Muslim extremist Sandlin Matthews Smith of St. Johns, Florida, was discovered in Gloss Mountain State Park in Oklahoma, where he was on the run after allegedly detonating a pipe bomb at the Islamic Center in Jacksonville, Florida, a year earlier. When officers approached Smith’s campsite and asked him to surrender, Smith brandished an AK-47 and was fatally shot by police. The bombing is believed to have been motivated by Smith’s hatred of Muslims.

Oakland, California, July 2010: Byron Christopher Williams, spurred by racism and anti-government sentiment, was on his way to launch a shooting spree at the sites of liberal organizations in San Francisco when he was stopped by police for driving recklessly. Armed with three guns and

wearing a bulletproof vest, Williams opened fire on the officers when they approached his vehicle and continued to exchange gunfire with police until he was shot several times and wounded. Williams was convicted in March 2014 of four counts of premeditated attempted murder of a peace officer.

Spokane, Washington, August 2010: FBI agents arrested white supremacist Wayde Lynn Kurt on federal gun and forgery charges. According to authorities, Kurt was planning to assassinate President Obama as part of a terrorist attack that he called his “final solution.” His plans included a bombing that would “dwarf” the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing. Convicted in 2011, Kurt was sentenced to 13 years in prison.

Madera, California, September 2010: In January 2012, a federal judge sentenced anti-abortion extremist Donny Eugene Mower to five years in prison. In October 2011, Mower pleaded guilty to charges related to a firebombing the Madera Planned Parenthood Clinic and vandalizing a mosque on August 24, 2010.

Concord, North Carolina, September 2010: Anti-abortion extremist Justin Carl Moose of Concord, North Carolina, was arrested for providing information related to the making, use, or manufacture of an explosive, destructive device, or weapon of mass destruction. According to the criminal complaint, Moose used social networking sites to advocate violence against women’s healthcare clinics and where abortions are performed, as well as their employees. Additionally, Moose allegedly met with an individual he believed was planning to bomb a North Carolina clinic and provided detailed information and instruction about various explosives and incendiary methods that could be used to destroy the clinic. Moose, a self-proclaimed member of “Army of God”, an extreme anti-abortion group, pleaded guilty to distributing information on making and using explosives. He was sentenced to three years in prison.

2009

Boston, Massachusetts, January 2009: White supremacist Keith Luke embarked upon a spree of murderous violence against ethnic and religious minorities in the Boston area in early 2009. He raped and shot an African immigrant, and shot and killed her sister, who had tried to help her. Shortly thereafter, he shot and killed a home-

less African immigrant. Although he planned to go to a synagogue that evening to kill as many Jews as possible, then commit suicide, police intercepted him before he could do so. Luke fired at police during a chase before he crashed his vehicle. Police subsequently arrested him without incident. Luke was convicted of murder in 2013 and killed himself in prison the following year.

Arivaca, Arizona, May 2009: In 2011, a jury in Pima County, Arizona, found anti-immigration extremist Shawna Forde guilty of murdering a man and his young daughter during a 2009 home invasion. Forde recruited two men, Albert Gaxiola and white supremacist Jason Bush, to break into the family's home in Arivaca with her. Forde believed that Flores was a drug smuggler and wanted to rob him in order to finance the anti-immigrant activities of her border vigilante group, the Minuteman American Defense.

Wichita, Kansas, May 2009: Anti-abortion extremist (and sovereign citizen) Scott Roeder assassinated a Kansas physician who provided abortion services while the victim attended services at a Wichita church. Roeder was arrested several hours later. In 2010, Roeder was convicted of first-degree murder and sentenced to life in prison without chance of parole for 50 years.

Washington, D. C., June 2009: White supremacist James von Brunn attacked the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., entering the facility and opening fire on security guards inside, shooting and killing one of them. Two other security guards returned fire, wounding von Brunn and preventing further deaths. Von Brunn was arrested and charged with murder. He died of natural causes while awaiting trial.

2008

Minneapolis, Minnesota, April 2008: Sovereign citizen Robert Beale conspired with three others to kidnap a federal judge presiding over his tax evasion case. Beale and members of his "common law court" plotted to show up at the federal court and arrest the judge if she did not dismiss the charges against Beale. "I want her to be intimidated," Beale said in a recorded telephone call from prison. He also said that God "wants me to destroy the judge...He wants me to get rid of her." Beale received an 11-year prison sentence on tax evasion, bail-jumping and threat charges.

Knoxville, Tennessee, July 2008: Right-wing extremist Jim David Adkisson killed two people and seriously wounded six when he opened fire on the congregation of a Unitarian Church in Knoxville, Tennessee. Expecting to die during the attack, Adkisson left behind a racist and homophobic suicide note which detailed his desire to kill liberals and Democrats. He pleaded guilty in 2009 and was sentenced to life in prison.

Crockett, Tennessee, October 2008: Crockett County sheriff's deputies arrested white supremacists Daniel Cowart and Paul Schlesselman, who were casing houses to rob in order to get funds to launch a murderous rampage primarily targeting African-American children, which would culminate in an assassination attempt on presidential candidate Barack Obama. Both men pleaded guilty to federal weapons and conspiracy charges. Cowart was sentenced to 14 years in prison, while Schlesselman received 10 years.

Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, November 2008: Marine corporal Kody Ray Brittingham was charged with threatening the president-elect of the United States after authorities searching his room in connection with a robbery investigation turned up Brittingham's plans to shoot Obama, whom he considered a "domestic enemy." Investigators found documents outlining his plot, dubbed "Operation Patriot." He later confessed that he planned to shoot Obama and was sentenced to 100 months in prison.

Gassville, Arkansas, November 2008: A Baxter County jury sentenced self-declared "constitutionalist" Richard Bauer to four life sentences in prison after convicting him of aggravated robbery and four counts of kidnapping for a bank robbery in Gassville. Bauer claimed that he deliberately robbed the bank in order to get "my money back," because the IRS had seized his retirement accounts after Bauer refused to pay income taxes.

Woodburn, Oregon, December, 2008: Father and son anti-government extremists Bruce and Joshua Turnidge killed two police officers and critically injured a third after planting a bomb at a small Oregon bank as part of a robbery attempt. They were convicted of aggravated murder and sentenced to death.

2007

Casper, Wyoming, February 2007: A federal judge sentenced Wyoming militia member Richard Serafin to nearly seven years in prison for firearms violations, including possession of firearms in furtherance of a crime of violence. The charges stemmed from a federal investigation into Serafin, during which Serafin told an undercover agent of his plans to move to the Arizona/Mexico border to assist in killing immigrants.

Collinsville, Alabama, April 2007: Federal agents arrested five members of the Alabama Free Militia following the largest weapons seizure to occur in the South in years. During a bond hearing, an ATF agent testified that Raymond Kirk Dillard, Adam Lynn Cunningham, Bonnell Hughes, Randall Garrett Cole, and James Ray McElroy were planning an attack on Mexicans in a town near Birmingham. The agent further said that the group had an alleged policy to shoot at any government agents that attempted to approach them. All five men pleaded guilty to various weapons charges.

Austin, Texas, April 2007: Anti-abortion extremist Paul Ross Evans planted an explosive device packed with two pounds of nails in the parking lot of the Austin, Texas, Women's Health Center and mailed bombs to four other targets. A search of Evans' apartment yielded a list of other possible targets and several books, including "Pipe and Fire Bomb Designs," "Special Forces Demolition Techniques," and the white supremacist novel, "The Turner Diaries." Evans was convicted on charges that included the use of weapons of mass destruction, manufacture of explosive material and violating freedom of access to clinic entrances; he received a 40-year federal prison sentence.

Joliet, Illinois, June 2007: White supremacist Brian Moudry, a member of the Creativity Movement, received a 10-year federal prison sentence for setting fire to the home of an African-American family near where he lived. In June 2007, Moudry poured gasoline on the house and set it on fire. Eight children and one adult were asleep inside but escaped. Moudry pleaded guilty to using fire to interfere with housing rights on the basis of race.

2006

New Bedford, Massachusetts, February 2006: White supremacist Jacob Robida walked into a gay bar in New Bedford, Massachusetts, and attacked patrons with a hatchet and a firearm, wounding three. He fled to West Virginia, picked up a female companion, then continued his flight west. Pulled over by a police officer in Arkansas, he shot and killed the officer. Later cornered by police, he killed his companion and then himself.

2005

Pennsville, New Jersey, May 2005: Authorities arrested two white supremacists, Craig Orlor and Gabriel Carafa, charging them with selling guns and supplying 60 pounds of urea for a bomb to be used against one of several possible targets they discussed. Both men were sentenced on weapons charges.

Chattanooga, Tennessee, June 2005: Federal agents arrested Georgia Klansman Daniel J. Schertz on weapons charges for making seven pipe bombs intended to be used against Haitian and Mexican immigrant workers in Florida. In a plea arrangement, Schertz received a 14-year prison sentence.

2004

Scottsdale, Arizona, February 2004: White supremacist Dennis Mahon mailed a package bomb that injured two people at the Office of Diversity and Dialogue in Scottsdale, Arizona, in 2004. Mahon was convicted of the bombing in 2012 and received a 40-year sentence. His brother, also arrested, was acquitted.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, April 2004:

Aryan Nations member Sean Michael Gillespie of Russellville, Arkansas, firebombed a synagogue in Oklahoma City with a Molotov cocktail in what was intended to be the first of a series of 14 terrorist attacks. However, he was arrested before being able to carry out any further acts. Gillespie received an extended sentence in 2005 because after his conviction he tried to send a letter to the temple that expressed his hatred toward Jewish people. The letter, which was read in court, also described his desire to spark a "racial holy war."

Tulsa, Oklahoma, May 2004: Father and son anti-government extremists Wade Lay and Christopher Lay were convicted of attempted robbery of the Mid-First Bank in Tulsa in 2004, and of killing a security guard during the attempt. During the trial, both defendants admitted to the robbery. They said they needed money to retaliate against the government because of its role in the standoffs at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, and Waco, Texas. Wade was sentenced to death and Christopher to life in prison without parole.

