

THREATS TO A WELCOMING KITSAP

XENOPHOBIA, RACISM, AND WHITE NATIONALISM IN KITSAP COUNTY

BY THE INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH AND EDUCATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
AND KITSAP SHOWING UP FOR RACIAL JUSTICE KITSAP (SURJ)

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Executive Summary

On February 20, 2019, the Bremerton City Council approved Resolution No. 3316, affirming,

“...the City’s commitment to the principles of equity and inclusion and...to implement[ing] practices that seek to improve opportunities and quality of life for all residents, regardless of race, ethnicity, country of origin, immigration status, sexual orientation, gender identity, or religious beliefs.”

The origins of 3316 lay in a Welcoming Resolution drafted and recommended to local city councils and the Kitsap County Board of Commissioners in early 2017 by the Kitsap Immigrant Assistance Center (KIAC), an organization that offers services to support the well-being of area immigrants and promotes a multicultural community that benefits all Kitsap County residents. After KIAC proposed it, community members came forward to ask all jurisdictions in the county to pass such a resolution. Only the City of Bainbridge Island did so at that time. To date, the city councils of Port Orchard and Poulsbo and the Kitsap County Board of Commissioners have failed to pass such a resolution

Resolution No. 3316 passed, in part, due to recent white nationalist organizing in the community. As this report demonstrates, two dangerous white nationalist groups have been active in the county – the Patriot Front and the Northwest Front. This report also documents that the promotion of bigotry extends beyond white nationalists to other more reactionary groups that peddle bigotry and division, such as the Kitsap Patriots Tea Party.

This report also describes that such bigoted organizing takes place in a context shaped by the legacy of racism and inequality in our country’s history. This history has left rich terrain for bigoted organizing, including the persistence of institutional inequality, public opinions that run counter to civil rights, and both implicit and explicit forms of bias and exclusion.

But there is another side to our history – one that from colonial times through the 19th century abolition movement, from the post-Civil War Reconstruction to the 1960s Civil Rights movement, has stood up against inequality and called on our country to live up to the high ideals expressed in its founding documents. This report is a call to embrace this part of our history.

When we remain silent in the face of inequality, cultural bias, and organized attacks on members of our community, we allow these forces to define us. Declarations such as Resolution 3316 and KIIAC's original Welcoming Resolution are important because they call attention to the need for all of us to grapple with our history, learn from its errors, and draw on the many times people have stood together for human and civil rights. Such resolutions offer a framework for community. Rather than allowing a troubled history, and those who would return to it, to define Kitsap County, we can come together and breathe life into those American traditions of taking action for equal rights and justice for all.

The Welcoming Resolutions

On February 20, 2019 the Bremerton City Council approved Resolution No. 3316, “affirming the City’s Commitment to the Principles of Equity and Inclusion.” The resolution pledged that the city council,

“will continue to implement practices that seek to improve opportunities and quality of life for all residents, regardless of race, ethnicity, country of origin, immigration status, sexual orientation, gender identity, or religious beliefs.”¹

Presented by City Council President Eric Younger, the resolution responded, in part, to recent flyers “posted throughout the City promoting the website of a known white supremacist group,” a reference to the white nationalist Patriot Front that has been active in Kitsap County since late 2017. The Council also cited “community concerns...regarding potential local enforcement of immigration laws;” affirmed the city’s commitment to providing service to all who qualify and stressed that city employees “shall not ask for immigration status from a resident in providing a service,” unless required to by state or federal law. And the City Council echoed the Bremerton Police Department policy of “non-participation in direct immigration enforcement” and practice of not inquiring into “an individual’s immigration status” or requiring “documentation of citizenship.”

The City Council declared that it “wholly rejects the promotion of any regressive ideologies that promote discrimination, bigotry, hatred and violence” and supports the intent of the Bremerton Police Department (BPD) that “all individuals, regardless of their immigration status, must feel secure that contacting law enforcement will not make them vulnerable to deportation.”

