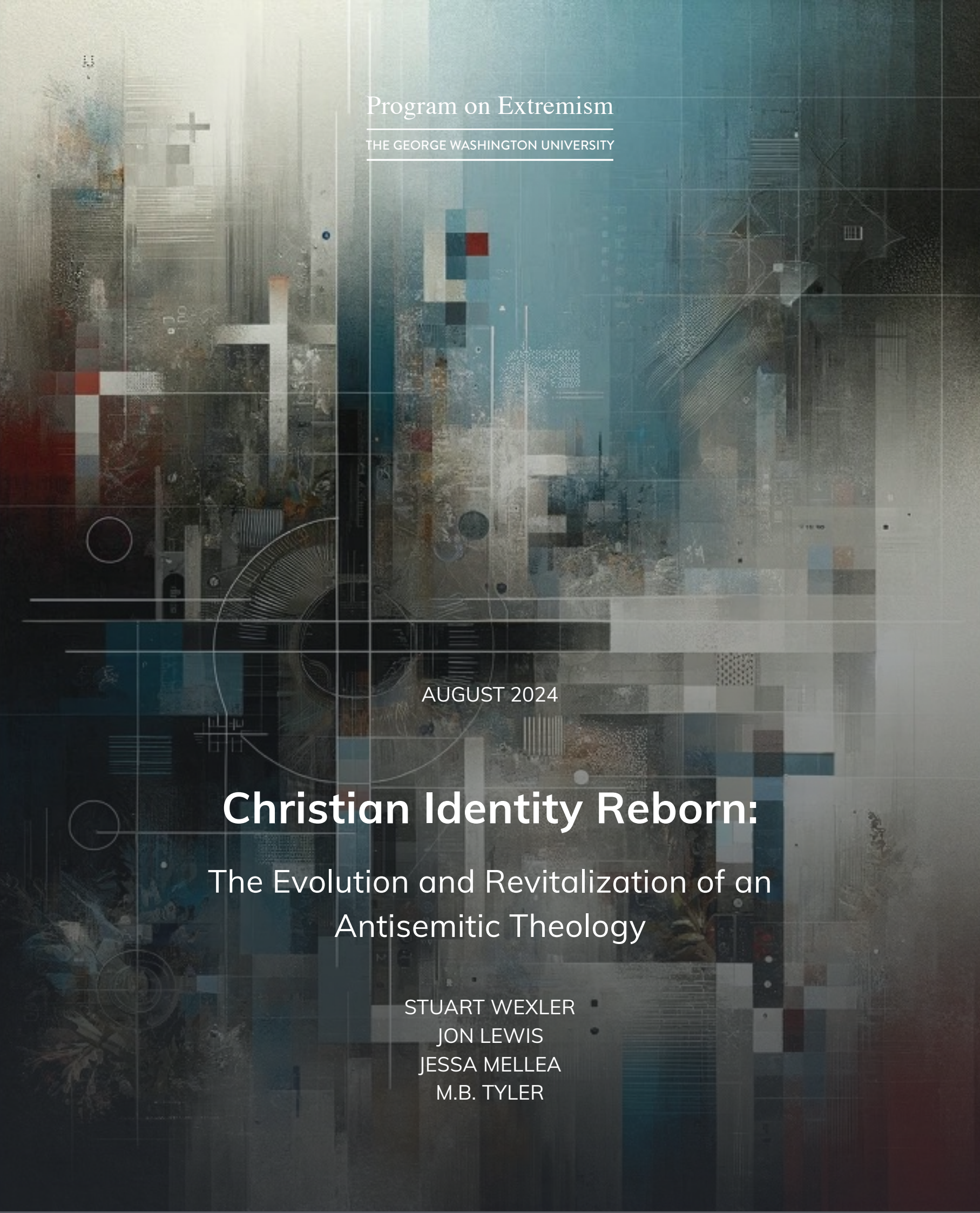




Program on Extremism

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

AUGUST 2024

Christian Identity Reborn:

The Evolution and Revitalization of an Antisemitic Theology

STUART WEXLER
JON LEWIS
JESSA MELLEA
M.B. TYLER

AUGUST 2024

Christian Identity Reborn:

The Evolution and Revitalization of an Antisemitic Theology

Stuart Wexler
Jon Lewis
Jessa Mellea
M.B. Tyler

Program on Extremism

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

The views and conclusions contained in this document are those of the authors and should not be interpreted as necessarily representing the official policies, either expressed or implied, of The George Washington University. The details contained in the court documents are allegations. Defendants are presumed innocent unless and until proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt in a court of law.

All rights reserved. ©2024
Program on Extremism at George Washington University
2000 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, D.C. 20006

About the Authors

Stuart Wexler is a historian, author and educator whose research, focused on domestic, religious terrorism, has been featured on National Public Radio, The Washington Post, The Boston Globe, Newsweek, The Daily Beast, and Salon. Wexler's book, *America's Secret Jihad: the Hidden History of Religious Terrorism in the United States* (Counterpoint, 2014), traced the origins of Christian Identity in the thinking of white supremacist groups and leaders, including the KKK.

Jon Lewis is a Research Fellow at the Program on Extremism at George Washington University, where he studies domestic terrorism, with a specialization in the evolution of white supremacist and anti-government movements in the United States and federal responses to the threat. His analysis has been featured in numerous media outlets and academic publications, including: The New York Times, The Washington Post, AP, BBC News, CNN, The Guardian, Rolling Stone, and VICE News.

Jessa Mellea is a researcher at the Center for Monitoring, Analysis and Strategy (CeMAS). Her research focuses on international far-right extremism online. Previously, she has worked at Counter Extremism Project and the Harvard T. H. Chan School of Public Health researching violent extremism.

M.B. Tyler is a researcher focused on extremism and online harms. His areas of research interests include: esoteric fascism, new religious movements, paranormal beliefs, and online subcultures.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank Program on Extremism Director Lorenzo Vidino, as well as John Campbell, Marion Friedman, Suzanne Kaplan, Elizabeth Elko and Andrew Elko for their insightful feedback. We are also grateful to Program on Extremism Research Assistants Grace Cassineri, Jessica Marcus, and Hannah Wallinger for their invaluable input throughout the writing and editing process.

Table of Contents

About the Authors	4
Acknowledgments	4
Table of Contents	5
Executive Summary	6
Introduction	7
Origins and History	9
- Accelerationism and Propaganda of the Deed	10
- Christian Identity Inspired Propaganda of the Deed	12
- Entryism	15
Co-Optive Extremism	20
Christian Identity’s Enduring Online Influence	24
Conclusion	27
Notes	28

Executive Summary

This report traces the evolution of the Christian Identity milieu in the United States. From its origins in 19th-century Great Britain through its subsequent transnational spread, the Christian Identity movement has long enjoyed a small but fanatical following within the American far right. A racist and antisemitic theology whose followers believe that white people are God's chosen ones, the Christian Identity ideology has long influenced a wide range of white supremacist and anti-government extremist movements in the United States.^[1] Christian Identity militants have engaged in terrorist violence since at least the late 1950s, working under the idea that God will endorse an end-times racial holy war against "demonic" Jews and the sub-human minority groups they have manipulated for centuries.^[2]

In contextualizing the Christian Identity movement within the broader domestic violent extremist landscape, this report finds that Christian Identity militants often sought to downplay their apocalyptic, genocidal goals to infiltrate, appropriate and influence more "mainstream" religious extremists, enabling individuals like white Christian nationalists to engage in provocative acts of dangerous violence. In assessing this movement, this report examines the prevalence of two well-worn tactics used by Christian Identity extremists — propaganda of the deed and entryism — and offers a new strategy of necessity evidenced by the movement: co-optive extremism. Through this effort, this report argues that Christian Identity extremists are likely to attempt co-optive extremism to manipulate or provoke

larger and more robust (but less outwardly violent) groups, such as militant, white Christian nationalists, into potential acts of mass violence. It also explores the modern strands of Christian Identity ideology that has emerged in a range of domestic extremist movements and ideologies as a result of the mainstreaming of antisemitism within this ecosystem.

Introduction

The realities of the modern domestic violent extremist landscape have created unique challenges for policymakers and practitioners attempting to develop strategic responses to this threat. Over the last several years, federal officials and counterterrorism experts continually warned that “the terrorism warning lights are blinking red again.”^[3] They have called attention to the potential for large-scale outbreaks of extremist-inspired violence inside the United States, pointing to an unprecedented level of hate crimes, a rising number of extremist groups, and increasing political polarization within the public at large.^[4] In recent congressional testimony, FBI Director Christopher Wray has repeatedly cited the “historic levels” of antisemitism and “steady drumbeat” of calls for attacks by foreign terrorist organizations, while warning that the threat of domestic terrorism “has been metastasizing across the country.”^[5]

Research suggests that domestic violent extremist activity remains at its highest sustained level over the last decade, exceeding even the upsurge of activity that coincided with the growth of the militia movement following the assault-gone-awry at Ruby Ridge in 1992.^[6] Indeed, according to data from the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), the 2010s saw more mass casualty attacks connected to right-wing extremism than any other decade. Factoring in all deaths attributed to domestic extremism since 2014, the ADL attributes 76% of such killings to right-wing perpetrators. Within that subset of right-wing perpetrators, the vast majority were primarily motivated by white supremacy. This has grown even more pronounced in the past year, with 15 of 17

extremist murders attributed to white supremacists.^[7] Pertinently, this recent wave of violence includes an attack at least partially influenced by Christian Identity narratives: the largest one-time mass fatality event directed against American Jewish targets at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in 2018.^[8]

These troubling tendencies are underscored by a significant rise in hate crimes. The period from 2010 to 2020 represented a 24% overall increase in hate crimes. The year 2022 saw the single biggest one-year spike (27%) and the highest-ever total recorded (27.1%).^{[9][10]} The FBI reported a 177% increase in hate crimes targeting Black or African American victims from 2012 to 2020 and a 145% increase for anti-Jewish hate crimes in the same period.^[11] Hate crimes, as defined by the FBI and others, need not be and are often not explicit acts of violence—they include threats, vandalism, and harassment. As Christian Identity extremists focus their violence, historically, on black and Jewish victims, the surge in vigilantism underscores the hateful ideologies fueling domestic extremism and is of particular interest to this report.