Lenoir, Tennessee, August 2004: On August 19, 2004, federal agents arrested white supremacist Ivan Duane Braden for threatening to kill a rabbi and children by blowing up a synagogue, as well as plotting to kill National Guardsmen and to blow up an armory in Lenoir City, Tennessee. He later confessed to the plot and was sentenced to 15 years in prison.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin, September 2004: In August 2006, anti-government extremist Steven Parr of Janesville, Wisconsin, was sentenced to 10 years in prison after being convicted in federal court of conspiring to blow up a building in downtown Milwaukee. In 2004, Parr was serving time for drug charges when he told a cellmate of his plan to blow up the Reuss building. Parr told the cellmate that the building was a good target because it held 800 people, was made of glass, and was close to the street. The cellmate testified that Parr planned to use a truck and fertilizer to blow up the building and believed he could be “the next Timothy McVeigh.”

McKenzie, Tennessee, October 2004: FBI agents arrested white supremacist and anti-government extremist Demetrius Van Crocker after he purchased what he thought was C-4 and sarin nerve gas from an undercover federal agent. A jury found Crocker guilty of trying to acquire chemical weapons and explosives to destroy government buildings. He was sentenced to 30 years in prison.

2003

Chicago, Illinois, January 2003: In 2003, Matthew Hale, leader of the white supremacist World Church of the Creator, solicited the murder of a federal judge who oversaw a trademark case involving the name of his group. Unfortunately for him, the person he solicited was an undercover informant. Hale was sentenced to 40 years in prison

for murder solicitation and obstruction of justice.

Olympia, Washington, January 2003: FBI agents arrested sovereign citizen and Christian Identity adherent James D. Brailey of Olympia, Washington, on federal firearm charges after receiving information that he was plotting to kill Governor Gary Locke. In 2004, Brailey pleaded guilty to weapons violations and was sentenced to 15 months in prison. Brailey was a member of the Washington Jural Society, a sovereign citizen group, which elected Brailey as “governor” of the state of Washington in 1998.

Washington County, Pennsylvania, February 2003: Ku Klux Klan leader David Wayne Hull was arrested at his home on weapons and explosives charges in connection with a plot to blow up an abortion clinic. Federal prosecutors charged Hull, the Imperial Wizard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, a small Pennsylvania-based group, with receiving, manufacturing, possessing and transferring a destructive device in violation of the National Firearms Act. He was found guilty and sentenced to 12 years in prison in 2005.

Wexford County, Michigan, October 2003: Federal agents arrested Michigan militia member Norman Somerville, charging him with illegal possession of a machine gun, being a marijuana user in unlawful possession of four military rifles, and attempting to manufacture marijuana. Court documents stated that Somerville was planning to kill police officers in retaliation for the earlier fatal shooting of Michigan militia member Scott Allen Woodring by state police. The documents also revealed that a source told investigators that Somerville wanted to cause a car accident with his Jeep, which he was trying to equip with a machine gun, in order to shoot responding police officers. Somerville was later convicted of unlawfully possessing machine guns and sentenced to 80 months in prison.

Miami, Florida, November 2003: In 2004, anti-abortion extremist Stephen John Jordi pleaded guilty to attempted arson of an abortion clinic. In November 2003, federal agents arrested Jordi after he cased and videotaped Miami-area abortion clinics and collected items he planned to use in an attack, including containers of gasoline and propane, flares, starting fluid, and a silencer. He was sentenced to five years in prison.

Abbeville, South Carolina, December 2003: Following a premeditated plan for violence, father

and son sovereign citizens Arthur and Steven Bixby ambushed and killed two law enforcement officers at their home outside of Abbeville, South Carolina. The Bixbys killed the officers over a dispute with state officials. Following a standoff and shootout, the Bixby's were arrested, as was Arthur's wife Rita, who was involved in planning the ambush. Arthur Bixby, seriously injured in the shootout, developed dementia and never went to trial. Steven Bixby received the death penalty and Rita Bixby a sentence of life in prison without parole.

2002

Nashville, Tennessee, January 2002: White supremacist Michael Edward Smith was arrested in January 2002 after a motorist observed Smith pointing an assault rifle at a Nashville synagogue and alerted police. Smith, who led authorities on a brief chase before surrendering, later directed them to a large cache of buried weapons, including hand grenades, pipe bombs and armor-piercing ammunition. Other explosives and hate literature were also found in Smith's home. Smith, who pleaded guilty to four weapons charges on May 19, 2003, admitted that he had connections to the neo-Nazi National Alliance and to a Ku Klux Klan group. A search of Smith's computer records showed that he had conducted research on Jewish institutions in Nashville and Atlanta. He was sentenced to 10 years in prison on federal weapon and hate crime charges in March 2004.

Flathead, Montana, February 2002: David Earl Burgert and members of his "Project 7" militia group were indicted on weapons and conspiracy charges for plotting to kill judges and law enforcement officers in hopes of starting a revolution. Burgert was convicted of weapons violations and served eight years in federal prison. The remaining Project 7 members pleaded guilty and received lesser sentences. As of 2015, Burgert is wanted by the federal government on attempted murder charges after a shootout with law enforcement in 2011.