The resolution passed 5-2 with only Council members Richard Huddy and Pat Sullivan voting against it.

The origins of Resolution 3316 lay in a “Welcoming Resolution” drafted in 2017 by the Kitsap Immigrant Assistance Center (KIAC), a Bremerton-based organization that provides multiple services to immigrants in the county and promotes a multicultural community that benefits all Kitsap County residents. After KIAC proposed it, community members came together to ask all jurisdictions in the county to pass such a resolution. Only the City of Bainbridge Island did so at that time.² To date the Port Orchard and Poulsbo city councils and Kitsap County Commission have failed passed such a resolution

The authors and supporters of this report offer sincere thanks to the Bremerton and Bainbridge City Councils for hearing community concerns and passing these resolutions, making publicly known their commitment to respecting and upholding the civil rights and dignity of all people in our county.

This report also provides evidence to show that these resolutions, and the policy commitments they signal, remain necessary. They are necessary because immigrants and others in our community continue to face obstacles to their participation and sense of safety, the product of a legacy of inequality and bigotry that has persisted in our society. They are also necessary because organized groups continue to target immigrants and others in our community with bigotry, misinformation, hostility, and even calls for violence.

As is evidenced in the long history of civil rights struggle in our country, we all gain when the rights of each constituent member of our community are upheld and respected. It is in this spirit that the authors and supporters of this report call on all jurisdictions in Kitsap County to pass resolutions similar to Bremerton’s or the original KIAC version proposed in 2017. And we call on all elected officials in our county to deepen their commitment to the principles embodied in these resolutions and to strive to make these principles live in our Kitsap County community.

Our Legacy of Racism and the Need for Welcoming Communities

A recurring theme in the history of our country has been the struggle to bring the practices of our institutions and citizens into line with the high ideals expressed in our

foundling documents. If the Declaration of Independence declared in 1776 that “all men are created equal” and endowed with “certain inalienable rights,” the same document also referred to indigenous people as “merciless savages.” The society that created the Declaration included only white, male property owners among those endowed with such rights.

If the Preamble to the United States Constitution declared the document ordained to create a “more perfect Union,” “establish Justice,” and “promote the general Welfare,” the Constitution protected the institution of slavery in multiple ways – including barring a ban on the trans-Atlantic slave trade until 1808 and ensuring that enslaved people escaping to a “free” state were not emancipated and were required to be returned to the person claiming to be their “owner.”³ Parts of the Constitution were also used to justify sweeping powers over indigenous peoples, including the “right” to lay claim to their lands. Early Supreme Court decisions referred to Indian people as “savages,” deploying overt racism to justify the theft tribal lands and genocide against indigenous nations.⁴

White supremacy and racism were baked into the foundations of our country, as much a part of our story as any other single factor. The appearance of such passages in America’s founding documents were not the cause of this racism, but rather reflected deeply held cultural beliefs and entrenched practices of the drafters of the U.S. Constitution passed down from colonial times. White supremacy and racism are as American as apple pie.

If this is true, it is equally the case that our country has been defined by the struggles against racism and other forms of inequality and for a more expansive vision of multi-racial democracy. Years before there was a United States of America, indigenous peoples provide an inspiring example by fighting back against European encroachment into their lands, a struggle that has continued throughout U.S. history and to the present. Enslaved people rebelled and black and white colonists found common cause as indentured servants before the institutionalization of chattel slavery pressed them apart. An Abolition Movement, spurred by black rebellion against slavery, would bring blacks and whites together to fight against this brutal institution.