And of course, hateful groups or individuals can move from vigilantism to outright terrorism at any given time. The Government Accountability Office reported a 357% increase in the total number of terrorism incidents since 2013. According to the same report, about 35% of domestic terrorism incidents between 2010 and 2021 were classified as racially or ethnically motivated, making them the largest category and often the most lethal. Additionally, anti-government/anti-authority incidents accounted

for 15% of attacks, highlighting another source for potential terrorism.^[12] The reality is that categorizing these attacks as either anti-government or white supremacist often obscures the cross-affiliation between members of both kinds of groups. Experts on right-wing terrorism place some of these attacks within the framework of accelerationism — a tactic embraced by an ideologically diverse set of groups that call for escalating, inflammatory violence with the short-term goal of provoking some form of societal collapse.^[13] The growing belief that “there is no political solution” as a whole presents a unique and dangerous opportunity for a resurging Christian Identity ideology to re-invent their well-worn tactic of entryism into a more ominous scheme: co-optive extremism.^[14] Crucially, these decentralized online ecosystems provide easy access to Christian Identity adherents who seek to either directly radicalize them to Christian Identity, or influence them towards general accelerationist violence without explicitly referencing their ideology — what we will term and describe later as “co-optive extremism.”

More broadly, the rise of extremist groups and violent ideologies thrives in a climate of societal polarization and eroding trust in institutions. In a 2022 study of two centuries worth of political intra-divisions, The Carnegie Endowment for Peace noted that “[t]he United States stands out today as the only wealthy Western democracy with persistent levels of pernicious polarization” that “very few... full liberal democracies have ever reached.”^[15] This sentiment is echoed by a 2022 Ipsos poll, which revealed that a concerning 17% of Americans endorse, to varying degrees, the use of political violence against those with whom they disagree. Research by the UC Davis Violence Prevention Research Program suggests that

these numbers may exaggerate the amount of Americans who are actually willing to use violence against a political opponent. But, the UC Davis program also noted that approximately 33% of respondents in their poll believed violence could be used to support one or more political objectives. That same poll revealed that 13.7% believed a civil war was likely in the next few years.^[16] Notably for our discussion, almost 40% of Christians believe we are in the “end-times”, the tumultuous period that religious devotees across many faiths — not just extremists — believe will ultimately end in God’s final judgment on mankind and the ultimate triumph of the faithful.^[17]

It is within this context that this report attempts to situate the Christian Identity movement. To do so, it will first trace the evolution of this antisemitic theology across the 20th century, exploring the prominence of Christian Identity concepts across a wide array of white supremacist and anti-government groups within the United States. Through the concepts of “entryism” and “co-optive extremism” the authors will describe how the antisemitic core of Christian Identity continues to radicalize and inspire modern domestic violent extremists, and assess the present state of the movement.

Origins and History

The Christian Identity movement, rooted in racist and antisemitic beliefs, posits that following a period of tribulation in which society collapses, adherents must wage a divine battle to eradicate non-white races and to usher in a golden era of peace ruled by Christ. It emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries evolving from British Israelism^[18] into a more extremist ideology in the United States. The movement's doctrines include the belief that white Europeans are the true descendants of the “Lost Tribes” of biblical Israelites and that Jews are either impostors or descendants of Satan. The movement believes that Jews engage in a multi-century conspiracy against white Europeans by way of manipulating governments, the media, and “sub-human” peoples of color. Many adherents broaden this ideology to accept that all non-white people are descendants of pre-Adamic races (that is, races created by God before Adam and Eve and not in his own image), or “mud peoples”, who have no souls.

Over time, the movement splintered into various factions, with some adherents embracing more militant and violent approaches. Many strands of Christian Identity that promoted militant approaches did not just view the coming cataclysmic race war as an inevitability, but

advocated for pre-emptive strikes or inflammatory violent acts to incite its beginning. Cemented as a theology by the end of World War II, it influenced and inspired various groups and acts of domestic terror from the late 1950s through the 1960s, often indirectly and outside the scrutiny of federal law enforcement. By the late 1980s, the influence was more overt and direct.^[19] Indeed, terrorism scholar Dr. Bruce Hoffman observed in 1986 that every single right-wing terrorism group active in the United States fell under the umbrella of Christian Identity.^[20] Although Christian Identity declined in influence as of the 21st century, several of the quasi-religious right-wing terrorist movements that emerged in its place, including racist neo-Paganism, owe many of their ideas—notably the aspirations for a holy race war—to CI.^[21] This movement significantly influenced white nationalist and far-right groups, contributing to the propagation of hate and extremist ideologies.

Despite the decline of traditional Christian Identity congregations, the movement's ideologies persist, subtly infiltrating a variety of far-right networks. This infiltration is facilitated by the movement's adaptability and use of digital platforms, which allow for the widespread dissemination of its doctrines. The

^[18] The theory of British Israelism posits a genealogical connection between the inhabitants of the British Isles and, by extension, certain populations in the United States and other Anglophone nations, with the Ten Lost Tribes of ancient Israel. This hypothesis suggests that these Israelite tribes, following their disappearance from historical records, migrated westward into Europe, ultimately becoming the progenitors of the British people. Gaining prominence in the latter half of the 19th century in England, it gained some traction inside North America at the turn of the 20th century. It failed to gain or sustain currency among archeologists, theologians and ethnographers (Barkun, *Religion and The Racist Right*, 10-12).

^[20] Note that Hoffman may have missed the early but growing influence of racist Odinism within the American right-wing. Some members of The Order, for instance, were actually Odinists rather than Christian Identity enthusiasts. That said, Odinism was a very small presence in the American right-wing at that time, and owes a large measure of its originating intellectual influence to James Warner, a Christian Identity minister. See Wexler, *America's Secret Jihad* (Hoffman, Bruce. “Terrorism in the United States and the Potential Threat to Nuclear Facilities.” Office of Justice Programs, 1986, 38).

movement's influence is particularly concerning due to its promotion of a racial holy war and the religious justification it provides for its racist and antisemitic beliefs. As such, Christian Identity continues to pose a significant threat, mobilizing individuals within far-right networks towards violence and radicalization.^[22]

Understanding the evolution and current state of the Christian Identity movement is crucial for comprehensively addressing the challenges posed by extremist groups. Current extremist actors within the movement seek to exploit online white supremacist platforms in similar ways they once coopted white supremacist organizations. Therefore, making it notable to understand the ways Christian Identity believers have infiltrated and manipulated larger right-wing extremist groups and networks in the past. In the 1960s, this involved coopting the reactionary racist groups fighting against integration and conspiracy-driven anti-Communist groups. In the 1970s through the 1990s this involved coopting anti-government, survivalist and militia groups.^[23] And increasingly, and most relevant to this paper, in the 21st century, it has evolved to exploit and co-opt racist accelerationist groups.

Accelerationism and Propaganda of the Deed

Accelerationism is uniquely aligned with Christian Identity militants who embraced the strategy before scholars (and terrorist groups) even conceptualized the term. A complex ideology that became increasingly prominent in discussions surrounding extremism and terrorism, accelerationism is founded on the belief that accelerating the collapse of existing societal systems and structures will pave the way for radical transformation, enforcing the establishment of a new, more desirable society.

^[24] This concept gained traction among various extremist factions, especially those on the far right, who view the destabilization of society as a crucial step towards realizing their vision of a racially homogeneous or ideologically pure society.^[25] One of the key tenets of accelerationism is the notion of societal collapse as a catalyst for change. Adherents of this ideology argue that the current societal order is fundamentally flawed and incapable of reform, making radical action necessary to bring about meaningful transformation. In this thinking, these actors believe that by accelerating the breakdown of existing systems, they can expedite the emergence of a new societal paradigm based on their ideological principles. This often involves promoting chaos and disruption as a means of destabilizing the status quo. Accelerationists often view themselves as agents of change, seeking to push society towards a breaking point that will necessitate a reorganization of its fundamental structures. They see themselves as catalysts for a revolutionary transformation, willing to use extreme tactics, including violence, to achieve their goals. This willingness to embrace radical action sets accelerationism apart from other political ideologies and makes it a particularly challenging phenomenon for authorities to address.^[26]

For Christian Identity militants being a “catalyst for revolutionary transformation” is not merely a heroic choice but a religious imperative. Christian Identity radicals share eschatological (End Times) worldviews with many Christian fundamentalists globally, but differ in key respects that have unique implications for accelerationist-oriented terrorism. Like many Christian fundamentalists, Christian Identity believers think that the Bible foretells an End Times scenario whereby a series of signs and stages will culminate in a period of chaos

ending in the Battle of Armageddon: a literal war between the forces of good and evil, with Jesus Christ returning to decisively defeat the latter and usher in a paradise on Earth. This eschatological belief system is known to theologians as “premillennial dispensationalism” where the “premillennial” refers to a time before the 1000-year reign of Jesus Christ after his second coming, and the “dispensationalism” refers to eras of Biblical/Christian history.^[27] But, Christian Identity believers disagree with a key aspect of the end-times scenario embraced by a plurality of evangelical fundamentalists.

Many conventional Christians believe that the faithful (the Elect) will effectively be teleported to heaven. This event is known as the Rapture, and it is then followed by a period of famine, war, and pestilence known as The Tribulation. Key to the Tribulation is the emergence of a false idol, the so-called anti-Christ, who Jesus and an army of angels will eventually defeat at the Battle of Armageddon. Christian Identity adherents reject the idea of the Rapture and believe that the Elect—similar to the Aryans of Nazi mythology—will play a role in the Tribulation. While some Christian Identity believers think this will be a passive role, others who are inclined towards violent extremism assert that this will require direct participation in fighting the forces of evil as part of God’s army. Thus, actively encouraging the ultimate Battle of Armageddon. The anti-Christ goes beyond a person to the entire population of “imposter” Jews (such as Ashkenazis), and they have been operational for centuries. To the extent that Christian Identity believers assert that we are in the end times now, much like they did during the Cold War, this implies the need for accelerationist type violence.^[28]

And just as many white supremacist groups - Christian Identity followers among them - saw

Jews as the secret puppet-masters backing the forces of international communism during the Cold War, manifesting in such unwanted domestic phenomena as the civil rights movement. Many now see Jews as covertly supporting the forces of “globalism” specifically the “Trojan horse” of multiculturalism inside the United States and in Europe. In recent years, accelerationism has become increasingly intertwined with notions of racial and cultural identity, particularly among far-right extremist groups. These groups often espouse the idea of a “Great Replacement,” which posits that white populations are being systematically replaced by non-white immigrants, leading to the erosion of traditional values and cultural identity.^[29]

Accelerationism as a concept and tactic for terrorists is not new or unique to the American context, even if the term is of recent vintage. Among the first scholars to describe the strategy in depth, George Michael, attributes it to Vladimir Lenin, writing that “The more chaotic conditions became in the capitalist nations... the greater likelihood that his Bolshevik party could succeed in their revolutionary goals.”^[30] But in form, the accelerationist idea likely traces to an earlier group of revolutionaries, the strategy 19th and early 20th century anarcho-terrorists referred to as “Propaganda of the Deed”. While the actual term appeared to be popularized by Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta,^[31] the original concept belongs to famed Russian anarchist Mikhail Bakunin by way of his “Letter to a Frenchman on the Present Crisis”. Bakunin wrote to French journalist and politician Albert Richard, “Let us ... trust the eternal Spirit which destroys and annihilates only because it is the unfathomable and eternal source of all life... The passion for destruction is a creative passion, too!” He added: “We must spread our principles, not with words but with deeds, for this is the

most popular, the most potent, and the most irresistible form of propaganda."^[32] Building on his fellow Russian's idea, anarchist Peter Kropotkin put it more succinctly: "A single deed makes more propaganda in a few days than a thousand pamphlets."^[33]