Tampa, Florida, August 2002: Authorities responding to a report of domestic violence discovered anti-Muslim extremist Robert J. Goldstein's huge cache of weapons and explosives and a plan to blow up the Islamic Education Center in Pinellas County, Florida. He later received 12 years in prison after pleading guilty to conspiracy to violate civil rights, plotting to damage a religious

facility and unlawful possession of firearms. His accomplices, ex-wife Kristi Lee Persinger, Samuel Shannahan, and Michael Hardee, received lesser sentences for their roles in the plot.

Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, October 2002: Idaho Mountain Boy militia leader Larry Eugene Raugust was arrested in October 2002 on explosives charges in connection with a plot to kill law enforcement officials should they attempt to evict a friend of his. In 2003, Raugust pleaded guilty to 15 counts of making, possessing and transporting pipe bombs and land mines. He received a 77-month sentence.

2001

Boston, Massachusetts, April 2001: Police in Boston arrested racist skinhead Leo Felton and his girlfriend, Erica Chase, after an off-duty police officer noticed Chase passing a counterfeit \$20 bill. The two were members of a small white supremacist terror cell whose members were plotting to attack Jewish and African-American targets; the counterfeit bills were to help them raise the necessary funds. The couple was convicted in 2002 of plotting to build a destructive device, counterfeiting, obstruction of justice, and firearms violations. Felton was found guilty of bank robbery, conspiracy to commit armed robbery, and trying to obtain explosives with the intent to kill and injure, and damage property; he received a nearly 22-year sentence. Chase received a five-year sentence.

Dallas, Texas, September and October 2001: In "retaliation" for the 9/11 terrorist attacks, white supremacist Mark Stroman, a member of the Aryan Brotherhood of Texas, murdered the Pakistani owner of a Dallas, Texas, convenience store on September 15, 2001. On September 21, Stroman shot and wounded a Bangladeshi gas station attendant. On October 4, in Mesquite, Texas, Stroman robbed, shot and killed an Indian convenience store worker. Police arrested him for that crime the next day. Stroman was convicted and sentenced to death. He was executed in 2011.

2000

Houston, Texas, March 2000: Members of the Houston Joint Terrorism Task Force arrested Mark

Wayne McCool after he bought C-4 explosives and an automatic weapon from an undercover federal agent. McCool, who was once a leader of the Texas Militia, was planning to use the weapons in an attack on the Mickey Leland Federal Building in Houston, Texas. McCool pleaded guilty and served time on federal charges.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, April 2000: During a racially motivated shooting rampage that targeted ethnic and religious minorities, white supremacist Richard Baumhammers of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, shot and killed five people, including an Indian man, a Vietnamese immigrant, a Chinese immigrant, an African-American man, and a Jewish woman. Baumhammers also fired shots into two Jewish synagogues. He eventually received the death penalty for his crimes, but in 2010 was granted an indefinite stay of execution.

1999

Manassas, Virginia, January 1999: In early 1999, white supremacist Paul Powell went to the home of a teen he knew to confront her for having an African-American boyfriend—one of the greatest crimes, in the eyes of white supremacists. Powell assaulted the victim, stabbed her in the heart with a knife, then stomped on her throat. Powell waited until the victim's younger sister came home from school and attacked her as well, raping, strangling and stabbing her and leaving her for dead. However, she survived and identified her assailant. Eventually, Powell received the death penalty for his crimes and was executed in 2010.

Saint Petersburg, Florida, April 1999: Racist skinhead Jessy Joe Roten fired shots into the home of a multi-racial family in St. Petersburg, Florida, on April 3, 1999. His shots killed a six-year-old girl and wounded two other girls. Roten was subsequently convicted of murder and other charges and received a life sentence.

Foley, Alabama, June 1999: In January 2000, Chris Scott Gilliam received a 10-year sentence after pleading guilty to federal firearm charges stemming from Gilliam's attempted purchase of 10 hand grenades from an undercover federal agent, which he intended to use as mail bombs against officials in Washington D.C. and Montgomery, Alabama. Gilliam was a member of the neo-Nazi National Alliance.

Redding and Sacramento, California, July

1999: In July 1999, white supremacist brothers Benjamin Matthew Williams and James Tyler Williams killed a gay couple in their Redding, California, home. They also set fire to three Sacramento area synagogues and an abortion clinic. The brothers pleaded guilty to the arsons in 2001. In 2002, while in prison, Matthew committed suicide. In March 2003, Tyler pleaded guilty to murdering the Redding couple. He was sentenced to 29 years in prison to be served following his 21-year sentence for the arsons.

Chicago, Illinois, July 1999: During the weekend of July 2-4, 1998, white supremacist Benjamin Smith, a member of the World Church of the Creator, embarked upon a three-day, two-state shooting spree, targeting racial and religious minorities. He killed two people and wounded eleven before he killed himself as police closed in on him.