Two great moments in U.S. history epitomize the seeds of multiracial democracy that have been present in U.S. soil from the beginning. The period of Reconstruction that followed the Civil War saw the possibility of multi-racial democracy become a reality on U.S. soil for the first time. During this period, across the U.S. South, some 185 African-Americans held federal office, including 14 members of the U.S. House and 2 U.S. Senators. More than 1,500 blacks held state office.⁵ Also during this period, the

idea of education as public responsibility increased educational opportunities for blacks and whites alike – even if most schools remained segregated.⁶

In the end, the racist aims of southern elites, the narrow concerns of northern industrialists and both major political parties, and the violence of the Ku Klux Klan would converge to overthrow Reconstruction and pave the way for Jim Crow segregation. The period, however, would leave us with a legacy of challenging white supremacy and a 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution that offered a vision of an America in which all born on U.S. soil were citizens and all people here equal under the law.

Nearly 100 years later a black-led liberation movement would bring about a Second Reconstruction in the form of the Civil Rights Movement. This movement would overthrow Jim Crow segregation and offer a vision, articulated by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., in which people would be judged not by the “color of their skin but by the content of their character.” The Civil Rights Movement would compel the passage of civil and voting rights legislation that would enshrine the rights of all people in the country. The Poor Peoples Campaign that emerged after the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act would set its sights on ending poverty in the United States and creating a society in which all people could live decently and with respect.

The Second Reconstruction also saw its leaders and participants support the inherent rights of Indian Nations to self-governance and treaty rights, and inspired similar movements by Chicano leaders, women, and LGBTQ people to achieve the full measure of their civil and human rights. It would spur passage of the 1965 Immigration Act that overturned overt white supremacy in U.S. immigration policies, breathing life into a Bill of Rights that draws no distinctions between citizen and immigrant in the realm of equality under the law.

As with the first great Reconstruction, the Civil Rights movement was met with staunch reaction against change from well positioned members of Congress, state legislators, and governors as well as organizations like the White Citizens Councils, the John Birch Society, and the terrorist Ku Klux Klan. Each great struggle to end white supremacy, expand our vision of inclusion, and create a society of equality and justice for all has been met with strenuous opposition – a pattern that continues today.

If the legacy of struggle against white supremacy and inequality in our society has left volumes of inspiring stories and lessons from which to learn, our starting point of racism and inequality has also left a legacy of discrimination and racism that lives on –

and one that can be mobilized by those who would turn back the clock pressed forward by our civil rights-minded ancestors.

One place the legacy of our racist past is seen in the persistence of racial inequality in our economy. For instance, a 2018 study by the Pew Foundation found that the overall income inequality in the country has increased by 27% from 1970 to 2016, with income inequality persisting across racial and ethnic groups. African-Americans in the U.S. earn less than whites at all levels of income – i.e., blacks in the 90th percentile of income earn 68% of what whites in the same bracket earn; blacks at the median earn 65% of what whites earn, and low-income blacks 54% of similarly situated whites. Racial disparities in wealth are even more pronounced.⁷

Inequality is also found in institutions such as the juvenile justice system. For instance, according to the Washington State Partnership on Juvenile Justice's *2017 Annual Report to the Governor and State Legislature*, black youth are more than four times as likely, and American Indian/Alaskan Native (AI/AN) youth three times more likely, than white youth to be referred to juvenile court (comparable to national rates of 3.8 and 4.5 times, respectively). Black youth are 40 percent less likely than white youth to receive a diversion or deferred disposition, and Black and AI/AN youth are significantly more likely to be tried as adults.⁸

According to the Child Welfare Information Gateway, biases may be reflected in lack of culturally competent services, such as language barriers and lack of access to interpreters. Juveniles of color are also often perceived and reacted to as older than they actually are and are over-represented in foster care.⁹

The barriers faced by immigrant children and families in public schools are another example of institutional inequality. With insufficient language support, children often struggle to learn English which can lead to them falling behind in other subjects. Their families can face similar barriers in communicating with the schools and end up depending on their children to translate. Immigrant children can feel excluded by other students and the institution. To fit in, immigrants may give up cultural dress, food, language, and other customs, a loss to them and to the rest of the community. Schools may not adequately encourage the celebration of all the cultures represented among the students, leading to pressures to assimilate and a loss of connectedness with family, culture, identity, and home country. Immigrant children may also worry about family members being deported, face fears of police, and have inadequate access to resources available to citizen families.

