

FAR-LEFT EXTREMIST GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 2022



EXTREME LEFT GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

Key Points



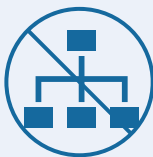
Far-left groups in the United States in the 20th century largely focused on issue-specific causes such as Puerto Rican independence or environmentalism.



Modern far-left groups largely focus on social justice issues such as racial equality, immigration rights, and abortion. These groups often align with socialist or anti-capitalist values out of protest against wealth inequity.



Gun ownership is a central characteristic of far-left groups such as the John Brown Gun Club and Redneck Revolt, which believe they must arm themselves for protection from the far right. These groups appear at protests brandishing firearms and serving as security forces while instructing others on how to use guns.



Today's far-left groups largely do not have hierarchal or even organizational structures like their far-right counterparts. Then-U.S. President Donald Trump called Antifa a terrorist group, but it is less a cohesive group and more a broad ideological opposition to perceived fascism. Antifa's lack of a uniform doctrine or organization results in followers presenting sometimes opposing ideals.

Far-left extremism in the United States largely centers around the notion of correcting an injustice but is otherwise broad in its ideological catchment. In the 20th century, U.S. left-wing extremism was synonymous with either communism or causes such as environmentalism. In the 1960s and '70s, the Weather Underground declared war against the U.S. government and carried out a campaign of political violence.¹

According to the FBI, far-left extremism in the United States was most active during the period between the 1960s and 1980s. Special-interest extremism began to emerge on the far-left in the 1990s, resulting in the promulgation of groups such as the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and Earth Liberation Front (ELF). The FBI estimated that between 1996 and 2002, these two groups were responsible for 600 criminal acts in the United States that caused more than \$42 million in damages.²

Throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, ALF and ELF targeted animal research facilities and corporations for acts of vandalism and destruction of property. After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, the U.S. government reevaluated how it approached terrorism abroad and at home. While the government focused on al-Qaeda as the primary foreign threat, federal authorities—partly in response to government lobbying by corporations victimized by ecoterrorists—considered ALF and ELF to be the primary

¹ Arthur M. Eckstein, "How the Weather Underground Failed at Revolution and Still Changed the World," *Time*, November 2, 2016, <http://time.com/4549409/the-weather-underground-bad-moon-rising/>.

² Testimony of Dale L. Watson, Executive Assistant Director, Counterterrorism/Counterintelligence Division *Federal Bureau of Investigation, Before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Washington, DC, FBI, February 6, 2002*, <https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/testimony/the-terrorist-threat-confronting-the-united-states>.

domestic terrorism threat in what media dubbed the Green Scare.³ By 2010, however, federal authorities had shifted their domestic focus to the threat of the far right, which continued to overshadow the radical far left in violent attacks while ALF and ELF focused on property damage.⁴ A July 2020 report by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) reviewed almost 900 politically motivated attacks since 1994. Researchers found that far-left attacks had resulted in only one fatality in that 25-year span, compared with 329 fatalities in attacks by the far right.⁵ In recent years, however, the radical far left has seen a resurgence in response to the rise of the far right, particularly since the 2017 Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, when far-right protesters clashed with far-left counter-protesters. A revitalized American far left has emerged to lead protest movements against the far right and perceived injustices. Armed groups such as the John Brown Gun Club formed to directly confront the violent far right and a broad interpretation of fascism, which often include symbols of capitalism and corporations. These manifestations have been on display during 2020

³ Alleen Brown, "The Green Scare," Intercept, March 23, 2019, <https://theintercept.com/2019/03/23/ecoterrorism-fbi-animal-rights/>; Juliet Eilperin, "As eco-terrorism wanes, governments still target activist groups seen as threat," *Washington Post*, March 10, 2012, https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/as-eco-terrorism-wanes-governments-still-target-activist-groups-seen-as-threat/2012/02/28/gIQAA4Ay3R_story.html; *Testimony of Dale L. Watson, Executive Assistant Director, Counterterrorism/Counterintelligence Division Federal Bureau of Investigation, Before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Washington, DC, FBI, February 6, 2002*, <https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/testimony/the-terrorist-threat-confronting-the-united-states>.

⁴ Kristina Davis, "Ecoterror arsons unsolved 10 years later," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, September 14, 2013, <https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/news/public-safety/sdut-ecoterror-arsons-elf-fbi-2013sep14.htmlstory.html>; Alleen Brown, "The Green Scare," Intercept, March 23, 2019, <https://theintercept.com/2019/03/23/ecoterrorism-fbi-animal-rights/>.

⁵ Lois Beckett, "Anti-fascists linked to zero murders in the US in 25 years," *Guardian* (London), July 27, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jul/27/us-rightwing-extremists-attacks-deaths-database-leftwing-antifa>.

protests against police brutality, during which the far left have become increasingly visible and destructive, leading then-President Donald Trump in May 2020 to call for designating the broad anti-fascist ideology Antifa a terrorist organization.⁶

The image of armed leftist groups such as the John Brown Gun Club can also invoke concern. In November 2020, counterinsurgency and military strategy expert David Kilcullen told *Salon* that while groups such as Redneck Revolt and the John Brown Gun Club claim to be largely defensive and seek to protect people on the streets from violence, the fear they evoke can also be a trigger for violence.⁷ This can spark conflict with police or violent far-right groups seeking an excuse to strike a blow to the far left.⁸

The president's desire to label Antifa a terrorist organization highlighted the problematic nature of modern far-left groups in the United States, which are largely less organized than their predecessors. During the mid- to late 20th century, far-left groups dedicated to causes such as Puerto Rican independence carried out bombings and other violent attacks across the United States. By the 1990s, however, authorities had largely dismantled the leadership infrastructure of these groups.⁹ Today, the far left largely

⁶ "Antifa: Trump says group will be designated 'terrorist organization,'" BBC News, May 31, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-52868295>.

⁷ Chauncey Devega, "Doomsday? Nearly half of 'strong Republicans' believe it's almost time for armed violence," *Salon*, July 27, 2022, <https://www.salon.com/2022/07/27/doomsday-nearly-half-of-strong-republicans-believe-its-almost-time-for-armed-violence/>.

⁸ Jason Lange, "U.S. Capitol riot to try to make then-President Donald Trump look bad," Reuters, June 9, 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/us/half-us-republicans-believe-left-led-jan-6-violence-reutersipsos-2022-06-09/>.

⁹ Testimony of Dale L. Watson, Executive Assistant Director, Counterterrorism/Counterintelligence Division

coalesces around ideologies and not specific individuals or structured organizations. Antifa and black bloc, for example, are centered around a broad opposition to fascism but are otherwise left open for individual interpretation, which results in varying tactics and even beliefs among adherents who may disagree on what is included under the fascist label. There are multiple groups in the United States that affiliate with the Antifa ideology, but they have no formal organizational relationship, formal leadership structure, or shared tactical approach. Similarly, black bloc is primarily a tactic used by far-left protesters rather than an actual group. But because of the tendency for black bloc agitators to dress all in black, including helmets, they draw more attention.

The far left encompasses multiple ideologies, but security experts believe that a large percentage of far-left radicals subscribe to at least one of three main classifications: anarchism, communism/socialism/Marxism, and autonomous radicals.¹⁰ Far-left groups have largely embraced social justice as a *raison d'être* in protest of perceived restrictions on liberty by the state. In the early and mid-20th century, the Communist Party USA (CPUSA) played a subversive role in promoting communism in the United States and aligned itself with the Soviet Union. Today, CPUSA promotes its dedication

Federal Bureau of Investigation, Before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Washington, DC, FBI, February 6, 2002, <https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/testimony/the-terrorist-threat-confronting-the-united-states>.

¹⁰ Jefferson Chase, "After G20: A look at left-wing radicalism in Europe," Deutsche Welle, July 10, 2017, <https://www.dw.com/en/after-g20-a-look-at-left-wing-radicalism-in-europe/a-39629507>.

to human rights and personal liberties alongside communism, which it heralds as the only guarantor of those freedoms.¹¹

Combined with a desire for violent confrontation and rejection of state authority, some on the far left have used social justice issues such as racial equality and immigration rights as a pretext to engage in violent retribution against symbols of the state. This is most prominently seen today in the use of black bloc tactics during protests, which ideological opponents have seized on to cast black bloc and Antifa as organized and unified groups. Anarchist groups such as the Youth Liberation Front are more organized on a local level but have no cohesive national network linking chapters across the country.¹² With the May 2022 leak of a U.S. Supreme Court decision to overturn the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision, which established the constitutional right to abortion, a new autonomous network emerged called Jane's Revenge. Named after the Jane Collective, an underground organization in Chicago that helped women obtain abortions prior to the 1973 decision, the anonymous network has claimed responsibility for vandalism and attacks on anti-abortion clinics around the United States since May 2022.¹³ Online communiques from the network cite a history of extremist violence against abortion

¹¹ "CPUSA Program," Communist Party USA, April 13, 2020, https://www.cpusa.org/party_info/party-program/#Capitalism.

¹² "About," PNW Youth Liberation Front, accessed September 21, 2020, <https://pnwylf.noblogs.org/about/>.

¹³ Judith Levine, "Beyond Revenge, What Does Jane's Revenge Want?," Intercept, June 16, 2022, <https://theintercept.com/2022/06/16/janes-revenge-abortion-rights/>; Alice Reid, "Report: Group claims credit for Madison anti-abortion office attack, warns of more," NBC 26, May 11, 2022, <https://www.nbc26.com/news/state/report-group-claims-credit-for-madison-anti-abortion-office-attack-warns-of-more>.

clinics forcing the adoption of extreme tactics to maintain their bodily autonomy.¹⁴ Like ALF and ELF, the members of Jane’s Revenge justify their extremism as the pursuit of the greater good.

Anarchism is a millennia-old philosophy that advocates a stateless society.¹⁵ French writer Pierre-Joseph Proudhon was the first to label himself an anarchist in 1840.¹⁶ Today’s anarchists often cite modern anarchist writer Alfredo M. Bonanno as an inspiration. In his 1977 essay “Armed Joy,” Bonanno exhorted followers to “shoot the policeman, the judge, the boss....”¹⁷ Bonanno’s works derided capitalism and encouraged followers to tear down its symbols.¹⁸ In his 1993 essay “For An Anti-authoritarian Insurrectionalist International,” Bonanno wrote that conservative voices had sidelined the radical left, causing it to regress. In response, Bonanno called for Mediterranean groups to coordinate an anti-authoritarian insurrection.¹⁹

¹⁴ Robert Evans, Twitter post, May 10, 2022, 3:24 a.m., <https://twitter.com/lwriteOK/status/1523926941572550656>.

¹⁵ Kory Flowers, “Understanding the Black Bloc,” *Police Magazine*, January 30, 2015, <http://www.policemag.com/channel/patrol/articles/2015/01/understanding-the-black-bloc.aspx>.

¹⁶ Arif Dirlik, George Woodcock, Franklin Rosemont, and Martin A. Miller, “Anarchism,” Encyclopaedia Britannica, accessed November 19, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/anarchism>.

¹⁷ Alfredo M. Bonanno, “Armed Joy,” The Anarchist Library, accessed November 19, 2018, <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/alfredo-m-bonanno-armed-joy>.

¹⁸ Alfredo M. Bonanno, “Armed Joy,” The Anarchist Library, accessed November 19, 2018, <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/alfredo-m-bonanno-armed-joy>.

¹⁹ Alfredo M. Bonanno, “For An Anti-authoritarian Insurrectionalist International,” The Anarchist Library, accessed November 19, 2018, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/alfredo-m-bonanno-for-an-anti-authoritarian-insurrectionalist-international>.

The far left has not uniformly embraced anarchism. A common theme between anarchist and non-anarchist groups, however, is a rejection of authority. This manifests itself as opposition to colonialism, authoritarianism, and—in common with anarchism—state authority. The far left opposes state oppression and believes that strengthening government and security institutions is a path toward a police state or fascism, which should be confronted.²⁰ According to German authorities, the extreme left believes that it can goad the state into revealing its true fascist nature by eliciting violent reactions.²¹ Far-left protesters have also engaged in violence against the far right as part of a self-declared opposition to racism and fascism, as can be seen by Antifa and black bloc actions during 2020 protests. According to Germany's Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, however, the extreme left only superficially opposes fascist movements, focusing more on undermining the capitalist system.²² U.S. Attorney General William Barr has directly accused Antifa and related groups of hijacking peaceful protests in the United States to promote anarchism.²³

²⁰ "Left-wing extremists' fields of activity," Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, accessed August 20, 2018, <https://www.verfassungsschutz.de/en/fields-of-work/left-wing-extremism/figures-and-facts-left-wing-extremism/left-wing-extremists-fields-of-activity-2014>.

²¹ "Brief summary 2017 Report on the Protection of the Constitution," Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, 2017, 20, <https://www.verfassungsschutz.de/embed/annual-report-2017-summary.pdf>

²² "Left-wing extremists' fields of activity," Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, accessed August 20, 2018, <https://www.verfassungsschutz.de/en/fields-of-work/left-wing-extremism/figures-and-facts-left-wing-extremism/left-wing-extremists-fields-of-activity-2014>.

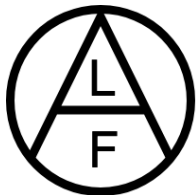
²³ Claire Hansen, "White House Addresses Trump Pledge to Designate Antifa a Terrorist Group," U.S. News & World Report, June 1, 2020, <https://www.usnews.com/news/national-news/articles/2020-06-01/white-house-addresses-trump-pledge-to-designate-antifa-a-terrorist-group>.

CEP has profiled



Far-left movements either previously or currently active in the United States

Organizations



Animal Liberation Front

Base of Operations: International.

Website: Not determined.

Social Media Presence: Not determined.

Leadership: ALF is a leaderless organization.

Membership Size and Relevance: ALF has no formal membership. It is comprised of anonymous, autonomous cells bound by a central ideology to halt animal testing and promote animal rights.²⁴ ALF organizes into these cells to prevent infiltration by law enforcement and accused

²⁴ "Animal Liberation Front," PetSide, accessed August 5, 2020, <https://www.petside.com/animal-liberation-front/>.

animal abusers. ALF is present in at least 40 countries around the world.²⁵ In April 2022, Joseph Mahmoud Dibee pleaded guilty to involvement in multiple arsons committed by a cell of ALF and Earth Liberation Front (ELF) members known as “the family.” Dibee was arrested in 2018 and his case renewed public interest in the group.²⁶

The Animal Liberation Front (ALF) is a far-left extremist group focused on animal rights.²⁷ The group originated in the United Kingdom but has a presence in 40 countries around the world. In the United States, ALF has claimed responsibility for arson and vandalism against animal research facilities, farms, restaurants, and other businesses the group considers harmful to animals.

²⁵ “Frequently Asked Questions About the North American Animal Liberation Press Office,” North American Animal Liberation Press Office, accessed August 5, 2020, <https://animalliberationpressooffice.org/NAALPO/f-a-q-s/#2>.

²⁶ ²⁶ “Pacific Northwest Environmental Extremist and Arsonist Pleads Guilty,” U.S. Department of Justice, April 22, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/pacific-northwest-environmental-extremist-and-arsonist-pleads-guilty>; Christine Chung, “Man Who Fleed U.S. in 2005 Pleads Guilty to Environmental Arson Conspiracies,” *New York Times*, April 25, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/25/us/joseph-dibee-environmental-arson-fugitive.html>; Sam Raskin, “‘Environmental extremist’ group leader Joseph Dibee pleads guilty to arson,” *New York Post*, April 24, 2022, <https://nypost.com/2022/04/24/environmental-extremist-joseph-dibee-pleads-guilty-to-arson/>; Conrad Wilson, “Trial Will Decide Who Can Be Labeled A Domestic Terrorist,” NPR, July 6, 2021, <https://www.npr.org/2021/07/06/1013496140/trial-will-decide-who-can-be-labeled-a-domestic-terrorist>.

²⁷ Testimony of Dale L. Watson, Executive Assistant Director, Counterterrorism/Counterintelligence Division *Federal Bureau of Investigation, Before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Washington, DC, FBI, February 6, 2002*, <https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/testimony/the-terrorist-threat-confronting-the-united-states>.

ALF emerged in England in the 1970s. British animal rights activist Ronnie Lee was a member of the Hunt Saboteurs Association (HSA) in England, a group that worked to sabotage hunting expeditions. He later formed an offshoot called the Band of Mercy, which changed its name to the Animal Liberation Front in 1976.²⁸ Lee served three years in prison after his 1974 arrest for a raid on Oxford Laboratory Animal Colonies in Bicester, England, with Cliff Goodman. Upon his release, Lee became press officer of the Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group, for which he was arrested in 1986 and sentenced to 10 years in prison for conspiracy to damage property connected with animal abuse. After his release in 1992, Lee began speaking publicly on his own about animal rights and eventually veganism.²⁹

ALF's core ideology is built on four basic tenets: free animals from abuse; damage those profiting from the suffering and exploitation of animals; expose hidden cruelties against animals through non-violent actions and freeing of animals; and take all necessary precautions to prevent harm to animals or humans.³⁰ Despite this commitment to avoiding harm, ALF's actions have included bombings, arson, and other

²⁸ "Ronnie Lee," International Animal Rights Conference, accessed June 17, 2022, https://ar-conference.org/2012/ronnie_lee.php; "RONNIE LEE: ENCOURAGING VEGAN EDUCATION," VegfestUK, October 14, 2019, <https://www.vegfest.co.uk/2019/10/14/ronnie-lee-encouraging-vegan-education/#>;

²⁹ "Ronnie Lee," International Animal Rights Conference, accessed June 17, 2022, https://ar-conference.org/2012/ronnie_lee.php; "RONNIE LEE: ENCOURAGING VEGAN EDUCATION," VegfestUK, October 14, 2019, <https://www.vegfest.co.uk/2019/10/14/ronnie-lee-encouraging-vegan-education/#>; Maria Chiorando, "Animal Liberation Front Founder Proposes New Definition Of Veganism," Plant Based News, August 20, 2018, <https://plantbasednews.org/news/animal-liberation-front-founder-proposes-new-definition-veganism/>; Grace Hwang, "Examining Extremism: Violent Animal Rights Extremists," Center for Strategic & International Studies, August 20, 2021, <https://www.csis.org/blogs/examining-extremism/examining-extremism-violent-animal-rights-extremists>.

³⁰ "Animal Liberation Front," PetSide, accessed August 5, 2020, <https://www.petside.com/animal-liberation-front/>.

attacks that have resulted in injuries. In the 1980s and 1990s, several letter bombs and car bombs were attributed to ALF. ALF distanced itself from those attacks and they were later claimed by ALF breakaway groups called the Justice Department and Animal Rights Militia. Both groups allegedly broke from ALF because they sought more direct action, but some researchers believe the three groups maintain close ties and ALF uses the other two to maintain plausible deniability of violent activities.³¹

The FBI closely associates ALF with the tactic of arson and accuses ALF of setting fire to several animal research facilities, fur companies, mink farms, and restaurants resulting in losses of more than \$45 million during the 1990s.³² Specifically, a cell of ALF and Earth Liberation Front (ELF) members known as “the Family” were responsible for a series of fires between 1995 and 2001.³³ The group set approximately 20 fires in Oregon, Washington, California, Wyoming, and Colorado blamed by federal investigators on the Family. The alleged ringleader, William C. Rodgers, a.k.a. Avalon, was arrested in December 2005 and committed suicide in an Arizona jail that month.³⁴

³¹ “Violent Extremism,” AREInfo, accessed August 5, 2020, <http://www.animalrightsextremism.info/animal-rights-extremism/history-of-animal-rights-extremism/violent-extremism/>.

³² Testimony of Dale L. Watson, Executive Assistant Director, Counterterrorism/Counterintelligence Division *Federal Bureau of Investigation, Before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Washington, DC*, FBI, February 6, 2002, <https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/testimony/the-terrorist-threat-confronting-the-united-states>.

³³ Conrad Wilson, “Eco-activist and former international fugitive Joseph Dibee pleads guilty in 1997 Oregon arson,” OPB, April 21, 2022, <https://www.opb.org/article/2022/04/21/joseph-dibee-environmental-terrorism-oregon-washington-earth-liberation-front-animal/>.

³⁴ Associated Press, “2 plead guilty in 1998 arson of Vail ski resort; attack caused \$12M in damage,” *USA Today*, December 14, 2006, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/nation/2006-12-14-vail-arsons_x.htm; Vanessa Grigoriadis, “The Rise and Fall of the Eco-Radical Underground,” *Rolling Stone*, June 21, 2011,

ALF has also released animals from farms and other facilities, such as in August 2003 when ALF claimed responsibility for releasing more than 10,000 mink from a farm in Washington state.³⁵ ALF allegedly believes it must break “the unjust laws” that allow the exploitation of animals.³⁶ Further, ALF justifies violent acts such as arson because they financially hurt those ALF classifies as animal abusers.³⁷ Between 1995 and 2010, ALF was responsible for 45 percent of 239 arson and bombing attacks recorded by the Department of Homeland security and attributed to environmental terrorists.³⁸ After the 9/11 terror attacks, the FBI focused its efforts on domestic terrorist threats, while corporate lobbying pushed the government to take decisive action against ecoterrorists specifically. The FBI labeled ALF a domestic terrorist organization and the Justice Department began a campaign pursuing ecoterrorists as the nation’s top domestic

<https://www.rollingstone.com/culture/culture-news/the-rise-and-fall-of-the-eco-radical-underground-245345/>.

³⁵ Christopher Schwarzen and Jennifer Sullivan, “10,000 mink released from Sultan farm cages,” *Seattle Times*, August 26, 2003, <https://archive.seattletimes.com/archive/?date=20030826&slug=mink26m>.

³⁶ “Frequently Asked Questions About the North American Animal Liberation Press Office,” North American Animal Liberation Press Office, accessed August 5, 2020, <https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/f-a-q-s/#2>.

³⁷ “Frequently Asked Questions About the North American Animal Liberation Press Office,” North American Animal Liberation Press Office, accessed August 5, 2020, <https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/f-a-q-s/#2>.

³⁸ Steven M. Chermak, Joshua Freilich, Celinet Duran, and William S. Parkin, “An Overview of Bombing and Arson Attacks by Environmental and Animal Rights Extremists in the United States, 1995-2010,” Final Report to the Resilient Systems Division, Science and Technology Directorate, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/OPSR_TP_TEVUS_Bombing-Arson-Attacks_Environmental-Animal%20Rights-Extremists_1309-508.pdf.

terrorist threat.³⁹ In 2009, an ALF spokesman said some members had turned to violence following the failure of years of peaceful campaigning.⁴⁰

Following the 9/11 attacks, the FBI ramped up its surveillance and other activities against ALF and ELF. In December 2001, domestic terrorism section chief of the FBI, James Jarboe, called ALF and ELF “the No. 1 priority in the domestic terrorism program.”⁴¹ In congressional testimony in 2004, John Lewis, deputy assistant director of the FBI Counterterrorism Division, called the investigation of animal rights extremists and ecoterrorism matters the FBI’s highest domestic terrorism investigative priority.⁴²

³⁹ Alleen Brown, “The Green Scare,” *Intercept*, March 23, 2019, <https://theintercept.com/2019/03/23/ecoterrorism-fbi-animal-rights/>; Juliet Eilperin, “As eco-terrorism wanes, governments still target activist groups seen as threat,” *Washington Post*, March 10, 2012, https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/as-eco-terrorism-wanes-governments-still-target-activist-groups-seen-as-threat/2012/02/28/gIQAA4Ay3R_story.html; *Testimony of Dale L. Watson, Executive Assistant Director, Counterterrorism/Counterintelligence Division Federal Bureau of Investigation, Before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Washington, DC, FBI, February 6, 2002*, <https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/testimony/the-terrorist-threat-confronting-the-united-states>.

⁴⁰ Daniel B. Wood, “Animal-rights activists get personal in wave of California attacks,” *Christian Science Monitor*, March 13, 2009, <https://www.csmonitor.com/USA/2009/0313/p02s01-usgn.html>.

⁴¹ Alleen Brown, “The Green Scare,” *Intercept*, March 23, 2019, <https://theintercept.com/2019/03/23/ecoterrorism-fbi-animal-rights/>; Juliet Eilperin, “As eco-terrorism wanes, governments still target activist groups seen as threat,” *Washington Post*, March 10, 2012, https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/as-eco-terrorism-wanes-governments-still-target-activist-groups-seen-as-threat/2012/02/28/gIQAA4Ay3R_story.html; *Testimony of Dale L. Watson, Executive Assistant Director, Counterterrorism/Counterintelligence Division Federal Bureau of Investigation, Before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Washington, DC, FBI, February 6, 2002*, <https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/testimony/the-terrorist-threat-confronting-the-united-states>.

⁴² Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler and Cas Mudde, “Ecoterrorism: threat or political ploy?,” *Washington Post*, December 19, 2014, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/12/19/ecoterrorism-threat-or-political-ploy/>.

Individuals affiliated with the ALF ideology continue to organize protests and carry out acts of sabotage and vandalism of animal research, agriculture, and hunting facilities, resulting in thousands of dollars in damage.⁴³ A November 2004 raid on an animal research lab at the University of Iowa, for example, resulted in \$450,000 in damage after ALF released more than 400 animals.⁴⁴ In December 2016, ALF members vandalized a fur store in Ontario, Canada.⁴⁵ In 2019, ALF members launched a vandalism campaign against McDonald's restaurants in Colorado and Wisconsin.⁴⁶ In June 2022, ALF claimed responsibility for sabotaging 26 hunting towers in Belgium.⁴⁷

⁴³ "ALF Destroys 29 Hunting Towers (Belgium)," North American Animal Liberation Press Office, June 11, 2022, <https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/2022/06/11/alf-destroys-29-hunting-towers-belgium/>; "Animal Liberation Front Retaliates for the Murder of Activist Regan Russell," North American Animal Liberation Press Office, July 12, 2020, <https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/2020/07/12/animal-liberation-front-retaliates-for-the-murder-of-activist-regan-russell/>; "Animal Liberation Front Liberates 21 Mice from Louisiana State University," North American Animal Liberation Press Office, April 26, 2005, <https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/2005/04/26/animal-liberation-front-liberates-21-mice-from-louisiana-state-university/>.

⁴⁴ "University of Iowa Claims \$450K Loss in November ALF Raid," North American Animal Liberation Press Office, March 18, 2005, <https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/2005/03/18/university-of-iowa-claims-450k-loss-in-november-alf-raid/>; Associated Press, "Investigation into 2004 UI lab attack apparently stalls," *Gazette*, November 30, 2010, <https://www.thegazette.com/news/investigation-into-2004-ui-lab-attack-apparently-stalls/>.

⁴⁵ "Fur Outlet Sabotaged by ALF in Ontario, Canada," North American Animal Liberation Press Office, December 29, 2016, <https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/2016/12/29/fur-outlet-sabotaged-by-alf-in-ontario-canada/>.

⁴⁶ ALF Defaces McDonalds in Delafield, Wisconsin," North American Animal Liberation Press Office, October 12, 2019, <https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/2019/10/12/alf-defaces-mcdonalds-in-delafield-wisconsin/>; "McDonalds Continues to Incur the Wrath of ALF (Firestone, Colorado)," North American Animal Liberation Press Office, July 26, 2019, <https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/2019/07/26/mcdonalds-continues-to-incur-the-wrath-of-alf-firestone-colorado/>.

⁴⁷ "ALF Destroys 29 Hunting Towers (Belgium)," North American Animal Liberation Press Office, June 11, 2022, <https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/2022/06/11/alf-destroys-29-hunting-towers-belgium/>.

Recruitment and Propaganda

A website called the North American Animal Liberation Press Office (NAALPO) relays information from ALF. The website's operators claim they are unaffiliated with ALF and do not know the people in charge of ALF, as it is an anonymous organization. Nonetheless, the NAALPO outlines ALF's agenda and how to get involved. The website also publishes ALF claims of responsibility and defends the group against accusations of terrorism.⁴⁸

According to the NAALPO, those who wish to join ALF should join with other like-minded individuals and start taking direct action. The NAALPO provides links to information on how to take direct action in line with ALF's ideology.⁴⁹

Violent Activities

– January 8, 2012

ALF activists set fire to a truck storage area at Harris Farms in Fresno County, California. The NAALPO issued ALF's claim of responsibility.

⁴⁸ "Frequently Asked Questions About the North American Animal Liberation Press Office," North American Animal Liberation Press Office, accessed August 5, 2020, <https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/f-a-q-s/#2>.

⁴⁹ "Frequently Asked Questions About the North American Animal Liberation Press Office," North American Animal Liberation Press Office, accessed August 5, 2020, <https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/f-a-q-s/#2>.

– **March 7, 2009**

Unknown individuals firebomb the car of University of California, Los Angeles professor David Jentsch outside his home because of his animal research. There were no casualties. ALF claimed responsibility.⁵⁰

– **October 2011**

Joseph Mahmoud Dibee and others attempted to destroy the U.S. Bureau of Land Management’s Wild Horse Corrals, a government-owned facility used to remove wild horses from public lands located near Litchfield, California. The attack destroyed a barn and its contents.⁵¹

– **October 19, 1998**

Members of ALF and ELF, known as “the Family,” ignited diesel firebombs at the Two Elk Resort in Vail Mountain, Colorado, destroying the lodge. ELF claims told the fire was intended to deter development in Blue Sky Basin, which they said was habitat for the Canada lynx. In December 2006, two of the conspirators, Chelsea Dawn Gerlach and Stanislas Gregory Meyerhoff, pleaded guilty to federal arson charges. Another conspirator, Rebecca Rubin, fled to Canada. After five years as a fugitive, Rubin turned herself over to the FBI in November 2012. In February 2014,

⁵⁰ Daniel B. Wood, “Animal-rights activists get personal in wave of California attacks,” *Christian Science Monitor*, March 13, 2009, <https://www.csmonitor.com/USA/2009/0313/p02s01-usgn.html>.

⁵¹ “Pacific Northwest Environmental Extremist and Arsonist Pleads Guilty,” U.S. Department of Justice, April 21, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-or/pr/pacific-northwest-environmental-extremist-and-arsonist-pleads-guilty>.