But as a tactic, Propaganda of the Deed is widely misunderstood as merely being a tool to spread anarchist ideas and mobilize anarchists to direct action. In fact, as it developed, it became accelerationist in nature. Indeed, Kropotkin immediately follows his famous quote about words vs. deeds by describing the ultimate goal of the tactic:

"...The government defends itself, it rages pitilessly; but by this it only causes further deeds to be committed by one or more persons, and drives the insurgents to heroism. One deed brings forth another; opponents join the mutiny; the government splits into factions; harshness intensifies the conflict; concessions come too late; the revolution breaks out."^[34]

In theory, through Propaganda of the Deed, the anarcho-terrorist engenders the very kind of heavy-handed response from official law enforcement that breeds contempt for all government power, igniting an escalating cycle of violence and retaliation that ultimately ends in full-scale anarchist revolution.^[35] From 1880 to 1920, anarchists adhering to the Propaganda of the Deed engaged in multiple terrorist attacks. Notable incidents in Europe include the assassination of Tsar Alexander II of Russia in 1881, the bombing of the Liceu Theatre in Barcelona in 1893, the assassination of President Sadi Carnot of France in 1894, and the assassination of King Umberto I of Italy in 1900. In the United States, significant attacks included the Haymarket Affair in 1886, the assassination of President William McKinley in

1901, the New York City Galleonist bombings of 1914, and the Wall Street Bombing in 1920.^[36]

Propaganda of the Deed in the service of ideological terrorism, and especially religious terrorism, poses unique dangers to society. Tulane professor Christopher Fettweiss distinguishes ideological terrorists from secular-national terrorists in having much loftier goals, seeing the current state of the world as "an unacceptable condition" where it is necessary to "awake the masses" showing a need for change. World-changing goals often means a willingness to resort to egregious violence.^[37]

Religious terrorists, as Bruce Hoffman notes, "...see themselves not as components of a system worth preserving, but as outsiders and therefore seek vast changes in the existing order."^[38] In short, Propaganda of the Deed almost inevitably implies accelerationist terrorism for a religious extremist.

As we will see, the only major difference in thinking between Christian Identity militants and 19th-century anarchists is that the goal of their provocations is an "End-times race war" rather than the abolition of a central government. Propaganda-of-the-deed figured prominently in the tactics of Christian Identity terrorists as far back as the late 1950s, largely escaping contemporary attention because only a few law enforcement officials were even aware of the ideology, much less the implications it had for the social upheaval that marked the 1960s.

Christian Identity Inspired Propaganda of the Deed

Christian Identity inspired "propaganda-of-the-deed" first took hold in a wave of domestic bombings against black and Jewish targets from 1957-1958. Terrorists from a group calling

itself “The Confederate Underground” bombed places-of-worship, community centers and educational institutions across the southeast, earning national attention. President Eisenhower and the Federal Bureau of Investigation launched a national manhunt and eventually caught five of the bombing conspirators. Those bombers soon implicated a well-known white supremacist lawyer and bombmaker, Jesse B. (J.B.) Stoner, and his organization, the National States Rights Party (the NSRP) as the masterminds and organizers of the attack. Stoner’s law partner, and KKK Grand Wizard, James Venable, became counsel for the accused, quickly getting them to retract their claim against Stoner and plead not-guilty for the bombings. A jury acquitted all five, whose charges focused on the bombing of The Temple in Atlanta, Georgia.^[39]

The above is well-known to historians of domestic terrorism. Less well covered is the true motivation for the bombing wave and the underlying ideology of the National States Rights Party. As historian Clive Webb noted in his essay on the bombing wave, the NSRP hoped the bombing would ignite a race war in the nation. If anything, Webb noted, the outpouring of public sympathy and aggressive law enforcement action suggested a country less open to anti-Semitism than in the past.^[40] Privately, the perpetrators expressed frustration that the attacks on Jewish targets did not even inspire the growing number of racist extremist groups to expand their target list from blacks agitating for greater equality, to the hidden “puppet masters” of the civil rights movement-- Jews.^[41]

While antisemitism was well-entrenched within the Ku Klux Klan since its re-emergence in the 1920s, KKK-inspired violence against black targets was far more common than anything directed at Jews. Stoner was even expelled

from the Associated Klans of America in 1950 because of his outward and extreme views on the need for anti-Jewish attacks. Stoner was forced to work with his close colleague from Georgia, Edward Fields, on a new venture — a group called the Christian Anti-Jewish Party, which failed to garner significant membership.^[42] In fact, the decision to form the Christian Anti-Jewish Party from the ashes of the National States Rights Party stemmed from the realization that anti-Semitism had less currency with potential extremists than racism. While they undoubtedly pursued political aims, the name deliberately belied both their motives and their violence nature.^[43] In 1960, Senator Kenneth Keating listed some 15 acts of domestic terrorism committed by the NSRP to that point-- and this was before the NSRP peaked in its membership and influence.^[44]

Indeed the NSRP’s reputation for violence became so pronounced that even major Klan groups, such as the Alabama-headquartered United Klans of America, distanced itself from associating with Stoner and company.^[45] Law enforcement agencies blamed Stoner himself for masterminding several bombings across the southeast, beyond just those in 1957-1958.^[46] When he wasn’t engaged in actual violence, (or defending those accused of such terrorism in court) Stoner became a master of stochastic terrorism. He and his colleague Conrad (Connie) Lynch, the West Coast coordinator for the NSRP, travelled across the country engaging in counter-rallies against civil rights activists such as Martin Luther King, Jr. Only the “rallies” organized by Stoner and Lynch frequently and deliberately led to chaos with white mobs. At the NSRP leaders’ urging, running amok and even kidnapping and beating blacks occurred in the surrounding area. Referred to as a “two-man riot squad”, Stoner often found himself

defending Lynch in court against charges of incitement after Lynch provoked mob violence.^[47]

Indeed, incitement was the goal in large part because Stoner and Lynch, in addition to almost every senior leader of the NSRP, believed in what became known as Christian Identity two decades later. Stoner wrote a short, CI-adjacent theological tract as early as 1946.^[48] His partner, Ed Fields was among several dozen North Americans who received tape recorded sermons from the incendiary “Godfather” of Christian Identity, the Reverend Wesley Swift. Swift, after helping cement the theology with other racist seminarians at the end of World War Two, spent time as a rifle instructor for the Ku Klux Klan before establishing himself as the chief radio evangelist for Christian Identity via his church — the Church of Jesus Christ Christian (CJCC). Swift ordained the Reverend Connie Lynch into that church some years before he assumed a leadership position in the NSRP. Stoner and Fields chose Reverend Gordon Winrod, another Christian Identity minister who possessed familial connection to the radical sect for multiple decades as the NSRP’s official pastor. Another Christian Identity minister, Oran Potito, became a national organizer for the NSRP.^[49]

In 1962, Potito helped incite mob violence at the University of Mississippi in response to James Meredith’s efforts to integrate the institution.^[50] Almost 2000 miles away, Reverend Wesley Swift commented favorably on the Ole Miss riots, where hundreds of rank-and-file whites rampaged against not only Meredith, but the National Guard troops that President John F. Kennedy sent to protect the activist. From his radio station out of Hollywood, Swift told his listeners (estimated in the hundreds of thousands) that the willingness of “everyday” whites to fight against federal troops advancing the Satanic-Communist-Jewish

controlled agenda, indicated significance. It was profound confirmation, of what Swift had noted in his preaching that spring, that the world was in “the Zero Hour,”^[51] the beginning of the time clock for the End Times, the holy race war supposedly foretold in the Book of Revelations.

The events in Mississippi signified to Swift that the world was “in the Days of Noah”— the title of Swift’s sermon. This referenced Matthew 24:37, which referred to the second Coming by analogizing it to days before the Great Deluge. Swift noted that The Flood “wiped out everyone who didn’t get on the Ark.” Swift continued: “Today the White Race, the children of God, the Christians, of this hour, are in a new Ark...And I point out to you today that it is in the Ark--this identity, this great Christian civilization and culture which you are a part of by Faith, by Destiny, and by Birth, THAT YOU ARE GOING TO FIND THE SALVATION OF GOD WHICH APPLIES TO THIS HOUR AS GOD SENDS A NEW FLOOD UPON MANKIND. My friends, this time the flood is going to be a great flood of the overwhelming armies of the MOST HIGH GOD who shall pour fire down from the skies and consume the very cities of your enemies from the face of the earth.”^[52]

For much of the years that followed, Swift referred to social upheaval of the 1960s in a similar, prophetic context. However, he did more than that. As an off-shoot of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, Swift and fellow white supremacist San Jacinto Cap formed the Christian Defense League (CDL) to protect their interests. Run by the future longtime head of the Aryan Nations, Richard Butler, the CDL assumed a legal defense role similar to that of the ADL or the NAACP. It also included a paramilitary sub-group known as the California Rangers, managed by former Colonel William Potter Gale, one-time counter-insurgency specialist for General Douglas MacArthur.

Having once fought guerillas in the Philippines, Gale — by then an ordained minister in the CJCC— now hoped to train recruits to operate in the United States.^[53] But, Propaganda of the Deed required something less forward-facing and more clandestine. Therefore Swift, Gale, and others created a mechanism designed to identify, recruit and train covert operatives. Researcher David Boylan presents it as follows:

In October of 1963, Gale and Swift presided over a meeting of the Christian Knights of the Invisible Empire in which thirty-eight members were inducted into the Klan. The CKIE was the "Third Front" in a four front structure. The "First Front" was the Church of Jesus Christ, Christian. Faithful members of the CJCC were recruited for the "Second Front" was the AWAKE movement. The more militant members were then recruited into the "Third Front" which was the Christian Knights of the Invisible Empire "which will have the outward impression of a political-religious group not interested in violence." It was from this group that the most militant members were recruited for the "Inner Den." These recruits were the ones that committed acts of violence. Gale stated that "leaders in our country might have to be eliminated to further the goals of the CKIE" and that "God will take care of those who must be eliminated."^[54]

The FBI increasingly took a closer look at the motivations and modus operandi of groups like the NSRP and the CDL. Notably, the Attorney General of California, Thomas Lynch, investigated and prepared a report on the right-wing extremist movements concentrated in that state, and focused particular attention on the NSRP, the CDL and their potential for violence. Labeling them as terrorist organizations, Lynch was among the first to note the cross-affiliations between members of these groups — for example, a California Ranger organizing

a rally for the NSRP-- but also the omnipresent influence of Swift and the Church of Jesus Christ Christian on several right-wing groups.^[55] While it failed to fully appreciate the dangers of Swift's apocalyptic religious ideas in shaping potential violence, Lynch's report is an under-utilized source for scholars of religious extremism, who often assume (and code their databases) as if religious terrorism of any sort did not exist anywhere, before 1970.^[56]

In fairness, the NSRP cloaked their more violent proclivities in the guise of political action, running members for office as high as President of the United States in 1960 and 1964; the California Rangers recruited relatively few members and the "Inner Den" of the CDL aspired to be small so as to be stealthy. Yet, they followed the same "script" religious scholar Mark Jurgensmeyer refers to as "the cosmic war" that is "central to virtually all ... incidents of performance violence." But Propaganda of the Deed from only a small group of people, within the framework of accelerationist terrorism, may not suffice when the goal is world-changing violence prophesied by God.