Los Angeles, California, August 1999: White supremacist Buford Furrow, a member of Aryan Nations, traveled from Tacoma, Washington, to Los Angeles, California, where he opened fire inside a Jewish day care center, injuring three children and two employees. Later that day, Furrow shot dead a Filipino-American postal worker. He fled to Las Vegas via taxi, but surrendered at the FBI office there. He stated that he wanted the shooting to be "a wake-up call to America to kill Jews." He pleaded guilty to murder and other charges and received a sentence of life without parole.

Tallahassee, Florida, August and September

1999: In June 2000, a jury convicted Lawrence M. Lombardi of setting off bombs at Florida A & M University on two separate occasions in 1999, and for committing a hate crime for targeting students due to their race. He was sentenced to life plus 39 years in federal prison.

Seattle, Washington, September 1999:

Arrested driving a vehicle stolen during a September 1999 Illinois carjacking, anti-abortion extremist Clayton Lee Waagner confessed he was driving to Washington to murder an abortion provider. Convicted of charges in that case, he escaped from jail while awaiting sentencing and embarked on an extended crime spree that included mailing hundreds of hoax anthrax letters to abortion clinics, bank robbery, car theft, and weapon-related crimes. Captured in late 2001, Waagner received lengthy sentences in multiple jurisdictions, including 19 years in federal prison for threatening the

use of weapons of mass destruction, and mailing threatening communications.

Rochester Hills, Michigan, October 1999:

Authorities arrested Richard Van Hazel and Troy Coe in Rochester Hills, Michigan, charging them with the attempted kidnapping and murder of an accountant who gave testimony in an Arizona case involving a chiropractor charged with income tax evasion. Van Hazel was a tax protester and white supremacist who was convicted in 1987 for mailing death threats to I.R.S. agents and an African-American judge.

Elk Grove, California, December 1999: Three members of the San Joaquin California Militia conspired to use a weapon of mass destruction in connection with a plot to destroy a propane storage facility, a television tower and an electrical substation, and to kill a federal judge. The militia group's leader, Donald Rudolph, was convicted but given a lesser sentence of five years after testifying against his co-defendants, Kevin Ray Patterson and Charles Kiles. Both Patterson and Kiles were convicted and sentenced to more than 20 years in prison.

Saint Petersburg, Florida, December 1999: In late December 1999, federal agents arrested Florida militia leader Donald Beauregard in connection with a plot to rob National Guard armories and steal explosives and to blow up transmission lines, power stations, and a nuclear power plant. Beauregard pleaded guilty to conspiracy charges and received a five-year sentence. James Troy Driver, an accomplice in the plot, received a lesser sentence.

1998

Birmingham, Alabama, January 1998: Anti-abortion extremist Eric Rudolph bombed an abortion clinic, killing an off-duty police officer and severely injuring a nurse. This was one of several bombings Rudolph committed between 1996 and 1998. He was arrested after five years as a fugitive and confessed to his crimes.

Saint Louis, Missouri, February 1998: FBI agents arrested white supremacist Dennis Michael McGiffen and five other members of a group called The New Order on weapons and explosives charges in connection with alleged plots to rob banks and armored cars, poison public water supplies, and to attack blacks, Jews, and

civil rights organizations. Five of the defendants, including McGiffen, pleaded guilty to related charges, while a sixth was convicted in court.

Battle Creek/Kalamazoo, Michigan, March

1998: In 1999, members of the North American Militia of southwestern Michigan were convicted on various conspiracy and weapon charges related to a terrorist plot. Prosecutors accused Bradford Metcalf, Kenneth Carter, and Randy Graham of plotting to kill federal officials, and to destroy a federal building, an IRS office, utility transmitters, and a television station. Carter pleaded guilty and agreed to cooperate with the government; he received a five-year sentence. Metcalf received a 40-year sentence; Graham a 55-year sentence.

Jasper, Texas, June 1998: In June 1998, in an effort to establish a new white supremacist group, white supremacists Shawn Allen Berry, John William King and Lawrence Russell Brewer kidnapped and killed an African-American man, James Byrd, Jr., by chaining him to the back of a pickup truck and dragging him to death. All three were arrested and eventually convicted; Berry received a life sentence while the other two received the death penalty.

Olmito, Texas, July 1998: Two anti-government extremists, Jack Abbot Grebe, Jr., and Jonnie Wise, associated with the anti-government Republic of Texas group, conspired to use biological weapons to kill federal officials, including President Clinton, and the directors of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Internal Revenue service. A jury found the men guilty of two counts of threatening to use a weapon of mass destruction against federal agents and their families.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 1998:

Anti-government extremist Byron Bazarte pleaded guilty to soliciting another to use an explosive device to damage or destroy a building owned by the United States. The Federal Bureau of Investigation learned of the plot after a technical school student notified them that Bazarte had solicited assistance in constructing an explosive device to be used against a Washington, D.C., target.

Amherst, New York, October 1998: Anti-abortion extremist James Kopp shot and killed a physician who provided abortions in Amherst, New York. The attack occurred at the doctor's home. Kopp fled the United States but was eventually arrested in France in 2001. In 2003, Kopp received

a conviction for second degree murder and a subsequent sentence of 25 years to life in prison.