Rubin was sentenced to five years in prison. Josephine Sunshine Overaker remains at large. Authorities believe she fled to Europe.⁵²

– **July 21, 1997**

Joseph Mahmoud Dibee and others destroyed the Cavel West Meat Packing Plant in Redmond, Oregon, causing \$1.2 million in damages. In April 2022, Dibee pleaded guilty to arson and conspiracy to commit arson in the District of Oregon and conspiracy to commit arson in the Eastern District of California.⁵³

– **March 11, 1997**

Douglas Joshua Ellerman set fire to the Fur Breeders Agricultural co-op in Sandy, Utah. He later turned himself in and was sentenced to seven years in prison and restitution of approximately \$750,000. ALF did not officially claim the incident but Ellerman admits that he belongs to the group.⁵⁴

⁵² Associated Press, “2 plead guilty in 1998 arson of Vail ski resort; attack caused \$12M in damage,” *USA Today*, December 14, 2006, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/nation/2006-12-14-vail-arsons_x.htm; Randy Wyrick, “Two Elk eco-terrorist sentenced to prison,” *Post Independent*, February 2, 2014, <https://www.postindependent.com/news/local/two-elk-eco-terrorist-sentenced-to-prison/>; “MOST WANTED – JOSEPHINE SUNSHINE OVERAKER,” FBI, accessed June 16, 2022, <https://www.fbi.gov/wanted/dt/josephine-sunshine-overaker>; “Pacific Northwest Environmental Extremist and Arsonist Pleads Guilty,” U.S. Department of Justice, April 22, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/pacific-northwest-environmental-extremist-and-arsonist-pleads-guilty>.

⁵³ “Pacific Northwest Environmental Extremist and Arsonist Pleads Guilty,” U.S. Department of Justice, April 21, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-or/pr/pacific-northwest-environmental-extremist-and-arsonist-pleads-guilty>; Zane Sparling, “Suspected Earth Liberation Front arsonist captured after 12 years on the run,” *Portland Tribune*, August 10, 2018, <https://pamplinmedia.com/pt/9-news/403164-300186-suspected-earth-liberation-front-arsonist-captured-after-12-years-on-the-run>.

⁵⁴ Testimony of Dale L. Watson, Executive Assistant Director, Counterterrorism/Counterintelligence Division

– **October 1996 – December 2005**

At least 16 individuals affiliated with ALF and ELF conspire to damage or destroy various commercial and government-owned properties.⁵⁵

– **June 1991**

ALF claimed responsibility for arson attacks on an Oregon State University mink research farm near Corvallis, Oregon, and the Northwest Farm Food Cooperative in Edmonds, Washington, which produces feed for mink farms.⁵⁶

– **February 28, 1992**

Rodney Coronado broke into the Michigan State University (MSU) office of researcher Richard Aulerich in East Lansing, Michigan, and set off a pre-dawn firebomb. Coronado reportedly believed Aulerich's research was funded by the commercial fur industry. The bomb destroyed Aulerich's office and damaged three others. The attack led to the loss of more than 30 years of research for Aulerich and caused more than \$1 million in damage. The morning of the attack, Coronado also vandalized an MSU-run mink farm near campus. ALF claimed responsibility in a

Federal Bureau of Investigation, Before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Washington, DC, FBI, February 6, 2002, <https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/testimony/the-terrorist-threat-confronting-the-united-states>.

⁵⁵ "Pacific Northwest Environmental Extremist and Arsonist Pleads Guilty," U.S. Department of Justice, April 21, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-or/pr/pacific-northwest-environmental-extremist-and-arsonist-pleads-guilty>.

⁵⁶ Christopher Schwarzen and Jennifer Sullivan, "10,000 mink released from Sultan farm cages," *Seattle Times*, August 26, 2003, <https://archive.seattletimes.com/archive/?date=20030826&slug=mink26m>; Associated Press, "Fedex Shipment Led To Animal Rights Activist Delinquent Account, Phone Records Helped Catch Fugitive Rodney Coronado," *Spokesman-Review*, August 16, 1995, <https://www.spokesman.com/stories/1995/aug/16/fedex-shipment-led-to-animal-rights-activist/>.

press release, which Coronado admitted to writing. Coronado pleaded guilty in 1995 but claimed he was not the one who set off the bomb. He was sentenced to four years and nine months in prison and ordered to pay \$2.5 million in restitution to MSU and other universities and farms he had targeted. In 2017, he admitted to acting alone on behalf of ALF.⁵⁷

– **1987**

An arson attack destroyed an animal diagnostics laboratory under construction at the University of California, Davis. It is the first arson attack claimed by ALF.⁵⁸

Rhetoric

– **ALF statement, July 12, 2020**

“We want to dedicate this action to Regan Russell, murdered under the truck wheels in front of a Toronto slaughterhouse, and we are hoping from our comrades worldwide to wake up to the reality that animal liberation is a war. Regan, like Jill or Mike, fell martyr in the fight for animal liberation. Don’t let their names be forgotten and fight back the oppressor until we win.”⁵⁹

⁵⁷ R.J. Wolcott, “Ecoterrorist admits firebombing MSU 25 years ago,” *Detroit Free Press*, February 23, 2017, <https://www.freep.com/story/news/local/michigan/2017/02/23/ecoterrorist-rodney-coronado-firebombing-msu/98295732/>.

⁵⁸ Alleen Brown, “The Green Scare,” *Intercept*, March 23, 2019, <https://theintercept.com/2019/03/23/ecoterrorism-fbi-animal-rights/>.

⁵⁹ “Animal Liberation Front Retaliates for the Murder of Activist Regan Russell,” North American Animal Liberation Press Office, July 12, 2020, <https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/2020/07/12/animal-liberation-front-retaliates-for-the-murder-of-activist-regan-russell/>.

– **ALF statement, November 1, 2019:**

“For ‘World Vegan Day’, Ben & Jerry’s decided to advertise free plant based ice cream for a day. So we decided to show them that this advertising attracts actual vegans as well.

“The paint on the side of their building ensures that anyone who walks by will know what they are walking by; a company whose massive profits come from the sexual violation of millions of persons, all while pretending to ‘resist’ and be ‘woke’ in their online presence.

“We do not want your vegan capitalism. We don’t want vegan options. We want animal liberation. Take your cash grab and shove it.

“Until all your exploitative business fronts and factories are rubble.”⁶⁰

– **ALF statement, October 12, 2019:**

“Anti speciesist action was taken against a McDonalds in ‘America’s Dairyland’.

“The locals are some of the most grim, unfeeling, and uncaring speciesists in the states. We are doing what little we can to throw a wrench in their gears.

“Multiple messages were painted on the sides of this location, and we planned on

⁶⁰ “ALF Targets Ice Cream Store in Denver (USA),” North American Animal Liberation Press Office, November 2, 2019, <https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/2019/11/02/alf-targets-ice-cream-store-in-denver-usa/>.

destroying some windows hadn't there been a sudden police presence nearby.

"In solidarity with those caught in the 'terrorist' spotlight and spending decades of their life behind bars for victimless 'crimes'.

"None of us are free until we are all free."⁶¹

– **ALF statement, July 23, 2019:**

"Solidarity with our comrades facing trial.

"Some activist showed up late in the week of solidarity action to redecorate and give a friendly knock to a local McDonalds. The bright red painted messages of peace were washed away quickly, but that window will take a few days to replace.

"We must use our privilege as humans to fight back against the system that keeps animals oppressed.

"Calling out everyone who talks the animal liberation talk but does not take action. You have temporary freedom to lose, the animals lose their entire lives. You feel nervous about getting caught, they feel nervous on their way to see their friends murdered in front of them.

⁶¹ "ALF Defaces McDonalds in Delafield, Wisconsin," North American Animal Liberation Press Office, October 12, 2019, <https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/2019/10/12/alf-defaces-mcdonalds-in-delafield-wisconsin/>.

“They can’t wait. The earth can’t wait. Get off your ass and FIGHT.”⁶²

– **Rodney Coronado, newspaper interview, 2017:**

“I won’t sugar coat it; we were about psychological warfare. We wanted researchers like Aulerich never to know when they came to work and opened their office door whether there had been an attack. We wanted them to live in fear.”⁶³

– **Craig Rosebraugh, ALF spokesman, October 2001:**

“If the U.S. government is truly concerned with eradicating terrorism in the world, then that effort must begin with abolishing U.S. imperialism. Members of this governing body, both in the House and Senate as well as those who hold positions in the executive branch, constitute the largest group of terrorists and terrorist representatives currently threatening life on this planet.”⁶⁴

⁶² “McDonalds Continues to Incur the Wrath of ALF (Firestone, Colorado),” North American Animal Liberation Press Office, July 26, 2019, <https://animalliberationpressoffice.org/NAALPO/2019/07/26/mcdonalds-continues-to-incur-the-wrath-of-alf-firestone-colorado/>.

⁶³ R.J. Wolcott, “Ecoterrorist admits firebombing MSU 25 years ago,” *Detroit Free Press*, February 23, 2017, <https://www.freep.com/story/news/local/michigan/2017/02/23/ecoterrorist-rodney-coronado-firebombing-msu/98295732/>.

⁶⁴ Alleen Brown, “The Green Scare,” *Intercept*, March 23, 2019, <https://theintercept.com/2019/03/23/ecoterrorism-fbi-animal-rights/>.



Antifa

Base of Operations: International.

Website: Various Antifa groups have created individual websites. One group for example, New York City Antifa, has a site at <https://nycantifa.wordpress.com/>. Antifa Philadelphia has a site at <https://phillyantifa.org/>.

Social Media Presence: Various Antifa groups have created accounts on Twitter, Facebook, Tumblr, and other social media platforms.⁶⁵

Leadership: Antifa has no central leadership or organizational structure. Individual Antifa groups exist but they are unrelated to each other and act independently.

Membership Size and Relevance: Antifa has no central organizational structure and thus no membership rolls. Multiple Antifa groups have formed across the United States, but they are largely independent of each other. These groups have turned to social media to spread their messages. Among them, New York City Antifa had more than 70,000 followers on Twitter as of June 2022.⁶⁶ ANTIFA Philadelphia had almost 20,000 followers on Twitter as of June 2022.⁶⁷ A group calling itself Antifa International had more than 40,000 followers on Twitter as of

⁶⁵ Zack Beauchamp, "Antifa, explained," Vox, June 8, 2020, <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2020/6/8/21277320/antifa-anti-fascist-explained>; Peter Beinart, "The Rise of the Violent Left," *Atlantic*, September 2017, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/09/the-rise-of-the-violent-left/534192/?utm_content=edit-promo&utm_campaign=the-atlantic&utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=social&utm_term=2020-06-01T16%253A31%253A00.

⁶⁶ New York City Antifa, Twitter account, accessed June 24, 2022, <https://twitter.com/NYCAntifa>.

⁶⁷ ANTIFA Philadelphia, Twitter account, accessed June 24, 2022, <https://twitter.com/PhillyANTIFA>.

June 2022.⁶⁸ Hub City Antifa in New Brunswick, New Jersey, had more than 5,200 followers on Twitter as of June 2022.⁶⁹

Antifa rose to national prominence in the United States following the 2017 Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, when Antifa activists violently confronted far-right marchers. U.S. media has since reported on numerous protests by Antifa that have turned violent.⁷⁰ In May 2020, U.S. President Donald Trump tweeted that the United States would soon designate Antifa as a terrorist organization.⁷¹

As of June 2022, the U.S. government had taken no such action. Further, while the U.S. government accused Antifa of driving violence during anti-police and social justice protests in recent years—particularly in Portland, Oregon, during anti-police riots in the summer of 2020—subsequent U.S. government investigations have not found evidence to

⁶⁸ Antifa International, Twitter account, accessed June 24, 2022, <https://twitter.com/antifaintl>.

⁶⁹ Hub City Antifa, Twitter account, accessed June 24, 2022, <https://twitter.com/HubCityAntifa>.

⁷⁰ Jennifer Williams, “Antifa clashes with police and journalists in Charlottesville and DC,” Vox, August 12, 2018, <https://www.vox.com/identities/2018/8/12/17681986/antifa-leftist-violence-clashes-protests-charlottesville-dc-unite-the-right>; Kyle Swenson, “Black-clad antifa members attack peaceful right-wing demonstrators in Berkeley,” *Washington Post*, August 28, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2017/08/28/black-clad-antifa-attack-right-wing-demonstrators-in-berkeley/?noredirect=on>.

⁷¹ Maggie Haberman and Charlie Savage, “Trump, Lacking Clear Authority, Says U.S. Will Declare Antifa a Terrorist Group,” *New York Times*, May 31, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/31/us/politics/trump-antifa-terrorist-group.html>.

corroborate such allegations.⁷² In September 2020, acting Department of Homeland Security (DHS) Secretary Chad Wolf announced the DHS was investigating prosecuting leaders of Antifa and Black Lives Matter over the Portland riots.⁷³ On January 6, 2021, however, DHS released an internal report that concluded senior leadership had promoted unfounded conspiracies about antifascists, encouraged staff to violate constitutional rights, and falsely connected Antifa to protesters who engaged in criminal activity. According to the report, DHS frequently used the term “Violent Antifa Anarchists Inspired” in intelligence reports, but a review team could find no intelligence to support that conclusion a “core set of threat actors” inspired by Antifa were leading the protests.⁷⁴ While individuals who associate with the Antifa ideology have engaged

⁷² Bill Gertz, “Antifa planned anti-government insurgency before George Floyd protests: law enforcement official,” *Washington Times*, June 3, 2020, <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2020/jun/3/antifa-planned-anti-government-insurgency-george-f/>

⁷³ Andrew Blake, “Chad Wolf, acting DHS chief: DOJ ‘working on’ bringing charges against leadership of BLM, Antifa,” *Washington Times*, September 1, 2020, <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2020/sep/1/chad-wolf-acting-dhs-chief-doj-working-on-bringing/>.

⁷⁴ Maxine Bernstein, “DHS compiled intelligence reports on protesters arrested in Portland without legal justification, report finds,” *Oregonian*, October 2, 2021, <https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2021/10/dhs-compiled-intelligence-reports-on-protesters-arrested-in-portland-without-legal-justification-report-finds.html>;

“DHS compiled intelligence reports on protesters arrested in Portland without legal justification, report finds,” Oregon Live, last updated October 2, 2021, <https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2021/10/dhs-compiled-intelligence-reports-on-protesters-arrested-in-portland-without-legal-justification-report-finds.html>; Department of Homeland Security, “Report on DHS Administrative Review into I&A Open Source Collection and Dissemination Activities During Civil Unrest Portland, Oregon, June through July 2020,” DocumentCloud, January 6, 2021, <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/21074152-dhs-intelligence-internal-review-report-20210930>.

in violence during protests, the evidence that a specific Antifa organization is driving such violence remains unfounded.

Antifa (an abbreviation of anti-fascism) is one of the most prominent far-left movements in the United States. Additionally, Antifa adherents in the United States are often associated with violent riots and confrontations with the far right, which has led U.S. officials to call for designating it a terrorist organization. The U.S. Antifa movement is rooted in anti-authoritarianism, which often pushes back against many symbols of authority, such as the police, that protesters perceive have exceeded their authority. Nonetheless, Antifa is not a coherent, centralized group but a broad ideology centered around the so-called opposition to fascism. While there are some formalized groups that call themselves Antifa, Antifa has no centralized and overarching leaders, membership rolls, or structure. Individual Antifa groups are thus unrelated to each other and, at times, promote differing tactics and ideologies.⁷⁵ In the United States, Antifa is

⁷⁵ Maggie Haberman and Charlie Savage, "Trump, Lacking Clear Authority, Says U.S. Will Declare Antifa a Terrorist Group," *New York Times*, May 31, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/31/us/politics/trump-antifa-terrorist-group.html>; Jennifer Williams, "Antifa clashes with police and journalists in Charlottesville and DC," Vox, August 12, 2018, <https://www.vox.com/identities/2018/8/12/17681986/antifa-leftist-violence-clashes-protests-charlottesville-dc-unite-the-right>; Daniel Funke, "Despite Trump talk, antifa has not been designated as a terrorist organization," PolitiFact, July 21, 2020, <https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2020/jul/21/instagram-posts/despite-trump-talk-antifa-has-not->

largely made up of decentralized groups and individuals whose interests may or may not align with anarchism, socialism, communism, environmentalism, indigenous rights, gay rights, or other social justice causes. The lack of ideological cohesion also translates to the lack of a common enemy among Antifa groups and activists, who may at times find themselves opposing causes other Antifa adherents support.⁷⁶

Antifa has its roots in Germany, where the Communist Party formed Antifaschistische Aktion (“Antifascist Action,” sometimes abbreviated as antifa) in 1932 as a response to fascism and the rising Nazi Party. The group engaged in direct action against the Nazis, including street brawls. After Hitler’s rise to power in 1933, the Nazi regime forcibly disbanded Antifaschistische Aktion.⁷⁷ The modern Antifa movement began in Europe in the 1960s and spread to the United States by the following decade. For years, U.S. Antifa activists largely remained a subset of anarchist and the punk rock movements, maintaining vigilance to keep far-right extremists from disrupting events.⁷⁸ U.S. anti-racists mobilized in the 1980s against the Ku Klux Klan, skinheads, and other racists.⁷⁹ Antifa groups began coalescing and gaining national attention in 2015 with the rise of

[been-designated-; Zack Beauchamp, “Antifa, explained,” Vox, June 8, 2020, https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2020/6/8/21277320/antifa-anti-fascist-explained.](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2020/6/8/21277320/antifa-anti-fascist-explained)

⁷⁶ “Antifa – Background,” Congressional Research Service, March 1, 2018, [https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF10839/2.](https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF10839/2)

⁷⁷ Zack Beauchamp, “Antifa, explained,” Vox, June 8, 2020, [https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2020/6/8/21277320/antifa-anti-fascist-explained.](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2020/6/8/21277320/antifa-anti-fascist-explained)

⁷⁸ Zack Beauchamp, “Antifa, explained,” Vox, June 8, 2020, <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2020/6/8/21277320/antifa-anti-fascist-explained>; “Who are Antifa?,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed August 6, 2020, [https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/who-are-antifa.](https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/who-are-antifa)

⁷⁹ “Antifa – Background,” Congressional Research Service, March 1, 2018, [https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF10839/2.](https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF10839/2)

U.S. populism and a reinvigorated far right.⁸⁰ Antifa rose to national prominence in the United States following the 2017 Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, when Antifa activists violently confronted far-right marchers. U.S. media has since reported on numerous Antifa protests that have turned violent. Antifa activists commonly consider the views of neo-Nazis, white nationalists, and similar far-right extremists to be repugnant and dangerous and therefore justify violence as a means to silence and delegitimize them. Antifa has also attacked journalists and police who defend far-right protest activities.⁸¹ In addition to violence, Antifa groups largely utilize the tactic of doxing—publicly revealing personal identification details of opponents.⁸²

With a wave of protests against police brutality sweeping across the United States in 2020, various Antifa groups have denounced the police as representatives of a fascist system. Antifa protesters have accused police of shielding neo-Nazis and thus denounced police as collaborators.⁸³ In July 2020, the political advocacy group American Police Officers Alliance released a report accusing Antifa of contributing to

⁸⁰ Zack Beauchamp, “Antifa, explained,” Vox, June 8, 2020, <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2020/6/8/21277320/antifa-anti-fascist-explained>.

⁸¹ Jennifer Williams, “Antifa clashes with police and journalists in Charlottesville and DC,” Vox, August 12, 2018, <https://www.vox.com/identities/2018/8/12/17681986/antifa-leftist-violence-clashes-protests-charlottesville-dc-unite-the-right>; Kyle Swenson, “Black-clad antifa members attack peaceful right-wing demonstrators in Berkeley,” *Washington Post*, August 28, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2017/08/28/black-clad-antifa-attack-right-wing-demonstrators-in-berkeley/?noredirect=on>.

⁸² “Peyton Turner: SMU fitness fascist,” ANTIFA Dallas, April 3, 2019, <https://antifadallas.wordpress.com/2019/04/03/peyton-turner-smu-fitness-fascist/>; “Kieran P. Morris,” New York City Antifa, March 13, 2020, <https://nycantifa.wordpress.com/2020/03/13/kieran-p-morris/>.

⁸³ New York City Antifa, Twitter post, August 16, 2020, 12:07 a.m., <https://twitter.com/NYCAntifa/status/1294848335854149632>; Antifa International, Twitter post, August 15, 2020, 12:39 p.m., <https://twitter.com/antifaintl/status/1294675052139618307>.

political and social unrest in the United States with a goal of disbanding the police.⁸⁴ However, police reports, FBI intelligence, and court records have recorded little evidence of Antifa's participation in the anti-police protests across the country.⁸⁵

Despite its broad opposition to fascism, Antifa itself stands accused of promoting antisemitism because of vocalized opposition to Zionism as part of a broader opposition to racism and inequality. In 2017, the *Canadian Jewish News (CJN)* interviewed three activists about Antifa views on Jews and Israel. Each responded differently but the commonality was that all three felt safe and welcome as Jews within the Antifa movement. Views on Israel varied, however, with some calling it fascist and others saying it is not. One Jewish Antifa member said that Jews do tend to avoid Antifa events because they feel Antifa is demanding that all Jews abandon Israel. That same activist told *CJN* that "Nazis support the State of Israel" because they use the example of a Jewish ethno-state to argue that whites should also have their own ethno-state and Jews expelled from this ethno-state could just go to Israel.⁸⁶ In 2020, Jewish

⁸⁴ "American Police Officers Alliance Announces Antifa Facts Campaign," PR Newswire, July 22, 2020, <https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/american-police-officers-alliance-announces-antifa-facts-campaign-301097351.html>.

⁸⁵ Isaac Stanley-Becker, "Scant evidence of antifa shows how sweeping the protests for racial justice have become," *Washington Post*, June 13, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/protests-antifa-absent/2020/06/13/7f14b8fa-ab80-11ea-9063-e69bd6520940_story.html; Sarah N. Lynch, Mark Hosenball, Mica Rosenberg, and Brad Heath, "Little evidence of antifa links in U.S. prosecutions of those charged in protest violence," Reuters, June 9, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-minneapolis-police-extremists/little-evidence-of-antifa-links-in-u-s-prosecutions-of-those-charged-in-protest-violence-idUSKBN23H06J>; ArLuther Lee, "FBI finds no evidence of Antifa's involvement in national unrest," *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 6, 2020, <https://www.ajc.com/news/fbi-finds-evidence-antifa-involvement-national-unrest/qV13U9wb8Q6u1QEvVsJ7AJ/>.

⁸⁶ Evan Balgord, "Anti-Fascist and Anti-Israel; Jewish Antifa Talks Views on Israel and Jews," *Canadian Jewish News*, November 22, 2017, <https://www.cjnews.com/news/international/anti-fascist-anti-israel-jewish-antifa-talks-views-israel-jews>.

Antifa activist Daniel Sieradski told media that Jews are welcome in Antifa as its primary goal is to fight a common enemy, the Nazis. Antisemitism is “the prime ideological viewpoint of Nazis,” he said.⁸⁷

Israeli antifa groups have also organized and claimed credit for actions against far-right groups internationally. In January 2021, a group called *Hayalim Almonim*—Hebrew for “Anonymous Soldiers”—hacked the website of the Patriotic Brigade of the Ku Klux Klan, doxing its members and posting anti-fascist messages on the site. The group has promised to strike a death blow to the KKK in the United States. Representatives of the group told *Newsweek* they do not object to being labeled as Antifa, which they said has been “unfairly demonized” in the United States by a media ignoring the growing threat of white supremacy.⁸⁸ Another Israeli Antifa activist acknowledged to the *Jerusalem Post* in March 2022 that leftists tend to criticize Israel more but Antifa “is an idea, not an NGO,” and it includes a broad spectrum including “communists, social democrats, liberals, and even religious conservatives who oppose the toxic and inflammatory rhetoric of” far-right hate groups.⁸⁹

The Torch Network, a collective of Antifa chapters, lists in its “Points of Unity” opposition to antisemitism, as well as racism, sexism, nativism, Islamophobia,

⁸⁷ Jewish Telegraphic Agency, “Here’s what you need to know about the anti-fascist group Antifa,” *Jerusalem Post*, June 1, 2020, <https://www.jpost.com/international/heres-what-you-need-to-know-about-the-anti-fascist-group-antifa-629975>.

⁸⁸ Ewan Palmer, “What is Jewish Antifa? Meet the Israeli Activists Set to Strike a ‘Death Blow to Fascism,’” *Newsweek*, February 9, 2021, <https://www.newsweek.com/kkk-jewish-antifa-hacking-hyalim-almonim-1567893>.

⁸⁹ Michael Starr, “Is Antifa bad for Israel?,” *Jerusalem Post*, last updated March 17, 2022, <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/article-701442>.

homophobia, transphobia, and discrimination against the disabled in its “Points of Unity.”⁹⁰ The Points of Unity do not mention Zionism. The only reference to Zionism on the Torch Network’s website is in a May 30, 2021, post by a Texas affiliate that primarily focuses on the Proud Boys, though it does negatively cite “love of Zionism” as a trait of the Proud Boys’ manifesto alongside hatred of Muslims.⁹¹

In May 2020, U.S. President Donald Trump tweeted that the United States would soon designate Antifa as a terrorist organization.⁹² Following Trump’s announcement, the state-owned Turkish media outlet TRT World alleged that Antifa had been in Syria since 2014 aiding Kurdish militants and received training from them.⁹³ Representatives of the United Nations condemned Trump’s declaration on Antifa as harmful to peaceful assembly and freedom of expression.⁹⁴ Despite Trump’s declared intention, actually branding Antifa as a domestic terrorist organization faces legal hurdles as the United States has no method to designate domestic terrorist groups. Antifa’s decentralized structure further complicates the issue.⁹⁵ Trump did not follow through on his proposal

⁹⁰ “Points of Unity,” Torch Network, accessed June 21, 2022, <https://torchantifa.org/points-of-unity/>.

⁹¹ Central Texas ARA, “Biker Cops, Latino Proud Boys and the Struggle against Imperialism,” Torch Network, May 30, 2021, <https://torchantifa.org/biker-cops-latino-proud-boys-and-the-struggle-against-imperialism/>.

⁹² Maggie Haberman and Charlie Savage, “Trump, Lacking Clear Authority, Says U.S. Will Declare Antifa a Terrorist Group,” *New York Times*, May 31, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/31/us/politics/trump-antifa-terrorist-group.html>.

⁹³ “Antifa: Trained by terrorist PKK in Syria, may end up outlawed in the US,” TRT World, May 31, 2020, <https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/antifa-trained-by-terrorist-pkk-in-syria-may-end-up-outlawed-in-the-us-36817>.

⁹⁴ “UN experts decry US rhetoric on designation of terrorist group,” U.N. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, June 19, 2020, <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=25980&LangID=E>.

⁹⁵ Daniel Funke, “Despite Trump talk, antifa has not been designated as a terrorist organization,” PolitiFact, July 21, 2020, <https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2020/jul/21/instagram-posts/despite->

to designate Antifa. Two months before his election in November 2020, President Joe Biden issued a condemnation of Antifa, saying he condemned violence on both sides of the political spectrum.⁹⁶

Recruitment and Propaganda

As there is no central, unified Antifa organization, various Antifa groups have largely adopted two primary symbols: a circle containing three downward-facing arrows and two side-by-side flags, one black and one red. The circle with the arrows is known as anti-fascist circle and was originally designed in the 1930s for the German anti-fascist paramilitary organization Iron Front. The black flag traditionally represents anarchy while the red flag represents communism or socialism. Both symbols have been adopted by various groups, including Antifa, which do not necessarily assign the same meaning to the symbols.⁹⁷ In order to appear more intimidating, Antifa protesters typically dress all in black with black masks to obscure their identities.⁹⁸

[trump-talk-antifa-has-not-been-designated-/">trump-talk-antifa-has-not-been-designated-/](#); Zack Beauchamp, "Antifa, explained," Vox, June 8, 2020, <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2020/6/8/21277320/antifa-anti-fascist-explained>.

⁹⁶ Barbara Barr, "One-on-one interview with Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden," WGAL NBC 8, last updated September 7, 2020, <https://www.wgal.com/article/one-on-one-interview-with-joe-biden-in-harrisburg/33944090#>.

⁹⁷ Sarah Friedmann, "This Is What The Antifa Flag Symbols Mean," Bustle, August 15, 2017, <https://www.bustle.com/p/what-do-the-antifa-symbols-mean-the-flags-often-feature-three-arrows-76629>.

⁹⁸ Rick Paulas, "Why Antifa Dresses Like Antifa," *New York Times*, November 29, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/29/style/antifa-fashion.html>.

In terms of recruitment, each individual Antifa group has its own procedures for contacting and joining. Many of them offer methods to contact them online, where they also promote their own activities and ideologies.

Violent Activities

– August 22, 2021

Antifascist counter-protesters violently clashed with members of the Proud Boys and other far-right groups at a far-right rally in Portland, Oregon, called “Summer of Love.” Some of the counter-protesters openly identified themselves as Antifa. One recording picked up a far-right protesters saying, “Antifa, come on. Let’s play, let’s play.” In video foots of the clashes, protesters were filmed shooting paintball guns at each other, destroying a white van, detonating what appear to be small gas grenades and spraying chemicals at each other. During street fighting, Dennis G. Anderson fired a handgun toward a group of anti-fascists. No injuries were reported from the shooting and Anderson was arrested on charges of unlawful use of a weapon and unlawful possession of a firearm.⁹⁹

– August 7, 2021

⁹⁹ Ryan Haas and Jonathan Levinson, “Gunfire erupts after Proud Boys and anti-fascists openly brawl in Portland without police intervention,” OPB, last updated August 23, 2021, <https://www.opb.org/article/2021/08/22/far-right-activists-counterprotesters-gather-in-portland/>; Andrew Jeong, “Portland protests descend into violence as opposing groups clash with paintballs, weapons, chemical spray,” *Washington Post*, August 23, 2021, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2021/08/23/portland-protests-descend-into-violence-opposing-groups-clash-with-paintballs-weapons-chemical-spray/>.

Antifa protesters clashed with members of the Proud Boys at a rally hosted by Canadian anti-LGBT Pastor Artur Pawlowski at Tom McCall Waterfront Park in Portland, Oregon. The Proud Boys were acting as event security. In a recording of the clashes, black-clad protesters carrying shields, identified as Antifa, set off smoke grenades and attempted to dismantle the public address system. The opposing protesters fired paintball guns and pepper spray at each other. In a Twitter post, far-right commentator Andy Ngo accused Antifa of trying to “attack & shut down a family Christian prayer & worship event on the waterfront.” A Portland minister responded the event was no “family Christian prayer event” but a far-right political rally.¹⁰⁰

– **March 28, 2021**

A group of Proud Boys and Trump supporters traveled to Salem, Oregon, for a rally to support “freedom.” The right-wing protesters clashed with a group of about 150 anti-fascist counter-protesters, who threw objects and paint at vehicles attempting to drive through the crowds. Police broke up the rally hours later, declaring it unlawful assembly. One man was arrested after he exited a truck and pointed a gun at anti-fascist protesters. Oregon police reportedly arrested several anti-fascist activists as well.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ “Fact Check-Black Lives Matter and Antifa did not disappear after the election,” Reuters, August 16, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/article/factcheck-antifa-blm-idUSL1N2PN1WT>; Alia Shoaib, “Proud Boys and Antifa exchanged paintball gunfire and pepper spray at rally by controversial pastor in downtown Portland,” Insider, August 8, 2021, <https://www.insider.com/watch-proud-boys-and-antifa-clash-in-portland-2021-8>.