Entryism

How does one bridge the gap between the aspirations of world-changing violence and the reality of an obscure world-view embraced by the same people? Christian Identity extremists may take a cue from another strategy employed by radicals for at least 150 years, known as entryism. The scholar Nicolas Sigoillot defined entryism as "... a tactic of penetration of a political party by another, aimed at accomplishing objectives, the nature of which can change depending on the type of entry."^[57] Sigoillot goes on to characterize the type of entry under different "modalities," broadly dividing them according to the level of

“stealth” deployed by the groups using the tactic. These are: total secret, where the group “conceals its presence” and operates covertly; secrecy of intentions, where the group “hides its intentions” but is identifiable as a pressure group; and with one’s banner unfurled, where the group “may reveal part of its intentions” and uses tactics to influence the entered party.^[58] For reasons that will become clear after exploring the history of Christian Identity advocates within the broader white supremacist movement, the type of entryism deployed by followers in CI’s formative years was almost always total secrecy.

Many attribute the first uses for the tactic of entryism to Trotskyites, who, faced with powerful Stalinist parties (and others) “completely hostile” to their “ideas,” argued they had “no choice... [but] to participate as an integrated component in the internal life of the mass movement.”^[59] As implied by the Trotskyites, entryism often requires dissimulation and dissembling to hide the entryist group’s true intent from potentially antagonistic, if broadly like-minded, fellow travelers. As with accelerationism, entryism was a tactic that pre-dated the official “naming” of the idea, and it is not exclusive to political parties. Inasmuch as smaller, idiosyncratic factions within a broader social movement are often shunned by less radical activists, the tactic emerged as a matter of necessity in other ideological struggles, before Trotskyites quasi-formalized the approach against the headwinds of Marxist-Leninism. Once again, it is evident in the operations of late 19th-century anarchists, including anarcho-terrorists. Indeed, as their overt acts of terrorism resulted in harsh law enforcement retaliation and widespread public disapproval that “imperiled the very existence of the movement, anarchists made an effort to

acquire a mass following, primarily by infiltrating the trade unions.”^[60] Notably, some scholars now believe that the infamous Haymarket bombing in Chicago was instigated by a group of anarcho-terrorists that had insinuated themselves into the wider labor movement. They joined the efforts as local union leaders organized around the narrow issue of a 40-hour work week when, privately, these anarchists believed in the need for widespread, revolutionary action. They believed the May 4, 1886 bombing, which killed seven police officers and wounded many others, would serve that larger end by igniting a cycle of violence and retaliation.^[61]

Crucially, neither entryism or accelerationism are constrained to a singular narrow ideology. More than 100 years after the Haymarket bombing, recent Salafi jihadist groups have evidenced entryism in two ways. First, as noted by scholar Jen-Luc Marret “... Salafist circles [are] bent on infiltrating mosques by subterfuge in order to practice entryism after which they move to take control”^[62] in hopes of radicalizing members toward terrorism. In each instance, the smaller group found themselves in the same situation as the Trotskyites, compelled by ideology and/or self-interest to advance some goal, yet having to work within a hostile if loosely adjacent — and much larger — organization. Entryism becomes an organic tactic, even if a radical faction is completely ignorant of the Trotskyite experience.

The same was true for Christian Identity zealots in the 1960s, whose successful use of entryism largely explains why so few scholars recognize their pre-1980 activity at all. Christian Identity militants infiltrated and became important leaders in some of the most well-known terrorist groups of that time. Two deserve attention in illustrating the importance of entryism as a tactic: the Minutemen and the

White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi.

The Minutemen was a national paramilitary group organized by leader Robert Depugh for anti-government activity. By the late 1960s, nearly every senior leader of the Minutemen cross-affiliated with Reverend Wesley Swift's Church of Jesus Christ Christian, even if said members did not openly espouse that radical theology. This included DePugh (who converted some years after founding the group), his closest aide Wally Peyson, and West Coast Minutemen organizer Dennis Mower, both understudies of Swift.^[63] Even heads of large, state-level Minutemen chapters embraced Christian Identity, such as the Reverend Kenneth Goff.^[64] The numbers of the Minutemen vary, but they were estimated to have 10,000 to 20,000 members at their peak.^[65]

The Minutemen, while outwardly focused on anti-communism and anti-government paramilitary activities, harbored deeper, more sinister motives — at least among the Christian Identity-influenced leadership. They stockpiled vast armories of guns and weapons of war, plotted acts of terrorism, and supported their violent goals through bank robberies.^[66] They even attempted or planned major mass casualty events, such as introducing toxic chemicals into the HVAC system of the United Nations.^[67] The Minutemen kept biographical cards on thousands of individuals they hoped to assassinate in the event of a nationwide anti-communist revolution. Consistent with the proactive influence of Christian Identity, they also exploited the growing unrest in U.S. cities by distributing fake pamphlets designed to inflame black communities.^[68] However, their

efforts were ultimately undermined by informants, particularly through the FBI's COINTELPRO (Counter Intelligence Program) project.^[69]

Additionally, COINTELPRO helped to eventually undermine the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi (WKKKKOM) but not before the group earned the reputation within the FBI as being the most violent KKK subgroup in the United States. Their reign of terror included bombings, murders, and other acts of violence aimed at intimidating and suppressing African American and civil rights activists. The link between the WKKKKOM and Christian Identity became increasingly apparent by 1967, as "Swift" parties, where residents of Jackson, Mississippi, listened to taped sermons of Wesley Swift, grew popular among local white supremacists and their supporters.^[70] This connection is clearer now with new document releases. It likely dates back to the group's founding and its leader, Grand Wizard Samuel Holloway Bowers. Interviews with relatives of Bowers' closest lieutenants and examination of the literal fine print of Bowers's self-published KKK newsletter reveal a deep-seated adherence to Christian Identity ideology, dating back to the Mississippi Burning Murders of 1964.^[71]

It is evident from informants that Bowers intended the Mississippi Burning Murders and attempts on Martin Luther King Jr.'s life to provoke a massive federal response, hoping to ignite a cycle of violence and retaliation leading to a race war.^[72] Delmar Dennis, a close aide to Bowers who secretly worked for the FBI as an informant, described a secret meeting he had with Bowers around the time of the murders:

^[65] Reported numbers vary and are contested. Some argue that the membership was never more than a few hundred people. This may be true of core membership, but rank-and-file or passive members may have been in the thousands per others (Jones, *Minutemen*, 311).

Bowers outlined on a blackboard the overall strategy of which the White Knights were merely a part. He said he was trying to create a race war, and open violence on the part of white Mississippians against native Negro citizens and civil rights agitators. He predicted that Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara would be required to send troops into Mississippi to restore order. Martial law would be declared and the state would be under full dictatorial control from Washington. The excuse for the control would be the race war he was helping to create by engendering hatred among whites in the same manner as it was being fomented by leftist radicals among blacks.^[73]

The broad parameters of such a plan fits neatly into any accelerationist framework, but Bowers took it further. Beginning in 1967, Bowers commanded a covert hit squad of Swift devotees who terrorized Black and Jewish targets in Mississippi, marking the first such wave of joint Black-and-Jewish violence since 1958. Bowers and his followers viewed the ongoing civil unrest as a sign of a potential racial holy war. The group began to cross-affiliate more directly with the National States Rights Party, indicating that Christian Identity was becoming a dominant umbrella ideology within white supremacist circles. But the WKKKKOM and the Minutemen also fell prey to a different form of entryism — by federal law enforcement through COINTELPRO.

COINTELPRO was an FBI initiative aimed at surveilling, infiltrating, discrediting, and disrupting domestic political organizations deemed subversive. The program targeted a wide range of groups, including civil rights organizations, anti-Vietnam War protesters, and white supremacist groups like the WKKKKOM. By infiltrating these groups, the FBI aimed to gather intelligence, create internal discord, and ultimately weaken or dismantle

them. As informants and undercover agents disrupted operations and sowed mistrust among extremist members, COINTELPRO efforts contributed to the decline of WKKKKOM's group activities and influence.^[74] Indeed, it is now clear that the individual chosen to replace Bowers as the Grand Wizard after his eventual conviction and imprisonment for the MIBURN killings is Laude (L.E.) Mathews, who was, in fact, an FBI informant.^[75] Not surprisingly, WKKKKOM violence dropped precipitously under his reign.