Spokane, Washington, October 1998:

Anti-government extremist Scott Joseph Merrill ambushed a government road worker, firing 35 rounds at him from a hidden position, killing the man. Merrill, referring to himself as a “constitutionalist” (another term for sovereign citizen), later told police that he had received an order from God to “deliver justice” and that he did not believe in their “form of government.” Merrill later pleaded no contest to aggravated murder in exchange for the federal government not pursuing the death penalty. He received a sentence of life in prison.

1997

Atlanta, Georgia, January and February 1997:

In 1997, anti-abortion extremist Eric Rudolph was responsible for two bombing incidents in the Atlanta, Georgia, area. On January 16, Rudolph exploded two bombs at the Sandy Springs abortion clinic, injuring seven. On February 21, Rudolph detonated a bomb at a lesbian night club, injuring five. These bombings were part of a series of bombings Rudolph committed between 1996 and 1998.

Kalamazoo, Michigan, March 1997: A federal judge sentenced militia member Brendon Blaszczyk to three years in prison after Blaszczyk pleaded guilty to making pipe bombs. During an April 1997 hearing, a federal agent testified that Blaszczyk had been plotting to blow up federal buildings and a television station. Blaszczyk’s arrest was an early arrest associated with an investigation into the North American Militia (see below).

Bridgeport, Texas, April 1997: Four people with ties to the True Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Bridgeport, Texas, conspired to bomb a natural gas processing plant as a diversion for an armored car robbery. Secondary explosions designed to kill responding law enforcement were also planned. Federal authorities stated that the would-be robbers intended to use the robbery proceeds to fund their continued terrorist activities. Shawn Dee Adams, his wife Catherine Dee Adams, Edward Taylor, Jr., and Carl Jay Waskom, Jr., pleaded guilty to their roles in the conspiracy and received lengthy prison sentences.

Tampa, Florida, April 1997: Florida authorities uncovered a plot by white supremacists Todd

Vanbiber and Brian Donald Pickett to rob two Orlando banks and set off pipe bombs as diversions. Vanbiber also plotted to bomb a Fourth of July celebration in Orlando and other targets. Pickett and Vanbiber were members of the neo-Nazi National Alliance; according to Vanbiber, they had previously committed three bank robberies in Tampa and Connecticut, then donated some of their takings to National Alliance leader William Pierce. Vanbiber eventually pleaded guilty to charges of bombmaking and possessing 14 unregistered explosives and received a 6½ year sentence. Pickett also pleaded guilty. A third white supremacist involved in the plot, Christopher Norris, was convicted of conspiring to rob a bank, bombmaking, possessing illegal explosives, and conspiracy.

Davis Mountains, Texas, April 1997: After police arrested the “chief of security” for the Republic of Texas, a sovereign citizen group, on weapon possession charges, members of his group were ordered by their leader, Richard McLaren, to kidnap two vocal opponents. The incident resulted in a week-long armed standoff with Texas authorities, following which one of McLaren’s followers was shot and killed by Texas Rangers. McLaren was eventually sentenced not only on charges related to the standoff, but also on fraud charges related to the issuance of millions of dollars’ worth of bogus money orders.

Colorado Springs, Colorado, May 1997: Two tax protesters, James Cleaver and Jack Dowell, committed an arson that destroyed the IRS office in Colorado Springs and injured a firefighter. Upon their conviction, a federal judge sentenced Cleaver to 33 years in prison, while Dowell received a 30-year sentence.

Fort Hood, Texas, July 1997: Authorities in Texas, Kansas, Colorado, and other states arrested members of an underground militia cell on weapons charges in connection with a planned attack on Fort Hood, Texas, during a Fourth of July celebration. The plot formed after members became convinced that foreign “New World Order” troops were being trained on the base and feared an invasion by the United Nations. Two of the men involved, Bradley Glover and Michael Dorsett, were discovered by authorities armed and preparing for the attack at a campground close to Fort Hood. Glover and the other members arrested received varying sentences on

weapons convictions in the various states where they were apprehended.

Colebrook, New Hampshire, August 1997: A self-declared sovereign citizen, Carl Drega, opened fire on two New Hampshire state troopers following a traffic stop, killing both of them. Though his violence started spontaneously, Drega turned the incident into a deliberate killing spree by driving to the office of a local judge with whom he had had previous quarrels and killing her. He also fatally shot a local newspaper editor who attempted to aid the judge. Drega later died in a shootout with law enforcement across the Vermont border after wounding several more officers.

1996

Conyers, Georgia, January 1996: Georgia Bureau of Investigation agents arrested anti-government extremist Louis Elward DeBroux of Conyers, Georgia, in 1996 for plotting to kill a Rockdale County judge who ruled against him in a 1984 traffic case. The elaborate murder plot called for suffocating the judge in a wooden box pumped full of nitrogen. DeBroux pleaded guilty to plotting to kill the judge and received a three-year prison sentence.

Tampa, Florida, March 1996: Sovereign citizen Emilio Ippolito and six followers, most of them members of his so-called Constitutional Common Law Court, were arrested for interfering with federal trials in Florida and California and sending letters threatening to kidnap and kill judges and jury members, among other charges. An undercover officer involved in the investigation testified that Ippolito and his followers intended to shoot or hang grand jurors who did not rescind an indictment against him. One defendant was acquitted but the others convicted on some or all of the charges against them. Ippolito himself received an 11-year prison sentence.