¹⁰¹ Sergio Olmos, “Proud Boys clash with anti-fascists in Salem,” OPB, March 28, 2021, <https://www.opb.org/article/2021/03/28/proud-boys-clash-with-anti-fascists-in-salem/>.

– **January 9, 2021**

About 100 protesters gathered for a pro-Trump “Patriot March” in San Diego’s Pacific Beach, while another group of about 100 counter-protesters also assembled. The protests devolved into clashes between the two groups, resulting in the arrest of at least three people who refused to disperse. A video recorded a group of black-clad protesters chanting “racists go home.” One of the protesters carried an “Antifascist Action” banner. Eleven protesters were arrested and later indicted in June 2022. According to the indictment, the defendants were “all affiliated with Antifa” and responded to social media posts calling for “counterprotesting” about one week before the Patriot March and arrived in Pacific Beach “dressed in black clothing, and armed with weapons and protective gear.” The indictment further accused the defendants of using “force, fear, and violence to further their interests and suppress the interests of others.”¹⁰²

– **August 29, 2020**

Following a pro-Trump parade, self-described Antifa activist Michael Forest Reinohel followed attendee Aaron “Jay” Danielson in a parking garage in Portland, Oregon. Danielson was wearing a hat for the far-right group Patriot Prayer. On September 3, Reinohel told Vice News he had acted in self-defense because he believed he and a friend were about to be stabbed, but police claimed the murder was premeditated

¹⁰² Debbie L. Sklar, “3 Reportedly Arrested After Pro- and Anti-Trump Rallies Face Off in Pacific Beach,” *Times of San Diego*, January 9, 2021, <https://timesofsandiego.com/politics/2021/01/09/unlawful-assembly-declared-as-pro-and-anti-trump-rallies-face-off-in-pacific-beach/>; Elizabeth Ireland, “11 Indicted by Grand Jury on Violent Antifa Attack Charges During PB Demonstration,” *Times of San Diego*, June 7, 2022, <https://timesofsandiego.com/politics/2022/06/07/11-indicted-by-grand-jury-on-violent-antifa-attack-charges-during-pb-demonstration/>.

based on security footage of Reinoehl waiting in the parking garage. Later that day, police tracked Reinoehl to an apartment in Lacey, Washington, where they shot and killed him after an exchange of fire. Reinoehl’s Twitter account declared he was a proud supporter of Antifa. He told Vice that he was not a member but supported Antifa. A U.S. Marshals task force in Washington state shot and killed Reinoehl on September 3 as they moved in to arrest him. The Trump administration praised the removal of a “violent agitator.” A months-long investigation determined Reinoehl had likely fired at police first, but a New York Times document review from the Thurston County Sheriff’s Office revealed the sheriff’s office dismissed contradicting evidence indicating Reinoehl may never have fired or pointed a gun at officers.¹⁰³

– **August 12, 2018**

Antifa activists protesting the Unite the Right Rally 2 in Washington, D.C., threw eggs

¹⁰³ Eileen AJ Connelly, “Antifa-linked Portland shooter appeared to target victim, images show,” *New York Post*, September 5, 2020, <https://nypost.com/2020/09/05/antifa-shooter-michael-reinoehl-appeared-to-target-victim-photos/>; Neil MacFarquhar, Mike Baker, and Adam Goldman, “In His Last Hours, Portland Murder Suspect Said He Feared Arrest,” *New York Times*, September 4, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/04/us/portland-shooting-michael-reinoehl.html>; “Man Linked to Killing at a Portland Protest Says He Acted in Self-Defense,” *Vice*, September 3, 2020, https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/v7g8vb/man-linked-to-killing-at-a-portland-protest-says-he-acted-in-self-defense; Brie Stimson, “Portland’s Antifa-supporting gunman appeared to target victim, police say,” *Fox News*, September 6, 2020, <https://www.foxnews.com/us/portlands-antifa-gunman-appeared-to-target-victim-police-say>; Mike Baker and Evan Hill, “Police Say an Antifa Activist Likely Shot at Officers. His Gun Suggests Otherwise.,” *New York Times*, April 10, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/10/us/michael-reinoehl-killing-investigation.html>; “Fact check: Joe Biden has condemned Antifa, violent protests,” *Reuters*, October 16, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-factcheck-biden-condemned-antifa-idUSKBN2712ZA>.

and water bottles and shot firecrackers at police and reporters.¹⁰⁴

– **August 27, 2017**

About 100 protesters, including Antifa, broke off from a peaceful counter-protest to attack attendees at a far-right “No to Marxism” rally in Berkeley, California. Five individuals were physically assaulted, according to media reports.¹⁰⁵

– **February 2, 2017**

Ahead of a speech at University of California, Berkeley by right-wing commentator Milo Yiannopoulos, 150 black-clad and masked protesters threw rocks, M-80 flares, and Molotov cocktails at police and university facilities, causing \$100,000 worth of damage to the student union center and other parts of campus and injuring at least six people. Two protesters were arrested after physically attacking two members of College Republicans. The university canceled the speech in response. The university largely blamed black bloc but some members of Antifa are also among the protesters.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Jennifer Williams, “Antifa clashes with police and journalists in Charlottesville and DC,” Vox, August 12, 2018, <https://www.vox.com/identities/2018/8/12/17681986/antifa-leftist-violence-clashes-protests-charlottesville-dc-unite-the-right>.

¹⁰⁵ Kyle Swenson, “Black-clad antifa members attack peaceful right-wing demonstrators in Berkeley,” *Washington Post*, August 28, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2017/08/28/black-clad-antifa-attack-right-wing-demonstrators-in-berkeley/?noredirect=on>.

¹⁰⁶ Kyle Swenson, “Black-clad antifa members attack peaceful right-wing demonstrators in Berkeley,” *Washington Post*, August 28, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2017/08/28/black-clad-antifa-attack-right-wing-demonstrators-in-berkeley/?noredirect=on>; Madison Park and Kyung Lah, “Berkeley protests of Yiannopoulos caused \$100,000 in damage,” CNN, February 2, 2017, <https://www.cnn.com/2017/02/01/us/milo-yiannopoulos-berkeley/index.html>.

Rhetoric

- **Antifa International, tweet in response to a post promising violence against those opposing LGBT rights and bodily autonomy, May 8, 2022:**
“RESPECT EXISTENCE OR EXPECT RESISTANCE!”¹⁰⁷
- **New York City Antifa, tweet, August 16, 2020:**
“stop believing the copaganda version of what policing is, if you still do. television shows lied to you. policing is about maintaining power and social control.”¹⁰⁸
- **Antifa International, tweet, August 15, 2020:**
“Cops & the Klan go hand-in-hand. #kkkops”¹⁰⁹
- **ANTIFA Philadelphia, tweet, March 15, 2019:**
“People critique us and what Antifa does but we exist to confront fascism in all it’s forms. Fascism breeds days like this, where scores of people are taken away from us all in the most repulsive of acts.

¹⁰⁷ Antifa International, Twitter post, May 8, 2022, 8:39 p.m., <https://twitter.com/antifaintl/status/1523462545238990848>.

¹⁰⁸ New York City Antifa, Twitter post, August 16, 2020, 12:07 a.m., <https://twitter.com/NYCAntifa/status/1294848335854149632>.

¹⁰⁹ Antifa International, Twitter post, August 15, 2020, 12:39 p.m., <https://twitter.com/antifaintl/status/1294675052139618307>.

We will not sit on the sidelines, we will not allow fascists to be normal.”¹¹⁰



Black Bloc

Base of Operations: International.

Website: Not determined.

Social Media Presence: Not determined.

Leadership: Black bloc has no organized leadership structure.

Membership Size and Relevance: Black bloc does not have a formal membership or organizational structure. The far right has attempted to portray black bloc as a more formal organization, like it has with antifa. Some have also portrayed black bloc as a more militant version of antifa. Black bloc protesters have physically clashed with the Proud Boys on several occasions. In August 2021, about 30 protesters dressed in black bloc clothing confronted a Proud Boys “Summer of Love” rally in Portland, Oregon.¹¹¹ After a September 2021 protest by the Proud Boys

¹¹⁰ ANTIFA Philadelphia, Twitter post, March 15, 2019, 10:39 a.m., <https://twitter.com/PhillyANTIFA/status/1106565478028398592>.

¹¹¹ Jason Wilson, “Hundreds clash in Portland as Proud Boys rally descends into violence,” *Guardian* (London), August 23, 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/aug/23/portland-oregon-clashes-protests-proud-boys-antifascist>.

in Newberg, Oregon, one Proud Boy accused black bloc of being antifa's "hard frontline fighters."¹¹²

Black bloc is an international protest movement of violent anarchists who largely want to eliminate the power of governments and financial institutions in the global system. Black bloc is primarily a tactic, not a cohesive group.¹¹³ Groups of protesters dress in all-black and don helmets to conceal their identity and then violently confront symbols of authority and capitalism. The protest movement began in the 1970s in Germany with the goal of direct action against police brutality, economic inequality, and other perceived injustices. It has since spread worldwide through anarchist websites and online forums.¹¹⁴

The black bloc ideology is centered around anarchism and creating chaos.¹¹⁵ According to U.S. officials, black bloc protesters tend to target businesses as representations of capitalism. Black bloc protesters often imbed themselves in larger demonstrations to conceal their presence, which led to the label of black bloc as piggyback protesters.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Gary Allen, "Black Lives Matter backers face Proud Boys at Newberg rally," *Portland Tribune*, September 28, 2021, <https://pamplinmedia.com/pt/9-news/523301-418186-black-lives-matter-backers-face-proud-boys-at-newberg-rally>.

¹¹³ Martin Kaste, "Who Are The Protesters Who Make The Anti-Police Movement Not Entirely Peaceful?," Wyoming Public Media, July 30, 2020, <https://www.wyomingpublicmedia.org/post/who-are-protesters-who-make-anti-police-movement-not-entirely-peaceful#stream/0>.

¹¹⁴ Paige St. John, "Inside the black bloc militant protest movement as it rises up against Trump," *Los Angeles Times*, February 12, 2017, <https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-black-bloc-20170212-story.html>.

¹¹⁵ Kory Flowers, "Understanding the Black Bloc," *Police*, January 30, 2015, <https://www.policemag.com/341767/understanding-the-black-bloc>.

¹¹⁶ Keith L. Alexander, "D.C. prosecutors link violent protests on Inauguration Day to 'black bloc' tactics," *Washington Post*, February 21, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/dc->

Protesters have used black bloc tactics in Europe since the 1980s,¹¹⁷ but the tactic gained national attentions in the United States starting in 1999 during protests against the World Trade Organization in Seattle, Washington. Since then, black bloc protesters have fomented violence at protests of President Donald Trump's 2017 inauguration and 2020 protests against police brutality.¹¹⁸ Following the November 2021 acquittal of Kyle Rittenhouse in a 2020 shooting, demonstrators dressed in black bloc attire appeared around the United States in protest.¹¹⁹ Black bloc protesters have also appeared at multiple rallies held by the far-right Proud Boys, often engaging in physical altercations with the Proud Boys.¹²⁰

Black bloc protesters have no formal hierarchy and cells are typically temporary as protesters adopt black bloc tactics in protest against symbols of financial and political

[prosecutors-link-violent-protests-on-inauguration-day-to-black-bloc-tactics/2017/02/21/91463da0-f87d-11e6-be05-1a3817ac21a5_story.html?utm_term=.9267c3c4e886&itid=ik_inline_manual_13.](https://www.ainfos.ca/01/jun/ainfos00170.html)

¹¹⁷ "Autonomia and the Origin of the Black Bloc," A-Infos Project, June 10, 2001, <https://www.ainfos.ca/01/jun/ainfos00170.html>.

¹¹⁸ Martin Kaste, "Who Are The Protesters Who Make The Anti-Police Movement Not Entirely Peaceful?," Wyoming Public Media, July 30, 2020, <https://www.wyomingpublicmedia.org/post/who-are-protesters-who-make-anti-police-movement-not-entirely-peaceful#stream/0>.

¹¹⁹ Justin Yau, "Portland Crowd Eggs Justice Center, Clashes With Sheriff's Deputies After Kyle Rittenhouse Verdict," Willamette Week, November 20, 2021, <https://www.wweek.com/news/courts/2021/11/20/portland-crowd-eggs-justice-center-clashes-with-sheriffs-deputies-after-kyle-rittenhouse-verdict/>; "Small protests on Capitol Hill mark Rittenhouse acquittal in Seattle," Capitol Hill Seattle Blog, November 22, 2021, <https://www.capitolhillseattle.com/2021/11/small-protests-on-capitol-hill-mark-rittenhouse-acquittal-in-seattle/>; Dean Balsamini, Joe Marino, and Rich Calder, "Rioters wreak havoc in pro-cop NYC neighborhood after Kyle Rittenhouse verdict," *New York Post*, November 20, 2021, <https://nypost.com/2021/11/20/rioters-wreak-havoc-in-nyc-after-kyle-rittenhouse-verdict/>.

¹²⁰ Gary Allen, "Black Lives Matter backers face Proud Boys at Newberg rally," *Portland Tribune*, September 28, 2021, <https://pamplinmedia.com/pt/9-news/523301-418186-black-lives-matter-backers-face-proud-boys-at-newberg-rally>; Jason Wilson, "Hundreds clash in Portland as Proud Boys rally descends into violence," *Guardian* (London), August 23, 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/aug/23/portland-oregon-clashes-protests-proud-boys-antifascist>.

authority.¹²¹ Media and police have prominently linked black bloc to the 2017 G20 protests in Germany and anti-Trump protests in the United States.¹²² German politicians across the political spectrum called for renewed focus on Europe's radical left after violent black bloc protests at the 2017 G20.¹²³ Protesters have destroyed property, specifically targeting symbols of capitalism, such as during summer 2020 anti-police protests that have targeted courthouses, prison construction sites, and other symbols of authority and capitalism in the United States. In August 2020, for example, black-clad protesters broke windows and vandalized private property during riots in Seattle, Washington.¹²⁴ Protesters organize on anarchist websites and online forums.¹²⁵ Groups

¹²¹ Rebecca Staudenmaier, "G20: What is the black bloc?" Deutsche Welle, July 7, 2017, <https://www.dw.com/en/g20-what-is-the-black-bloc/a-39598505>; Paige St. John, "Inside the black bloc militant protest movement as it rises up against Trump," *Los Angeles Times*, February 12, 2017, <http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-black-bloc-20170212-story.html>; Francis Dupuis-Déri, "How Black Blocs have changed protest movements around the world," *The Conversation*, August 24, 2017, <https://theconversation.com/how-black-blocs-have-changed-protest-movements-around-the-world-80856>.

¹²² Rebecca Staudenmaier, "G20: What is the black bloc?" Deutsche Welle, July 7, 2017, <https://www.dw.com/en/g20-what-is-the-black-bloc/a-39598505>; Paige St. John, "Inside the black bloc militant protest movement as it rises up against Trump," *Los Angeles Times*, February 12, 2017, <http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-black-bloc-20170212-story.html>; Francis Dupuis-Déri, "How Black Blocs have changed protest movements around the world," *The Conversation*, August 24, 2017, <https://theconversation.com/how-black-blocs-have-changed-protest-movements-around-the-world-80856>.

¹²³ "We must stop ignoring left-wing extremism in Germany, Merkel's party declares," *The Local*, July 10, 2017, <https://www.thelocal.de/20170710/we-must-stop-ignoring-left-wing-extremism-in-germany-merkels-party-declares>.

¹²⁴ Jon Levine, "Antifa rioters storm through Seattle in night of mayhem while police do nothing," *New York Post*, August 15, 2020, <https://nypost.com/2020/08/15/antifa-rioters-storm-through-seattle-while-police-remain-inactive/>; Martin Kaste, "Who Are The Protesters Who Make The Anti-Police Movement Not Entirely Peaceful?," NPR, July 30, 2020, <https://www.npr.org/2020/07/30/897345070/who-are-the-protesters-who-make-the-anti-police-movement-not-entirely-peaceful>.

¹²⁵ Paige St. John, "Inside the black bloc militant protest movement as it rises up against Trump," *Los Angeles Times*, February 12, 2017, <https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-black-bloc-20170212-story.html>.

on both the right and the left have condemned violent black bloc tactics and the cooption of protest movements.¹²⁶

Recruitment and Propaganda

Black bloc has no formal membership or recruitment process. Recruits are united by a broad ideology and organize independently while adopting black bloc tactics in protest against symbols of financial and political authority.¹²⁷ Black bloc protesters are unified by dressing in black as an intimidation tactic and attempt to appear unified.¹²⁸

Violent Activities

– July 4, 2022

Several black bloc protesters joined Black bloc protesters reportedly clashed with police during a reproductive rights march in Washington, D.C.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Martin Kaste, “Who Are The Protesters Who Make The Anti-Police Movement Not Entirely Peaceful?,” Wyoming Public Media, July 30, 2020, <https://www.wyomingpublicmedia.org/post/who-are-protesters-who-make-anti-police-movement-not-entirely-peaceful#stream/0>.

¹²⁷ Rebecca Staudenmaier, “G20: What is the black bloc?” Deutsche Welle, July 7, 2017, <https://www.dw.com/en/g20-what-is-the-black-bloc/a-39598505>; Paige St. John, “Inside the black bloc militant protest movement as it rises up against Trump,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 12, 2017, <http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-black-bloc-20170212-story.html>; Francis Dupuis-Déri, “How Black Blocs have changed protest movements around the world,” *The Conversation*, August 24, 2017, <https://theconversation.com/how-black-blocs-have-changed-protest-movements-around-the-world-80856>.

¹²⁸ Kory Flowers, “Understanding the Black Bloc,” *Police*, January 30, 2015, <https://www.policemag.com/341767/understanding-the-black-bloc>.

¹²⁹ DC Media Group, Twitter post, July 4, 2022, 9:40 p.m., <https://twitter.com/DCMediaGroup/status/1544134065800069120>.

– **June 24, 2022**

Several black bloc protesters joined a larger protest in Portland, Oregon, against the Supreme Court decision to overturn its 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion. The black bloc protesters broke away from the main protest to break store windows at Pioneer Place mall and spray paint government buildings while chanting anti-police slogans.¹³⁰

– **November 19, 2021**

During a protest in Portland Oregon, against Kyle Rittenhouse’s not-guilty verdict, about 150 protesters in black bloc attire threw eggs at the Multnomah County Justice Center and clashed with riot police. Protesters also broke windows and chased after people leaving the Justice Center, reportedly believing they were police at the end of their shift. Police forcefully pushed protesters back at times. Some protesters also attacked a KATU-TV news crew and damaged a camera while attempting to get the news crew to stop filming.¹³¹

¹³⁰ Alex Zielinski, “Thousands of Portlanders Gather to Oppose End of Roe,” *Portland Mercury*, June 24, 2022, <https://www.portlandmercury.com/news/2022/06/24/43532460/thousands-of-portlanders-gather-to-oppose-end-of-roe>.

¹³¹ Justin Yau, “Portland Crowd Eggs Justice Center, Clashes With Sheriff’s Deputies After Kyle Rittenhouse Verdict,” *Willamette Week*, November 20, 2021, <https://www.wweek.com/news/courts/2021/11/20/portland-crowd-eggs-justice-center-clashes-with-sheriffs-deputies-after-kyle-rittenhouse-verdict/>; Deputies declare riot near Justice Center; KATU crew attacked,” KATU 2 ABC, November 20, 2021, <https://katu.com/news/local/police-declare-riot-near-justice-center>.

– **November 19, 2021**

A group of about 75 protesters dressed in black bloc attire as well as helmets, shields, face coverings, and protective eyewear gathered in Seattle’s Cal Anderson Park to protest the Kyle Rittenhouse verdict. Seattle police arrived en masse but made no arrests and reported no significant property damage.¹³²

– **November 19, 2021**

A group of approximately 40 protesters dressed in black and wearing face masks in the style of black bloc destroy cars and American flags in Queens, New York, in protest against the Kyle Rittenhouse verdict. One rioter also attacked a police officer who was arresting another protester in the middle of damaging a car. Five were arrested and charged with rioting.¹³³

– **September 4, 2021**

Local Proud Boys leader Tusitala “Tiny” Toese was shot in the foot during clashes between the Proud Boys and black bloc and antifa protesters at an anti-mask and anti-Covid vaccination “Medical Freedom” rally in Olympia, Washington.¹³⁴

¹³² “Small protests on Capitol Hill mark Rittenhouse acquittal in Seattle,” Capitol Hill Seattle Blog, November 22, 2021, <https://www.capitolhillseattle.com/2021/11/small-protests-on-capitol-hill-mark-rittenhouse-acquittal-in-seattle/>.

¹³³ Dean Balsamini, Joe Marino, and Rich Calder, “Rioters wreak havoc in pro-cop NYC neighborhood after Kyle Rittenhouse verdict,” *New York Post*, November 20, 2021, <https://nypost.com/2021/11/20/rioters-wreak-havoc-in-nyc-after-kyle-rittenhouse-verdict/>.

¹³⁴ Bethany Dawson, “Video captures a wounded Proud Boys leader who was reportedly shot following clashes with Antifa at a COVID-19 protest,” *Insider*, September 5, 2021, <https://www.businessinsider.com/washington-proud-boys-leader-shot-in-antifa-clash-at-covid-19-protest-2021-9>; Zane Sparling, “Proud Boy leader ‘Tiny’ Toese held without bail on riot, assault charges in 2021 clash with left-wing protesters in east Portland,” *Oregonian*, last updated March 25, 2022,

– **August 22, 2021**

Approximately 30 protesters, mostly wearing black bloc-style clothing, confront a Proud Boys “Summer of Love” rally in Newberg, Oregon. One man fired a handgun at anti-fascist protesters who returned fire with their own guns. Some black bloc protesters also fired air pistols at the Proud Boys, who slashed tires, broke windows, and attacked a pickup truck driver.¹³⁵

–

– **May 1, 2021**

A group of black bloc protesters marched on Capitol Hill in Seattle, Washington, damaging a Starbucks and fighting with police.¹³⁶

– **September 23, 2020**

After a Kentucky grand jury failed to bring charges against police officers in the March 2020 killing of Breonna Taylor, a large group of protesters gathered in Seattle, Washington, for vigils in protest. Some of the protests turned violent as

<https://www.oregonlive.com/crime/2022/03/proud-boy-leader-tiny-toese-held-without-bail-on-riot-assault-charges-in-2021-clash-with-left-wing-protesters-in-east-portland.html>.

¹³⁵ Jason Wilson, “Hundreds clash in Portland as Proud Boys rally descends into violence,” *Guardian* (London), August 23, 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/aug/23/portland-oregon-clashes-protests-proud-boys-antifascist>.

¹³⁶ “May Day 2022 in Seattle: Workers’ rights, signs and marches, ‘zero arrests,’” Capitol Hill Seattle Blog, May 2, 2022, <https://www.capitolhillseattle.com/2022/05/may-day-2022-in-seattle-workers-rights-signs-and-marches-zero-arrests/>.

demonstrators clashed with police, resulting in at least 13 arrests. Several people were injured including officers and demonstrators. In March 2022, Jacob Greenberg was sentenced to five years in prison for attacking Officer Jose Jimenez with a baseball bat. He was also charged with arson in relation to Molotov cocktail attacks at Seattle’s East Precinct. Danielle McMillan agreed to a plea bargain on a lesser charge of reckless burning. Both wore black bloc attire during the 2020 protest.¹³⁷

– **August 2020**

Protesters using black bloc tactics instigated violence and riots during demonstrations against police brutality in Seattle, Washington.¹³⁸

– **June 20, 2017**

Masked protesters in Washington, D.C., smashed windows at a McDonald’s and a Starbucks, set fire to a limousine, and attacked at least one police officer during the

¹³⁷ “Rage and frustration bring marches in Seattle and clash with police on Capitol Hill over Breonna Taylor injustice – UPDATE,” Capitol Hill Seattle Blog, September 24, 2020, <https://www.capitolhillseattle.com/2020/09/rage-and-frustration-bring-marches-in-seattle-and-clash-with-police-on-capitol-hill-over-breonna-taylor-injustice/>; “Black bloc demonstrators sentenced in baseball bat attack on cop and East Precinct fires,” Capitol Hill Seattle Blog, March 13, 2022, <https://www.capitolhillseattle.com/2022/03/black-bloc-demonstrators-sentenced-in-baseball-attack-on-cop-and-east-precinct-fires/>; “From an infamous night of protest on Capitol Hill, suspension in investigation of cop who biked over protester’s head, plea deal in case of black bloc demonstrator accused of baseball bat assault,” Capitol Hill Seattle Blog, December 14, 2021, <https://www.capitolhillseattle.com/2021/12/from-an-infamous-night-of-protest-on-capitol-hill-suspension-in-investigation-of-cop-who-biked-over-protesters-head-plea-deal-in-case-of-black-bloc-demonstrator-accused-of-baseball-bat-assault/>.

¹³⁸ Joseph Guzman, “Several officers injured and 18 arrested following riot in Seattle,” *Hill*, August 17, 2020, <https://thehill.com/changing-america/respect/512380-several-officers-injured-and-18-arrested-following-riot-in-seattle>.

inauguration of President Donald Trump. Some protesters carried hammers, crowbars, bricks, rocks, flares, and firecrackers. Washington police later referred to “black bloc” tactics used during the protest. Police arrested 231 people, 214 of whom were linked to black bloc tactics.¹³⁹

– **February 2, 2017**

Ahead of a speech at University of California, Berkeley by right-wing commentator Milo Yiannopoulos, 150 black-clad and masked protesters threw rocks, M-80 flares, and Molotov cocktails at police and university facilities, causing \$100,000 worth of damage to the student union center and other parts of campus and injuring at least six people. Two protesters were arrested after physically attacking two members of College Republicans. The university canceled the speech in response. The university largely blamed black bloc but some members of Antifa were also among the protesters.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Keith L. Alexander, “D.C. prosecutors link violent protests on Inauguration Day to ‘black bloc’ tactics,” *Washington Post*, February 21, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/dc-prosecutors-link-violent-protests-on-inauguration-day-to-black-bloc-tactics/2017/02/21/91463da0-f87d-11e6-be05-1a3817ac21a5_story.html?utm_term=.9267c3c4e886&itid=ik_inline_manual_13.

¹⁴⁰ Kyle Swenson, “Black-clad antifa members attack peaceful right-wing demonstrators in Berkeley,” *Washington Post*, August 28, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2017/08/28/black-clad-antifa-attack-right-wing-demonstrators-in-berkeley/?noredirect=on>; Madison Park and Kyung Lah, “Berkeley protests of Yiannopoulos caused \$100,000 in damage,” CNN, February 2, 2017, <https://www.cnn.com/2017/02/01/us/milo-yiannopoulos-berkeley/index.html>; Paige St. John, “Inside the black bloc militant protest movement as it rises up against Trump,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 12, 2017, <https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-black-bloc-20170212-story.html>.

Rhetoric

– **Anonymous black bloc protester, February 2017:**

“I subscribe to self-defense in the very same sense that the Black Panther Party does and that Malcolm X does.”¹⁴¹

– **Anonymous black bloc protester, February 2017:**

“Which means for me to recognize one type of violence, which is people being beat up for having certain types of political views and being brazen about them, compared to the everyday violence ... like I go through the Bay Area and there are people sleeping in the doorways of million-dollar condos that are empty. ... Is that not violent? That is the most cruel and violent thing I think I have ever seen.”¹⁴²

– **Anonymous black bloc protester after protesters targeted bank machines and a Starbucks on the University of California, Berkeley campus, February 2017:**

“Starbucks is a symbol of global capitalization.”¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Paige St. John, “Inside the black bloc militant protest movement as it rises up against Trump,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 12, 2017, <https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-black-bloc-20170212-story.html>.

¹⁴² Paige St. John, “Inside the black bloc militant protest movement as it rises up against Trump,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 12, 2017, <https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-black-bloc-20170212-story.html>.

¹⁴³ Paige St. John, “Inside the black bloc militant protest movement as it rises up against Trump,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 12, 2017, <https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-black-bloc-20170212-story.html>.



Communist Party USA

Base of Operations: New York, New York, USA¹⁴⁴

Website: <https://www.cpusa.org/>

Social Media Presence: [Facebook](#), [Twitter](#), [YouTube](#)

Leadership: CPUSA is led by co-chairs Joe Sims and Rossana Cambron.¹⁴⁵

Membership Size and Relevance: CPUSA is headquartered in New York City and has 30 chapters across the United States.¹⁴⁶ CPUSA claims to have 2,000 to 3,000 members around the country.¹⁴⁷ As of September 8, 2020, CPUSA had 4,730 subscribers on YouTube and 176 videos.¹⁴⁸ As of the same date, CPUSA had 31,500 followers on Twitter and 185,820 followers on Facebook.¹⁴⁹ By July 20, 2022, CPUSA's YouTube channel

¹⁴⁴ Communist Party USA, Facebook account, accessed September 8, 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/cpusa>.

¹⁴⁵ "Remarks: CPUSA co-chair Joe Sims," Communist Party USA, July 10, 2019, <https://www.cpusa.org/article/remarks-cpusa-co-chair-joe-sims/>; John Wojcik and C.J. Atkins, "U.S. Communists elect new leaders to begin party's second century," People's World, June 25, 2019, <https://www.peoplesworld.org/article/u-s-communists-elect-new-leaders-to-begin-partys-second-century/>.

¹⁴⁶ "Contact," Communist Party USA, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://www.cpusa.org/contact/>.

¹⁴⁷ Aidan Lewis, "The curious survival of the US Communist Party," BBC News, May 1, 2014, <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-26126325>.

¹⁴⁸ Communist Party USA, YouTube account, accessed September 8, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/user/TheCommunistpartyUSA>.

¹⁴⁹ Communist Party USA, Twitter account, accessed September 8, 2020, <https://twitter.com/communistsusa>; Communist Party USA, Facebook account, accessed September 8, 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/cpusa>.

had almost doubled to 8,260 subscribers.¹⁵⁰ CPUSA’s Twitter account had increased to 55,800 followers,¹⁵¹ while its Facebook account had decreased to 183,000 followers.¹⁵²

The Communist Party USA (CPUSA) is a U.S.-based communist political organization founded in 1919 in Chicago, Illinois, to promote the interests of the American working class.¹⁵³ CPUSA formed from the merger of two breakaway groups from the Socialist Party of America—the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party of America.¹⁵⁴ CPUSA purports to be a “political party for the working class” and advocates for the implementation of socialism. According to the party’s program, the survival of the United States depends on its transformation to socialism. CPUSA blames the capitalist system, and the U.S. government specifically, for the exploitation of workers, widespread oppression, the destruction of the environment, and imperialism. CPUSA advocates socialism as the only system that can ensure human rights and peace in the United States and around the world.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁰ Communist Party USA, YouTube account, accessed January 20, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/user/TheCommunistpartyUSA>.