In the tumultuous landscape of the 1960s, a combination of law enforcement measures, internal conflicts, and significant social movements contributed to the diminishment and fragmentation of the white supremacist movement in the United States. Programs like COINTELPRO, the shift to prosecuting KKK crimes under federal civil rights statutes, the death of influential figures like Wesley Swift, and the success of the civil rights movement played pivotal roles in weakening the overt presence of white supremacist groups. However, this period also led to the obfuscation of the presence and significance of Christian Identity militants within major organizations, as well as the very existence of Christian Identity as a potent and influential theology.^[76] The oversight was not limited to law enforcement agencies, but extended to scholars who failed to recognize the ideology's role in domestic terrorism until the 1980s, perpetuating a myth that Christian Identity had minimal influence on domestic terrorism prior to the publication of the Turner Diaries^[77] and the serial killings by Joseph Paul Franklin.^[78]

Despite these challenges, Christian Identity ideology managed to persevere in smaller, more covert circles, finding overt expression in groups like the Aryan Nations and infiltrating others such as the Posse Comitatus through figures

like William Potter Gale. The Greensboro Massacre of 1979 provided a significant impetus to all forms of right-wing extremist terrorism, including Christian Identity. However, it was the well-publicized acts of terrorism connected to groups like The Order and the Covenant Sword and Arm of the Lord that truly highlighted the enduring impact of Christian Identity theology on the landscape of domestic terrorism.^[79]

By the 1980s, Christian Identity evolved into an organizing ideology for a wide array of right-wing groups, ranging from survivalist factions and cult-like congregations who formed their own compounds to overt terrorist organizations. This period marked a shift in law enforcement and the burgeoning field of counter-extremist scholarship, as some began to recognize and address the direct influence of Christian Identity in a way that was all but absent in the 1960s. Despite this increased awareness, many of the tactics employed by authorities, such as infiltration, litigation, and surveillance, mirrored those used in the previous decades. Extremist strategist Louis Beam,^[80] who had earlier championed the concept of cell-based terrorism and "leaderless resistance" as a means to circumvent external pressures, found it necessary to adapt and update his guidance as even these decentralized groups faced significant challenges. These changes anticipated a transition to so-called "lone-wolf" terrorism.^[81] The advent of new technologies and the rise of a doctrinal manifesto known as the Phineas

Priesthood helped accelerate this shift, one driven by both necessity and choice.^[82]

Concurrently, new theologies such as the Church of the Creator and Racist Neo-Paganism began to supplant Christian Identity as the dominant ideology within the white supremacist movement,^[83] even as they continued to draw heavily on its anti-Jewish and accelerationist tenets. However, recent developments suggest a resurgence of Christian Identity at least partially driven by the popularization of social media usage by domestic extremists.^[84] In large part, this can be attributed to social media's ability to viralize ideas and create low-barrier opportunities for extremists to infiltrate extremist spaces, rather than individual groups. This allows for individuals in said spaces, who frequently espouse a range of disparate ideologies, to be further radicalized to conduct accelerationist violence. In this model, entryism is no longer a capacious enough concept to describe the movement's strategic transformation in recent years. Instead, the authors will refer to a clandestine and manipulative presence of one set of actors (or a single actor) in a space (such as a web forum), with the goal of provoking terrorist activity, as "co-optive extremism."

^[80] Durham correctly notes that Beam, contrary to popular myth, did not originate the concept of Leaderless Resistance. That honor appears to go to Richard Cotten, a California minister in the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, a Klan leader and a member of the Minutemen. It appears likely that the push to move towards cell-based terrorism was a response to the successful pressure campaigns by way of the FBI (Durham, Martin. 2007. "White Rage: The Extreme Right and American Politics." National Academic Digital Library of Ethiopia, 2007: 104).

^[82] It is worth noting, again, that Salafi Jihadism followed a similar life-cycle after it manifested in right-wing spaces — from large organizations, to cell-based to "lone wolf" terrorism — in response to external counter-pressures (Ibid, 110).

Co-Optive Extremism

We propose the concept of co-optive extremism as a broader, less direct version of entryism specifically tailored to the digital age and the unique dynamics of contemporary extremist movements. Unlike traditional entryism, which focuses on infiltrating high-membership groups with adjacent but less extreme viewpoints to advance radical goals, co-optive extremism involves a more clandestine and manipulative approach. This method entails the presence of one set of actors (or a single actor) within a virtual space, such as a web forum or social media platform, with the explicit goal of provoking terrorist activity and inspiring accelerationist violence.

Co-optive extremism leverages the viral nature of social media to spread extremist ideologies and incite individuals or groups to commit acts of violence. This strategy is particularly appealing to Christian Identity members and other accelerationists because it exploits the low-barrier opportunities provided by social media to infiltrate and influence extremist spaces, rather than traditional groups. By doing so, co-optive extremism can maximize its impact, reaching a larger audience and fostering a more diffuse and widespread network of radicalized individuals.

In essence, co-optive extremism represents a shift from physical infiltration to virtual manipulation, where extremists can anonymously incite violence and propagate their ideologies without the need for direct involvement or membership in specific groups. This strategy not only broadens the scope of entryism, but also aligns with the decentralized and leaderless nature of modern extremist movements, making it a powerful tool for those

seeking to destabilize society and promote their radical agendas.

The key feature in the development of this tactic is the rise of social media platforms. Terrorism experts highlighted the potentially dangerous implications of the internet as far back as the late 1980s. However, these experts pointed to overt attempts to reach potential recruits or the ability to simply “float” how-to-guides, or white supremacist literature, music, or artifacts for lone actors to self-radicalize and pursue violence. Current social media platforms far outstrip old-school message boards and chat groups in their ability to facilitate terrorist activity. The explosion of user-friendly, multimedia-friendly, relatively operationally secure, and widely available communication platforms as well as sub-platforms make it easier to coordinate or encourage attacks. Extremists can seek out and engage with potential recruiting targets in one group, then shift to a private — and more secure — direct message feature on these platforms to further radicalize or “educate” a would-be extremist. They can do this behind an anonymous screen name that obscures any connection they might have to Christian Identity. Soon, one may have a sub-platform full of extremists, who are comfortable meeting in person if need be.^[85]

Co-optive extremism is broader and less direct than entryism because it does not require membership in any group, and can often be anonymous. Entryism becomes a tactic-of-necessity because one’s larger motives, be it Trotskyism or Christian Identity, are foreign or even abhorrent, in part, to larger groups but who the entryist group perceive as being more capable of sustained, mass violence or large-

scale political activity. However, entryism ultimately involves a direct form of chicanery. One must openly play-act in the presence of other people, often on a sustained basis, if there is any hope of convincing a larger group to follow the entryists' agenda. Modern technology, specifically social media platforms, obviate this challenge. Someone looking to foment accelerationist attacks can be overt and can look to redpill someone with similar ideas into embracing the actual terrorist ideology. Once the radicalization process has started, the target can be redirected to a subgroup, direct message, or private chat. But one can also easily scout a group, identify points of common grievance, and push those groups to violence — from a “distance” and anonymously.

Nevertheless, if the pattern of previous entryist groups repeats itself, most notably for Christian Identity believers, there is a much more tempting opportunity for co-optive extremism. Entryism involves a smaller, often fringe group infiltrating a larger group in hopes of exploiting their numbers for the fringe group's loftier goals. For earlier Christian Identity extremists, this involved infiltrating and often assuming leadership roles in groups like the Minutemen and the KKK. Combined, these groups had tens of thousands of members at their peak in the 1960s, with the relatively small WKKKKOM estimated to be at 6,000 all by itself. In contrast, most accelerationist groups in the United States are believed to have a few hundred members at most and are already largely cell-based in nature. If the goal of co-optive extremism, like

entryism, is to encourage major or widespread acts of terrorism, current developments suggest another audience for potential exploitation: increasingly militant Christian nationalists.

Christian nationalism, a movement advocating for the integration of Christian values into political and cultural dominance, is gaining momentum in the United States. A PRRI survey from 2023 reports that 30% of Americans identify as either “sympathizers” or “adherents” to the Christian nationalism worldview, with 10% in the latter category. In contrast to far-less followed Christian Identity, which explicitly emphasizes white supremacy and antisemitism, Christian nationalism focuses on the supremacy of fundamentalist biblical values, traditional lifestyles and laws. And while Christian Identity adherents and Christian nationalists' argue for a unique, God-ordained role for the United States in world history, the Christian nationalists' interpretation of the Bible would be indistinguishable from the large number of fundamentalist, evangelical Christians who, while patriotic, do not believe in such a unique role for the United States.

The conditions exist for co-optive extremism to be effective due to the rhetoric used by prominent voices of the Christian Nationalist milieu - rhetoric which is increasingly antisemitic, anti-democratic, and aligned with far-right ‘Culture War’ narratives. These militant sentiments are well captured by Christian nationalist preacher Brian Gibson, a member of the Black Robed Regiment,^[86] who asserted to a crowd on January 5th, 2021: “...I will stand for

^[86] The Black Robe Regiment was a group of clergymen during the American Revolutionary War who used their sermons to inspire colonial resistance against British rule, drawing their name from the black robes they wore. In modern times, the term has been revived by Christian Nationalists who see themselves as spiritual successors advocating for political activism grounded in religious beliefs (Wilkinson, Joseph. “What is the Black Robe Regiment? The latest movement in Christian nationalism.” New York Daily News, September 22, 2022).

liberty. I will stand for freedom. I will stand for America. I swear before you and I swear before these people, that I will protect this nation and the Constitution as a leader of the people of God's. And now as a minister, I lead sheep, I feed sheep, and I kill wolves.”^[87] Pastor Ken Peters, leader of the Patriot Church,^[88] told the same crowd: “We are not just in a culture war, we are in a kingdom war. This is the Kingdom of Darkness versus the Kingdom of Light ... And Satan ... wants nothing less than destroying this country entirely because we are a beacon of the Gospel ... It is important that in this moment we stand up like never before ... If we don't hold up the shield of faith, Satan will take over this land. But I see a bunch of people here that will say, 'No, no.' We are not going to allow the enemy to destroy this beautiful and great land that our forefathers gave to us. We will rise up in this time and say like Paul Revere, 'The leftists are coming!' ... God bless you and God bless America.”^[89]

Such sermons are reminiscent of those given by the Reverend Wesley Swift during his radio preachings. But, they may share more in common with those of the Christian Identity minister Connie Lynch in one of his many stochastic speeches counter-protesting against integration in the 1960s. They came as part of a multi-week protest movement known as the Jericho March, preceding, and according to some scholars, precipitating the January 6th, 2021 riots on Capitol Hill.^[90] Several of the January 6th rioters brandished crosses, flags, and wore t-shirts pointing to the religious dimensions of their grievances.^[91] Embracing

the biblical story of Jericho has important implications, per Onishi:

The Jericho story in the Bible is where the Israelites march around the city of Jericho, and God miraculously brings down the walls after seven circles around the city.

What's not usually told is that once that happens, the Israelites go into the city — and they slaughter every man, woman, child and animal.

Well, if you have a Jericho March, you're telling me that you're having a prayer rally, hoping that you have a chance to go in and annihilate your enemies. And so, when you think of the biblical interpretation that way, violence is not far from religious practice.^[92]

All of this biblical discourse, which has persisted in different forms following the January 6th violence, would be easy for a Christian Identity, co-optive extremist to capitalize upon and exploit for potential terrorism. Indeed, if the number of Americans who see political violence as inevitable has risen as a whole, those numbers are even more pronounced among Christian nationalists. This phenomenon would be enticing to accelerationists in general, and to Christian Identity terrorists in particular. Almost half of Christian nationalists believe “there is a storm coming soon that will sweep away the elites in power and restore the rightful leaders.” They are “almost twice as likely than other Americans to agree with the statement that ‘because things have gotten so far off track,

^[88] Patriot Church refers to a network of churches known for its blend of evangelical Christianity and conservative political activism. Based in Lenoir City, Tennessee, Peters' Patriot Church actively engages in culture war issues, notably protesting against drag performances and abortion (Peters, Ken. "Patriot Church," WBIR.com, 2023).