Alongside such structural and cultural inequality, our past has left a legacy of attitudes and stereotypes that influence our perceptions and judgements, and that provide cultural material for mobilizations by organized bigots. Some such opinions and attitudes have been captured in public opinion polls. If the post-Civil Rights period saw a dramatic decrease in the willingness of white Americans to give voice to overtly racist sentiments when queried by pollsters, other forms of racist opinion continued. These new patterns were documented when social scientists attempted to explain why whites increasingly rejected overt expressions of racism, yet persisted in opposing federal policies aimed at addressing inequality.

One such line of studies referred to a new “racial resentment” that consisted of generally broad white agreement (and equally broad black disagreement) with the ideas that black people would do better if they just tried harder (60.7% percent of whites agree), that blacks have gotten less than they deserve (58% white disagreement), and that blacks could simply work their way up the way ethnic Europeans had done (66.3% white agreement).¹⁰

Public opinion polling found that such attitudes helped explain both opposition to public policies intended to address inequality as well as the vote for political figures such as former Klan leader and longtime national socialist David Duke and 2016 candidate Donald Trump.¹¹

Describing new forms of racism as “laissez faire,” as opposed to Jim Crow racism, sociologist Lawrence Bobo effectively placed such developments in attitudes in the context of the overthrow of Jim Crow and the adaption of whites to post-Civil Rights movement institutional arrangements. “In effect,” he writes, a “significant segment of white America effectively condones as much black disadvantage and segregation as the legacy of historic discrimination and modern-day free market forces and informal social mechanisms can reproduce or even exacerbate.”¹²

If attitudes measured in public opinion polls play a role in racist politics, other kinds of bias may be less explicit. *Implicit bias* can consist of attitudes, stereotypes, feelings, and thoughts which are largely outside of our *conscious* awareness, but which can exert influence over our perceptions, judgments, and actions. Tests such as the Harvard implicit bias test have been established to measure such patterns.¹³ Once we understand such bias, we can take steps to counter it. In the words of Maya Angelou, “Do the best you can until you know better. Then when you know better, do better.” Implicit bias can include things such as perceiving the status quo as a neutral background and simply accepting that government and economic institutions are equitable even in the face of significant evidence that inequalities persist.

Implicit bias may lead us to ignore, or not recognize, barriers to the authentic, equitable participation of people of color, immigrants, and others in our communities, and to the full manifestation of their legal rights. In order for communities to be accountable to all members, such biases must be examined and addressed.

Such biases can exist, for instance, when city and county offices offer services on a drop-in basis. While this may appear equal, “dropping in” is often only an option for residents who speak English, something that can disproportionately affect immigrants. Barriers can also occur for members of our community who rely upon public transportation, work weekday hours, are low-income, or whose work is rural, industrial, or service-related. Biases may also occur in voting when a lack of multilingual resources for local city and county elections materials renders access to voting rights restricted for those not fluent in English.

Exclusion can also be intentional. Intentional exclusion is often the most recognizable to those of us who are not used to being excluded ourselves. An historic example of intentional exclusion would be “whites only” water fountains. City Councilors referring to some residents of their city as “illegal” is intentionally exclusionary. Intentional exclusion can be difficult to track if state and local agencies do not keep adequate data on their practices. For instance, representatives of Labor & Industries have been known to stop at work sites to request that companies show their business licenses. If full records are not kept as to the locations, types of businesses, and demographics of workers checked, it can be difficult to identify and address any intentional exclusion that is happening

Institutional forms of inequality, the persistence of biased public opinion, and implicit and explicit forms of bias and exclusion reinforce the need for the Welcoming Resolutions. Such declarations can aid in illuminating discrimination, inequity, and bias and inspiring community members to continue the honorable American tradition of civil rights struggle.