¹⁵¹ Communist Party USA, Twitter account, accessed July 20, 2022, <https://twitter.com/communistsusa>.

¹⁵² Communist Party USA, Facebook account, accessed July 20, 2022, <https://www.facebook.com/cpusa>.

¹⁵³ “Authors: Communist Party USA,” Communist Party USA, accessed September 8, 2020, <https://www.cpusa.org/authors/communist-party-usa/>.

¹⁵⁴ Daeha Ko, “Communism in Washington State,” University of Washington, accessed September 8, 2020, <https://depts.washington.edu/labhist/cpproject/ko.shtml>.

¹⁵⁵ “CPUSA Program,” Communist Party USA, April 13, 2020, https://www.cpusa.org/party_info/party-program/#Capitalism.

U.S. authorities arrested several CPUSA members during the first so-called Red Scare, when federal authorities targeted communists between 1919 and 1921.¹⁵⁶ Between 1949 and 1957, dozens of CPUSA members were convicted of plotting to overthrow the U.S. government.¹⁵⁷ Most notable among these convictions were those of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, CPUSA members who were convicted and executed in 1953 for conspiring to pass U.S. nuclear secrets to the Soviet Union.¹⁵⁸ CPUSA belonged to an international network that advocated communism and defended the Soviet Union, the Communist International or COMINTERN.¹⁵⁹ In the 1950s, the CIA dubbed CPUSA a “Russian-inspired, Moscow-dominated, anti-American, quasi-military conspiracy against our Government, our ideal, and our freedom.”¹⁶⁰ Today, CPUSA emphasizes its efforts in promoting civil rights and democracy, including what it calls a “Bill of Rights” socialism that protects civil liberties and adheres to the Bill of Rights of the U.S. Constitution.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁶ Daeha Ko, “Communism in Washington State,” University of Washington, accessed September 8, 2020, <https://depts.washington.edu/labhist/cpproject/ko.shtml>.

¹⁵⁷ “CPUSA - 1950s - Red Scare,” Global Security, accessed September 8, 2020,

<https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/usa/government/political-parties-cpusa-07.htm>.

¹⁵⁸ Joe Helm, “Sons of executed spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg ask Obama to exonerate their mother,” *Washington Post*, December 1, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/education/sons-of-executed-spies-julius-and-ethel-rosenberg-ask-obama-to-exonerate-mom/2016/12/01/a654c7ca-b7e6-11e6-b8df-600bd9d38a02_story.html.

¹⁵⁹ Emile Schepers, “A brief history of the world communist movement,” Communist Party USA, October 3, 2018, <https://www.cpusa.org/article/a-brief-history-of-the-world-communist-movement/>.

¹⁶⁰ “The Communist Party of the United States of America: What It Is, How It Works – A Handbook for Americans,” CIA, 1956, 1, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP78-00915R000600140037-0.pdf>.

¹⁶¹ Eric Lutz, “‘A leftward shift’: Communist party USA sees chance as progressives surge,” *Guardian* (London), June 23, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jun/23/communist-party-usa-chicago-cpusa-convention>; Roberta Wood and Dee Miles, “Bill of Rights Socialism,” Communist Party USA, May 1, 2016, https://www.cpusa.org/party_info/socialism-in-the-usa/.

CPUSA refers to itself as a Marxist organization, indicating that communism is its end goal. CPUSA’s platform posits that communism will result in “a society without exploitation, without social classes, without war, without constant attacks on our shared environment, and without any coercive apparatus,” while guaranteeing full democratic freedom and the “humane development of society and the individual—for human happiness.”¹⁶² Nonetheless, CPUSA claims to fully support democracy and the guarantee of personal liberties, including voting rights and full democratic representation. According to CPUSA, capitalism presents the greatest danger to democratic freedom.¹⁶³

Recruitment and Propaganda

CPUSA’s propaganda centers around combating two primary ideological enemies: capitalism and the extreme right. According to CPUSA’s platform, the extreme right has influenced the Republican Party and injected Islamophobia, ultra-nationalism, and authoritarianism into the U.S. government. CPUSA accuses the Trump Administration of being authoritarian while the extreme right seeks to use capitalism to extend its control over the entire country. Further, CPUSA alleges the U.S. government uses the threat of terrorism to curtail individual freedoms, including free speech and assembly.¹⁶⁴ CPUSA obligates all party members to fight against racist ideologies and for full political and

¹⁶² “CPUSA Program,” Communist Party USA, April 13, 2020, https://www.cpusa.org/party_info/party-program/#Capitalism.

¹⁶³ “CPUSA Program,” Communist Party USA, April 13, 2020, https://www.cpusa.org/party_info/party-program/#Capitalism.

¹⁶⁴ “CPUSA Program,” Communist Party USA, April 13, 2020, https://www.cpusa.org/party_info/party-program/#Capitalism.

social rights for all. CPUSA opposes anti-Semitism and discrimination based on race, religion, nationality, or color.¹⁶⁵

CPUSA offers a membership option through its website to individuals over the age of 18 who live in the United States.¹⁶⁶ The party charges annual dues of \$60 per year, or \$24 per year for low-income individuals.¹⁶⁷ CPUSA holds an annual convention for its members¹⁶⁸ and also supports the online magazine People’s World, though it is published independently.¹⁶⁹

CPUSA promotes democracy and human rights as core values. In June 2014, CPUSA adopted a new constitution, which declared the group’s dedication to democratic principles, particularly within its own governance. According to the constitution, CPUSA “is of and for the U.S. working class.”¹⁷⁰ The constitution also calls on members to vote in all public elections and obligates all members to fight for full social and civil rights for all—particularly immigrants and women—without regard for sexual orientation or gender identity.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁵ “New CPUSA Constitution (final draft),” Communist Party USA, June 10, 2014, https://cpusa.org/party_voices/draft-new-constitution/.

¹⁶⁶ “Join Us,” Communist Party USA, accessed July 21, 2022, <https://www.cpusa.org/join-us/>.

¹⁶⁷ “Pay Dues,” Communist Party USA, accessed July 21, 2022, <https://www.cpusa.org/paydues/>.

¹⁶⁸ Eric Lutz, “A leftward shift: Communist party USA sees chance as progressives surge,” *Guardian* (London), June 23, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jun/23/communist-party-usa-chicago-cpusa-convention>.

¹⁶⁹ “About People’s World,” People’s World, accessed September 8, 2020, <https://www.peoplesworld.org/about-the-peoples-world/>.

¹⁷⁰ “CPUSA Constitution,” Communist Party USA, September 20, 2014, https://www.cpusa.org/party_info/cpusa-constitution/.

¹⁷¹ “CPUSA Constitution,” Communist Party USA, September 20, 2014, https://www.cpusa.org/party_info/cpusa-constitution/.

CPUSA propaganda presents capitalism as the greatest danger to democratic freedom.¹⁷² According to CPUSA, capitalism is responsible for “endless wars” and “institutionalizes racism and women’s oppression” while fueling discrimination against minorities.¹⁷³ The greatest driver of capitalism is the United States. While CPUSA pledges its support to democracy, it accuses the United States of threatening the world peace and even the future existence of humanity through its policies. CPUSA’s solution is to transform the United States into a socialist society.¹⁷⁴

Citing its support for human rights, CPUSA has also taken a critical position of Israel and Zionism, labeling Zionism a “virulent form of racism” supported by U.S. and British imperialism.¹⁷⁵ While CPUSA has condemned the violent extremism of Hamas and Hezbollah, its statements acknowledge Hamas as a legitimate political representative of the Palestinian people and minimize the role Hamas and Hezbollah terrorism play in instigating Israeli military responses. At the core of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, according to CPUSA, is Israel’s “systematic denial of Palestinian rights and the

¹⁷² “CPUSA Program,” Communist Party USA, April 13, 2020, https://www.cpusa.org/party_info/party-program/#Capitalism.

¹⁷³ “CPUSA Constitution,” Communist Party USA, September 20, 2014, https://www.cpusa.org/party_info/cpusa-constitution/.

¹⁷⁴ “CPUSA Program,” Communist Party USA, April 13, 2020, https://www.cpusa.org/party_info/party-program/#Capitalism.

¹⁷⁵ Gary Hicks, “Convention Discussion: Zionism is a form of racism, and racism has no place in our Communist Party!,” Communist Party USA, April 20, 2010, https://www.cpusa.org/party_voices/convention-discussion-zionism-is-a-form-of-racism/.

unrelenting campaign to destroy the political and civic institutions and economic infrastructure in the West Bank and Gaza.”¹⁷⁶

Violent Activities

- CPUSA is not linked to recent specific acts of violence.

Rhetoric

- **CPUSA statement, May 12, 2021:**

“The capitalist world stays silent in the face of the many crimes being committed by the Israeli regime, but we must speak up.”¹⁷⁷

–

- **CPUSA Program, April 13, 2020:**

“There is growing recognition that U.S. policies threaten not only world peace and the environment but the very existence of humanity.”¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ “The Middle East in Crisis,” Communist Party USA, July 28, 2006, <https://www.cpusa.org/article/the-middle-east-in-crisis/>.

¹⁷⁷ “Demand action against Israeli attack on Gaza,” Communist Party USA, May 12, 2021, <https://cpusa.org/article/demand-action-against-israeli-attack-on-gaza/>.

¹⁷⁸ “CPUSA Program,” Communist Party USA, April 13, 2020, https://www.cpusa.org/party_info/party-program/#Capitalism.

– **CPUSA Program, April 13, 2020:**

“U.S. imperialism is home to the bulk of the dominant transnational corporations. It seeks control over the entire world, including over other imperialist powers. Under extreme right political leadership, U.S. imperialism has immense instruments for winning its aims—ranging from its direct military power to its various means of economic domination and political pressure, from sanctions to bribery to ideological attacks. But even with all of these instruments, U.S. domination is slowly weakening.”¹⁷⁹

– **CPUSA Program, April 13, 2020:**

“The problems facing humankind—of exploitation, oppression, environmental degradation and human survival—can only be solved, ultimately, by the elimination of the exploitative system of capitalism. Our survival depends on a transformation to socialism.”¹⁸⁰

– **CPUSA Program, April 13, 2020:**

“Exploitation of workers for profit is inherent in capitalism and causes or exacerbates all the major social and environmental ills of our times.”¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ “CPUSA Program,” Communist Party USA, April 13, 2020, https://www.cpusa.org/party_info/party-program/#Capitalism.

¹⁸⁰ “CPUSA Program,” Communist Party USA, April 13, 2020, https://www.cpusa.org/party_info/party-program/#Capitalism.

¹⁸¹ “CPUSA Program,” Communist Party USA, April 13, 2020, https://www.cpusa.org/party_info/party-program/#Capitalism.

– **CPUSA Program, April 13, 2020:**

“The appeal of a communist society is a response to the real human needs of the masses of people. Communism will enable people to set aside worries about health care and education, about losing their livelihood and their dignity. Communism will eliminate the economic insecurity of the masses of working people. Instead, it will offer us the opportunity to reach our full human potential.”¹⁸²

– **CPUSA Program, April 13, 2020:**

“U.S. colonialism has forced Puerto Rico’s economy into dependency. For Puerto Ricans to exercise their right to independence they must be able to break with the colonial dependency forced on them by the U.S.; otherwise independence would be a sham. We support the full transfer of all powers to the Puerto Rican nation and monetary compensation with no strings attached to Puerto Rico to make up for the super-exploitation of Puerto Ricans and for colonial oppression.”¹⁸³

– **CPUSA Program, April 13, 2020:**

“As a result of U.S. aggression throughout the Middle East, especially in Afghanistan and Iraq, a substantial majority of Arabs, Muslims, and South Asian peoples in the U.S. have become active opponents of the extreme right. The U.S. has close relationships with the most reactionary forces in the region, supports Israeli

¹⁸² “CPUSA Program,” Communist Party USA, April 13, 2020, https://www.cpusa.org/party_info/party-program/#Capitalism.

¹⁸³ “CPUSA Program,” Communist Party USA, April 13, 2020, https://www.cpusa.org/party_info/party-program/#Capitalism.

occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, refuses to accept the rights of the Palestinian people to form their own autonomous state, and demonizes Muslims.”¹⁸⁴

– **CPUSA Constitution, June 14, 2014:**

“Capitalism has cast billions of people around the world into poverty. It afflicts humanity with endless wars. It institutionalizes racism and women’s oppression, denies youth the hope of a future, and fuels discrimination against gay, lesbian and transgender people, religious minorities, immigrants and people with disabilities. Capitalism pits worker against worker in a global race to the bottom. Corporate interests wage a never-ending campaign to roll back people’s hard-won democratic rights. Capitalism’s insatiable drive for profits has poisoned the Earth’s land, sea, and air. Capitalism treats people and nature as disposable commodities in order to transfer the wealth of the planet to a handful of multi-billionaires.”¹⁸⁵

– **CPUSA convention discussion, April 20, 2010:**

“Yet somehow the ideological seepage of racism has slipped under our doors and into our lives in the form of kowtowing to Zionism, the all-sided political-theoretical-ideological and organizational justification -backed by United States and British imperialism – for the historical oppression of the Palestinian people, and the theft of their land.

“Zionism is more than bourgeois nationalism; it is a virulent form of racism. It was

¹⁸⁴ “CPUSA Program,” Communist Party USA, April 13, 2020, https://www.cpusa.org/party_info/party-program/#Capitalism.

¹⁸⁵ “CPUSA Constitution,” Communist Party USA, September 20, 2014, https://www.cpusa.org/party_info/cpusa-constitution/.

racism early on when – at the end of the 1800s – Theodor Herzl, one of its major ideologues, wrote Die Judenstaat, essentially a fundraising proposal addressed to British colonialist Cecil Rhodes, stating that since the Jewish population of Europe has not, does not, never will get along with non-Jews, then the Jews should be given land on which to create a society of like people. Even then, the political forces around Herzl and others were settling in what was historically called Palestine, and buying Palestinian land from Turks who had generations earlier stolen it from the inhabitants. The history of Zionism has since been an orgy of land-grabbing, largely by military means, resulting in the displacement of original owners – Palestinians.”¹⁸⁶

– **CPUSA convention discussion, April 20, 2010:**

“To reiterate and conclude: Zionism is a form of racism, and racism has no place in our Communist Party.”¹⁸⁷

– **CPUSA statement, July 4, 2006:**

“Apparently waiting for an excuse to try and overthrow the Hamas government, Israels aggressive acts have moved events further from a peaceful settlement.”¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ Gary Hicks, “Convention Discussion: Zionism is a form of racism, and racism has no place in our Communist Party!,” Communist Party USA, April 20, 2010, https://www.cpusa.org/party_voices/convention-discussion-zionism-is-a-form-of-racism/.

¹⁸⁷ Gary Hicks, “Convention Discussion: Zionism is a form of racism, and racism has no place in our Communist Party!,” Communist Party USA, April 20, 2010, https://www.cpusa.org/party_voices/convention-discussion-zionism-is-a-form-of-racism/.

¹⁸⁸ “Communist Party Statement on Crisis in Palestine,” Communist Party USA, July 4, 2006, <https://www.cpusa.org/article/communist-party-statement-on-crisis-in-palestine/>.

– **CPUSA statement, January 22, 2002:**

“In the midst of this growing right-wing danger, both the Israeli and the U.S. governments are cynically exploiting the attacks of September 11 to reframe the Palestinian struggle for liberation as nothing more than ‘terrorism’. But no amount of Zionist propaganda can conceal the true history and ideology behind this conflict.”¹⁸⁹

–



Earth Liberation Front

Base of Operations: International.

Website: Not determined.

Social Media Presence: Not determined.

Leadership: ELF is a leaderless organization.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹ “The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Prospects for Peace,” Communist Party USA, January 22, 2002, <https://www.cpusa.org/article/the-israeli-palestinian-conflict-prospects-for-peace/>.

¹⁹⁰ “Frequently Asked Questions About the North American Animal Liberation Press Office,” North American Animal Liberation Press Office, accessed August 5, 2020, <https://animalliberationpressooffice.org/NAALPO/f-a-q-s/#2>.

Membership Size and Relevance: ELF does not maintain membership records. It is decentralized into anonymous, autonomous cells to prevent infiltration by law enforcement and accused animal abusers.¹⁹¹ ELF cells act independently of each other¹⁹²

In December 2001, domestic terrorism section chief of the FBI, James Jarboe, called ALF and ELF “the No. 1 priority in the domestic terrorism program.”¹⁹³ In congressional testimony in 2004, John Lewis, deputy assistant director of the FBI Counterterrorism Division, called the investigation of animal rights extremists and ecoterrorism matters the FBI’s highest domestic terrorism investigative priority.¹⁹⁴ The ELF was the subject of a 2011 documentary film called “If a Tree Falls: A Story of the Earth Liberation Front,” which documented the group’s ideology and terrorist tactics.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ “Frequently Asked Questions About the North American Animal Liberation Press Office,” North American Animal Liberation Press Office, accessed August 5, 2020, <https://animalliberationpressooffice.org/NAALPO/f-a-q-s/#2>.

¹⁹² North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office, “Frequently Asked Questions About The Earth Liberation Front,” Internet Archive, March 18, 2012, 2, <https://archive.org/details/FrequentlyAskedQuestionsAboutTheEarthLiberationFront>.

¹⁹³ Alleen Brown, “The Green Scare,” Intercept, March 23, 2019, <https://theintercept.com/2019/03/23/ecoterrorism-fbi-animal-rights/>.

¹⁹⁴ Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler and Cas Mudde, “Ecoterrorism: threat or political ploy?,” *Washington Post*, December 19, 2014, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/12/19/ecoterrorism-threat-or-political-ploy/>.

¹⁹⁵ John Anderson, “Activist or Terrorist, Rendered in Red, White and Green,” *New York Times*, June 8, 2011, <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/12/movies/if-a-tree-falls-documentary-by-marshall-curry.html>.

The Earth Liberation Front (ELF) is an ecoterrorist group made up of autonomous cells that carry out attacks on those the group accuses of damaging the environment. ELF emerged in 1992 in Brighton, England, as an offshoot of the British Earth First movement. ELF began operations in the United States later that decade with an October 1996 arson attack on a U.S. Forest Service truck in Oregon.¹⁹⁶

ELF's primary tactic is arson. It has set fire to research labs, homes, and businesses. ELF has also engaged in vandalism, including breaking windows and graffiti.¹⁹⁷ Between 1996 and 2002, the FBI estimated that ELF and the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) were together responsible for some 600 criminal acts in the United States totaling more than \$42 million in damages.¹⁹⁸ Between 1995 and 2010, ELF was responsible for 55 percent of 239 arson and bombing attacks recorded by the Department of Homeland security and attributed to environmental terrorists.¹⁹⁹ Specifically, a cell of ELF and ALF

¹⁹⁶ North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office, "Frequently Asked Questions About The Earth Liberation Front," Internet Archive, March 18, 2012, 1, <https://archive.org/details/FrequentlyAskedQuestionsAboutTheEarthLiberationFront>; "ECO-TERRORISM SPECIFICALLY EXAMINING THE EARTH LIBERATION FRONT AND THE ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT – HEARING BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS UNITED STATES SENATE ONE HUNDRED NINTH CONGRESS FIRST SESSION," Govinfo, May 18, 2005, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-109shrg32209/html/CHRG-109shrg32209.htm>.

¹⁹⁷ John Stossel, "Give Me a Break: E.L.F. and Arson," *New York Times*, January 6, 2006, <https://abcnews.go.com/2020/story?id=124096&page=1>; Al Baker, "Police Say an Anti-Sprawl Group Burned New Long Island Homes," *New York Times*, January 3, 2001, <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/01/03/nyregion/police-say-an-anti-sprawl-group-burned-new-long-island-homes.html>.

¹⁹⁸ Testimony of Dale L. Watson, Executive Assistant Director, Counterterrorism/Counterintelligence Division *Federal Bureau of Investigation, Before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Washington, DC*, FBI, February 6, 2002, <https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/testimony/the-terrorist-threat-confronting-the-united-states>.

¹⁹⁹ Steven M. Chermak, Joshua Freilich, Celinet Duran, and William S. Parkin, "An Overview of Bombing and

members known as “the Family” were responsible for a series of fires between 1995 and 2001.²⁰⁰ The group set approximately 20 fires in Oregon, Washington, California, Wyoming, and Colorado blamed by federal investigators on the Family. The alleged ringleader, William C. Rodgers, a.k.a. Avalon, was arrested in December 2005 and committed suicide in an Arizona jail that month.²⁰¹

After the 9/11 terror attacks, the FBI focused its efforts on domestic terrorist threats, while corporate lobbying pushed the government to take decisive action against ecoterrorists specifically. The FBI labeled ELF a domestic terrorist organization and the Justice Department began a campaign pursuing ecoterrorists as the nation’s top domestic terrorist threat.²⁰² ELF mouthpiece North American Earth Liberation Front

Arson Attacks by Environmental and Animal Rights Extremists in the United States, 1995-2010,” Final Report to the Resilient Systems Division, Science and Technology Directorate, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/OPSR_TP_TEVUS_Bombing-Arson-Attacks_Environmental-Animal%20Rights-Extremists_1309-508.pdf.

²⁰⁰ Conrad Wilson, “Eco-activist and former international fugitive Joseph Dibee pleads guilty in 1997 Oregon arson,” OPB, April 21, 2022, <https://www.opb.org/article/2022/04/21/joseph-dibee-environmental-terrorism-oregon-washington-earth-liberation-front-animal/>.

²⁰¹ Associated Press, “2 plead guilty in 1998 arson of Vail ski resort; attack caused \$12M in damage,” *USA Today*, December 14, 2006, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/nation/2006-12-14-vail-arsons_x.htm; Vanessa Grigoriadis, “The Rise and Fall of the Eco-Radical Underground,” *Rolling Stone*, June 21, 2011, <https://www.rollingstone.com/culture/culture-news/the-rise-and-fall-of-the-eco-radical-underground-245345/>.

²⁰² Alleen Brown, “The Green Scare,” *Intercept*, March 23, 2019, <https://theintercept.com/2019/03/23/ecoterrorism-fbi-animal-rights/>; Juliet Eilperin, “As eco-terrorism wanes, governments still target activist groups seen as threat,” *Washington Post*, March 10, 2012, https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/as-eco-terrorism-wanes-governments-still-target-activist-groups-seen-as-threat/2012/02/28/gIQAA4Ay3R_story.html; *Testimony of Dale L. Watson, Executive Assistant Director, Counterterrorism/Counterintelligence Division Federal Bureau of Investigation, Before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Washington, DC, FBI, February 6, 2002, https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/testimony/the-terrorist-threat-confronting-the-united-states.*

Press Office (NAELFPO) called the FBI's focus on the ELF a "clear sign that the ELF is successfully threatening that nation state which is destroying life on the planet."²⁰³

ELF no longer carries out as many actions as it did in the 1990s or early 2000s, but federal agencies continue to be vigilant of the group.²⁰⁴ In April 2022, Joseph Mahmoud Dibee pleaded guilty to involvement in multiple arsons committed by a cell of ELF and ALF members known as "the Family." Dibee was arrested in 2018 and his case renewed public interest in the group.²⁰⁵

Recruitment and Propaganda

The North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office (NAELFPO) distributed press materials on behalf of the ELF. The NAELFPO claimed to be "a legal, above ground news service dedicated to exposing the political and social motives behind the direct actions

²⁰³ North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office, "Frequently Asked Questions About The Earth Liberation Front," Internet Archive, March 18, 2012, 31,

<https://archive.org/details/FrequentlyAskedQuestionsAboutTheEarthLiberationFront>.

²⁰⁴ Kristina Davis, "Ecoterror arsons unsolved 10 years later," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, September 14, 2013, <https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/news/public-safety/sdut-ecoterror-arsons-elf-fbi-2013sep14-htmlstory.html>; Alleen Brown, "The Green Scare," *Intercept*, March 23, 2019, <https://theintercept.com/2019/03/23/ecoterrorism-fbi-animal-rights/>.

²⁰⁵ "Pacific Northwest Environmental Extremist and Arsonist Pleads Guilty," U.S. Department of Justice, April 22, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/pacific-northwest-environmental-extremist-and-arsonist-pleads-guilty>; Christine Chung, "Man Who Fleed U.S. in 2005 Pleads Guilty to Environmental Arson Conspiracies," *New York Times*, April 25, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/25/us/joseph-dibee-environmental-arson-fugitive.html>; Sam Raskin, "'Environmental extremist' group leader Joseph Dibee pleads guilty to arson," *New York Post*, April 24, 2022, <https://nypost.com/2022/04/24/environmental-extremist-joseph-dibee-pleads-guilty-to-arson/>; Conrad Wilson, "Trial Will Decide Who Can Be Labeled A Domestic Terrorist," NPR, July 6, 2021, <https://www.npr.org/2021/07/06/1013496140/trial-will-decide-who-can-be-labeled-a-domestic-terrorist>.

of the ELF.”²⁰⁶ The NAELFPO admitted public support for the ELF and “acts of economic sabotage against those who profit from the destruction of the natural environment.”²⁰⁷ Craig Rosebraugh and Leslie James Pickering founded the NAELFPO in 1999. Rosebraugh became known as the national spokesman for the ELF until he stepped down in the early 2000s while claiming disappointment with the escalation of the group’s recent attacks.²⁰⁸ The NAELFPO’s website is now offline.

Violent Activities

– March 3, 2008

Five “green” luxury homes were destroyed or heavily damaged by arson in Maltby, Washington. ELF signs were found at the site. There were no reported casualties.²⁰⁹

– August 1, 2003

Suspected ELF members set fire to the construction site of a University City housing project in San Diego, California, resulting in \$50 million worth of damage. It was the

²⁰⁶ North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office, “Frequently Asked Questions About The Earth Liberation Front,” Internet Archive, March 18, 2012,

<https://archive.org/details/FrequentlyAskedQuestionsAboutTheEarthLiberationFront>.

²⁰⁷ North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office, “Frequently Asked Questions About The Earth Liberation Front,” Internet Archive, March 18, 2012,

<https://archive.org/details/FrequentlyAskedQuestionsAboutTheEarthLiberationFront>.

²⁰⁸ Bryan Denson, “Once the ‘Face of Eco-Terrorism,’ former Portlander Craig Rosebraugh is now lawyer, filmmaker,” *Oregonian*, last updated January 10, 2019,

https://www.oregonlive.com/portland/2013/03/once_the_face_of_eco-terrorism.html.

²⁰⁹ William Yardley, “Ecoterrorism Suspected in House Fires in Seattle Suburb,” *New York Times*, March 4, 2008, <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/04/us/04homes.html>.

costliest act of ecoterrorism in the United States. ELF banners were found at the scene. There were no reported casualties.²¹⁰

—

— **October 2001**

Joseph Mahmoud Dibee and others attempted to destroy the U.S. Bureau of Land Management's Wild Horse Corrals, a government-owned facility used to remove wild horses from public lands located near Litchfield, California. The attack destroyed a barn and its contents.²¹¹

—

— **January 2, 2001**

ELF members set fire to Superior Lumber Company in Glendale, Oregon, causing \$400,000 in damages. There were reported no casualties.²¹²

— **January 2001**

ELF members set fire to new homes under construction in Suffolk County, Long Island, New York. The homes were constructed on what was previously farmland. There were no reported casualties.²¹³

²¹⁰ Kristina Davis, "Ecoterror arsons unsolved 10 years later," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, September 14, 2013, <https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/news/public-safety/sdut-ecoterror-arsons-elf-fbi-2013sep14-htmlstory.html>.

²¹¹ "Pacific Northwest Environmental Extremist and Arsonist Pleads Guilty," U.S. Department of Justice, April 21, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-or/pr/pacific-northwest-environmental-extremist-and-arsonist-pleads-guilty>.

²¹² Mindy Sink, "Radicals Take Responsibility for Burning Oregon Timber Office," *New York Times*, January 11, 2001, <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/01/11/us/radicals-take-responsibility-for-burning-oregon-timber-office.html>.

²¹³ John Stossel, "Give Me a Break: E.L.F. and Arson," *New York Times*, January 6, 2006, <https://abcnews.go.com/2020/story?id=124096&page=1>; Al Baker, "Police Say an Anti-Sprawl Group

– **November 2000**

ELF claimed credit for burning down a \$2 million home under construction in Colorado. There were reported no casualties.²¹⁴

– **October 19, 1998**

Members of ALF and ELF, known as “the Family,” ignited diesel firebombs at the Two Elk Resort in Vail Mountain, Colorado, destroying the lodge. ELF claims told the fire was intended to deter development in Blue Sky Basin, which they said was habitat for the Canada lynx. In December 2006, two of the conspirators, Chelsea Dawn Gerlach and Stanislas Gregory Meyerhoff, pleaded guilty to federal arson charges. Another conspirator, Rebecca Rubin, fled to Canada. After five years as a fugitive, Rubin turned herself over to the FBI in November 2012. In February 2014, Rubin was sentenced to five years in prison. Josephine Sunshine Overaker remains at large. Authorities believe she fled to Europe.²¹⁵

Burned New Long Island Homes,” *New York Times*, January 3, 2001, <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/01/03/nyregion/police-say-an-anti-sprawl-group-burned-new-long-island-homes.html>.

²¹⁴ Mindy Sink, “Radicals Take Responsibility for Burning Oregon Timber Office,” *New York Times*, January 11, 2001, <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/01/11/us/radicals-take-responsibility-for-burning-oregon-timber-office.html>.

²¹⁵ Associated Press, “2 plead guilty in 1998 arson of Vail ski resort; attack caused \$12M in damage,” *USA Today*, December 14, 2006, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/nation/2006-12-14-vail-arsons_x.htm; Randy Wyrick, “Two Elk eco-terrorist sentenced to prison,” *Post Independent*, February 2, 2014, <https://www.postindependent.com/news/local/two-elk-eco-terrorist-sentenced-to-prison/>; “MOST WANTED – JOSEPHINE SUNSHINE OVERAKER,” FBI, accessed June 16, 2022, <https://www.fbi.gov/wanted/dt/josephine-sunshine-overaker>; “Pacific Northwest Environmental

– **November 29, 1997**

ELF members released wild horses and burned down a Bureau of Land Management Horse Corral in Oregon, causing approximately \$450,000 in damage. There were no reported casualties.²¹⁶

– **July 21, 1997**

Joseph Mahmoud Dibee and other members of ELF and ALF destroyed the Cavel West Meat Packing Plant in Redmond, Oregon, causing \$1.2 million in damages. In April 2022, Dibee pleaded guilty to arson and conspiracy to commit arson in the District of Oregon and conspiracy to commit arson in the Eastern District of California.²¹⁷

–

– **October 1996**

ELF activists carry out an arson attack on a U.S. Forest Service truck in Oregon.²¹⁸

Extremist and Arsonist Pleads Guilty,” U.S. Department of Justice, April 22, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/pacific-northwest-environmental-extremist-and-arsonist-pleads-guilty>.