^[91] For a comprehensive examination of the relationship between Christian Nationalism and the events of January 6, see: Seidel, Andrew. “Christian Nationalism and the Capitol Insurrection.” Written Testimony Delivered to the House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6 Attack on the United States Capitol. March 18, 2022.

true American patriots may have to resort to violence to save the country.”^[93]

Antisemitic conspiracies are a central component of Christian Nationalist ideology: among dedicated Christian Nationalists, almost 70% subscribe to some version of The Great Replacement theory.^[94] While the Great Replacement Theory is explicitly xenophobic, studies suggest its subscribers also embrace a greater number of antisemitic tropes. It is now common in supremacist circles to blame Jews for conspiring, behind the scenes, to replace white “natives” with non-white immigrants.

Hence, even if Christian nationalists would differ with Christian Identity enthusiasts over aspirational sentiments related to Israel, there is reason to believe that the Great Replacement Theory is one access point a coy Christian Identity extremist could use to leverage a Christian nationalist toward provocative violence. A Christian Identity militant can capitalize on resentment over the Great Replacement, and may point to several terrorists, and their manifestos, as examples of how to respond to their dissatisfaction. This is a speculative concern for now, as there has yet to be a clear-cut example of Christian nationalists committing acts of terrorism after having been influenced by Christian Identity ideas or Christian Identity militants. But there are growing signs that Christian Identity extremists are, indeed, attempting co-optive extremism.

More broadly, the increasingly mainstream embrace of antisemitic conspiracies such as the Great Replacement creates ready-made conditions for far-right lone actor violence, as has been the case in some of the deadliest acts of mass violence in the United States in recent years. Successful co-optive extremism does not necessitate violence in furtherance of one singular ideology or group. Conversely, in many

instances accelerationist actors have sought to incite or conduct violence in the hopes of causing retaliatory violence against their in-group, in the hopes of causing a cascading wave of violence which overwhelms the system.

Christian Identity's Enduring Online Influence

The Christian Identity movement, historically influential, faces a scarcity of documentation regarding its expansion into far-right online spaces and the rising prominence of its violent principles within an increasingly aggressive religious belief system. Once limited to older followers and rural churches, the ideology now flourishes online, attracting younger adherents with a pressing vision of an imminent apocalypse and the establishment of a new heavenly kingdom on Earth. In today's digital era, Christian Identity has evolved from its beginnings in isolated rural compounds to a notable presence on social media platforms.

Although recent ethnographic studies to determine the exact number of adherents are lacking, the movement appears to resonate with a younger demographic. Websites such as Christogenea, and digital platforms like Telegram, act as hubs for followers to refine and share their beliefs.^[95] A stark contrast exists between older adherents on Facebook, who post benign content, and younger followers on Telegram, who engage with more extreme and accelerationist material. Figures within the white power movement, such as Billy Roper, have assumed pastoral roles, further merging accelerationist ideologies into Christian Identity.

The Boogaloo Intel Drop group on Telegram, prior to its deactivation in 2022, epitomized this trend by preparing followers for societal collapse while subtly promoting Christian Identity and white supremacist resources under the guise of general survival advice. The group's media coverage and events like the January 6th insurrection inadvertently boosted its popularity,

demonstrating the movement's adaptability and persistence in the modern era.^[96]

Christian Identity's influence extends beyond traditional boundaries, impacting various sub-milieus of the broader accelerationist landscape, including Boogaloo, militias, and neo-Nazis. The Center on Extremism, Terrorism, and Counter-terrorism noted a significant increase in Christian Identity ideology across these groups. Trends include infiltrations by adherents of the Order of Nine Angles into the Christian Identity movement online with the sole intent on further radicalizing Christian Identity adherents, as well as a considerable rise in Christian Identity influences on far-right propaganda.

These trends align with militant accelerationists' goals of pushing already radicalized communities into active violence to destabilize the system and shift millenarian-oriented ideologies toward militant Traditionalist views. The National Partisan Movement channel's unusual fusion of neo-paganist and Traditionalist iconography with Christian symbols exemplifies this blending of ideologies. Further signaling the movement's evolving nature and its growing appeal among younger followers.^[97] Modern Christian Identity is also not solely limited to the United States, as shown in the case of Sloan Sutherland - a Christian Identity thought leader based in Canada - who was arrested and charged with the murder of his girlfriend in 2021.^[98]

For white supremacists of an antisemitic bent, Jews are seen as the key group subverting

traditional “white” culture by supporting the mass migration of people from the Global South into the West.

A signature event for Great Replacement theorists was the Unite The Right Rally in Charlottesville, Virginia in 2017. Organizers from a variety of far-right groups ostensibly billed the event as a protest against the planned removal of a statue of Confederate General Robert E. Lee from a park, but more ominous motives became obvious at the so-called Tiki Torch march that evening with attendees chanting “The Jews will not replace us” in chorus. The rally quickly turned violent, with clashes between rally attendees and counter-protesters, culminating in the death of counter-protester Heather Heyer, who was killed when a rally attendee drove a car into a crowd.^[99]

The connection to accelerationism in the context of the Unite the Right Rally is complex. While not all participants in the rally explicitly identified with accelerationist ideology, some individuals and groups did espouse accelerationist beliefs. These beliefs center around the idea that hastening the collapse of existing societal structures will lead to the creation of a new, racially homogeneous society. For some at the rally, the violence and chaos that erupted were seen as a step towards this goal of societal collapse and renewal.^[100]

Extremists have embraced accelerationist sentiments in pursuing some of the most violent acts of terrorism not only in the United States, but across the world, often in the name of combating the Great Replacement. These include: Anders Breivik, who detonated a bomb in Oslo and then carried out a mass shooting on Utøya island in 2011; Brenton Tarrant, who attacked two mosques in Christchurch in 2019;

Payton Gendron, who targeted a supermarket in Buffalo in 2022; Patrick Crusius, who opened fire in an El Paso Walmart in 2019; Robert Bowers, who assaulted the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh in 2018; and John Earnest, who attacked the Chabad of Poway synagogue in California in 2019. Collectively these men killed 116 people and injured over 100 more.

The latter two, Earnest and Bowers, appear to have been influenced by Christian Identity ideas. Earnest’s manifesto cites several Biblical passages that, by themselves, are suspicious of Christian Identity affiliations but collectively are almost exclusively featured in the Christian Identity creed. Bowers’s Twitter account included an epigram with only one such verse (John 8:44); more directly, Bowers approvingly posted a screenprint of a Christian Identity Wikipedia entry.^[101]

Beyond individuals, groups that embrace accelerationism have been on the rise in the 21st century owing to the re-emergence of neo-Nazi James Mason’s compendium, *Siege*.^[102] Mason, long on the fringe even within the American neo-Nazi movement of the 1960’s, was influenced by the “Helter Skelter” and apocalyptic racism of Charles Manson.^[103] Mason compiled a series of essays insisting that “We do not wish to rock the boat, we intend to SINK IT!”^[104] While Mason and *Siege* were largely ignored by contemporary white supremacists, it would enjoy a countercultural neo-fascist revitalization and become a bible to some of the most rapidly growing accelerationist extremist groups in the world.^[105]

Notable among these groups is the Atomwaffen Division (AWD). A militant neo-Nazi accelerationist group, AWD is connected to several acts and attempted acts of terrorism including the murders of Blaze Bernstein in

2018, the double homicide by Devon Arthurs in 2017, and the planned attack on a nuclear facility by Brandon Russell.^[106] Arthurs stands out among these attackers as someone who embraced militant accelerationism but was also a recent convert to Islam. However, given the appeal of accelerationism among Salafi jihadists, this may not be surprising. Salafi jihadists share a similar worldview to Christian Identity terrorists in that they believe the End Times are approaching and that they must play an active role in its manifestation. Scholars have increasingly discussed the “syncretism” between accelerationism and Salafi jihadists, pointing out how right-wing extremists have emulated “tactics, techniques and procedures (TTPs)” they admire from Salafi-jihadist insurgencies, and Telegram channels and podcasts speaking favorably about Salafi-jihadists and their dedication to their cause.^[107] But accelerationism writ large as an umbrella strategy, manifested in right-wing movements decades before becoming popular among Salafi jihadists; and in left-wing movements before that, going back more than a century. The relevance of that to present concerns, and specifically to the adjacent role that the newly evolving tactic, co-optive extremism, plays in advancing the accelerationist agenda, is important to excavate from that hidden history.

The Christian Identity movement's transition to the digital realm, and its increasing appeal among younger followers, underscores its potential for continued influence. Its growing alignment with accelerationist ideologies, and its impact on various far-right groups, highlight the challenges it poses to societal cohesion and security. The movement's adaptability and persistence in the modern era signify its enduring relevance and the complexities of addressing its ideological and violent manifestations while showing that it is still an active ideology.

Conclusion

The resurgence of Christian Identity extremism within the U.S. domestic terrorism landscape highlights its enduring influence and adaptability. The movement's racist and apocalyptic ideologies are finding new traction among younger adherents drawn to an increasingly mainstream acceptance of antisemitism. These actors may, by force of circumstance, evolve to potentially fuel broader far-right movements like militant Christian nationalism. The idiosyncratic theological commitments of Christian Identity do not easily dovetail with conventional Christian fundamentalism in the same way that Christian nationalism does; and their relatively small numbers, even at their peak in the 1980s, means that Christian Identity lacks the followers and resources to match their world-changing, apocalyptic goals.

But this was true in the 1950s and 1960s, and Christian Identity militants adapted in hopes of leveraging the much larger racist counter-revolution pushing back against the Civil Rights Movement. They did this through entryism, and by encouraging Propaganda of the Deed. Innovations in technology provide opportunities for terrorists to innovate as well, which is now true for Christian Identity zealots. Co-optive extremism refers to an “updated” version of entryism, one where militants can infiltrate online spaces and assume personas under false pretenses. Whereas White Knights Grand Wizard Sam Bowers had to hide his true intentions from his rank-and-file members in person on a routine basis. The same duplicity is now easier thanks to social media and information technology. This paper described

signs that this is already happening through co-optive extremism.

Smaller accelerationist networks offer more direct targets for co-optive extremism, but if history is any guide, an increasingly radical and militant Christian nationalist movement may offer an even more inviting opportunity. As narratives and grievances which promote antisemitic, anti-LGBTQ, and anti-immigrant rhetoric continue to spread both online and offline, Christian Identity adherents are increasingly likely to successfully utilize entryism to appeal to both mainstream and fringe communities.

Notes

[1] “ADL. “Christian Identity.” ADL, 2017. <https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/christian-identity>; Marks, Eliza. “Why We Should Care about Christian Identity Ideology and its Links to Antisemitic Mobilisation.” Global Network on Extremism & Technology, 2023. <https://gnet-research.org/2023/09/11/why-we-should-care-about-christian-identity-ideology-and-its-links-to-antisemitic-mobilisation/>.