This struggle for civil rights remains critically important, because there is another outcome of all these persistent inequalities and biases. They provide the cultural and institutional material for white nationalists and other groups in the community that would turn back the clock on civil and human rights.

It's Not Patriotism: White Nationalism in Kitsap County

White nationalism in the United States has emerged since the 1970s, and dramatically since the 1990s, as a prominent form of organized racism. After the defeat of Jim Crow segregation by the Civil Rights Movement, organized white supremacists began to reassess the social and political landscape. Some began to conclude that their forebears had lost the battle; whites no longer held their “rightful” place atop American society. A false notion of white dispossession --promoted in books like Wilmot Robertson’s *The Dispossessed Majority*-- spread among white nationalists.¹⁴

While some still talked about re-establishing white domination, increasingly many white nationalists argued that the system must be overthrown and replaced with a whites-only ethnostate. Anti-Semitism frequently accompanied the developing movement, offering an explanation for white loss at the hands of the black civil rights activists they deemed inferior and giving the movement a revolutionary orientation – that is, if Jews controlled an anti-white government, the “logic” ran, then the government must be overthrown and replaced with the white ethnostate. Alongside the violence that had long accompanied organized white supremacy, a framework for genocide was baked into the white nationalist vision of purging the “national” area of people of color and Jews.

At least two white nationalist groups have been active in Kitsap County since at least 2017. The activity of these groups demonstrates that they specifically target immigrants in their propaganda, calls for action, and biased behavior. They also vilify and threaten people of color, Jews, members of the LGBTQ community, and all who seek multiracial democracy, immigrant and citizen alike.

The Patriot Front Peddles White Nationalism

In the first weeks of December 2018, the white nationalist Patriot Front twice distributed posters around Bremerton, Washington. The posters proclaimed that America was “Not Stolen” but “Conquered,” and targeted immigrants, declaring “Keep America American” and encouraging people to report “illegal aliens” to

Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). In March 2019 the group continued this activity, placing stickers on street signs in Bremerton.

Visible Patriot Front activity in Bremerton began in October 2017 when posters began appearing at Olympic College. The posters trumpeted anti-immigrant sentiment and the group's core racial nationalism, proclaiming "Welcome to Occupied America...Where Borders are Irrelevant" and urging potential recruits to "Join us in our struggle for race and nation."

Two Pierce County men, Jacob Landis Prior, 24, of Gig Harbor, and James Daniel Valentine, 27, of Lakebay, initiated this Patriot Front Olympic College activism.¹⁵



Bremerton is not alone in experiencing Patriot Front activity. In Washington State, Patriot Front activists have launched recruitment efforts in Gig Harbor, Tacoma, Olympia, Auburn, Redmond, Bellevue, Seattle, Mount Vernon, Marysville, and Everett.

Since late 2017, the Patriot Front has targeted more than 250 cities in at least 34 states and the District of Columbia, including efforts at over colleges in 20 states. Though the exact number of Patriot Front members is unknown, the group had 2,698 followers on the far-right-friendly social media site, Gab, as of March 2019.

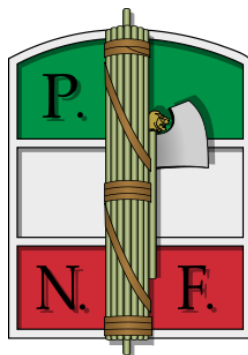
There is nothing patriotic about the Patriot Front. Despite the innocuous-sounding name, the group is unequivocally white nationalist. The group’s “manifesto” declares that African-Americans cannot be Americans:

“An African may have lived, worked, and even been classed as a citizen in America for centuries, yet he is not American... The same rule applies to others who are not of the founding stock of our people... America is truly unique in this pan-European identity which forms the roots of our nationhood.”

Patriot Front posters also glorify the colonial theft of indigenous lands by declaring that America was “Not Stolen...Conquered.”