²¹⁶ North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office, “Frequently Asked Questions About The Earth Liberation Front,” Internet Archive, March 18, 2012, 1,

<https://archive.org/details/FrequentlyAskedQuestionsAboutTheEarthLiberationFront>.

²¹⁷ “Pacific Northwest Environmental Extremist and Arsonist Pleads Guilty,” U.S. Department of Justice, April 21, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-or/pr/pacific-northwest-environmental-extremist-and-arsonist-pleads-guilty>; Zane Sparling, “Suspected Earth Liberation Front arsonist captured after 12 years on the run,” *Portland Tribune*, August 10, 2018, <https://pamplinmedia.com/pt/9-news/403164-300186-suspected-earth-liberation-front-arsonist-captured-after-12-years-on-the-run>.

²¹⁸ “ECO-TERRORISM SPECIFICALLY EXAMINING THE EARTH LIBERATION FRONT AND THE ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT – HEARING BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS

Rhetoric

– **Craig Rosebraugh, ELF spokesman, October 2001:**

“If the U.S. government is truly concerned with eradicating terrorism in the world, then that effort must begin with abolishing U.S. imperialism. Members of this governing body, both in the House and Senate as well as those who hold positions in the executive branch, constitute the largest group of terrorists and terrorist representatives currently threatening life on this planet.”²¹⁹

– **ELF banner left at arson site in California, September 2003:**

“Environmental murder. Nature demands justice. The E.L.F.s are mad.”²²⁰

– **ELF banner left at site of firebombed construction site in San Diego, California, August 1, 2003:**

“If you build it, we will burn it. The E.L.F.s are mad.”²²¹

UNITED STATES SENATE ONE HUNDRED NINTH CONGRESS FIRST SESSION,” Govinfo, May 18, 2005, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-109shrg32209/html/CHRG-109shrg32209.htm>.

²¹⁹ Alleen Brown, “The Green Scare,” Intercept, March 23, 2019, <https://theintercept.com/2019/03/23/ecoterrorism-fbi-animal-rights/>.

²²⁰ Kristina Davis, “Ecoterror arsons unsolved 10 years later,” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, September 14, 2013, <https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/news/public-safety/sdut-ecoterror-arsons-elf-fbi-2013sep14-htmlstory.html>.

²²¹ Kristina Davis, “Ecoterror arsons unsolved 10 years later,” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, September 14, 2013, <https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/news/public-safety/sdut-ecoterror-arsons-elf-fbi-2013sep14-htmlstory.html>.

– **Frequently Asked Questions about the Earth Liberation Front, North American ELF Press Office, 2001:**

“This hypocrisy and genocide against the horse nation will not go unchallenged! The practice of rounding up and auctioning wild horses must be stopped.”²²²

– **Frequently Asked Questions about the Earth Liberation Front, North American ELF Press Office, 2001:**

“The choice to use economic sabotage is a very deliberate and purposeful strategy to target the real underlying threat to life – the quest for profit and power. The ELF does not engage in state sanctioned tactics or those which physically harm people or life in general due to the group’s belief that economic sabotage is the best, most direct way to take the profit motive out of destroying the planet.”²²³

– **Frequently Asked Questions about the Earth Liberation Front, North American ELF Press Office, 2001:**

“The real violence and danger comes from businesses clear-cutting forests and destroying ecosystems, from pollutants carelessly pumped into our air by industrial and consumer society, from water being poisoned to the point of being undrinkable, by people eating commercially grown non-organic food, and many, many more. Very often by labeling the ELF as violent it is a means by which mainstream society,

²²² North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office, “Frequently Asked Questions About The Earth Liberation Front,” Internet Archive, March 18, 2012, 2, <https://archive.org/details/FrequentlyAskedQuestionsAboutTheEarthLiberationFront>.

²²³ North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office, “Frequently Asked Questions About The Earth Liberation Front,” Internet Archive, March 18, 2012, 28, <https://archive.org/details/FrequentlyAskedQuestionsAboutTheEarthLiberationFront>.

government, and big business can attempt to forget about the real true violence which occurs everyday, the violence against life.”²²⁴



Independent Media Center

Base of Operations: IndyMedia initially launched in Seattle, Washington, but has since grown into an international network of linked-but-independent sites.²²⁵

Website: <https://indymedia.org/> is the network’s primary website.

Social Media Presence: The IndyMedia network maintains multiple accounts on Twitter and Facebook. The primary IndyMedia site also maintains a [Facebook](#) account.

Leadership: Each IndyMedia site is independently run. There is no leadership structure in place.

Membership Size and Relevance: The IndyMedia network has more than 60 affiliated websites around the world.²²⁶

Independent Media Center (a.k.a. IndyMedia or IMC) is a loose international network of far-left news websites that international legal authorities accuse of promoting violence

²²⁴ North American Earth Liberation Front Press Office, “Frequently Asked Questions About The Earth Liberation Front,” Internet Archive, March 18, 2012, 28, <https://archive.org/details/FrequentlyAskedQuestionsAboutTheEarthLiberationFront>.

²²⁵ Homepage, Independent Media Center, accessed August 14, 2020, <https://indymedia.org/>.

²²⁶ Homepage, Independent Media Center, accessed August 14, 2020, <https://indymedia.org/>.

in pursuit of anti-globalist and anti-capitalist positions. U.S., Swiss, British, and other European authorities have all taken legal action against affiliated IMC sites for promoting violence.²²⁷

In 2004, the FBI shut down 20 U.S.-based IndyMedia sites at the request of European police, though the exact reason was not made clear to journalists.²²⁸ European far-left militant groups such as Greece's Revolutionary Self-Defense have used Indymedia websites to post claims of responsibility for terrorist attacks.²²⁹ In December 2014, Nikos Maziotis, the jailed leader of Greek guerilla group Revolutionary Struggle, posted a document on IndyMedia entitled "Elections are not the answer, armed struggle is."²³⁰ The German government linked IMC's Germany platform, Linksunten.indymedia.org, to violent protests at the 2017 G20 summit and shut down the site for "sowing hate against different opinions and representatives of the country."²³¹ In December 2017, IndyMedia posted pictures of 54 German police officers in response to a police

²²⁷ "US seizes independent media sites," BBC News, October 11, 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/technology/3732718.stm>.

²²⁸ "US seizes independent media sites," BBC News, October 11, 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/technology/3732718.stm>.

²²⁹ "Guerrilla group claims responsibility for attack at French embassy in Athens," Reuters, November 14, 2016, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-greece-france-diplomacy-attack/querrilla-group-claims-responsibility-for-attack-at-french-embassy-in-athens-idUSKBN1392M6>.

²³⁰ "Greek Police Fear Politicians, Judges Targets," *National Herald*, December 16, 2014, <https://www.thenationalherald.com/69107/greek-police-fear-politicians-judges-now-terrorist-next-targets/>.

²³¹ Ben Knight, "Interior Ministry shuts down, raids left-wing German Indymedia site," Deutsche Welle, August 25, 2017, <https://www.dw.com/en/interior-ministry-shuts-down-raids-left-wing-german-indymedia-site/a-40232965>; Chloe Farand and Jon Stone, "Germany bans far-left extremist online platform accused of inciting violence at G20 summit in Hamburg," *Independent* (London), August 25, 2017, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/germany-far-left-extremists-g20-summit-hamburg-violence-incite-online-platform-linksunten-a7913066.html>.

investigation of the G20 protests earlier that year. The authors asked for information regarding where the officers lived or “could be met privately.”²³² In January 2019, the European far-left militant Group of Popular fighters posted a claim of responsibility for a December 17, 2018, bombing on IndyMedia.²³³ After banning IndyMedia in 2017, German Interior Minister Thomas de Maizière accused the network of inciting violence and spreading criminal content. He called the network the “most influential online platform for vicious left-wing extremists in Germany.”²³⁴

As of July 22, 2022, IndyMedia’s main website remained active but with a message that it is being rebuilt. Several of the page’s links to international and regional U.S.-affiliated pages were dead. Others had not been updated in months or years. Some of the affiliated sites did, however, have new content, primarily about women’s rights and the Supreme Court’s decision to overturn *Roe v. Wade*.²³⁵

²³² “Far-left post photos of police officers online, leading to accusation of ‘terrorism,’” The Local, December 18, 2017, <https://www.thelocal.de/20171218/far-left-lash-out-at-police-by-posting-photos-of-them-online>.

²³³ Niki Kitsantonis, “Greek Militants Say They Bombed Media Offices to Protest ‘Capitalist’ Agenda,” *New York Times*, January 9, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/09/world/europe/greece-bombing-group-of-popular-fighters.html>.

²³⁴ Edmund Heaphy, “Germany, in a First, Shuts Down Left-Wing Extremist Website,” *New York Times*, August 25, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/25/world/europe/germany-bans-far-left-antifa-website.html>.

²³⁵ Homepage, Independent Media Center, accessed July 22, 2022, <https://indymedia.org/>.

Recruitment and Propaganda

IndyMedia bills itself as “a network of collectively run media outlets for the creation of radical, accurate, and passionate tellings of the truth.”²³⁶ The main IndyMedia site allows visitors to publish content.

Violent Activities

- IndyMedia itself has not executed violent attacks, but the network stands accused of fomenting violence through propaganda, primarily in Europe. For example, after violent protests at the G20 summit in Hamburg, Germany, in August 2017, German Interior Minister Thomas de Maizière accused IndyMedia of mobilizing violent protesters. Germany banned IndyMedia soon after.²³⁷ IndyMedia website continue to post calls for rioting and criminal acts.²³⁸ Violent far-left groups have also used the IndyMedia platforms to publicize their own violent activities. For example, French anarchist group Révolte Anarchiste des Gendarmes Exilés (Anarchist Revolt Against Exiled Gendarmes) claimed responsibility on a French IndyMedia site for an arson attack on a police parking lot in September 2017.²³⁹

²³⁶ “About IndyMedia,” Independent Media Center, accessed November 20, 2018, <https://indymedia.org/en/static/about.shtml>.

²³⁷ Edmund Heaphy, “Germany, in a First, Shuts Down Left-Wing Extremist Website,” *New York Times*, August 25, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/25/world/europe/germany-bans-far-left-antifa-website.html>.

²³⁸ Simon Osborne, “Far left extremists urge riots, looting and violent uprising amid coronavirus chaos,” *Express* (London), March 19, 2020, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1257518/coronavirus-germany-far-left-extremists-riot-looting-violence>.

²³⁹ Henry Samuel, “Ultra-Left group torch 50 police vehicles on day of anti-Macron protests,” *Telegraph* (London), September 21, 2017, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/09/21/ultra-left-group-torch-50-police-vehicles-day-anti-macron-protests/>.

Rhetoric

– **Statement on state oppression of Indymedia sites, September 28, 2017:**

“For years, the sites in the Indymedia network have, among other things, lent visibility to the political nature of direct action. This new attack against free media outlets seeks to silence radical political opposition, and to criminalize the collectives and individuals who would communicate their political objectives without the distorting filter of traditional media outlets. This attack must also be viewed in light of the raids that, this week, targeted the anti-nuclear activists at Bure. Their computers, along with the photocopier that they had been using to print flyers were seized by the police. All means seem to have been mobilized to repress the autonomous expression of movements of struggle.”²⁴⁰

– **Statement on the German government shutdown of Linksunten Indymedia, August 28, 2017:**

“On August 25, the German government raided and shut down Linksunten Indymedia, an integral part of the global Independent Media Center network, and the most widely used German-language platform for radical politics and organizing. In Freiburg, riot police seized computers and harassed those they accuse of maintaining the site, justifying their actions on the grounds that the alleged administrators constitute an illegal organization intent on destroying the German

²⁴⁰ “State Repression Against IMC Grenoble and IMC Nantes,” Independent Media Center, September 28, 2017, <https://indymedia.org/or/2017/09/988319.shtml>.

Constitution. This represents a massive escalation in state repression against what the authorities call 'left-wing extremism,' disingenuously suggesting an equivalence between those who seek to build communities beyond the reach of state violence and Neo-Nazis organizing to carry out attacks and murders."²⁴¹

Jane's Revenge

Base of Operations: Jane's Revenge's first arson took place in Madison, Wisconsin, but the group has claimed to be "all over the US."²⁴²

Website: Not determined.

Social Media Presence: Not determined.

Leadership: Jane's Revenge has no known hierarchal structure. Its messaging support autonomous networks and the group's driving leadership has not publicly revealed itself.²⁴³

Membership Size and Relevance: Jane's Revenge began releasing statements and claiming credit for arsons and vandalism in May 2022. While the first arson on May 8 was covered in the *New York Times* and local media, the group has since largely been covered nationally by Fox News and other right-wing media. Since the Supreme Court overturned

²⁴¹ "GERMAN GOVERNMENT SHUTS DOWN LINKSUNTEN INDYMEDIA: WHAT IT MEANS AND WHAT TO DO," Independent Media Center, August 28, 2017, <https://indymedia.org/or/2017/08/988264.shtml>.

²⁴² Robert Evans, Twitter post, May 10, 2022, 3:24 a.m., <https://twitter.com/lwriteOK/status/1523926979333918720>.

²⁴³ Jane's Revenge, "Jane's Revenge – Night of Rage," Anarchist Federation, May 31, 2022, <https://www.anarchistfederation.net/janes-revenge-night-of-rage/>.

Roe v. Wade on June 24, 2022, the group's national profile has risen among other media sources as well.²⁴⁴

Jane's Revenge is a militant pro-abortion rights group that emerged after the May 2022 leak of a U.S. Supreme Court draft opinion overturning its 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision, which established abortion as a constitutional right.²⁴⁵ Ahead of the Supreme Court's decision to overturn *Roe v. Wade* the following month, Jane's Revenge issued warnings of violent responses. The group has since claimed responsibility for acts of vandalism and fire bombings of anti-abortion offices and clinics. The name is a reference to the Jane Collective, an underground organization in Chicago that helped women obtain abortions prior to the 1973 decision.²⁴⁶

A May 6, 2022, public leak of a draft opinion in the Supreme Court case *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization* revealed the court's intention to overturn the landmark 1973 case of *Roe v. Wade*. The draft ruling determined that it was up to

²⁴⁴ Luke Vander Ploeg and Addison Lathers, "Anti-Abortion Group in Wisconsin Is Hit by Arson, Authorities Say," *New York Times*, May 8, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/08/us/madison-anti-abortion-center-vandalized.html>; Alice Reid, "Report: Group claims credit for Madison anti-abortion office attack, warns of more," NBC 26, May 11, 2022, <https://www.nbc26.com/news/state/report-group-claims-credit-for-madison-anti-abortion-office-attack-warns-of-more>; Adam Sabes, "Minnesota pregnancy center vandalized by 'Jane's Revenge': 'We should've done more,'" Fox News, June 17, 2022, <https://www.foxnews.com/us/minnesota-pregnancy-center-vandalized-janes-revenge>.

²⁴⁵ Jack Dutton, "What Is Jane's Revenge? Abortion Rights Group Vows 'Night of Rage' Over Roe," *Newsweek*, June 24, 2022, <https://www.newsweek.com/what-janes-revenge-abortion-rights-group-vows-night-rage-over-roe-1718919>.

²⁴⁶ Judith Levine, "Beyond Revenge, What Does Jane's Revenge Want?," *Intercept*, June 16, 2022, <https://theintercept.com/2022/06/16/janes-revenge-abortion-rights/>.

individual states to decide whether to make abortion legal.²⁴⁷ On May 8, the Madison, Wisconsin, office of the anti-abortion Wisconsin Family Action was set on fire after a Molotov cocktail thrown through a window failed to ignite. Police also found graffiti that read, “If abortions aren’t safe then you aren’t either.” The building was empty at the time and no injuries were reported.²⁴⁸ On May 10, a group calling itself Jane’s Revenge sent a message to Bellingcat’s Robert Evans claiming responsibility for the attack and promising more. The message began by acknowledging it was not a declaration of war but a response to a war that had been forced on them for decades and they were fighting for their lives. The group called the Madison arson a warning and demanded the disbanding of all “anti-choice establishments” within 30 days.²⁴⁹

In its graffiti and online messaging, Jane’s Revenge promised, “If abortions aren’t safe, you’re not either.”²⁵⁰ Jane’s Revenge’s first communique claimed anti-abortion extremists bombing abortion clinics and shooting at doctors had forced them to “adopt

²⁴⁷ Josh Gerstein and Alexander Ward, “Supreme Court has voted to overturn abortion rights, draft opinion shows,” *Politico*, last updated May 3, 2022, <https://www.politico.com/news/2022/05/02/supreme-court-abortion-draft-opinion-00029473>.

²⁴⁸ Luke Vander Ploeg and Addison Lathers, “Anti-Abortion Group in Wisconsin Is Hit by Arson, Authorities Say,” *New York Times*, May 8, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/08/us/madison-anti-abortion-center-vandalized.html>; Alice Reid, “Report: Group claims credit for Madison anti-abortion office attack, warns of more,” NBC 26, May 11, 2022, <https://www.nbc26.com/news/state/report-group-claims-credit-for-madison-anti-abortion-office-attack-warns-of-more>.

²⁴⁹ Robert Evans, Twitter post, May 10, 2022, 3:24 a.m., <https://twitter.com/lwriteOK/status/1523926913806336000>.

²⁵⁰ Jack Dutton, “What Is Jane’s Revenge? Abortion Rights Group Vows ‘Night of Rage’ Over Roe,” *Newsweek*, June 24, 2022, <https://www.newsweek.com/what-janes-revenge-abortion-rights-group-vows-night-rage-over-roe-1718919>; Catholic News Agency, “WHO, OR WHAT, IS ‘JANE’S REVENGE’? A LOOK AT THE GROUP INVOKED IN PRO-ABORTION VANDALISM,” *Catholic Telegraph*, June 13, 2022, <https://www.thecatholictelegraph.com/who-or-what-is-janes-revenge-a-look-at-the-group-invoked-in-pro-abortion-vandalism/81507>.

increasingly extreme tactics to maintain freedom over our bodies.”²⁵¹ The group further explained the Madison arson was a warning they intended to target “the infrastructure of the enslavers,” which the group promised would not survive.²⁵² On May 31, in anticipation of the Supreme Court overturning *Roe v. Wade*, Jane’s Revenge issued a call for a “night of rage” on the night the ruling is revealed. The group told supporters their anger has been stolen from them for decades and it is time to bring their anger out into the world and express it physically.²⁵³

Recruitment and Propaganda

Jane’s Revenge graffiti and online messaging have utilized the slogan, “IF ABORTIONS AREN’T SAFE, YOU’RE NOT EITHER. JANE’S REVENGE”²⁵⁴ Jane’s Revenge has called on all who are sympathetic to their cause to physically express their anger. The group has endorsed the creation of “autonomously organized self-defense networks” to confront “misogynistic violence directly.”²⁵⁵

²⁵¹ Robert Evans, Twitter post, May 10, 2022, 3:24 a.m., <https://twitter.com/lwriteOK/status/1523926941572550656>.

²⁵² Robert Evans, Twitter post, May 10, 2022, 3:24 a.m., <https://twitter.com/lwriteOK/status/1523926979333918720>.

²⁵³ Jane’s Revenge, “Jane’s Revenge – Night of Rage,” Anarchist Federation, May 31, 2022, <https://www.anarchistfederation.net/janes-revenge-night-of-rage/>.

²⁵⁴ Jack Dutton, “What Is Jane’s Revenge? Abortion Rights Group Vows ‘Night of Rage’ Over Roe,” *Newsweek*, June 24, 2022, <https://www.newsweek.com/what-janes-revenge-abortion-rights-group-vows-night-rage-over-roe-1718919>.

²⁵⁵ Jane’s Revenge, “Jane’s Revenge – Night of Rage,” Anarchist Federation, May 31, 2022, <https://www.anarchistfederation.net/janes-revenge-night-of-rage/>.

Violent Activities

- Jane’s Revenge has been linked to multiple attacks on and vandalization of anti-abortion crisis pregnancy centers since May 2022.
- **June 22, 2022**
June 22, 2022: Police in Jackson, Michigan, responded to reports of overnight vandalism at a building hosting Jackson Right to Life, which also shares space with the campaign office of pro-life Republican U.S. Rep. Tim Walberg. Police found two broken windows and messages declaring, “If abortion isnt safe niether r u! (sic)”
- **June 14, 2022**
June 14, 2022: Unknown vandals graffitied and broke windows at the office of Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life overnight. Jane’s Revenge claimed responsibility online for the vandalism committed “in a small gesture of defiance and joy.”²⁵⁶
- **June 7, 2022**
Vandals broke windows and set a fire the Eggertsville, New York, office of pro-life group CompassCare. Graffiti was left on the outside wall declaring, “Jane Was Here.” No injuries were reported as the building in the Buffalo area was empty at the

²⁵⁶ Adam Sabes, “Minnesota pregnancy center vandalized by ‘Jane’s Revenge’: ‘We should’ve done more,’” Fox News, June 17, 2022, <https://www.foxnews.com/us/minnesota-pregnancy-center-vandalized-janes-revenge>.

time of the fire. The CEO of CompassCare likened attacks on anti-abortion clinics to “the pro-abortion ‘Kristallnacht,’” drawing a comparison to the 1938 pogroms destroying Jewish homes, synagogues, and businesses across Germany.²⁵⁷

– **May 8, 2022**

The Madison, Wisconsin, office of the anti-abortion Wisconsin Family Action was set on fire after a Molotov cocktail thrown through a window failed to ignite. Police also found graffiti that read, “If abortions aren’t safe then you aren’t either.” The building was empty at the time and no injuries were reported. Planned Parenthood of Wisconsin condemned the attack. Jane’s Revenge sent a message to Bellingcat’s Robert Evans claiming responsibility for the attack.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ “Kristallnacht,” U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed June 28, 2022, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/kristallnacht>; “CompassCare’s Buffalo Office Firebombed by Abortion Terrorists,” CompassCare, June 7, 2022, https://www.compasscarecommunity.com/2022/06/compasscares-buffalo-office-firebombed-by-abortion-activists/?fbclid=IwAR2y36JG4eWXLQcfof34fizJgM0ksywjn00v6mcOlhC8fYnk55tRrq2vf_w; Stephen T. Watson, “Political violence blamed in arson at anti-abortion group’s center in Amherst,” *Buffalo News*, last updated June 20, 2022, https://buffalonews.com/article_9da26e5e-e669-11ec-babe-cbbcb6659a2.html.

²⁵⁸ Luke Vander Ploeg and Addison Lathers, “Anti-Abortion Group in Wisconsin Is Hit by Arson, Authorities Say,” *New York Times*, May 8, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/08/us/madison-anti-abortion-center-vandalized.html>; Judith Levine, “Beyond Revenge, What Does Jane’s Revenge Want?,” *Intercept*, June 16, 2022, <https://theintercept.com/2022/06/16/janes-revenge-abortion-rights/>; Alice Reid, “Report: Group claims credit for Madison anti-abortion office attack, warns of more,” *NBC 26*, May 11, 2022, <https://www.nbc26.com/news/state/report-group-claims-credit-for-madison-anti-abortion-office-attack-warns-of-more>.

Rhetoric

– **Claim of responsibility for vandalization of the Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, June 14, 2022:**

“Minnesota Citizens Concerned For Life” [sic] or MCCL is the largest anti-abortion organization in so-called Minnesota and responsible for untold amounts of suffering as a result of their anti-science propaganda campaigns, ghoulish legislative attempts at social control and support for hateful bigoted politicians. So, in a small gesture of defiance and joy, we decided to smash all their windows and leave them a message from our friend Jane.

“Their offices and infrastructure deserve the same fate if not worse than that of the dozens of fake pregnancy clinics in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area that carry out the vision of MCCL toward a hellscape in which pumping out the ‘domestic supply of infants’ is the only thing people with a uterus are good for. Fuck them – the time of us reluctantly permitting their hatred for actual living people is over. We should’ve done more.”²⁵⁹

– **Online post, June 14, 2022:**

“From here forward, any anti-choice group who closes their doors, and stops operating will no longer be a target. But until you do, it’s open season, and we know where your operations are. The infrastructure of the enslavers will not survive. We

²⁵⁹ Adam Sabes, “Minnesota pregnancy center vandalized by ‘Jane’s Revenge’: ‘We should’ve done more,’” Fox News, June 17, 2022, <https://www.foxnews.com/us/minnesota-pregnancy-center-vandalized-janes-revenge>.

will never stop, back down, slow down, or retreat. We did not want this; but it is upon us, and so we must deal with it proportionally. We exist in confluence and solidarity with all others in the struggle for complete liberation.”²⁶⁰

– **Statement, May 31, 2022:**

“Within the month we anticipate a verdict will be issued that overturns Roe v. Wade, setting in motion an evisceration of abortion access across the so-called United States.

“This is an event that should inspire rage in millions of people who can get pregnant...and yet, the response thus far has been tepid.

“We have agonized over this apparent absence of indignation. Why is it that we are so afraid to unleash hell upon those who are destroying us? Fear of state repression is valid, but this goes deeper than that.

“Your anger has been stolen from you.

“To this we say: no more. We need to get angry.

“We need the state to feel our full wrath.

²⁶⁰ Adam Sabes, “Minnesota pregnancy center vandalized by ‘Jane’s Revenge’: ‘We should’ve done more,’” Fox News, June 17, 2022, <https://www.foxnews.com/us/minnesota-pregnancy-center-vandalized-janes-revenge>.

“We need to express this madness fully and with ferocity. We need to quit containing ourselves.

“We need them to be afraid of us.

...

“Whatever form your fury takes, the first step is feeling it.

“The next step is carrying that anger out into the world and expressing it physically.

“Consider this your call to action.

“On the night the final ruling is issued—a specific date we cannot yet predict, but we know is arriving imminently—we are asking for courageous hearts to come out after dark.

“Whoever you are and wherever you are, we are asking for you to do what you can to make your anger known.

...

“To those who work to oppress us: If abortion isn’t safe, you aren’t either. We are everywhere.”²⁶¹

– **Communique sent to Bellingcat’s Robert Evans, May 10, 2022:**

²⁶¹ Jane’s Revenge, “Jane’s Revenge – Night of Rage,” Anarchist Federation, May 31, 2022, <https://www.anarchistfederation.net/janes-revenge-night-of-rage/>.

“This was only a warning. We demand the disbanding of all anti-choice establishments, fake clinics, and violent anti-choice groups within the next thirty days. ... As you continue to bomb clinics and assassinate doctors with impunity, so too shall we adopt increasingly extreme tactics to maintain freedom over our bodies.”²⁶²

– **Communique sent to Bellingcat’s Robert Evans, May 10, 2022:**

“We are forced to adopt the minimum military requirement for a political struggle. Again, this was only a warning. Next time the infrastructure of the enslavers will not survive. Medical imperialism will not face a passive enemy. Wisconsin is the first flashpoint, but we are all over the US, and we will issue no further warnings.”²⁶³

– **Communique sent to Bellingcat’s Robert Evans, May 10, 2022:**

“And we will not stop, not back down, nor will we hesitate to strike until the inalienable right to manage our own health is returned to us.”²⁶⁴

– **Flyer distributed following the leak of a U.S. Supreme Court draft decision overturning Roe v. Wade, May 2022:**

²⁶² Robert Evans, Twitter post, May 10, 2022, 3:24 a.m., <https://twitter.com/lwriteOK/status/1523926941572550656>.

²⁶³ Robert Evans, Twitter post, May 10, 2022, 3:24 a.m., <https://twitter.com/lwriteOK/status/1523926979333918720>.

²⁶⁴ Robert Evans, Twitter post, May 10, 2022, 3:24 a.m., <https://twitter.com/lwriteOK/status/1523926986883706880>.

- “THE NIGHT SCOTUS OVERTURNS ROE V. WADE HIT THE STREETS YOU SAID YOU’D RIOT. TO OUR OPPRESSORS: IF ABORTIONS AREN’T SAFE, YOU’RE NOT EITHER. JANE’S REVENGE”²⁶⁵



John Brown Gun Club

Base of Operations: National

Website: <https://psjbgc.org/>, <http://www.midmojbgc.org/>

Social Media Presence: [Facebook \(Puget Sound John Brown Gun Club\)](#) (deleted), [Twitter \(Puget Sound John Brown Gun Club\)](#), [Twitter \(Mid-Missouri John Brown Gun Club\)](#), [Twitter \(Steel City John Brown Gun Club\)](#), [Twitter \(Spokane John Brown Gun Club\)](#), [Twitter \(Connecticut John Brown Gun Club\)](#), [Twitter \(Bay State John Brown Gun Club\)](#), [Twitter \(Rhode Island John Brown Gun Club\)](#), [Twitter \(Elm Fork John Brown Club\)](#), [Twitter \(Green Mountain John Brown Club\)](#), [Twitter \(PDX John Brown Club\)](#), [Twitter \(Cedar Breaks John Brown Club\)](#), [Twitter \(DMV John Brown Club\)](#), [Twitter \(John Brown Mountaineer Gun Club\)](#), [Medium \(Elm Fork John Brown Gun Club\)](#)

Leadership: The John Brown Gun Club chapters act independently and

²⁶⁵ Jack Dutton, “What Is Jane’s Revenge? Abortion Rights Group Vows ‘Night of Rage’ Over Roe,” *Newsweek*, June 24, 2022, <https://www.newsweek.com/what-janes-revenge-abortion-rights-group-vows-night-rage-over-roe-1718919>.

have no formal hierarchy.²⁶⁶ Members who have spoken publicly, including chapter founders, did not provide their full names.²⁶⁷

Membership Size and Relevance: Gun Club chapters do not publish their membership numbers. In August 2020, Facebook deleted multiple accounts affiliated with John Brown Gun Clubs as part of a purge of extremist groups.²⁶⁸ Various Gun Club chapters maintain a presence on Twitter. As of September 1, 2020, the Mid-Missouri chapter had 1,039 followers.²⁶⁹ By July 26, 2022, the account had 1,376 followers.²⁷⁰ As of September 1, 2020, the Puget Sound John Brown Gun Club had 12,700 followers.²⁷¹ By July 26, 2022, it had increased to 14,100 followers.²⁷² The Steel City John Brown Gun Club had 3,248 followers as of September 1, 2020.²⁷³ It had increased to 4,281 followers by July 26,

²⁶⁶ "About," Mid-Missouri John Brown Gun Club, accessed September 1, 2020, <http://www.midmojbgc.org/about/>; "Say Hello to Spokane John Brown Gun Club!," Puget Sound John Brown Gun Club, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://psjbgc.org/blog/say-hello-to-spokane-john-brown-gun-club/>.

²⁶⁷ Kim Kelly, "If others have rifles, we'll have rifles': why US leftist groups are taking up arms," *Guardian* (London), July 22, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/jul/22/if-others-have-rifles-well-have-rifles-why-leftist-groups-are-taking-up-arms>.