Jackson, Mississippi, April 1996: White supremacist Larry Shoemake opened fire at a shopping center in a largely African-American neighborhood in Jackson, Mississippi, killing one person and wounding 10 more. A standoff with police developed, which ended when Shoemake committed suicide by setting fire to the building in which he took refuge.

Spokane, Washington, April and July 1996: A group of white supremacists were arrested in

1996 following a series of bank robberies and bombings in the Pacific Northwest. On April 1, 1996, the men created a diversionary bombing at a newspaper office before robbing the U.S. Bank branch in Spokane. On July 12, the men robbed the U.S. Bank again, first bombing a Planned Parenthood office as a distraction. Letters left at one robbery scene contained Christian Identity propaganda related to the so-called Phineas Priesthood as well as diatribes against the banking system. In 1997, a federal jury found Charles Barbee, Robert Berry and Verne Jay Merrell, guilty of two Spokane, Washington, bank robberies and bombings. The defendants received life sentences. A fourth defendant, Brian Ratigan, was later convicted of conspiracy for his role in the group and received a 55-year sentence.

Macon, Georgia, April 1996: Georgia militia members Robert Edward Starr III and William James McCranie, Jr., were arrested by federal agents in April 1996 on conspiracy and explosive charges for having built pipe bombs, planning to distribute them among militia members in anticipation of a war against the government. Both men were found guilty of weapon charges and sentenced to eight years in prison.

Phoenix, Arizona, July 1996: Members of the Arizona Viper Militia were arrested on conspiracy and weapons charges in connection with an alleged plot to attack a variety of government buildings in Phoenix. Evidence against the group included illegal weapons, hundreds of pounds of ammonium nitrate, and scouting tapes made with detailed narration on how target buildings could be captured and destroyed. Most of the defendants eventually entered into plea deals, receiving sentences of one to nine years in prison.

Bellingham, Washington, July 1996: FBI agents arrested a group of individuals affiliated with the militia and sovereign citizen movements, including Washington State Militia leader John Pitner, on conspiracy, weapons and explosives charges. According to the indictment, the defendants built, or conspired to build, pipe bombs and other explosive devices, and discussed plans to bomb various targets, including a bridge, radio tower, and train tunnel. The indictment also alleged the group plotted to assault or kill federal agents. Four defendants were convicted on weapons charges, while Pitner was convicted on weapons and conspiracy charges.

Atlanta, Georgia, July 1996: On July 27, 1996, anti-abortion extremist Eric Rudolph detonated a bomb at the Atlanta Olympics that killed one person and injured more than a hundred others. This was one of several bombings Rudolph committed between 1996 and 1998.

Clarksburg, West Virginia, October 1996: FBI agents arrested Mountaineer Militia leader Floyd Raymond Looker and six others on charges related to stockpiling plastic explosives, grenades and homemade bombs for use in a plot to blow up the FBI's national fingerprint records facility in Clarksburg. A jury convicted Looker of conspiracy to manufacture explosives, transporting unregistered firearms, conspiracy and providing material support to terrorists. He was sentenced to 18 years in prison. Four other defendants were convicted on various related charges, while two were acquitted.

Tulsa, Oklahoma, December 1996: In October 1997, Oklahoma white supremacist James Viefhaus, Jr., was sentenced to three years in prison on conspiracy, threat and bomb-making charges in connection with a 1996 plot to bomb fifteen U.S. cities.

1995

Various states, October 1994 to December 1995: Members of the white supremacist Aryan Republican Army committed more than 20 armed bank robberies in the Midwestern states of Iowa, Wisconsin, Missouri, Ohio, Nebraska, Kansas, and Kentucky in order to raise money to assist them in their plan to overthrow the U.S. government.

Tilly, Arkansas, January 1995: White supremacists Chevie Kehoe and Daniel Lewis Lee robbed, tortured and murdered an Arkansas gun dealer and his entire family. This was one of a series of violent crimes, including murders and shootouts, committed by Kehoe, Lee and others who planned to overthrow the U.S. government and create an "Aryan People's Republic."

Delaware Water Gap, Pennsylvania, April 1995: Authorities arrested anti-government extremist Frederick Urban after he delivered a canister of triacetone triperoxide, a highly volatile explosive, to a government informant at the Delaware Water Gap visitor center. Urban, who had become increasingly agitated after the Branch

Davidian standoff, spoke of arming himself for a revolution against the government and warned of "government genocide." He was convicted of possession of unregistered explosives.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, April 1995: In an act of revenge against the government's handling of the Waco siege, anti-government extremist Timothy McVeigh detonated a truck bomb at the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 people and injuring hundreds more. In 1997, McVeigh was convicted and sentenced to death; he was executed in 2001. His accomplice Terry Nichols received life sentences in federal and state trials.