[2] Barkun, Michael. Religion and the Racist Right the Origins of the Christian Identity Movement. The University of North Carolina Press, 2014.

[3] Allison, Graham, and Michael J. Morell. “The Terrorism Warning Lights Are Blinking Red Again.” *Foreign Affairs*, June 10, 2024. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/terrorism-warning-lights-are-blinking-red-again>; Hughes, Seamus. “We Should Have Seen the Attempted Assassination Coming.” *Lawfare*, July 15, 2024. <https://www.lawfaremedia.org/article/we-should-have-seen-the-attempted-assassination-coming>.

[4] Lybrand, Holmes, and Hannah Rabinowitz. “FBI director warns senators he sees ‘blinking lights everywhere’ on threats against the US.” *CNN*, December 6, 2023. <https://www.cnn.com/2023/12/05/politics/fbi-director-senate-hearing/index.html>.

[5] Rabinowitz, Hannah. “FBI director: Antisemitism reaching ‘historic level’ in US.” *CNN*, 2023. <https://www.cnn.com/2023/10/31/politics/fbi-director-antisemitism-wray/index.html>; Tucker, Eric, and Mary C. Jalonick. “WATCH: FBI chief Chris Wray calls Jan. 6 ‘domestic terrorism,’ defends intel.” *PBS*, 2024. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/watch-live-fbi-chief-chris-wray-to-face-questions-about-extremism-capitol-riot>.

[6] CSIS. “Figure 3: U.S. Terrorist Attacks and Plots and Fatalities, 1994-2021.” CSIS, n.d. https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/220516_Doxsee_PushedtoExtremes_DomesticTerrorism_Graphs_fig3.jpg?QcWM25RzcLgCd4qMqwkGKNkuy9Lwhu3A.

[7] Center on Extremism. “Murder and Extremism in the United States in 2023.” ADL, 2024 <https://www.adl.org/resources/report/murder-and-extremism-united-states-2023>

[8] Mitchell, Jerry. “Christian Identity — the hate that still kills.” *Clarion Ledger*, 2018. <https://www.clarionledger.com/story/news/local/journeytojustice/2018/10/27/christian-identity-hate-still-kills/1789646002/>.

[9] Department of Justice. “Community Relations Service | 2020 FBI Hate Crimes Statistics.” Department of Justice, 2023. <https://www.justice.gov/crs/highlights/2020-hate-crimes-statistics>.

[10] Department of Justice. “Community Relations Service | 2022 FBI Hate Crimes Statistics.” Department of Justice, 2023. <https://www.justice.gov/crs/highlights/2022-hate-crime-statistics>.

[11] “Community Relations Service | 2020 FBI Hate Crimes Statistics.” *US Department of Justice*.

[12] United States Government Accountability Office. “DOMESTIC TERRORISM Further Actions Needed to Strengthen FBI and DHS Collaboration to Counter Threats.” *GAO*, 2023. <https://www.gao.gov/assets/820/817739.pdf>.

[13] Kriner, Matt. "An Introduction to Militant Accelerationism." Accelerationism Research Consortium, 2022 <https://www.accelresearch.org/shortanalysis/an-introduction-to-militant-accelerationism>.

[14] Kriner, Matt, Meghan Conroy and Yasmine Ashwal. "Understanding Accelerationist Narratives: 'There Is No Political Solution'." Global Network on Extremism and Technology. September 2, 2021. <https://gnet-research.org/2021/09/02/understanding-accelerationist-narratives-there-is-no-political-solution/>.

[15] Ambinder, Marc. "An Epic End to the Primaries: What It Means." The Atlantic, 2010. <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2010/09/an-epic-end-to-the-primaries-what-it-means/62992/>.

[16] Rogers, Kaleigh, and Zoha Qamar. "What Americans Think About Political Violence | FiveThirtyEight." 538 — Election Polls, Politics, and Analysis - ABC News, 2022. <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/what-americans-think-about-political-violence/>.

[17] Diamant, Jeff. "About four-in-ten U.S. adults believe humanity is 'living in the End Times.'" Pew Research Center, 2022. <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2022/12/08/about-four-in-ten-u-s-adults-believe-humanity-is-living-in-the-end-times/>.

[18] Barkun, Religion and The Racist Right, 10-12. The theory of British Israelism posits a genealogical connection between the inhabitants of the British Isles and, by extension, certain populations in the United States and other Anglophone nations, with the Ten Lost Tribes of ancient Israel. This hypothesis suggests that these Israelite tribes, following their disappearance from historical records, migrated westward into Europe, ultimately becoming the progenitors of the British people. Gaining prominence in the latter half of the 19th century in England, it gained

some traction inside North America at the turn of the 20th century. It failed to gain or sustain currency among archeologists, theologists and ethnographers.

[19] Wexler, Stuart. *America's Secret Jihad: The Hidden History of Religious Terrorism in the United States*. Counterpoint, 2015.

[20] Hoffman, Bruce. "Terrorism in the United States and the Potential Threat to Nuclear Facilities." Office of Justice Programs, 1986. <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/101049NCJRS.pdf>. 38. Note that Hoffman may have missed the early but growing influence of racist Odinism within the American right-wing. Some members of The Order, for instance, were actually Odinists rather than Christian Identity enthusiasts. That said, Odinism was a very small presence in the American right-wing at that time, and owes a large measure of its originating intellectual influence to James Warner, a Christian Identity minister. See Wexler, *America's Secret Jihad*.

[21] Miller, Laura. "Behind Dylann Roof's race war: The highly motivated secret white supremacy movement working toward 'the battle of Armageddon.'" Salon.com, 2015. https://www.salon.com/2015/06/24/behind_dylann_roofs_race_war_the_highly_motivated_secret_white_supremacy_movement_working_toward_the_battle_of_armageddon/.

[22] Center on Terrorism, Extremism, and Counterterrorism. "Christian Identity's New Role On The Extreme Right." Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, 2021. <https://www.middlebury.edu/institute/academics/centers-initiatives/ctec/ctec-publications/christian-identitys-new-role-extreme-right>.

[23] Wexler, *America's Secret Jihad*.

[24] Kriner. "An Introduction to Militant Accelerationism."

[25] "ISD. "Accelerationism." ISD, 2022. <https://www.isdglobal.org/explainers/accelerationism/>.

[26] Kriner, "An Introduction to Militant Accelerationism."

[27] Weber, Timothy. "Dispensational Premillennialism: The Dispensationalist Era | Christian History Magazine." Christian History Institute, n.d., Accessed June 23, 2024. <https://christianhistoryinstitute.org/magazine/article/dispensational-premillennialism-the-dispensationalist-era>.

[28] Quarles, Chester L. *Christian Identity: the Aryan American bloodline religion*. N.p.: McFarland, Incorporated, Publishers, 2004. 108-110.

[29] Feng, Yu. "Great Replacement theory exploited in US politics to intensify racial conflict." Global Times, 2022. <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202205/1266040.shtml?id=11>.

[30] Michael, George. "An antidemocratic philosophy called 'neoreaction' is creeping into GOP politics." New Hampshire Bulletin, 2022. <https://newhampshirebulletin.com/2022/07/29/an-antidemocratic-philosophy-called-neoreaction-is-creeping-into-gop-politics/>.

[31] Croce, Nicholas. *Anarchism, Revolution, and Terrorism*. N.p.: Rosen Publishing Group, Incorporated., 2014, 20.

[32] Marxists Internet Archive. "Works of Mikhail Bakunin 1870." Marxists Internet Archive, n.d. Accessed April 12, 2024. <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/bakunin/works/1870/letter-frenchman.htm>

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] Fettweis, "Freedom Fighters and Zealots," 281-82.

[36] Fleming, Marie. 1980. "Propaganda by the Deed: Terrorism and Anarchist Theory in Late Nineteenth-century Europe." *Terrorism* 4 (1-4): 1-23. doi:10.1080/10576108008435483.

[37] Christopher Fettweis, "Freedom Fighters and Zealots," 281-82, accessed May 12, 2024, <https://cfettweis.com/wp-content/uploads/Freedom-Fighters-and-Zealots.pdf>.

[38] Hoffman, Bruce. 1993. "'Holy Terror': The Implications of Terrorism Motivated by a Religious Imperative." RAND. 1993. <https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/papers/2007/P7834.pdf>.

[39] Webb, Clive. "Counterblast: How the Atlanta Temple Bombing Strengthened the Civil Rights Cause." Southern Spaces, 2009. <https://southernspaces.org/2009/counterblast-how-atlanta-temple-bombing-strengthened-civil-rights-cause/>.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] Wexler, America's Secret Jihad.

[42] COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES - HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. "THE PRESENT-DAY KU KLUX KLAN MOVEMENT REPORT COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES." Legislative Insight, December, 1967: 13. <https://li.proquest.com/elhpdf/histcontext/12808-7-H.doc.377.pdf>.

[43] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "National States Rights Party." FBI Records: The Vault, n.d.: 9. <https://vault.fbi.gov/National%20States%20Rights%20Party/National%20States%20Rights%20Party%20Part%20of%201%20of%201%20/view>

[44] Webb, “Counterblast: How the Atlanta Temple Bombing Strengthened the Civil Rights Cause.”

[45] Wexler, *America's Secret Jihad*, 65.

[46] Webb, “Counterblast: How the Atlanta Temple Bombing Strengthened the Civil Rights Cause.”

[47] Sims, Patsy. *The Klan*. University Press of Kentucky, 1996: 135.

[48] Atkins, Stephen E. *Encyclopedia of Right-Wing Extremism in Modern American History*. ABC-CLIO, 2011.

[49] Wexler, *America's Secret Jihad*, p. 17.

[50] Department of Justice. “Oxford Riots Files.” Department of Justice, 2011. <https://www.justice.gov/crt/foia/file/661946/dl.7>.

[51] Swift, Wesley A. “Zero Hour.” Dr. Wesley Swift Library, February, 1962. <https://swift.christogenea.org/articles/zero-hour-2-4-62>.

[52] Swift, Wesley A. “As In The Days Of Noah.” Dr. Wesley Swift Library, September, 1962. <https://swift.christogenea.org/articles/days-noah-9-30-62>

[53] Boylan, D. “A League of Their Own: A Look Inside the Christian Defense League.” CUBAN INFORMATION ARCHIVES, 2004. https://www.cuban-exile.com/doc_026-050/doc0046.html.

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] Weisburg, Harold. “Lynch Report.” Internet Archive, August 2015. <https://archive.org/details/nsia-LynchReport/mode/2up>.

[56] START. “Global Terrorism Database.” START.umd.edu., May 2022. <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/>.

[57] Sigoillot, Nicolas. *Entryism and the Revolutionary Socialist Left in Britain*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2023.