²⁶⁸ Alan Buddug, "The Great FB Purge of 2020," Mid-Missouri John Brown Gun Club, August 20, 2020, <http://www.midmojbgc.org/2020/08/20/the-great-fb-purge-of-2020/>; Natasha Lennard, "Facebook's Ban on Far-Left Pages Is an Extension of Trump Propaganda," *Intercept*, August 20, 2020, <https://theintercept.com/2020/08/20/facebook-bans-antifascist-pages/>.

²⁶⁹ Mid-Missouri John Brown Gun Club, Twitter account, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://twitter.com/MidMoJBGC>.

²⁷⁰ Mid-Missouri John Brown Gun Club, Twitter account, accessed July 26, 2022, <https://twitter.com/MidMoJBGC>.

²⁷¹ Puget Sound John Brown Gun Club, Twitter account, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://twitter.com/PugetSoundJBGC>.

²⁷² Puget Sound John Brown Gun Club, Twitter account, accessed July 26, 2022, <https://twitter.com/PugetSoundJBGC>.

²⁷³ Steel City John Brown Gun Club, Twitter account, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://twitter.com/SteelCityJBGC>.

2022.²⁷⁴ The Elm Fork John Brown Gun Club in Texas has one of the network's largest Twitter followings with 16,800 as of August 31, 2022.²⁷⁵ The Elm Fork chapter also runs a page on Medium, but that had only 18 followers as of August 31, 2022.²⁷⁶ The Gun Club's presence at protests across the United States has garnered international media attention.²⁷⁷ New John Brown Gun Club chapters continue to emerge across the country. A chapter in West Virginia, John Brown's Mountaineer Gun Club, launched in August 2022 and had amassed 754 Twitter followers by August 31.²⁷⁸

Rightwing political candidates and pundits, as well as those on the far-right, blame groups like the John Brown Gun Club, Redneck Revolt, and Antifa for organizing riots and other violent protests against police and municipal authorities while promoting anarchy and societal breakdowns.²⁷⁹ In November 2020, counterinsurgency and military strategy expert David Kilcullen told *Salon* that while groups such as

²⁷⁴ Steel City John Brown Gun Club, Twitter account, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://twitter.com/SteelCityJBGC>.

²⁷⁵ Elm Fork John Brown Gun Club, Twitter account, accessed August 31, 2022, <https://twitter.com/EFJBGC>.

²⁷⁶ Elm Fork John Brown Gun Club, Medium account, accessed August 31, 2022, <https://medium.com/@efjbgc>.

²⁷⁷ Kim Kelly, "If others have rifles, we'll have rifles': why US leftist groups are taking up arms," *Guardian* (London), July 22, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/jul/22/if-others-have-rifles-well-have-rifles-why-leftist-groups-are-taking-up-arms>.

²⁷⁸ John Brown's Mountaineer Gun Club, Twitter account, accessed August 31, 2022, https://twitter.com/mountaineer_gc.

²⁷⁹ David Weigel, "On the campaign trail, many Republicans talk of violence," *Washington Post*, July 23, 2022, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/07/24/republicans-civil-war-midterms/>.

Redneck Revolt and the John Brown Gun Club claim to be defensive and seek to protect people on the streets from violence, the fear they evoke can also be a trigger for violence.²⁸⁰

The John Brown Gun Club is a leftist gun-rights group originally based in Kansas. The original club was active between 2002 and 2008, but it has since given rise to spinoff groups such as the Puget Sound John Brown Gun Club. The original club sought to militarize the white working class and spur it toward a social-justice revolution.²⁸¹ Gun Club chapters claim to promote racial equality and social justice while seeking to abolish the police and other perceived symbols of oppression. The Gun Club firmly supports members' rights to bear arms for their own protection and as a safeguard against state overreach.²⁸² The Elm Fork John Brown Gun Club in Texas, in particular, has taken a hard anti-police position, casting all police as mass shooters who harass minorities and seek out excuse to unload their weapons.²⁸³ The Puget Sound John

²⁸⁰ Chauncey Devega, "Doomsday? Nearly half of "strong Republicans" believe it's almost time for armed violence," *Salon*, July 27, 2022, <https://www.salon.com/2022/07/27/doomsday-nearly-half-of-strong-republicans-believe-its-almost-time-for-armed-violence/>.

²⁸¹ Devon Douglas-Bowers, "WHITE WORKERS RESISTING CAPITALISM AND WHITE SUPREMACY: AN INTERVIEW WITH REDNECK REVOLT," Redneck Revolt, July 29, 2016, <https://www.redneckrevolt.org/single-post/2016/07/28/WHITE-WORKERS-RESISTING-CAPITALISM-AND-WHITE-SUPREMACY-AN-INTERVIEW-WITH-REDNECK-REVOLT>.

²⁸² Mawa Iqbal, "Left-Wing Groups Take Up Arms in Name of Abolitionist John Brown," Flatland, July 23, 2020, <https://www.flatlandkc.org/news-issues/left-wing-groups-take-up-arms-in-name-of-abolitionist-john-brown/>.

²⁸³ Elm Fork John Brown Gun Club, Twitter post, August 18, 2022, 8:23 p.m., <https://twitter.com/EFJBGC/status/1560422053605433345>; Elm Fork John Brown Gun Club, Twitter post, August 18, 2022, 4:08 p.m., <https://twitter.com/EFJBGC/status/1560357990208782337>.

Brown Club in Washington state is one of the most visible chapters. According to that group, the John Brown Gun Club seeks to disrupt fascists and fascist organizations and events. The Gun Club arms itself to defend against far-right violence and often appears as a security force at protests to protect against expected far-right violence.²⁸⁴

John Brown was a 19th-century abolitionist who was part of the Underground Railroad and helped create the League of Gileadites, which helped protect escaped enslaved people from slave catchers. He eventually began leading guerilla raids in pro-slavery towns that resulted in multiple deaths. In 1859, Brown was convicted of treason in South Carolina and executed for his role in the failed raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry.²⁸⁵ The affiliates of the John Brown Gun Club have dedicated themselves to emulating Brown's brand of direct action in support of ideals of freedom and equality.²⁸⁶ One of the spinoffs of the original John Brown Gun Club is Redneck Revolt, which formed in 2009 after the original Gun Club disbanded.²⁸⁷ The Puget Sound John Brown Gun Club in Washington state was founded in 2017 as part of the Redneck Revolt Network and broke away from Redneck Revolt in 2019. It claims to be a "public facing,

²⁸⁴ Puget Sound John Brown Gun Club, homepage, accessed August 19, 2020, <https://psjbgc.org/>; Kim Kelly, "If others have rifles, we'll have rifles': why US leftist groups are taking up arms," *Guardian* (London), July 22, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/jul/22/if-others-have-rifles-well-have-rifles-why-leftist-groups-are-taking-up-arms>.

²⁸⁵ "John Brown 1800-1859," PBS, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4p1550.html>.

²⁸⁶ Mid-Missouri John Brown Gun Club, homepage, accessed September 1, 2020, <http://www.midmojbgc.org/>; Puget Sound John Brown Gun Club, homepage, accessed August 19, 2020, <https://psjbgc.org/>.

²⁸⁷ Redneck Revolt, homepage, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://www.redneckrevolt.org/>; Cecilia Saixue Watt, "Redneck Revolt: the armed leftwing group that wants to stamp out fascism," *Guardian* (London), July 11, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jul/11/redneck-revolt-guns-anti-racism-fascism-far-left>.

above ground, armed community defense group” that seeks to disrupt fascist activities.²⁸⁸ Other independent John Brown Gun Clubs have since organized.

To date, Gun Club members have reportedly not engaged anyone with their weapons during one of these protests. Unlike other groups under the Antifa umbrella, Gun Club members typically do not cover their faces to maintain the appearance of an open, lawful organization rather than a militia.²⁸⁹ One Gun Club member did engage in a violent attack on an Immigration and Customs Enforcement facility in 2019. He was killed after attempting to blow up the detention center.²⁹⁰

Recruitment and Propaganda

John Brown Gun Club chapters promote themselves as community defense organizations dedicated to direct action and mutual aid.²⁹¹ The Puget Sound John Brown Gun Club offers firearms classes and distributes literature at community events

²⁸⁸ “Puget Sound John Brown Gun Club Leaves Redneck Revolt Network,” Puget Sound John Brown Gun Club, January 23, 2019, <https://psjbgc.org/blog/puget-sound-john-brown-gun-club-leaves-redneck-revolt-network/>.

²⁸⁹ Kim Kelly, “‘If others have rifles, we’ll have rifles’: why US leftist groups are taking up arms,” *Guardian* (London), July 22, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/jul/22/if-others-have-rifles-well-have-rifles-why-leftist-groups-are-taking-up-arms>.

²⁹⁰ Claudia Koerner, “Police Shot And Killed An Armed Man Allegedly Attempting To Set Fire To An ICE Detention Facility,” BuzzFeed News, last updated July 14, 2019, <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/claudiakoerner/tacoma-ice-shooting>; “Rest in Power, Will, One Year Later,” Puget Sound John Brown Gun Club, July 13, 2020, <https://psjbgc.org/blog/rest-in-power-will-one-year-later/>.

²⁹¹ “About,” Mid-Missouri John Brown Gun Club, accessed September 1, 2020, <http://www.midmojbgc.org/about/>; “Say Hello to Spokane John Brown Gun Club!,” Puget Sound John Brown Gun Club, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://psjbgc.org/blog/say-hello-to-spokane-john-brown-gun-club/>.

around Washington, including at the Anarchist Book Fair and other events aligned with the group's far-left ideology.²⁹²

Violent Activities

– July 13, 2019

69-year-old Puget Sound John Brown Gun Club member Willem Van Spronsen snuck into the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement's Northwest Detention Center facility in Tacoma, Washington, with a rifle. He set his car on fire and threw incendiary devices at propane tanks on the facility's grounds. Van Sponsen was killed by Washington State Police. There were no other casualties.²⁹³

Rhetoric

– Elm Fork John Brown Gun Club, tweet, August 21, 2022:

"Without cops, who would ignore heinous crimes and harass minorities?"²⁹⁴

– Elm Fork John Brown Gun Club, tweet, August 21, 2022:

²⁹² "PSJBGC at the Seattle Anarchist Bookfair 2019!," Puget Sound John Brown Gun Club, November 16, 2019, <https://psjbgc.org/blog/psjbgc-at-the-seattle-anarchist-bookfair-2019/>; "See Us Today at Debbie Bookchin's Speaking Tour!," Puget Sound John Brown Gun Club, November 2, 2019, <https://psjbgc.org/blog/see-us-today-at-debbie-bookchin-s-speaking-tour/>.

²⁹³ Claudia Koerner, "Police Shot And Killed An Armed Man Allegedly Attempting To Set Fire To An ICE Detention Facility," BuzzFeed News, last updated July 14, 2019, <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/claudiakoerner/tacoma-ice-shooting>; "Rest in Power, Will, One Year Later," Puget Sound John Brown Gun Club, July 13, 2020, <https://psjbgc.org/blog/rest-in-power-will-one-year-later/>.

²⁹⁴ Elm Fork John Brown Gun Club, Twitter post, August 21, 2022, 3:57 p.m., <https://twitter.com/EFJBGC/status/1561442268388671488>.

“It’s a great day for @AFLCIO to recognize cops are the enemies of labor.”²⁹⁵

– **Elm Fork John Brown Gun Club, tweet, August 18, 2022:**

“Police are a danger to the community. Every single one is a mass shooter in waiting. Just like Miramar. Just like Denver.”²⁹⁶

– **Elm Fork John Brown Gun Club, tweet, August 18, 2022:**

“Cops sure look uncomfortable when they’re caught doing their everyday duties of upholding a violent capitalist system that throws families out on the street and then chases them around smashing their shelter until they die.”²⁹⁷

– **Connecticut John Brown Gun Club, tweet, July 28, 2022:**

“Never forget, merely the threat of violence, the demonstration of the CAPACITY for violence is enough to keep most fascists and cops in check. We hope to never need to act on that capacity, and we train so we won’t miss if we have to.”²⁹⁸

– **DMV John Brown Gun Club, tweet, July 18, 2022:**

²⁹⁵ Elm Fork John Brown Gun Club, Twitter post, August 21, 2022, 11:48 a.m., <https://twitter.com/EFJBGC/status/1561379764669218818>.

²⁹⁶ Elm Fork John Brown Gun Club, Twitter post, August 18, 2022, 8:23 p.m., <https://twitter.com/EFJBGC/status/1560422053605433345>.

²⁹⁷ Elm Fork John Brown Gun Club, Twitter post, August 18, 2022, 4:08 p.m., <https://twitter.com/EFJBGC/status/1560357990208782337>.

²⁹⁸ Connecticut John Brown Gun Club, Twitter post, July 28, 2022, 1:13 p.m., <https://twitter.com/ctjbgc/status/1552703914943864835>.

“Fuck Jason Bagshaw. He is consistently doing shitty things (because he is a cop), and now he has murdered a Black man. We need to abolish the police.”²⁹⁹

– **Elm Fork John Brown Gun Club, tweet, July 9, 2022:**

“The John Brown Gun club is at it's core founded on abolitionist points of unity. From a safety and ideological perspective we cannot support events where police have involvement in organizing. This both invites violence on those attending and renders community aid ineffective.”³⁰⁰

– **DMV John Brown Gun Club, tweet, July 8, 2022:**

“The supreme court justices should not know a moment of comfort.”³⁰¹

– **Spokane John Brown Gun Club, tweet, August 29, 2020:**

“If there is a standoff against the cops, stick together to form a cohesive front. Stragglers are more susceptible to getting arrested, but it’s hard to do that to a larger group. De-arresting is also important, if someone is getting dragged off, don’t just stand and watch.”³⁰²

– **Connecticut John Brown Gun Club, tweet, July 8, 2022:**

²⁹⁹ DMV John Brown Gun Club, Twitter post, July 18, 2022, 1:39 p.m., https://twitter.com/dmv_ibgc/status/1549086534262996992.

³⁰⁰ Elm Fork John Brown Gun Club, Twitter post, July 9, 2022, 7:38 p.m., <https://twitter.com/EFJBGC/status/1545915293758898176>.

³⁰¹ DMV John Brown Gun Club, Twitter post, July 8, 2022, 11:15 a.m., https://twitter.com/dmv_ibgc/status/1545426444691484674.

³⁰² Spokane John Brown Gun Club, Twitter post, August 29, 2020, 5:16 a.m., <https://twitter.com/SPKJBGC/status/1299637136996663297>.

“Randy Cox was brutalized by the New Haven PD and then, when he told them he couldn’t move, they brutalized him some more. Hundreds rallied to demand police accountability and we were there promoting community defense. #ACAB #JusticeforRandyCox”³⁰³

–

– **DMV John Brown Gun Club, tweet, June 30, 2022:**

“ACAB”³⁰⁴

– **Connecticut John Brown Gun Club, tweet, May 30, 2022:**

“Cops don’t keep us safe. They, quite obviously, make us less safe. The phrase #WeKeepUsSafe is a rallying cry of community self-defense but also an acknowledgment of the terrors and ineptitude of the systems of power designed to control and not protect us.”³⁰⁵

– **Cedar Breaks John Brown Gun Club, tweet, August 28, 2021:**

“Fuck the pigs and give people money is the only acceptable political position.”³⁰⁶

– **Spokane John Brown Gun Club, tweet, August 8, 2020:**

“Why is the SPKJBC necessary? Put simply: racists, fascists, and cops. Below will be

³⁰³ Connecticut John Brown Gun Club, Twitter post, July 8, 2022, 9:48 p.m., <https://twitter.com/ctjbgc/status/1545585707518918656>.

³⁰⁴ DMV John Brown Gun Club, Twitter post, June 30, 2022, 12:56 a.m., https://twitter.com/dmv_jbgc/status/1542371539177332737.

³⁰⁵ Connecticut John Brown Gun Club, Twitter post, May 30, 2022, 12:52 p.m., <https://twitter.com/ctjbgc/status/1531317615402307585>.

³⁰⁶ Cedar Breaks John Brown Gun Club, Twitter post, August 28, 2021, 4:11 p.m., <https://twitter.com/cbjbgc/status/1431711121749299209>.

a regularly updated list of fascist/racist violence and threats, police brutality, and the bigotry of public officials. It won't be a complete list, but it will show why solidarity is key."³⁰⁷

– **Willem Van Spronsen, final statement, July 2019:**

"Fascism serves the needs of the state serves the needs of business and at your expense. Who benefits? Jeff Bezos, Warren Buffet, Elon Musk, Tim Cook, Bill Gates, Betsy de Vos, George Soros, Donald Trump, and need I go on? Let me say it again: rich guys (who think you're not really all that good), really dig government (every government everywhere, including 'communist' governments), because they make the rules that make rich guys richer."³⁰⁸

³⁰⁷ Spokane John Brown Gun Club, Twitter post, August 8, 2020, 7:05 p.m., <https://twitter.com/SPKJBGC/status/1292235389458173957>.

³⁰⁸ "On Willem Van Spronsen's Action against the Northwest Detention Center in Tacoma," CrimethInc, July 14, 2019, <https://crimethinc.com/2019/07/14/on-willem-van-spronsens-action-against-the-northwest-detention-center-in-tacoma-including-the-full-text-of-his-final-statement>.



Redneck Revolt

Base of Operations: National³⁰⁹

Website: <https://www.redneckrevolt.org/>

Social Media Presence: [Facebook](#) (deleted), [Twitter](#), [Twitter \(San Diego RR\)](#), [Twitter \(North Country RR\)](#), [Twitter \(Lake Ontario Redneck Revolt\)](#)

Leadership: Redneck Revolt's leadership remains largely anonymous in public.

Membership Size and Relevance: Redneck Revolt claims to have more than 30 chapters across the United States.³¹⁰

Rightwing political candidates and pundits, as well as those on the far-right, blame groups like Redneck Revolt, Antifa, and the John Brown Gun Club for organizing riots and other violent protests against police and municipal authorities while promoting anarchy and societal breakdowns.³¹¹ In November 2020, counterinsurgency and military strategy expert David Kilcullen told *Salon* that while groups such as Redneck Revolt and the John Brown Gun Club claim to be defensive and

³⁰⁹ Madison Pauly, "A New Wave of Left-Wing Militants Is Ready to Rumble in Portland—and Beyond," *Mother Jones*, May/June 2017, <https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2017/06/antifa-movement-anti-trump-politics-nazi/>.

³¹⁰ Madison Pauly, "A New Wave of Left-Wing Militants Is Ready to Rumble in Portland—and Beyond," *Mother Jones*, May/June 2017, <https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2017/06/antifa-movement-anti-trump-politics-nazi/>.

³¹¹ David Weigel, "On the campaign trail, many Republicans talk of violence," *Washington Post*, July 23, 2022, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/07/24/republicans-civil-war-midterms/>.

seek to protect people on the streets from violence, the fear they evoke can also be a trigger for violence.³¹²

Redneck Revolt is leftwing pro-gun club that claims basic knowledge of weaponry is necessary for self-defense and to confront the far right and fascists, bringing it under the wide umbrella of Antifa (anti-fascist) groups. Redneck Revolt members provided security for protesters in Charlottesville, Virginia, and other rallies against the far right and Confederate symbols.³¹³ Redneck Revolt first launched in 2009 as an offshoot of the John Brown Gun Club. Its founding members watched the nascent Tea Party of the Republican Party attract working-class people but saw this as a contradiction because of a belief that the Tea Party promoted the values of the wealthy.³¹⁴

Redneck Revolt claims to be a community defense group against racism and fascism. Its two main goals are to counter the growth of white supremacy while strengthening community defense initiatives in marginalized communities. The group claims that physical defense is increasingly necessary to defend minorities and houses of worship under physical threat, though the group insists its members use physical force

³¹² Chauncey Devega, "Doomsday? Nearly half of "strong Republicans" believe it's almost time for armed violence," *Salon*, July 27, 2022, <https://www.salon.com/2022/07/27/doomsday-nearly-half-of-strong-republicans-believe-its-almost-time-for-armed-violence/>.

³¹³ Virginia Bridges, "They're leftists with guns. Meet the Redneck Revolt," *Herald-Sun*, September 1, 2017, <https://www.heraldsun.com/news/local/counties/durham-county/article170840742.html>; Stephanie March, "Antifa: The hard left's call to arms," Australian Broadcasting Corporation, March 18, 2018, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-01-15/redneck-revolt-and-the-hard-lefts-call-to-arms/9303758?nw=0>.

³¹⁴ Redneck Revolt, homepage, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://www.redneckrevolt.org/>; Cecilia Saixue Watt, "Redneck Revolt: the armed leftwing group that wants to stamp out fascism," *Guardian* (London), July 11, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jul/11/redneck-revolt-guns-anti-racism-fascism-far-left>.

defensively only. Arming themselves is a direct response to threats of violence against marginalized communities, according to the group's propaganda.³¹⁵ Members insist on carrying weapons while patrolling protests in order to be ready to defend against an attack, but they also insist that their weapons are purely defensive.³¹⁶

In addition to opposing fascism and white supremacy, Redneck Revolt also stands against capitalism and the concept of the nation-state, including its symbols such as police, prisons, and courts. According to Redneck Revolt ideology, these symbols exist only to serve the rich and protect the wealthy class while oppressing the working class. Redneck Revolt seeks to eliminate capitalism and the oppressive patriarchy in order to fashion a new society that allows for the equal distribution of resources.³¹⁷

Recruitment and Propaganda

Redneck Revolt promotes the concept that the wealthy elites have enslaved the working class for their own benefit while the working class continues to suffer.³¹⁸ Redneck Revolt is committed to bringing about a societal revolution that will uproot the patriarchy, capitalism, and exploitation of the working class while ensuring liberty and

³¹⁵ "Redneck Revolt Organizes Community Defense Against Racism and Fascism," Redneck Revolt, accessed September 1, 2020, https://0d37a29d-b50d-4d43-8ae5-760bf0294308.filesusr.com/ugd/c1543a_b43e9ba0b15a4ace9b87ac8ca8d9768d.pdf.

³¹⁶ Stephanie March, "Antifa: The hard left's call to arms," Australian Broadcasting Corporation, March 18, 2018, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-01-15/redneck-revolt-and-the-hard-lefts-call-to-arms/9303758?nw=0>.

³¹⁷ "Redneck Revolt Organizing Principles," Redneck Revolt, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://www.redneckrevolt.org/principles>.

³¹⁸ Dave Strano, "Of Tea Parties and Patriots: Liberty for Who?," The Anarchist Library, 2009, <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/dave-strano-of-tea-parties-and-patriots-liberty-for-who>.

access to necessary resources for all. Redneck Revolt's guiding principles classify capitalism as a system that has ravaged the world and caused numerous genocides. The group recognizes the need to use "any and all means" to bring about this revolution, including violent methods.³¹⁹ Though Redneck Revolt promotes anti-racist positions, it also recognizes that its core is made up primarily of white people from the working class. Founding member Dave Strano wrote in 2009 that the white elite had particularly exploited the white working class, which had become the "footsoldiers of political and economic elites seeking to dominate and control land, resources, and wealth..."³²⁰ According to Strano, the "rich whites" have used skin color and fear to turn the white working class against other races with ideas of "white supremacy" and "white pride" and "white nationalism," all while the white elites enrich themselves.³²¹

Redneck Revolt targets its recruitment to the working class. Its rhetoric conveys the message that the wealthy have used capitalism to oppress the working class, which must arm itself for its own defense.³²² Redneck Revolt recognizes that the term "redneck" carries a demeaning connotation. The group seeks to reclaim the word as both a badge of pride in being part of the working class and resistance to the wealthy

³¹⁹ "Redneck Revolt Organizing Principles," Redneck Revolt, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://www.redneckrevolt.org/principles>.

³²⁰ "Redneck Revolt Organizes Community Defense Against Racism and Fascism," Redneck Revolt, accessed September 1, 2020, https://0d37a29d-b50d-4d43-8ae5-760bf0294308.filesusr.com/ugd/c1543a_b43e9ba0b15a4ace9b87ac8ca8d9768d.pdf; Dave Strano, "Of Tea Parties and Patriots: Liberty for Who?," The Anarchist Library, 2009, <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/dave-strano-of-tea-parties-and-patriots-liberty-for-who>.

³²¹ Dave Strano, "Of Tea Parties and Patriots: Liberty for Who?," The Anarchist Library, 2009, <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/dave-strano-of-tea-parties-and-patriots-liberty-for-who>.

³²² "Redneck Revolt Organizes Community Defense Against Racism and Fascism," Redneck Revolt, accessed September 1, 2020, https://0d37a29d-b50d-4d43-8ae5-760bf0294308.filesusr.com/ugd/c1543a_b43e9ba0b15a4ace9b87ac8ca8d9768d.pdf.

class.³²³ The group's prime identifier is the red bandana worn by members and imposed on propaganda. The bandanas are reminiscent of the same red bandanas worn by West Virginia coal miners during a 1921 revolt against mining companies and the state.³²⁴ Redneck Revolt invites visitors to its website to seek out local chapters or create their own. It also offers classes on using tactical firearms as well as the role of firearms in creating societal revolutions.³²⁵

Various Redneck Revolt chapters maintain a social media presence on Twitter. The group's Facebook pages appear to have been deleted. In addition, Redneck Revolt hosts a podcast, which is available on its website. As of September 1, 2020, however, the podcast had only two episodes that had been recorded in 2017.³²⁶ Redneck Revolt's website provides multiple options for visitors to donate funds, either directly to Redneck Revolt or to the John Brown Solidarity Fund.³²⁷

³²³ "About," Redneck Revolt, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://www.redneckrevolt.org/about>.

³²⁴ Stephanie March, "Antifa: The hard left's call to arms," Australian Broadcasting Corporation, March 18, 2018, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-01-15/redneck-revolt-and-the-hard-lefts-call-to-arms/9303758?nw=0>.

³²⁵ "Contact," Redneck Revolt, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://www.redneckrevolt.org/contact>.

³²⁶ "The Redneck Revolt Podcast," Redneck Revolt, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://www.redneckrevolt.org/podcast>.

³²⁷ "Ways to Support," Redneck Revolt, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://www.redneckrevolt.org/support>.

Violent Activities

- Redneck Revolt has not carried out specific attacks, but members have gotten into violent altercations with the far right during protests and rallies. The group remains dedicated to not initiating any violent confrontation.³²⁸

Rhetoric

- **Jeremy Beck, Redneck Revolt member, July 2017:**
“If you haven’t noticed, we aren’t liberals. You know, if you keep going further left, eventually, you go left enough to get your guns back.”³²⁹
- **Facebook ad for a meeting in Durham, North Carolina, 2017:**
“Armed self defense is necessary for the survival and relevance of our future organizing in the face of a growing insurgent fascism.”³³⁰
- **Dave Strano, Redneck Revolt founding member, 2009:**
“We now live in a country with a huge division between rich and poor. We live with a failed economy. We live in a nearly failed state. The government of the United States has systemically become a monstrous giant of bureaucrats and neo-tyrants. The

³²⁸ Stephanie March, “Antifa: The hard left’s call to arms,” Australian Broadcasting Corporation, March 18, 2018, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-01-15/redneck-revolt-and-the-hard-lefts-call-to-arms/9303758?nw=0>.

³²⁹ Cecilia Saixue Watt, “Redneck Revolt: the armed leftwing group that wants to stamp out fascism,” *Guardian* (London), July 11, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jul/11/redneck-revolt-guns-anti-racism-fascism-far-left>.

³³⁰ Virginia Bridges, “They’re leftists with guns. Meet the Redneck Revolt,” *Herald-Sun*, September 1, 2017, <https://www.heraldsun.com/news/local/counties/durham-county/article170840742.html>.

whole government, every single politician, is part of this corrupt system.”³³¹

– **Dave Strano, Redneck Revolt founding member, 2009:**

“The blunt reality is that for the last five hundred years on this continent, white working class people have been used by mostly white rich people to colonize for, kill for, work for, and then better the living standards of those same white rich people, all the while sacrificing our own needs, wants, aspirations, and even lives. It really is as simple as that. No one denies the history of what has happened at working people’s expenses. Wars, poverty, homelessness, wage slavery... these are all ills created by someone, and perpetuated by us... the same workers who suffer these ills.

“For some five centuries we’ve been used by the rich among our own race to promote their agenda and suffered because of it. Yet, somehow, we’ve still been convinced that it is in our interests to protect the rights of the rich to own as much property as they can, to protect the right of the rich to even exist, to protect these same rich people who would just as soon see us die for their benefit.”³³²

– **Redneck Revolt Organizing Principles, undated:**

“Police, prisons, courts, artificial borders, and other systems of social control only exist to serve the rich. The nation-state project came into existence to protect the propertied classes and keep us working people poor and without power, often using

³³¹ Dave Strano, “Of Tea Parties and Patriots: Liberty for Who?,” The Anarchist Library, 2009, <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/dave-strano-of-tea-parties-and-patriots-liberty-for-who>.

³³² Dave Strano, “Of Tea Parties and Patriots: Liberty for Who?,” The Anarchist Library, 2009, <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/dave-strano-of-tea-parties-and-patriots-liberty-for-who>.

varying types of standing armies to enforce laws which disproportionately impact the poor.”³³³

– **Redneck Revolt Organizing Principles, undated:**

“Capitalism is an economic system that methodically keeps the vast majority of people in the world impoverished while they labor to enrich a small minority of people. Since the very first arrivals of European settlers in what is now called the United States, the propertied classes established a serving class to maintain their power, and systematically murdered the native folks of this land for resisting their claim to ownership. We have nothing to gain by maintaining an allegiance to an economic system that has destroyed much of the natural world, committed countless acts of genocide, and ravaged our communities and natural resources in the name of profit.”³³⁴

– **Redneck Revolt Organizing Principles, undated:**

“Our struggle against patriarchy is central to our struggle against capitalism and the nation-state. Just as the white working class has benefited from white supremacy, many men (especially those who are not trans) have benefited from patriarchy. Patriarchy benefits the rich by controlling those who labor for them and dividing the people against one another. Traditional “women’s work,” despite its importance to families and communities, is devalued in our society. The police and courts exist to

³³³ “Redneck Revolt Organizing Principles,” Redneck Revolt, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://www.redneckrevolt.org/principles>.

³³⁴ “Redneck Revolt Organizing Principles,” Redneck Revolt, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://www.redneckrevolt.org/principles>.

protect the rich and powerful, not the people, and they are unable to provide justice for the victims of gender-based violence... and in fact often inflict the same violence themselves.”³³⁵

– **Redneck Revolt Organizing Principles, undated:**

“We are not pacifists. Redneck Revolt believes in using any and all means at our disposal to gain our freedom and true liberty, provided those methods do not violate our basic humanity or integrity. We believe in the inherit right of every individual and community to defend themselves from those who exploit or oppress them.”³³⁶

– **Redneck Revolt Organizing Principles, undated:**

“We believe in the need for revolution. Redneck Revolt believes that there will have to be a complete restructuring of society to provide for the survival and liberty of all people. We will fight for the end of predatory exploitation of our communities, and the creation of a world where no one is without food, shelter, water, or any other means of survival.”³³⁷

– **Redneck Revolt homepage, undated:**

“We need real formulated responses for the upsurge in reactionary and racist violence. We need armed community defense programs in every community. We

³³⁵ “Redneck Revolt Organizing Principles,” Redneck Revolt, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://www.redneckrevolt.org/principles>.