Spokane, Washington, July 1995: Darwin Michael Gray, a white supremacist with ties to the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations, pleaded guilty to manufacturing marijuana and being a felon in possession of a firearm as part of a plea bargain. The charges stemmed from an FBI investigation that uncovered an alleged plot by Gray to use a fertilizer bomb to destroy the federal courthouse in Spokane. An informant told the FBI that Gray had allegedly stolen blueprints of the courthouse and had detonated practice fertilizer bombs.

Austin, Texas, September 1995: Federal authorities indicted tax protester Charles Ray Polk for plotting to blow up an IRS office in Austin, Texas, and other government buildings. He was later convicted of attempted use of a weapon of mass destruction, solicitation to commit a crime of violence, and several federal weapon violations. He received a sentence of more than 15 years in prison.

Muskogee, Oklahoma, November 1995: Willie Ray Lampley, an adherent of the white supremacist Christian Identity sect and leader of a small militia cell, was arrested with members of his cell after plotting to bomb civil rights organizations, federal agencies, gay bars, and abortion clinics. All defendants were convicted of conspiracy to manufacture and possess a bomb.

Reno, Nevada, December 1995: In December 1995, tax-protesters Joseph Martin Bailie and Ellis Edward Hurst planted a fertilizer bomb outside an IRS office in Reno, Nevada. The bomb, a 30-gallon plastic drum packed with 100 pounds of ammonium nitrate and fuel oil, luckily failed to explode. Hurst, who pleaded guilty and testified against Bailie, received a 10-year sentence; Bailie received a 36-year sentence.

1994

Wallingford, Connecticut, January 1994:

Authorities arrested William Dodge, a “Grand Dragon” of the Unified Ku Klux Klan, and other members and associates of the group in January 1994 as part of a sting operation in which Dodge purchased a silencer and pipe bomb from an undercover informant. Dodge told the informant that he wanted to “take care of business the way the old-style Klan used to” and talked about plans to commit “a dirty deed.” According to the ATF, the Klansmen were also stockpiling weapons and bombs for a “race war.” Dodge subsequently pleaded guilty to possessing an unregistered destructive device and received a 63-month prison sentence. Nine others were convicted on a variety of federal or state charges in connection with the case.

Tampa, Florida, March 1994: Federal agents arrested sovereign citizen Janice Weeks-Katona and her son, Jason Spencer-Weeks, on charges that included conspiring to assassinate a federal judge and others involved in shutting down a sovereign-related scam the two had been involved with the previous year. Authorities found unlicensed silencer and homemade explosive devices in their home. Janice eventually received a 10-year sentence, while Jason received a 30-year sentence.

Pensacola, Florida, July 1994: Anti-abortion extremist Paul Jennings Hill was arrested after assassinating a physician who performed abortions, as well as his bodyguard, in Pensacola. The physician’s wife was also shot but survived. Hill was the leader of an extreme anti-abortion group called Defensive Action and claimed a connection to the so-called “Army of God,” a loose network of anti-abortion zealots. Hill was convicted of murder, given the death penalty, and was executed in 2003.

Washington, D.C., October 1994: Anti-government extremist Francisco Martin Duran was arrested in October 1994 after opening fire with an assault rifle on a group of men standing on the White House front lawn, thinking that one of them was President Bill Clinton. The following year, Duran was convicted of a variety of charges, including trying to assassinate the president. He received a 30-year sentence.

1993

Jamestown, Ohio, January 1993: Federal authorities arrested white supremacist Philip R. Pummell of Jamestown, Ohio, for trying to recruit an undercover officer to help him bomb the National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center in Wilberforce, Ohio, on Martin Luther King, Jr. Day. Pummell pleaded guilty in August 1993 to charges of attempted bombing and aiding and abetting.

Sacramento, California, June 1993: Teenager Richard Joseph Campos was charged as an adult on multiple felony counts after being arrested for a series of racially motivated firebombings in the summer of 1993. Campos attempted to bomb the home of an Asian-American Sacramento city councilman, and firebombed the offices of the California Department of Fair Employment and Housing. Campos also allegedly firebombed an NAACP office, the office of the Japanese American Citizens League, and a synagogue. Campos did this in the name of the “Aryan Liberation Front.” He was convicted on five counts related to the first two incidents listed above, but the jury deadlocked on seven counts related to the other incidents. He received a 17-year sentence.

Los Angeles, California, July 1993: Several white supremacists associated with the Fourth Reich Skinheads, including leader Christopher David Fisher, were arrested by the FBI in connection with a conspiracy to bomb an African-American church and ignite a race war. Fisher had also attempted to firebomb a local synagogue earlier that year, but rain prevented the device from igniting. In October 1993, Fisher pleaded guilty to arson and conspiracy to manufacture and use destructive devices. Others were convicted of various charges in court.

Tacoma, Washington, July 1993: Three white supremacists associated with the racist skinhead group American Front bombed the NAACP office in Tacoma, Washington, in July 1993. The three then drove to Portland, Oregon, hoping to bomb the building of the Jewish Federation there, but couldn’t find it. Arrested were Mark Kowalski, Jeremiah Knesal and Wayne Wooten, Jr. Wooten also bombed a gay bar in Seattle at around the same time. In 1994, the three men pleaded guilty to various charges and received sentences that ranged from five years to 12 years in prison.

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