[58] *Ibid.*, 223.

[59] *Dynamics of World Revolution Today: Text of the Resolution Adopted by the The First (“Reunification”) Congress of the United Secretariat (Seventh World Congress)—June 1963*. Accessed June 24, 2024. <https://www.marxists.org/history/etol/document/fi/1963-1985/usfi/7thWC/usfi01.htm>.

[60] “Anarchism.” *Britannica*. Accessed June 24, 2024. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/anarchism/English-anarchist-thought>.

[61] Messer-Kruse, Timothy. *The Haymarket Conspiracy: Transatlantic Anarchist Networks*. Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2012.

[62] Marret, Jen-Luc. “The Jihadists and Anti-Terrorist Challenges in France: An Overview” In *Understanding Violent Radicalisation: Terrorist and Jihadist Movements in Europe* edited by Ranstorp, Magnus. Taylor & Francis, 2009.

[63] Jones, J. Harry. *The Minutemen*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1968: 251.

[64] Miller, John. “Politics of Hate in the USA, Part II: Right-Wing Mysticism and Beliefs.” *e-flux Journal*. No #34. <https://www.e-flux.com/journal/34/68352/politics-of-hate-in-the-usa-part-ii-right-wing-mysticism-and-beliefs/>.

[65] Jones, *Minutemen*, 311. Reported numbers vary and are contested. Some argue that the membership was never more than a few hundred people. This may be true of core

membership, but rank-and-file or passive members may have been in the thousands per others.

[66] *Ibid*, 293, 403.

[67] Greaney, T. J. "Minuteman Outlasted Notoriety, Died with Regrets." *Columbia Daily Tribune*. Accessed June 3, 2024. <https://www.columbiatribune.com/story/news/local/2009/08/06/minuteman-outlasted-notoriety-died-with/21549420007/>.

[68] Mahoney, Stephen. "A Milkman with Plastic Bombs in His Icebox." *Life Magazine*. November 11, 1966.

[69] Drabble, John. "To Ensure Domestic Tranquility: The FBI, Cointelpro-White Hate and Political Discourse, 1964-1971." *Journal of American Studies* 38, no. 2 (2004): 297–328. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27557518>.

[70] Mitchell, Jerry. "Christian Identity — the Hate That Still Kills." *The Clarion-Ledger*. Accessed June 25, 2024. <https://www.clarionledger.com/story/news/local/journeytojustice/2018/10/27/christian-identity-hate-still-kills/1789646002/>.

[71] Wexler, Stuart. "Mississippi Burning Killings: Religious Terrorism?" *The Clarion-Ledger*. Accessed June 25, 2024. <https://www.clarionledger.com/story/journeytojustice/2014/07/09/sam-bowers-mississippi-burning-christian-identity/12394409/>.

[72] Wexler, America's Secret Jihad, 91.

[73] Dennis, Delmar, and Joel Cunningham. *Klandestine: How a Klan Lawyer and a Checkbook Journalist Helped Eric Starvo Galt Escape Justice*. Vanguard Press, 1977: 49.

[74] Drabble, "To Ensure Domestic Tranquility."

[75] Newton, Michael. *The FBI and the KKK: A Critical History*. Jefferson, North Carolina, and London. 2009: 100.

[76] Wexler, *America's Secret Jihad*.

[77] Rapoport, David. "Waves of Global Terrorism: From 1879 to the Present." New York: Columbia University Press, 2022: 229-238.

[78] Miller, Michael E. "'The War of Races': How a Hateful Ideology Echoes through American History." *Washington Post*, December 27, 2019. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2019/12/27/war-races-how-hateful-ideology-echoes-through-american-history/>.

[79] Belew, Kathleen. *Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America*. N.p.: Harvard University Press, 2018. *Race war: The history of a white supremacist ideology - The Washington Post*

[80] Durham, Martin. 2007. "White Rage: The Extreme Right and American Politics." *National Academic Digital Library of Ethiopia*, 2007: 104. <http://ndl.ethernet.edu.et/bitstream/123456789/29347/1/19%20pdf.pdf>. Durham correctly notes that Beam, contrary to popular myth, did not originate the concept of Leaderless Resistance. That honor appears to go to Richard Cotten, a California minister in the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, a Klan leader and a member of the Minutemen. It appears likely that the push to move towards cell-based terrorism was a response to the successful pressure campaigns by way of the FBI.

[81] *Ibid*, 105.

[82] *Ibid*, 110; It is worth noting, again, that Salafi Jihadism followed a similar life-cycle after it manifested in right-wing spaces — from large organizations, to cell-based to "lone wolf" terrorism — in response to external counter-pressures.

[83] Ibid, 73, 76.

[84] Marks, Eliza. "The Revitalisation of Christian Identity Content on YouTube, Twitter, and TikTok – GNET." Global Network on Extremism & Technology, 2023. <https://gnet-research.org/2023/05/10/the-revitalisation-of-christian-identity-content-on-youtube-twitter-and-tiktok/>.

[85] Shadnia, Deebea, Alex Newhouse, Matt Kriner, and Arthur Bradley. "Militant Acceleration Coalitions: A Case Study in Neo-Fascist Accelerationist Coalition Building Online." Tech Against Terrorism, n.d. https://www.techagainstterrorism.org/hubfs/CTEC__TAT-Accelerationism-Report-.pdf.

[86] Wilkinson, Joseph. "What is the Black Robe Regiment? The latest movement in Christian nationalism." New York Daily News, September 22, 2022. <https://www.nydailynews.com/2022/09/22/what-is-the-black-robe-regiment-the-latest-movement-in-christian-nationalism/>. The Black Robe Regiment was a group of clergymen during the American Revolutionary War who used their sermons to inspire colonial resistance against British rule, drawing their name from the black robes they wore. In modern times, the term has been revived by Christian Nationalists who see themselves as spiritual successors advocating for political activism grounded in religious beliefs.

[87] Seidel, Andrew. CHRISTIAN NATIONALISM AND THE CAPITOL INSURRECTION, U.S. House of Representatives, March 18, 2022: 9-10 Written Testimony of Andrew L. Seidel of the Freedom From Religion Foundation on the role Christian Nationalism played in the lead up to and during the attack of January 6th. Delivered to the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol.

[88] Peters, Ken. "Patriot Church," WBIR.com, 2023. <https://www.wbir.com/article/news/local/the-patriot-church-march-3-2023/51-b342a4d0-8cb5-4c0e-8bbe-49a7113a93f3>. Patriot Church refers to a network of churches known for its blend of evangelical Christianity and conservative political activism. Based in Lenoir City, Tennessee, Peters' Patriot Church actively engages in culture war issues, notably protesting against drag performances and abortion.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Posner, Sarah. "How the Christian Right Helped Foment Insurrection." Rolling Stone, January 31, 2021. <https://www.rollingstone.com/culture/culture-features/capitol-christian-right-trump-1121236/>;

[91] For a comprehensive examination of the relationship between Christian Nationalism and the events of January 6, see: Seidel, Andrew. "Christian Nationalism and the Capitol Insurrection." Written Testimony Delivered to the House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6 Attack on the United States Capitol. March 18, 2022. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GPO-J6-DOC-CTRL0000062431/pdf/GPO-J6-DOC-CTRL0000062431.pdf>.

[92] Liles, Phil. "Jan. 6 insurrection was 'logical outcome' of extremism." VPM News, 2023. <https://www.vpm.org/news/2023-01-06/jan-6-insurrection-was-logical-outcome-of-extremism>.

[93] PRRI, "Support for Christian Nationalism in All 50 States."

[94] Ibid.

[95] Marks, Eliza. "The Revitalisation of Christian Identity Content on YouTube, Twitter, and TikTok – GNET." Global Network on Extremism & Technology, 2023. <https://gnet-research.org/>

2023/05/10/the-revitalisation-of-christian-identity-content-on-youtube-twitter-and-tiktok/.

[96] Center on Terrorism, Extremism, and Counterterrorism. "Christian Identity's New Role On The Extreme Right." Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, 2021. <https://www.middlebury.edu/institute/academics/centers-initiatives/ctec/ctec-publications/christian-identitys-new-role-extreme-right>.

[97] Shadnia, Newhouse, Kriner, and Bradley, "Militant Acceleration Coalitions."

[98] Smith, Peter. "BC Murer Linked to Hitler Adoring 'Christian Identity' Movement." Canadian Anti-Hate Network, 2021. https://www.antihate.ca/bc_murder_linked_hitler_adoring_christian_identity_movement.

[99] Sarna, Jonathan D. "The Long, Ugly Antisemitic History of 'Jews Will Not Replace Us.'" Brandeis University, 2021. <https://www.brandeis.edu/jewish-experience/jewish-america/2021/november/replacement-antisemitism-sarna.html>.

[100] Milenkovic, Bratislav, and Andy Beckett. "Accelerationism: how a fringe philosophy predicted the future we live in." The Guardian, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/11/accelerationism-how-a-fringe-philosophy-predicted-the-future-we-live-in>.

[101] Wexler, Stuart. "The Roots of American Anti-Semitism." Tablet Magazine, 2018. <https://www.tabletmag.com/sections/news/articles/the-roots-of-american-anti-semitism>.

[102] Lewis, Jon, and Haroro J. Ingram. "Founding Fathers of the Modern American Neo-Nazi Movement: The Impacts and Legacies of Louis Beam, William Luther Pierce,

and James Mason." Program on Extremism, June, 2023. <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2023-05/founding-fathers-final.pdf>.

[103] "Atomwaffen and the Siege Parallax: How One Neo-Nazi's Life's Work is Fueling a Younger Generation," Southern Poverty Law Center, February 28, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2018/02/22/atomwaffen-and-siege-parallaxhow-one-neo-nazi%E2%80%99s-life%E2%80%99s-work-fueling-younger-generation>.

[104] Mason, James, and Christopher Lythgoe. n.d. "SIEGE CULTURE AS A SUBCULTURE." CREST Research. September 2023. https://crestresearch.ac.uk/download/4653/23-040-01_larpocalypse_part_one_report.pdf.

[105] "Atomwaffen and the Siege Parallax."

[106] Ware, Jacob. "Siege: The Atomwaffen Division and Rising Far-Right Terrorism in the United States." International Centre for Counter-Terrorism, July, 2019. <https://www.icct.nl/sites/default/files/import/publication/ICCT-Ware-Siege-July2019.pdf>.

[107] Argentino, Marc-André, Amarnath Amarasingam, and Emmi Conley. "'One Struggle': Examining Narrative Syncretism between Accelerationists and Salafi-Jihadists." ICSR, 2022. <https://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/ICSR-Report-One-Struggle-Examining-Narrative-Syncretism-between-Accelerationists-and-Salafi%E2%80%99Jihadists.pdf>.



Program on Extremism

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