³³⁶ “Redneck Revolt Organizing Principles,” Redneck Revolt, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://www.redneckrevolt.org/principles>.

³³⁷ “Redneck Revolt Organizing Principles,” Redneck Revolt, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://www.redneckrevolt.org/principles>.

need to be ready to rapidly respond to the armed right wing threat that menaces our communities. We need to stop being reactionaries when it comes to the topic of armed defense. We are approaching truly dangerous times. Will we be ready?”³³⁸



Weather Underground

Base of Operations: The Weather Underground undertook actions across the United States. Its leadership was divided into three subgroups based in San Francisco, New York, and the Midwest.³³⁹

Website: N/A

Social Media Presence: N/A

Leadership: Bernardine Dohrn, James Mellen, and Mark Rudd led the original Weathermen faction of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), initially known as SDS’s “action faction.” After SDS’s collapse in 1969, Dohrn, Mellen, and Rudd led the newly emerged Weathermen.³⁴⁰

Membership Size and Relevance: When the FBI began investigating

³³⁸ Redneck Revolt, homepage, accessed September 1, 2020, <https://www.redneckrevolt.org/>.

³³⁹ Bryan Burrough, “Meet The Weather Underground’s Bomb Guru,” *Vanity Fair*, March 29, 2015, <https://www.vanityfair.com/culture/2015/03/weather-underground-bomb-guru-burrough-excerpt>.

³⁴⁰ “Weather Underground (Weatherman/The Weathermen),” Influence Watch, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.influencewatch.org/organization/weather-underground-weatherman-weathermen/>; “Weather Underground,” Britannica, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Weathermen>.

the Weather Underground in 1969, the fledgling guerilla network had approximately 400 members across the United States.³⁴¹ Following the March 6, 1970, accident that destroyed a New York City townhouse and killed three Weather Underground leaders, the group reportedly lost hundreds of supporters and shrunk to about 30 members nationwide.³⁴² The Weather Underground officially disbanded in 1976.³⁴³ Core members began surrendering to authorities in 1977.³⁴⁴ Historians have written the FBI and the Nixon administration overestimated the strength and threat posed by the Weather Underground, which elevated the group's profile beyond what it should have been.³⁴⁵

Some former Weather Underground members reformed after serving time in prison. They drew national attention after their incarceration. For example, Kathy Boudin, who became a fugitive after the March 1970 New York City townhouse explosion and later spent 22 years in prison for her role in a 1981 armored car robbery,

³⁴¹ "Weather Underground," Britannica, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Weathermen>.

³⁴² Bryan Burrough, "Meet The Weather Underground's Bomb Guru," *Vanity Fair*, March 29, 2015, <https://www.vanityfair.com/culture/2015/03/weather-underground-bomb-guru-burrough-excerpt>.

³⁴³ Daniel J. Wakin, "Quieter Lives for 60's Militants, but Intensity of Beliefs Hasn't Faded," *New York Times*, August 24, 2003, <https://www.nytimes.com/2003/08/24/nyregion/quieter-lives-for-60-s-militants-but-intensity-of-beliefs-hasn-t-faded.html>.

³⁴⁴ Bryan Burrough, "Meet The Weather Underground's Bomb Guru," *Vanity Fair*, March 29, 2015, <https://www.vanityfair.com/culture/2015/03/weather-underground-bomb-guru-burrough-excerpt>.

³⁴⁵ "Weather Underground (Weatherman/The Weathermen)," Influence Watch, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.influencewatch.org/organization/weather-underground-weatherman-weathermen/>.

was hired as an adjunct professor at Columbia University's School of Social Work in 2013.³⁴⁶ Boudin died in May 2022.³⁴⁷ Republicans and other conservatives reignited interest in the Weather Underground during the 2008 presidential campaign after it came to light former Underground leaders Bill Ayers and Bernardine Dohrn had hosted a campaign event for Barack Obama in 1995 when he was running for Illinois state senate.³⁴⁸

The Weather Underground was a radical, militant organization founded in 1969 at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. Emerging from opposition to the Vietnam War, the Weather Underground adhered to a communist and anti-war ideology, targeting what it saw as symbols of U.S. military power, authoritarianism, and racism. The Weather Underground was responsible for multiple bombings in the 1970s targeting police, military, government offices, and other symbols of authority.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁶ Larry Celona, "Outrage 101: Radical jailed in slay now Columbia prof," *New York Post*, April 2, 2013, <https://nypost.com/2013/04/02/outrage-101-radical-jailed-in-slay-now-columbia-prof/>.

³⁴⁷ Paul W. Valentine, "Kathy Boudin, Weather Underground outlaw, dies at 78," *Washington Post*, May 1, 2022, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/kathy-boudin-weather-underground-dead/2022/05/01/979153ec-38e4-11eb-9276-ae0ca72729be_story.html.

³⁴⁸ Peter Jamison, "Time Bomb," *SF Weekly*, September 16, 2009, <https://archives.sfweekly.com/sanfrancisco/time-bomb/Content?oid=2174174&showFullText=true>; "Which Way The Wind Blows: Bill Ayers On Obama," NPR, November 18, 2008, <https://www.npr.org/transcripts/97112600>.

³⁴⁹ Daniel J. Wakin, "Quieter Lives for 60's Militants, but Intensity of Beliefs Hasn't Faded," *New York Times*, August 24, 2003, <https://www.nytimes.com/2003/08/24/nyregion/quieter-lives-for-60-s-militants-but-intensity-of-beliefs-hasn-t-faded.html>; "Weather Underground Bombings," FBI, accessed July 6, 2022, <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/weather-underground-bombings>.

The Weather Underground originated as a faction of the antiwar group Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Bernardine Dohrn, James Mellen, and Mark Rudd belonged to the Third World Marxists faction of SDS and formed what became known as SDS's "action faction," advocating street fighting to weaken the United States. At the June 1969 SDS convention, the Third World Marxists published their position paper, "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," in the SDS newspaper, *New Left Notes*. The paper called for a white revolutionary movement to support black liberation, which the faction called central to SDS's anti-imperialist fight.³⁵⁰ The paper's title—and the Weather Underground's name—referenced a lyric from the Bob Dylan song "Subterranean Homesick Blues": "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows."³⁵¹ This paper became a founding document of the Weather Underground.³⁵² The Weathermen, as the group was originally known, formally emerged in December 1969 after a meeting of SDS's so-called "war council" to discuss the need for further education on the use of firearms and bombs. SDS had collapsed earlier that year and the Weathermen advocated transforming the remnants into an underground guerilla warfare group that would target U.S. sites of power.³⁵³ The group later changed its name from the

³⁵⁰ "Weather Underground (Weatherman/The Weathermen)," Influence Watch, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.influencewatch.org/organization/weather-underground-weatherman-weathermen/>; "Weather Underground," Britannica, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Weathermen>.

³⁵¹ Daniel J. Wakin, "Quieter Lives for 60's Militants, but Intensity of Beliefs Hasn't Faded," *New York Times*, August 24, 2003, <https://www.nytimes.com/2003/08/24/nyregion/quieter-lives-for-60-s-militants-but-intensity-of-beliefs-hasn-t-faded.html>; Brad Dress, "What was the Weather Underground?," *Hill*, May 2, 2022, <https://thehill.com/blogs/blog-briefing-room/3473755-what-was-the-weather-underground/>.

³⁵² "Weather Underground Bombings," FBI, accessed July 6, 2022, <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/weather-underground-bombings>.

³⁵³ "Weather Underground," Britannica, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Weathermen>.

Weathermen to the Weather Underground at the behest of members who found the original name sexist.³⁵⁴

The Weather Underground took a more violent approach than SDS as it sought to “dismember and dispose of US imperialism.”³⁵⁵ According to some who were present at that December 1969 meeting, there were discussions on the Weathermen’s tactics and willingness to kill in the name of the goals of targeting the U.S. war machine. Police and military became legitimate targets. In January 1970, the Weather Underground divided into three subgroups based in San Francisco led by Howard Machtinger, New York led by Terry Robbins, and a loose network of cells in the Midwest led by Bill Ayers.³⁵⁶ According to the group’s 1974 manifesto, *Prairie Fire*, the group’s goal was “to disrupt the empire ... to incapacitate it, to put pressure on the cracks.”³⁵⁷ By 1970, the Weather Underground had inspired the creation of three- to five-person cells across the country that were overseen by the group’s leadership, called the Weather Bureau.³⁵⁸ By 1975, the Weather Underground had claimed responsibility for 25 bombings around the United States, including at the

³⁵⁴ Daniel J. Wakin, “Quieter Lives for 60’s Militants, but Intensity of Beliefs Hasn’t Faded,” *New York Times*, August 24, 2003, <https://www.nytimes.com/2003/08/24/nyregion/quieter-lives-for-60-s-militants-but-intensity-of-beliefs-hasn-t-faded.html>.

³⁵⁵ Brad Dress, “What was the Weather Underground?,” *Hill*, May 2, 2022, <https://thehill.com/blogs/blog-briefing-room/3473755-what-was-the-weather-underground/>.

³⁵⁶ Bryan Burrough, “Meet The Weather Underground’s Bomb Guru,” *Vanity Fair*, March 29, 2015, <https://www.vanityfair.com/culture/2015/03/weather-underground-bomb-guru-burrough-excerpt>.

³⁵⁷ “Weather Underground Bombings,” FBI, accessed July 6, 2022, <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/weather-underground-bombings>.

³⁵⁸ “Weather Underground,” Britannica, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Weathermen>.

U.S. Capitol, the Pentagon, the California Attorney General's office, and a New York City police station.³⁵⁹

The FBI-New York City Police Anti-Terrorist Task Force—a precursor to the FBI's Joint Terrorism Task Forces in FBI field offices nationwide—reportedly played a key role in disrupting the Weather Underground's activities.³⁶⁰ The FBI began infiltrating the Weather Underground as early as the 1969 SDS conference and reportedly encouraged the formation of the Weathermen out of a belief that faction represented the least threatening option. Some historians argue the Weather Underground—despite carrying out some prominent bombings in its early years—never achieved a large following and the FBI devoted too many resources and attention to the group.³⁶¹ In 1973, federal prosecutors dropped all major charges against Weather Underground members because of legal questions surrounding FBI tactics—including wiretaps and illegal searches and seizures—while pursuing the group.³⁶²

³⁵⁹ "Weather Underground Bombings," FBI, accessed July 6, 2022, <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/weather-underground-bombings>.

³⁶⁰ "Weather Underground Bombings," FBI, accessed July 6, 2022, <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/weather-underground-bombings>.

³⁶¹ Arthur M. Eckstein, "How the Weather Underground Failed at Revolution and Still Changed the World," *Time*, November 2, 2016, <https://time.com/4549409/the-weather-underground-bad-moon-rising/>.

³⁶² Arthur M. Eckstein, "How the Weather Underground Failed at Revolution and Still Changed the World," *Time*, November 2, 2016, <https://time.com/4549409/the-weather-underground-bad-moon-rising/>; "Nation: Infiltrating the Underground," *Time*, January 9, 1978, <https://web.archive.org/web/20091204151846/http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,912056,00.html>; "Weather Underground (Weatherman/The Weathermen)," Influence Watch, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.influencewatch.org/organization/weather-underground-weatherman-weathermen/>.

By 1974, the organization's bombing campaign had slowed significantly. The Weather Underground underwent another name change to the Weather Underground Organization as its leaders struggled with fading relevancy among other far-left radical groups. This led to the creation of the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, which released the group's 1974 manifesto in a bid to recapture its influence on the far left.³⁶³ Internally, the Weather Underground began to fracture over whether to continue embracing violence. The Prairie Fire committee had concluded the Weather Underground needed to win the support of the working class, which set up a division between pro- and anti-violence factions within the group. Original members such as Ayers either left or were expelled.³⁶⁴ In December 1976, the Weather Underground underwent a public split over an "inversion" plan for members to come resume public lives. Dohrn accused other members of the group's Central Committee of being "white, male supremacists" for supporting the plan. Though she had initially supported the plan, she released an audio tape denouncing "the counter-revolutionary politics" in the Weather Underground and acknowledging the group's "real" split.³⁶⁵ More radical leftists accused the Weather Underground leadership of abandoning armed struggle and diluting their ideology to win over the working

³⁶³ "Weather Underground (Weatherman/The Weathermen)," Influence Watch, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.influencewatch.org/organization/weather-underground-weatherman-weathermen/>.

³⁶⁴ Arthur M. Eckstein, "How the Weather Underground Failed at Revolution and Still Changed the World," *Time*, November 2, 2016, <https://time.com/4549409/the-weather-underground-bad-moon-rising/>.

³⁶⁵ John Kifner, "Weather Underground Splits Up Over Plan to Come Into the Open," *New York Times*, January 18, 1977, <https://www.nytimes.com/1977/01/18/archives/weather-underground-splits-up-over-plan-to-come-into-the-open.html>.

class.³⁶⁶ The Weather Underground officially disbanded in 1976.³⁶⁷ Radical leftist Clayton Van Lydegraf seized control of what remained of the Weather Underground, expelling any remaining original leadership. By 1977, all that remained of the Weather Underground was Van Lydegraf and four followers, all of whom were arrested that November for conspiring to bomb the office of California State Senator John Briggs.³⁶⁸

After spending years in prison, a handful of Weather Underground leaders reformed and took positions as academics and writers. Ayers and Dohrn were indicted in 1970 and spent 10 years in hiding. Charges were eventually dropped because of prosecutorial misconduct.³⁶⁹ At the end of his term in January 2001, President Bill Clinton pardoned Weather Underground member Susan L. Rosenberg.³⁷⁰ Prominent former Weather Underground member Kathy Boudin, who spent 22 years in prison for her role in an October 1981 Brink's armored truck robbery in Nanuet, New York,

³⁶⁶ John Kifner, "Weather Underground Splits Up Over Plan to Come Into the Open," *New York Times*, January 18, 1977, <https://www.nytimes.com/1977/01/18/archives/weather-underground-splits-up-over-plan-to-come-into-the-open.html>.

³⁶⁷ Daniel J. Wakin, "Quieter Lives for 60's Militants, but Intensity of Beliefs Hasn't Faded," *New York Times*, August 24, 2003, <https://www.nytimes.com/2003/08/24/nyregion/quieter-lives-for-60-s-militants-but-intensity-of-beliefs-hasn-t-faded.html>.

³⁶⁸ "Weather Underground (Weatherman/The Weathermen)," Influence Watch, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.influencewatch.org/organization/weather-underground-weatherman-weathermen/>; "Around the Nation," *New York Times*, November 21, 1977, <https://www.nytimes.com/1977/11/21/archives/around-the-nation-5-held-in-plot-to-bomb-california-aides-office.html>.

³⁶⁹ "FACTBOX: Weather Underground resurfaces in U.S. politics," Reuters, April 18, 2008, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-politics-underground-idUSN1717462220080418>.

³⁷⁰ Eric Lipton, "Officials Criticize Clinton's Pardon of an Ex-Terrorist," *New York Times*, January 22, 2001, <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/01/22/nyregion/officials-criticize-clinton-s-pardon-of-an-ex-terrorist.html>.

was hired as an adjunct professor at Columbia University's School of Social Work in 2013.³⁷¹ Despite these reformations, critics continued to view former Weather Underground members with suspicion.³⁷²

Recruitment and Propaganda

The Weather Underground was rooted in communism and promoted an anti-war ideology, particularly focused against the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. At the June 1969 SDS convention, Weather Underground forerunner Third World Marxists published their position paper, "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," in the SDS newspaper, *New Left Notes*. The paper called for a white revolutionary movement to support black liberation, which the faction called central to SDS's anti-imperialist fight.³⁷³ On July 25, 1974, the Weather Underground distributed its manifesto, *Prairie Fire*. The manifesto identified the Weather Underground as a guerilla organization made up of "communist men and

³⁷¹ Larry Celona, "Outrage 101: Radical jailed in slay now Columbia prof," *New York Post*, April 2, 2013, <https://nypost.com/2013/04/02/outrage-101-radical-jailed-in-slay-now-columbia-prof/>.

³⁷² "FACTBOX: Weather Underground resurfaces in U.S. politics," Reuters, April 18, 2008, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-politics-underground-idUSN1717462220080418>.

³⁷³ "Weather Underground (Weatherman/The Weathermen)," Influence Watch, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.influencewatch.org/organization/weather-underground-weatherman-weathermen/>; "Weather Underground," Britannica, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Weathermen>.

women” seeking to “destroy US imperialism.”³⁷⁴ The manifesto went on to explain the Weather Underground’s devotion to “armed struggle” in U.S. urban centers.³⁷⁵

Violent Activities

– October 20, 1981

Former Weather Underground members David Gilbert, Judith Alice Clark, Kathy Boudin, and Marilyn Buck—then associated with the May 19 Communist Organization—joined armed members of the Black Liberation Army (BLA) in robbing a Brink’s armored truck in Nanuet, New York. They stole \$1.6 million in cash and killed a guard and two police officers. The former Weather Underground members were assigned as the getaway drivers while the BLA members carried out the robbery. Sekou Odinga and Silvia Baraldini were convicted of conspiracy and a related racketeering charge. Edward L. Joseph and Cecil Ferguson were convicted as accessories. Bilal Sunni-Ali and Iliana Robinson were acquitted of all charges. On May 4, 1984, Boudin was sentenced to 20 years to life in prison for her role in the Brink’s robbery.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁴ Weather Underground, *Prairie Fire*, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) Archives and Resources, July 1974, 1, <https://www.sds-1960s.org/PrairieFire-reprint.pdf>.

³⁷⁵ Weather Underground, *Prairie Fire*, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) Archives and Resources, July 1974, 3-4, <https://www.sds-1960s.org/PrairieFire-reprint.pdf>.

³⁷⁶ Arnold H. Lubasch, “4 OF 6 ARE GUILTY IN U.S. BRINK’S CASE,” *New York Times*, September 4, 1983, <https://www.nytimes.com/1983/09/04/nyregion/4-of-6-are-guilty-in-us-brink-s-case.html>; Larry Celona, “Outrage 101: Radical jailed in slay now Columbia prof,” *New York Post*, April 2, 2013, <https://nypost.com/2013/04/02/outrage-101-radical-jailed-in-slay-now-columbia-prof/>; James Feron, “KATHY BOUDIN GIVEN 20 YEARS TO LIFE IN PRISON,” *New York Times*, May 4, 1984, <https://www.nytimes.com/1984/05/04/nyregion/kathy-boudin-given-20-years-to-life-in-prison.html>.

– **September 5, 1975**

A Weather Underground bomb exploded in a bathroom at the Kennecott Corporation in Salt Lake City, Utah, causing an estimated \$40,000 to \$50,000 in damage. No injuries were reported. The Weather Underground said the bombing was in protest of Kennecott’s support for the current Chilean government and the company’s support for a 1973 military coup that killed President Salvador Allende Gossens. The bombing occurred days before the second anniversary of the coup on September 11.³⁷⁷

– **January 29, 1975**

A bomb planted by the Weather Underground at the headquarters of the U.S. State Department in Washington, D.C., damaged 20 offices on three separate floors. There were no injuries reported. A second bomb was found and safely detonated hours later at a military induction center in Oakland, California.³⁷⁸

– **September 10, 1974**

The Weather Underground bombed the Anaconda American Brass Company in Oakland, California. The Weather Underground claimed it targeted Anaconda “in international solidarity with the Chilean people and their revolutionary struggle. The

³⁷⁷ “Weather Underground (Weatherman/The Weathermen),” Influence Watch, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.influencewatch.org/organization/weather-underground-weatherman-weathermen/>; United Press International, “None Hurt as Blast In Utah Damages Kennecott Offices,” *New York Times*, September 6, 1975, <https://www.nytimes.com/1975/09/06/archives/none-hurt-as-blast-in-utah-damages-kennecott-offices.html>.

³⁷⁸ “Weather Underground Bombings,” FBI, accessed July 6, 2022, <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/weather-underground-bombings>.

Weather Underground accused Anaconda, along with Kennecott and ITT, of playing “a decisive role in the US-sponsored fascist coup in Chile.”³⁷⁹

– **June 13, 1974**

Following a warning call from the Weather Underground, several sticks of dynamite exploded at 9:41 p.m. on the 29th floor of the Gulf Oil Corporation building in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, causing approximately \$1 million in damages. There were no casualties. A letter from the Weather Underground taped to a phone booth in downtown Pittsburgh claimed Gulf Oil had committed “enormous crimes,” including financing “the Portuguese colonial war against the people of Angola in Africa” and exploiting people and resources in 70 countries, including stealing profits from “poor and working people in the US.”³⁸⁰

–

³⁷⁹ Weather Underground, “Weather Underground Organization Bombs Anaconda,” Freedom Archives, September 11, 1974, http://freedomarchives.org/Documents/Finder/DOC31_scans/31.WUO.Bombs.Anaconda.Sept.11.1974.pdf; U.S. Government Printing Office, *Hearings Before the Subcommittee To Investigate The Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate Ninety-Third Congress Second Session Part 1*, Google Books, September 23, 1974, 51, <https://books.google.com/books?id=GjkTAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA51&lpg=PA51&dq=Anaconda++bombing+W EATHER+underground&source=bl&ots=Nj4so-t634&sig=ACfU3U39ZfUFVgss1U2pTakcqx-goRzKUg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewjVjJ7xkPT4AhXGM1kFHbbiCk04ChDoAXoECA8QAw#v=onepage&q=Anaconda%20%20bombing%20WEATHER%20underground&f=false>.

³⁸⁰ Chris Potter, “In 1974, a group called the Weather Underground bombed the Gulf Building. Can you shed any light on the reason?,” *Pittsburgh City Paper*, December 15, 2005, <https://www.pghcitypaper.com/pittsburgh/in-1974-a-group-called-the-weather-underground-bombed-the-gulf-building-can-you-shed-any-light-on-the-reason/Content?oid=1337599>; Associated Press, “Explosion Damages Gulf Headquarters After Phone Threat,” *New York Times*, June 14, 1974, <https://www.nytimes.com/1974/06/14/archives/explosion-damages-gulf-headquarters-after-phone-threat.html>.

– **September 28, 1973**

A bomb destroyed four rooms in the Latin-American section of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation (ITT) in New York City early in the morning. The building was almost empty at the time and no injuries were reported. An advance call to the *New York Times* at 2:19 a.m. warned of the explosion “in retaliation of the I.T.T. crimes they committed against Chile.”³⁸¹

– **May 19, 1972**

The Weather Underground placed a bomb in the women’s bathroom in the Air Force wing of the Pentagon, causing flooding that destroyed computer tapes with classified information and causing approximately \$1 million in damages. There were no injuries due to an advance warning call. The date coincided with the birthdays of Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh and Malcolm X.³⁸²

– **September 18, 1971**

After warnings were sent to two New York City newspapers and a radio station, a bomb exploded just after 7:30 p.m. in a bathroom at the State Department of Correction in Albany, New York, causing damage but no injuries. The Weather

³⁸¹ Paul L. Montgomery, “L T. T. OFFICE HERE DAMAGED BY BOMB,” *New York Times*, September 29, 1973, <https://www.nytimes.com/1973/09/29/archives/itt-office-here-damaged-by-bomb-caller-linked-explosion-at.html>.

³⁸² “Weather Underground (Weatherman/The Weathermen),” Influence Watch, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.influencewatch.org/organization/weather-underground-weatherman-weathermen/>.

Underground claimed the bombing was in retaliation for the recapture of the Attica prison facility after a prisoner revolt left 30 prisoners dead in the week.³⁸³

– **March 1, 1971**

At 1:32 a.m., a bomb exploded in a bathroom in Senate wing of the Capitol Building in Washington, D.C., damaging multiple rooms but not causing any injuries. The bomb caused \$300,000 in damage. A warning call came in a half hour before the bomb exploded and claimed the bombing was in response to “the Nixon involvement in Laos.” The Weather Underground said it had attacked “the very seat of U.S. white arrogance” in response to Laos.³⁸⁴

– **October 8-15, 1970**

Over the course of a week, the Weather Underground detonated five bombs at military and law enforcement sites in San Francisco, Seattle, Santa Barbara, California, New York City, and Cambridge, Massachusetts. There was extensive damage but no casualties.³⁸⁵

³⁸³ “ALBANY BUILDING JOLTED BY BLAST,” *New York Times*, September 18, 1971, <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/09/18/archives/albany-building-jolted-by-blast-none-injured-in-explosion-near.html>; “Weather Underground,” Britannica, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Weathermen>.

³⁸⁴ John W. Finney, “Bomb in Capitol Causes Wide Damage,” *New York Times*, March 2, 1971, <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/03/02/archives/bomb-in-capitol-causes-wide-damage-capitol-bombing-does-wide-damage.html>; Lawrence Roberts, “When the Left Attacked the Capitol,” *Politico*, February 28, 2021, <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2021/02/28/when-the-left-attacked-the-capitol-471270>; “Weather Underground (Weatherman/The Weathermen),” Influence Watch, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.influencewatch.org/organization/weather-underground-weatherman-weathermen/>.

³⁸⁵ “Weather Underground (Weatherman/The Weathermen),” Influence Watch, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.influencewatch.org/organization/weather-underground-weatherman-weathermen/>; “New York Courthouse Bombed; Radicals Claim Responsibility,” *Kentucky New Era*, October 9, 1970,

– **October 5, 1970**

Ron Fleigelman and a group of Weathermen blew up the Haymarket police officer statue in Chicago that the Weathermen had previously targeted in 1969. The following day, a recording of Bernadine Dohrn warned of more bombings from “Santa Barbara to Boston.”³⁸⁶

– **September 12, 1970**

The Weathermen aided LSD and psychedelic drug advocate Timothy Leary escape from the California Men’s Colony West minimum-security prison near San Luis Obispo. Leary was serving a 10-year sentence on marijuana possession. The Weather Underground smuggled Leary and his wife to Algeria. Bernardine Dohrn announced that “the Weatherman Underground has had the honor and pleasure of helping Dr. Timothy Leary escape from a POW camp at San Luis Obispo, California.” Leary was later recaptured in Afghanistan.³⁸⁷

–

<https://news.google.com/newspapers?id=W-crAAAAIBAJ&sjid=OWcFAAAAIBAJ&pg=4011.790062&dq=weathermen+marin+courthouse+bombing&hl=en>.

³⁸⁶ “Weather Underground (Weatherman/The Weathermen),” Influence Watch, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.influencewatch.org/organization/weather-underground-weatherman-weathermen/>.

³⁸⁷ “Weather Underground (Weatherman/The Weathermen),” Influence Watch, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.influencewatch.org/organization/weather-underground-weatherman-weathermen/>; United Press International, “Timothy Leary, Drug Advocate, Walks Away From Coast Prison,” *New York Times*, September 14, 1970, <https://www.nytimes.com/1970/09/14/archives/timothy-leary-drug-advocate-walks-away-from-coast-prison.html>; Michael S. Roth, “President Richard Nixon and LSD guru Timothy Leary, crazy in their own ways,” *Washington Post*, January 12, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/president-richard-nixon-and-ldg-guru-timothy-leary-crazy-in-their-own-ways/2018/01/12/76220fa4-ebf2-11e7-b698-91d4e35920a3_story.html.

– **June 9, 1970**

A bomb planted in a bathroom damaged offices on the second floor of the New York Police Department headquarters, wounding eight. An anonymous caller warned of the bomb 15 minutes before it went off.³⁸⁸

– **March 6, 1970**

A Weather Underground bomb exploded in the basement of a townhouse at 18 West 11th Street in New York City’s Greenwich Village, killing three founding members of the group—Diana Oughton, Ted Gold, and Terry Robbins. Two Underground members escaped the explosion—Cathy Wilkerson, whose father owned the house, and Kathy Boudin, daughter of a prominent liberal defense attorney. Following the explosion, police found an additional 57 sticks of dynamite, four completed bombs, detonators, timing devices, and other bomb-making equipment. The Weather Underground had intended to target a dinner dance at Fort Dix in New Jersey. Members of the Weather Underground said after the explosion they were more careful to ensure no one was hurt in their bombings. Almost two months after the explosion, the remaining Weather Underground leadership met in San Francisco. Bernardine Dohrn recorded a message for the media declaring “war” on America. By this point, the Weather Underground had reportedly lost dozens of members and hundreds of supporters.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁸ Frank J. Prial, “Bomb at Police Headquarters Injures 7 and Damages Offices,” *New York Times*, June 10, 1970, <https://www.nytimes.com/1970/06/10/archives/bomb-at-police-headquarters-injures-7-and-damages-offices-explosion.html>; Weather Underground,” Britannica, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Weathermen>; “Weather Underground (Weatherman/The Weathermen),” Influence Watch, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.influencewatch.org/organization/weather-underground-weatherman-weathermen/>.

³⁸⁹ “Weather Underground Bombings,” FBI, accessed July 6, 2022, <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/weather-underground-bombings>; “Weather Underground,” Britannica, accessed July 8, 2022,

–
– **March 2, 1970**

Teenagers affiliated with the Weathermen threw two firebombs onto the front porch of a Cleveland, Ohio, police detective. The flames were extinguished without casualties. Bill Ayers had allegedly encouraged Ohio members to select a target linked to the prosecution of a leftist accused of killing three Cleveland police officers.³⁹⁰

– **February 21, 1970**

Led by bomb-maker Terry Robbins, the New York City Weathermen coordinated a series of Molotov cocktail attacks around New York City. Two bombs targeted a New York Police Department vehicle but did not cause any serious injuries or damage. Two bombings targeted military recruiting booths at Brooklyn College. A third bombing targeted the Columbia University Law Library while the fourth bombing targeted the home of a judge in a criminal Trial involving the Black Panther Party, resulting in damage to the home but no casualties.³⁹¹

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Weathermen>; Zachary Kussin, "The many lives of Weather Underground townhouse — 50 years after infamous bomb blast," *New York Post*, March 4, 2020, <https://nypost.com/2020/03/04/the-many-lives-of-weather-underground-townhouse-50-years-after-infamous-bomb-blast/>; Lawrence Roberts, "When the Left Attacked the Capitol," *Politico*, February 28, 2021, <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2021/02/28/when-the-left-attacked-the-capitol-471270>; Bryan Burrough, "Meet The Weather Underground's Bomb Guru," *Vanity Fair*, March 29, 2015, <https://www.vanityfair.com/culture/2015/03/weather-underground-bomb-guru-burrough-excerpt>.
³⁹⁰ "Weather Underground (Weatherman/The Weathermen)," Influence Watch, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.influencewatch.org/organization/weather-underground-weatherman-weathermen/>.
³⁹¹ "Weather Underground (Weatherman/The Weathermen)," Influence Watch, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.influencewatch.org/organization/weather-underground-weatherman-weathermen/>.

– **February 16, 1970**

At 10:45 p.m., a bomb on a window ledge exploded at the Park Police Station in the San Francisco's Upper Haight neighborhood, severely wounding officer Brian McDonnell, who died of his wounds two days later. According to the FBI, eyewitnesses linked the Weather Underground to the bombing, but Weather Underground leaders Bill Ayers and Bernardine Dohrn denied their group was responsible for the attack.³⁹²

– **February 12, 1970**

A group of Weathermen set off bombs in the Berkeley police complex parking lot in San Francisco, just after midnight as shifts changed and officers were in the lot. Several officers were wounded but none died. Some Weathermen lamented their failure to kill officers. The Weathermen did not claim credit and their responsibility did not come to light for several years.³⁹³

– **January 18, 1970**

Silas Bissell, a.k.a. Terry Jackson, attempted to blow up an Air Force ROTC building on the University of Washington campus. The bomb did not detonate. Campus police immediately arrested Bissel and his wife, Judith, and charged them with

³⁹² Peter Jamison, "Time Bomb," *SF Weekly*, September 16, 2009, <https://archives.sfweekly.com/sanfrancisco/time-bomb/Content?oid=2174174&showFullText=true>.

³⁹³ Bryan Burrough, "Meet The Weather Underground's Bomb Guru," *Vanity Fair*, March 29, 2015, <https://www.vanityfair.com/culture/2015/03/weather-underground-bomb-guru-burrough-excerpt>.

conspiring to damage federal property and possessing an unregistered firearm. The couple fled after posting \$50,000 in bail. They later separated and Judith Bissell was arrested in 1979 and sentenced to prison. Silas Bissell was arrested on January 20, 1987, after 17 years in hiding. Bissell claimed the Weathermen had betrayed him and alerted police. Bissell was convicted and sentenced to two years in prison. He was released after 18 months. Bissell died in June 2002 from brain cancer.³⁹⁴

– **October 8-11, 1969**

The Weather Underground organized a “Days of Rage” protest in Chicago, which was marked by rioting and slogans of “Bring the war home” and “The time has come for fighting in the streets.” Reports vary of 100 to almost 300 people arrested by the end of the protests, but the overall turnout for the protests reportedly disappointed the Weathermen. The following December, the Weather Underground organized a national “war council” meeting of the SDS to discuss the need for further education on firearms and bombs. The council also discussed the need to kill police and target U.S. sites of power.³⁹⁵

³⁹⁴ Wallace Turner, “TIP LEADS TO THE ARREST OF RADICAL SOUGHT IN 1970 OREGON CASE,” *New York Times*, January 22, 1987, <https://www.nytimes.com/1987/01/22/us/tip-leads-to-the-arrest-of-radical-sought-in-1970-oregon-case.html?pagewanted=1>; George Tibbets, “Former Fugitive Silas Bissell Freed On Bond,” Associated Press, February 6, 1987, <https://apnews.com/article/f91d0c891cf2110c7197ef24626cbbda>; Associated Press, “Silas Trim Bissell, 60, Longtime Antiwar Fugitive,” *New York Times*, June 25, 2002, <https://www.nytimes.com/2002/06/25/us/silas-trim-bissell-60-longtime-antiwar-fugitive.html>.

³⁹⁵ Brad Dress, “What was the Weather Underground?,” *Hill*, May 2, 2022, <https://thehill.com/blogs/blog-briefing-room/3473755-what-was-the-weather-underground/>; “Weather Underground,” Britannica, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Weathermen>.

– **October 6, 1969**

The Weathermen blew up a bronze statue in Chicago’s Haymarket Square commemorating the policemen who had died in an 1886 riot.³⁹⁶

Rhetoric

– **Weather Underground claim of responsibility for bombing of Anaconda American brass Company in Oakland, California, September 11, 1974:**

“We attack Anaconda Corporation in international solidarity with the Chilean people and their revolutionary struggle.”³⁹⁷

– ***Prairie Fire*, Weather Underground manifesto, July 1974:**

“We are a guerrilla organization. We are communist women and men, underground in the United States for more than four years.

“We are deeply affected by the historic events of our time in the struggle against US imperialism. Our intention is to disrupt the empire ... to incapacitate it, to put pressure on the cracks, to make it hard to carry out its bloody functioning against the people of the world, to join the world struggle, to attack from the inside. Our

³⁹⁶ Brad Dress, “What was the Weather Underground?,” *Hill*, May 2, 2022, <https://thehill.com/blogs/blog-briefing-room/3473755-what-was-the-weather-underground/>; “Weather Underground,” Britannica, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Weathermen>.

³⁹⁷ Weather Underground, “Weather Underground Organization Bombs Anaconda,” Freedom Archives, September 11, 1974, http://freedomarchives.org/Documents/Finder/DOC31_scans/31.WUO.Bombs.Anaconda.Sept.11.1974.pdf.

intention is to engage the enemy ... to wear away at him, to harass him, to isolate him, to expose every weakness, to pounce, to reveal his vulnerability.

“Our intention is to encourage the people ... to provoke leaps in confidence and consciousness, to stir the imagination, to popularize power, to agitate, to organize, to join in every way possible the people's day-to-day struggles.

“Our intention is to forge an underground ... a clandestine political organization engaged in every form of struggle, protected from the eyes and weapons of the state, a base against repression, to accumulate lessons, experience and constant practice, a base from which to attack.

“The only path to the final defeat of imperialism and the building of socialism is revolutionary war. Revolution is the most powerful resource of the people. To wait, to not prepare people for the fight, is to seriously mislead about what kind of fierce struggle lies ahead.”³⁹⁸

– ***Prairie Fire, Weather Underground manifesto, July 1974:***

“At this early stage in the armed and clandestine struggle, our forms of combat and confrontation are few and precise. Our organized forces are small, the enemy's forces are huge. We live inside the oppressor nation, particularly suited to urban guerrilla warfare. We are strategically situated in the nerve centers of the

³⁹⁸ Weather Underground, *Prairie Fire*, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) Archives and Resources, July 1974, 1-2, <https://www.sds-1960s.org/PrairieFire-reprint.pdf>.

international empire, where the institutions and symbols of imperial power are concentrated. The cities will be a major battleground, for the overwhelming majority of people live in the cities; the cities are our terrain.”³⁹⁹

– ***Prairie Fire, Weather Underground manifesto, July 1974:***

“Attacks by the Weather Underground have been focused and specific. These actions were a catalyst for thousands of politically-directed armed actions between 1970 and 1972, almost all of which complemented mass struggles.”⁴⁰⁰

– ***A Weather Underground warning call to the New York Times about a bomb at the International Telephone and Telegraph building in New York City, September 28, 1973:***

“Take this down because am only going to say this once. I am the Weatherman underground. At the I.T.T.-American building, a bomb is going to go off in 15 minutes. This is in retaliation of the I.T.T. crimes they committed against Chile.”⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁹ Weather Underground, *Prairie Fire*, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) Archives and Resources, July 1974, 3, <https://www.sds-1960s.org/PrairieFire-reprint.pdf>.

⁴⁰⁰ Weather Underground, *Prairie Fire*, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) Archives and Resources, July 1974, 4, <https://www.sds-1960s.org/PrairieFire-reprint.pdf>.

⁴⁰¹ Paul L. Montgomery, “L T. T. OFFICE HERE DAMAGED BY BOMB,” *New York Times*, September 29, 1973, <https://www.nytimes.com/1973/09/29/archives/itt-office-here-damaged-by-bomb-caller-linked-explosion-at.html>.

- **A Weather Underground warning call to the Kennecott Corporation in Salt Lake City, Utah, shortly before a bomb exploded in the building, September 5, 1975:**
“Only resistance will win. Call the police and have the building evacuated.”⁴⁰²
- **Bernardine Dohrn, after the Weather Underground broke drug advocate Timothy Leary out of prison, September 1970:**
“Now we are at war.”⁴⁰³
- **Weather Underground member Mark Rudd, December 1969:**
“It’s a wonderful feeling to hit a pig. It must be a really wonderful feeling to kill a pig or blow up a building.”⁴⁰⁴
- **Slogan during Days of Rage protest, October 8-11, 1969:**
“The time has come for fighting in the streets.”⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰² “Weather Underground (Weatherman/The Weathermen),” Influence Watch, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.influencewatch.org/organization/weather-underground-weatherman-weathermen/>; United Press International, “None Hurt as Blast In Utah Damages Kennecott Offices,” *New York Times*, September 6, 1975, <https://www.nytimes.com/1975/09/06/archives/none-hurt-as-blast-in-utah-damages-kennecott-offices.html>.

⁴⁰³ Michael S. Roth, “President Richard Nixon and LSD guru Timothy Leary, crazy in their own ways,” *Washington Post*, January 12, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/president-richard-nixon-and-lsd-guru-timothy-leary-crazy-in-their-own-ways/2018/01/12/76220fa4-ebf2-11e7-b698-91d4e35920a3_story.html.

⁴⁰⁴ Peter Jamison, “Time Bomb,” *SF Weekly*, September 16, 2009, <https://archives.sfweekly.com/sanfrancisco/time-bomb/Content?oid=2174174&showFullText=true>.

⁴⁰⁵ “Weather Underground,” Britannica, accessed July 8, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Weathermen>.



Youth Liberation Front

Base of Operations: The YLF is based in the Pacific Northwest region with chapters throughout Washington and Oregon.⁴⁰⁶ The group also has chapters in Florida, California, and the Carolinas.⁴⁰⁷ A chapter in London, England, launched in 2021.⁴⁰⁸

Website: <https://pnwylf.noblogs.org/>

Social Media Presence: [Twitter \(Pacific Northwest YLF\)](#), [Twitter \(Youth Liberation Front Seattle Division\)](#), [Twitter \(NorCal YLF\)](#) (deleted), [Twitter \(Carolina YLF\)](#) (deleted), [Twitter \(Bay Area YLF\)](#) (suspended), [Twitter \(Ft. Lauderdale YLF\)](#), [Twitter \(Southwest YLF\)](#), [Twitter \(Maryland YLF\)](#), [Twitter \(DC YLF\)](#), [Twitter \(Florida YLF\)](#), [Twitter \(Atlanta YLF\)](#), [Twitter \(London YLF\)](#), [Mastadon](#), [Instagram \(Southwest YLF\)](#)

Leadership: YLF is made up of independent, leaderless cells. The leaders of these cells remain anonymous.⁴⁰⁹

Membership Size and Relevance: YLF does not maintain public membership records. Each chapter acts independently. As of October 2,

⁴⁰⁶ "Chapters, PNW Youth Liberation Front, accessed September 21, 2020, <https://pnwylf.noblogs.org/chapters/>.

⁴⁰⁷ NorCal YLF, Twitter account, accessed September 25, 2020, <https://twitter.com/norcalylf>; Carolina YLF, Twitter account, accessed September 25, 2020, <https://twitter.com/CarolinaYlf>; Bay Area YLF Twitter account, accessed September 25, 2020, <https://twitter.com/BayYlf>; Ft. Lauderdale YLF, Twitter account, accessed September 25, 2020, https://twitter.com/fla_ylf.

⁴⁰⁸ London Youth Liberation Front, Twitter account, accessed July 29, 2022, <https://twitter.com/YLFLondon>.

⁴⁰⁹ Hal Bernton, "Meet the Youth Liberation Front behind a militant marathon of Portland protests," *Seattle Times*, July 12, 2020, <https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/meet-the-youth-liberation-front-the-militant-group-promoting-a-marathon-of-angry-portland-protests/>.

2020, PNW YLF had 274 followers on Mastadon⁴¹⁰ and 36,300 followers on Twitter.⁴¹¹ As of that same date, a Twitter account belonging to the Seattle Division had 5,782 followers and had been temporarily restricted but remained online.⁴¹² The NorCal YLF had 744 followers,⁴¹³ while the Carolina YLF had 166 followers,⁴¹⁴ the Bay Area YLF had 276 followers,⁴¹⁵ and the Fort Lauderdale chapter had 223 followers.⁴¹⁶

As of July 29, 2022, PNW YLF had 761 followers on Mastadon but the account had not been updated since February 2021. The most recent posts reported the group had repeatedly been locked out of its Twitter account.⁴¹⁷ PNW YLF had grown to 34,300 followers on its Twitter account, which had continued to be updated through May 2022.⁴¹⁸ As of the same date, the PNW YLF website had not been updated since July 2020.⁴¹⁹ Also, as of July 29, 2022, the Seattle Division Twitter account

⁴¹⁰ PNW Youth Liberation Front, Mastadon account, accessed October 2, 2020, <https://kolektiva.social/@PNWYLF>.

⁴¹¹ PNW Youth Liberation Front, Twitter account, accessed October 2, 2020, <https://twitter.com/PNWYLF>.

⁴¹² Youth Liberation Front Seattle Division, Twitter account, accessed October 2, 2020, <https://twitter.com/seattleYLF>.

⁴¹³ NorCal Youth Liberation Front, Twitter account, accessed October 2, 2020, <https://twitter.com/norcalyfl>.

⁴¹⁴ Carolina YLF, Twitter account, accessed October 2, 2020, <https://twitter.com/CarolinaYlf>.

⁴¹⁵ Bay Area YLF, Twitter account, accessed October 2, 2020, <https://twitter.com/BayYlf>.

⁴¹⁶ Ft. Lauderdale Youth Liberation Front, Twitter account, accessed October 2, 2020, https://twitter.com/fla_ylf.

⁴¹⁷ PNW Youth Liberation Front, Mastadon account, accessed July 29, 2022, <https://kolektiva.social/@PNWYLF>.

⁴¹⁸ PNW Youth Liberation Front, Twitter account, accessed July 29, 2022, <https://twitter.com/PNWYLF>.

⁴¹⁹ Homepage, PNW Youth Liberation Front, accessed July 29, 2022, <https://pnwyfl.noblogs.org/>.

had 7,487 followers.⁴²⁰ The Fort Lauderdale chapter Twitter account had grown to 1,385 followers.⁴²¹ The Florida YLF Twitter account had 1,385 followers.⁴²² The NorCal YLF and Carolina YLF Twitter accounts had been deleted, while the Bay Area had been suspended.⁴²³ Created in July 2020, the Southwest YLF Twitter account had 1,667 followers as of July 29, 2022.⁴²⁴ Its Instagram account had only 19 followers.⁴²⁵

Created in August 2020, the DC YLF Twitter page had 4,746 followers as of July 29, 2022.⁴²⁶ The Maryland YLF Twitter account had 1,270 followers as of July 29, 2022, but a June 30 tweet proclaimed the group was transitioning and “passing this account on to the next generation of anarchist who inspire us to keep going” as most of its founding members had “outgrown” YLF. These members were transitioning to the Baltimore Liberation Front.⁴²⁷ Created in July 2019, the Baltimore Liberation Front claims to be anti-capitalist and supportive of the

⁴²⁰ Youth Liberation Front Seattle Division, Twitter account, accessed July 29, 2022, <https://twitter.com/seattleYLF>.

⁴²¹ Ft. Lauderdale Youth Liberation Front, Twitter account, accessed July 29, 2022, https://twitter.com/fla_ylf.

⁴²² Florida Youth Liberation Front, Twitter account, accessed July 29, 2022, https://twitter.com/fla_ylf.

⁴²³ NorCal Youth Liberation Front, Twitter account, accessed July 29, 2022, <https://twitter.com/norcalyflf>; Carolina YLF, Twitter account, accessed July 29, 2022, <https://twitter.com/CarolinaYlf>; Bay Area YLF, Twitter account, accessed July 29, 2022, <https://twitter.com/BayYlf>.

⁴²⁴ Southwest Youth Liberation Front, Twitter account, accessed July 29, 2022, https://twitter.com/sw_ylf.

⁴²⁵ Southwest Youth Liberation Front, Instagram account, accessed July 29, 2022, https://www.instagram.com/sw_ylf/.

⁴²⁶ DC Youth Liberation Front, accessed July 29, 2022, <https://twitter.com/dcyflf>.

⁴²⁷ Maryland Youth Liberation Front, Twitter account, accessed July 29, 2022, <https://twitter.com/MarylandYLF>.

“ACAB”—All Cops Are Bastards—philosophy. It calls for a “Free Baltimore.”⁴²⁸ Launched in August 2021, the London, England, YLF Twitter account had 255 followers as of July 29, 2022.⁴²⁹ An Atlanta YLF Twitter account launched in June 2021 and had 369 followers by July 29, 2022.⁴³⁰

The Youth Liberation Front (YLF) is a self-described “decentralized network of autonomous youth collectives dedicated to direct action towards total liberation....”⁴³¹ YLF describes itself as part of the umbrella of “anarchist projects” online.⁴³² YLF social media accounts call for attendance at rallies and protests against symbols of authority. These accounts also provide suggestions on how to prepare for protests.⁴³³ YLF groups began to emerge on social media in 2018 but gained greater prominence in 2020 with the spread of nationwide protests against police brutality and racial inequality.⁴³⁴ YLF

⁴²⁸ Baltimore Liberation Front, Twitter account, accessed July 29, 2022, https://twitter.com/Baltimore_LF.

⁴²⁹ London Youth Liberation Front, Twitter account, accessed July 29, 2022, <https://twitter.com/YLFLondon>.

⁴³⁰ Atlanta Youth Liberation Front, Twitter account, accessed July 29, 2022, <https://twitter.com/AtlantaYLF>.

⁴³¹ “About,” PNW Youth Liberation Front, accessed September 21, 2020, <https://pnwylf.noblogs.org/about/>.

⁴³² PNW Youth Liberation Front, Mastadon post, September 22, 2020, 1:21 p.m., <https://kolektiva.social/@PNWYLF/104909721208356199>.

⁴³³ PNW Youth Liberation Front, Twitter account, accessed September 25, 2020, <https://twitter.com/PNWYLF>; NorCal YLF, Twitter account, accessed September 25, 2020, <https://twitter.com/norcalylf>; Carolina YLF, Twitter account, accessed September 25, 2020, <https://twitter.com/CarolinaYlf>; Bay Area YLF Twitter account, accessed September 25, 2020, <https://twitter.com/BayYlf>; Ft. Lauderdale YLF, Twitter account, accessed September 25, 2020, https://twitter.com/fla_ylf.

⁴³⁴ Hal Bernton, “Meet the Youth Liberation Front behind a militant marathon of Portland protests,” *Seattle Times*, July 12, 2020, <https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/meet-the-youth-liberation-front-the-militant-group-promoting-a-marathon-of-angry-portland-protests/>.

has at least seven affiliates across the country, all of which act independently of each other.⁴³⁵ While YLF groups only loosely connected, a common denomination among them is their call for “direct action” in pursuit of their goal of tearing down the allegedly racist and inequitable political and capitalist systems.⁴³⁶

YLF is declaredly anti-fascist and anti-capitalist. Members who have spoken to media remain anonymous. During these interviews, they have declared YLF’s belief that the current political system is broken and needs to be replaced rather than reformed. The nationwide protests that erupted after the May 25, 2020, death of George Floyd in police custody reportedly provided YLF with a recruitment boost over social media.⁴³⁷ YLF propaganda declares “the time for discussing reform is over,” and calls for “full abolition for our communities to be safe and free from rampant police terror.”⁴³⁸

⁴³⁵ “About,” PNW Youth Liberation Front, accessed September 21, 2020, <https://pnwylf.noblogs.org/about/>; NorCal YLF, Twitter account, accessed September 25, 2020, <https://twitter.com/norcalylf>; Carolina YLF, Twitter account, accessed September 25, 2020, <https://twitter.com/CarolinaYlf>; Bay Area YLF Twitter account, accessed September 25, 2020, <https://twitter.com/BayYlf>; Ft. Lauderdale YLF, Twitter account, accessed September 25, 2020, https://twitter.com/fla_ylf.

⁴³⁶ PNW Youth Liberation Front, Twitter account, accessed September 25, 2020, <https://twitter.com/PNWYLF>; NorCal YLF, Twitter account, accessed September 25, 2020, <https://twitter.com/norcalylf>; Carolina YLF, Twitter account, accessed September 25, 2020, <https://twitter.com/CarolinaYlf>; Bay Area YLF Twitter account, accessed September 25, 2020, <https://twitter.com/BayYlf>; Ft. Lauderdale YLF, Twitter account, accessed September 25, 2020, https://twitter.com/fla_ylf.

⁴³⁷ Hal Bernton, “Meet the Youth Liberation Front behind a militant marathon of Portland protests,” *Seattle Times*, July 12, 2020, <https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/meet-the-youth-liberation-front-the-militant-group-promoting-a-marathon-of-angry-portland-protests/>.

⁴³⁸ “July 25th: Call For A Day Of Action In Solidarity With Portland & Against The Federal Invasion,” PNW Youth Liberation Front, July 23, 2020, <https://pnwylf.noblogs.org/post/2020/07/23/july-25th-call-for-a-day-of-action/>.

Recruitment and Propaganda

YLF claims to be a network of “loosely connected autonomous groups of kids” fighting against fascism, the state, and capitalism.⁴³⁹ PNW YLF encourages visitors to its Twitter page to find “some other kids and form your own affinity group,” suggesting that there is no formal process for creating YLF affiliate chapters.⁴⁴⁰ Per its name, YLF targets youth for recruitment. The operator of the PNW YLF Twitter account admitted in a September 30, 2020, post to being a current high school student.⁴⁴¹

The YLF utilizes a black flag in its imagery to symbolize anarchy.⁴⁴² YLF chapters are active on social media, particularly Twitter. Twitter temporarily suspended the PNW YLF in September 2020, which led the group to create an account on the anarchist social media forum Mastadon.⁴⁴³

⁴³⁹ PNW Youth Liberation Front, Twitter post, September 30, 2020, 12:44 a.m., <https://twitter.com/PNWYLF/status/1311165012573118464>.

⁴⁴⁰ PNW Youth Liberation Front, Twitter post, September 30, 2020, 12:44 a.m., <https://twitter.com/PNWYLF/status/1311165012573118464>.

⁴⁴¹ PNW Youth Liberation Front, Twitter post, September 30, 2020, 1:50 a.m., <https://twitter.com/PNWYLF/status/1311181556426313728>.

⁴⁴² K. Rambo, “Who is the PNW Youth Liberation Front at the center of recent Portland protests,” Oregon Live, June 2, 2020, <https://www.oregonlive.com/news/2020/06/who-is-the-pnw-youth-liberation-front-at-the-center-of-recent-portland-protests.html>.

⁴⁴³ NorCal Youth Liberation Front, Twitter post, September 22, 2020, 5:27 p.m., <https://twitter.com/norcalyfl/status/1308518218768678912>; PNW Youth Liberation Front, Mastadon post, September 22, 2020, 1:21 p.m., <https://kolektiva.social/@PNWYLF/104909721208356199>.

Violent Activities

- YLF has not be linked to specific violent attacks.

Rhetoric

- **DC YLF, Twitter post, June 30, 2022:**

"#EverybodyOut! Let's go #DC. F*** the USA and the State. F the courts, SCOTUS, & the cops! Where black, bring a mask (for covid), water/snacks, keep together & each-other safe. #WeKeepUsSafe! Let's go!!!!!"⁴⁴⁴

- **DC YLF, Twitter post, June 25, 2022:**

"F*** SCOTUS & the Police"⁴⁴⁵

- **DC YLF, Twitter post, June 24, 2022:**

"The more protests the more police have to split their pigs."⁴⁴⁶

- **DC YLF, Twitter post, June 21, 2022:**

⁴⁴⁴ DC Youth Liberation Front, Twitter post, June 30, 2022, 8:31, p.m., <https://twitter.com/dcylf/status/1542667100950511616>.

⁴⁴⁵ DC Youth Liberation Front, Twitter post, June 25, 2022, 1:36 a.m., <https://twitter.com/dcylf/status/1540569561455595520>.

⁴⁴⁶ DC Youth Liberation Front, Twitter post, June 24, 2022, 10:04 p.m., <https://twitter.com/dcylf/status/1540516286463090689>.

“Y’all know what to do! Bring water, a buddy, mask, and wear black. Keep each other safe and look out for one another. Fuck the SCOTUS! Fuck the anti-choice chuds! Fuck the police! Fight back!”⁴⁴⁷

– **Atlanta YLF, Twitter post, May 28, 2022:**

“From the murders of people on college campuses like Scout Schultz to the countless and increasing amounts of arrests of children in primary school. The police ‘protect and serve’ the brutality and violence of this society.”⁴⁴⁸

– **Maryland YLF, Twitter post, February 5, 2022:**

“Its Us vs Them let them know that they fucking killed someone!!! be fucking angry burn shit! break shit! show them how bad it hurts, let them know that their actions have consequences.”⁴⁴⁹

– **Maryland YLF, Twitter post, November 17, 2021:**

“the best system is no system”⁴⁵⁰

– **Maryland YLF, Twitter post, September 21, 2021:**

⁴⁴⁷ DC Youth Liberation Front, Twitter post, June 21, 2022, 1:02 p.m., <https://twitter.com/dcyf/status/1539292751006535681>.

⁴⁴⁸ Atlanta Youth Liberation Front, Twitter post, May 28, 2022, <https://twitter.com/AtlantaYLF/status/1530674947550420992>.

⁴⁴⁹ Maryland Youth Liberation Front, Twitter post, February 5, 2022, 10:35 p.m., <https://twitter.com/MarylandYLF/status/1490167212379938816>.

⁴⁵⁰ Maryland Youth Liberation Front, Twitter post, November 17, 2021, 8:09 p.m., <https://twitter.com/MarylandYLF/status/1461139455633416196>.

“mandatory cops are mega doo doo tweet”⁴⁵¹

– **London YLF, Twitter post, August 12, 2021:**

“YLF is back in London. Let’s fuck shit up!”⁴⁵²

– **DC YLF, Twitter post, August 12, 2021:**

“Start your own YLF or antifascist group and fuck fascists up!”⁴⁵³

– **Atlanta YLF, Twitter post, July 23, 2021:**

“youth liberation is when youth do anarchy”⁴⁵⁴

– **PNW YLF, Mastadon post, November 4, 2020:**

“Counterinsurgency say what??? If your action can be used as pig propaganda, you’re either on their side intentionally or you’re just completely fucking incompetent. No bad protestors, no good cops. Support all those taking risks in the streets, even the innocent ones!”⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵¹ Maryland Youth Liberation Front, Twitter post, September 21, 2021, 2:37 p.m., <https://twitter.com/MarylandYLF/status/1440384726116667393>.

⁴⁵² London Youth Liberation Front, August 12, 2021, 2:33 p.m., <https://twitter.com/YLFLondon/status/1425888105593196549>.

⁴⁵³ DC Youth Liberation Front, Twitter post, August 12, 2021, 3:35 p.m., <https://twitter.com/dcylf/status/1425903812200468480>.

⁴⁵⁴ Atlanta Youth Liberation Front, Twitter post, July 23, 2021, 7:25 p.m., <https://twitter.com/AtlantaYLF/status/1418713890406473728>.

⁴⁵⁵ PNW Youth Liberation Front, Mastadon post, November 4, 2020, 10:02 p.m., <https://kolektiva.social/@PNWYLF/105155485175052210>.

– **PNW YLF, Tweet, September 26, 2020:**

“Great to see Portland show up today to oppose some piss babies, and the level of support infrastructure that folks built was fantastic. The day isn’t over and the threat from vacationing chuds continues. Stick with your crew, be alert and stay dangerous. See ya in the streets!Black heart.”⁴⁵⁶

– **PNW YLF, Mastadon post, September 22, 2020:**

“Expect us to use this platform and other alternative media platforms more and more frequently, as anarchist projects continue to be censored from corporate social media.”⁴⁵⁷

– **PNW YLF, Twitter post, September 19, 2020:**

“we’d encourage bringing banners against the US Supreme Court and all other colonizer courts and judges.”⁴⁵⁸

– **PNW YLF, Twitter post, September 16, 2020:**

“Reduce the prisons to rubble”⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁶ PNW Youth Liberation Front, Twitter post, September 26, 2020, 11:59 p.m., <https://twitter.com/PNWYLF/status/1310066570333487105>.

⁴⁵⁷ PNW Youth Liberation Front, Mastadon post, September 22, 2020, 1:21 p.m., <https://kolektiva.social/@PNWYLF/104909721208356199>.

⁴⁵⁸ PNW Youth Liberation Front, Twitter post, September 19, 2020, 3:44 p.m., <https://twitter.com/PNWYLF/status/1307405220541018118>.

⁴⁵⁹ PNW Youth Liberation Front, Twitter post, September 16, 2020, 6:28, p.m., <https://twitter.com/PNWYLF/status/1306359249270902787>.

– **PNW YLF, Twitter post, September 13, 2020:**

“Youth Liberation: Burn the Schools and Destroy the Media!

<https://warzonedistro.noblogs.org/post/2017/09/07/youth-liberation-burn-the-schools-and-destroy-the-media/>”⁴⁶⁰

– **PNW YLF, Twitter post, September 13, 2020:**

“Solidarity with Zoom (and Google Meet, etc.) bombers, DDOSers, and all brave school saboteurs in these trying times”⁴⁶¹

– **PNW YLF, Twitter post, September 6, 2020:**

“Surveillance is crucial to extending the reach of the police state; not all the violence of policing is physical. Be real fucking conscious about the line between journalism and surveillance, because many of y’all keep crossing it. Stick to journalism, not surveillance.”⁴⁶²

– **Blog post, PNW YLF website, July 23, 2020:**

“Time and time again, the neo-liberal state has offered promises of ‘reform’ with no real action ever taken. The time for discussing reform is over, we need full abolition

⁴⁶⁰ PNW YLF, Twitter post, September 13, 2020, 4:49 p.m., <https://twitter.com/PNWYLF/status/1305247310637461506>.

⁴⁶¹ PNW YLF, Twitter post, September 13, 2020, 3:55 p.m., <https://twitter.com/PNWYLF/status/1305233551164502016>.

⁴⁶² PNW YLF, Twitter post, September 6, 2020, 11:14 p.m., <https://twitter.com/PNWYLF/status/1302807487242854400>.

for our communities to be safe and free from rampant police terror.”⁴⁶³

– **PNW YLF, Twitter post, July 5, 2020:**

“Be like water, keep moving. If you see someone smashing windows, shut the (expletive) up. Walk, don’t run. Hold the front and back lines.”⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶³ “July 25th: Call For A Day Of Action In Solidarity With Portland & Against The Federal Invasion,” PNW Youth Liberation Front, July 23, 2020, <https://pnwylf.noblogs.org/post/2020/07/23/july-25th-call-for-a-day-of-action/>.

⁴⁶⁴ Hal Bernton, “Meet the Youth Liberation Front behind a militant marathon of Portland protests,” *Seattle Times*, July 12, 2020, <https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/meet-the-youth-liberation-front-the-militant-group-promoting-a-marathon-of-angry-portland-protests/>.