The Patriot Front is also an avowedly fascist organization with roots in national socialism. (Recall that Adolph Hitler’s party was called the *National Socialist* German Workers Party). The group’s logo mimics that of the WWII-era National Fascist Party, the political vehicle of Italian fascist leader Benito Mussolini. The Patriot Front’s former website address, bloodandsoil.org, apparently draws its name from a WWII-era German Nazi idea stressing the “organic” bond between Germans and the rural landscape.

More than 400,000 Americans died fighting Mussolini’s Fascist Italy and Hitler’s Nazi Germany in WWII. More than six million Jews were murdered during the Holocaust at the hands of the German fascist regime, while more than 60 million people lost their lives in a war to stop fascist aggression.





The Patriot Front emerged from Vanguard America, a national socialist group that helped organize the infamous August 2017 “Unite the Right Rally” in Charlottesville, Virginia. James Alex Fields Jr. was sentenced to life in prison for driving his car into a crowd of anti-fascists in Charlottesville and killing Heather Heyer. Fields had previously been photographed in a Vanguard America uniform.¹⁶

The Patriot Front promotes anti-Semitic conspiracy theories and violence toward Jews and Muslims. Circulating a meme through its Gab account that includes symbols of Judaism, Islam, and Soviet communism, the Patriot Front wrote, “Our people build and create by nature, and will destroy absolutely the threats to our existence and prosperity.”



The Patriot Front has also circulated the infamous “14 Words,” shorthand for the racist slogan, “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white

children.” The author of this phrase, David Lane, helped lead the neo-Nazi terror group the Order in the 1980s. Lane died in federal prison in 2007 while serving a life sentence for his role in the murder of Jewish talk show host Alan Berg. These words are a common refrain of the vanguardist wing of the white nationalist movement. This wing advocates violent means to advance the cause, an idea reflected in Patriot Front flyers distributed in Bremerton that call for “Resurrection Through Insurrection.”



The Northwest Front and the Vile Legacy of Harold Covington

Another white nationalist organization active in Kitsap County is the Northwest Front, founded and long-led by neo-Nazi Harold Covington. Covington was living in Bremerton when he died in July 2018. Though impacted by the death of a leader with more than four decades of racist activism, the Northwest Front survives. Seattle-based Northwest Front leader Andreas Donner and a small leadership “HQ” group continue to promote Covington’s ideas, goals, and strategies through a website, social media, and Radio Free Northwest podcast, all linked to the Bremerton address.

Andreas Donner has struggled to keep the organization moving forward in the wake of Covington’s death, garnering criticism for poor communication and the lower production value of the group’s Radio Free Northwest, among other things. Unlike previous years when Covington dominated the organization, Donner has assembled

an “HQ team” as an ad hoc leadership group and has begun promoting other activists on Radio Free Northwest – including a Bremerton-based man known as “The Trucker,” for his profession.

A onetime uniform-wearing neo-Nazi who would lead the National Socialist White People’s Party, Harold Covington once travelled to Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) and South Africa to advance the racist cause. In the 1990s, his North Carolina-based P.O. Box served as the U.S. contact for the British-based Combat 18, a racist terror group that copied the methods of Hitler’s brown shirts.¹⁷

In 1979, as head of the National Socialist Party of America, Covington helped form an alliance with several North Carolina Klan groups under the name United Racist Front. When the Communist Workers Party and other leftist groups organized a “Death to the Klan” rally in Greensboro, a group of racists “calmly got out of their cars, took weapons out of their trunks, and began shooting point-blank,” as Leonard Zeskind described in *Blood and Politics*.¹⁸ Two of the 16 arrested – all of whom were acquitted despite the capture of the murders on video – were members of Covington’s group.

As Zeskind described, “Covington, who helped plan the attack, was not there” the day it was carried out. Prior to the murders, Covington had written, “We nearly killed some of your people at China grove – we had it all worked out with the cops, that if you were dumb enough...we’d waste a couple of you and none of them would see anything.”¹⁹



Covington Praising Acquittal of Men Charged in Greensboro Massacre. Photograph: Bettmann/CORBIS

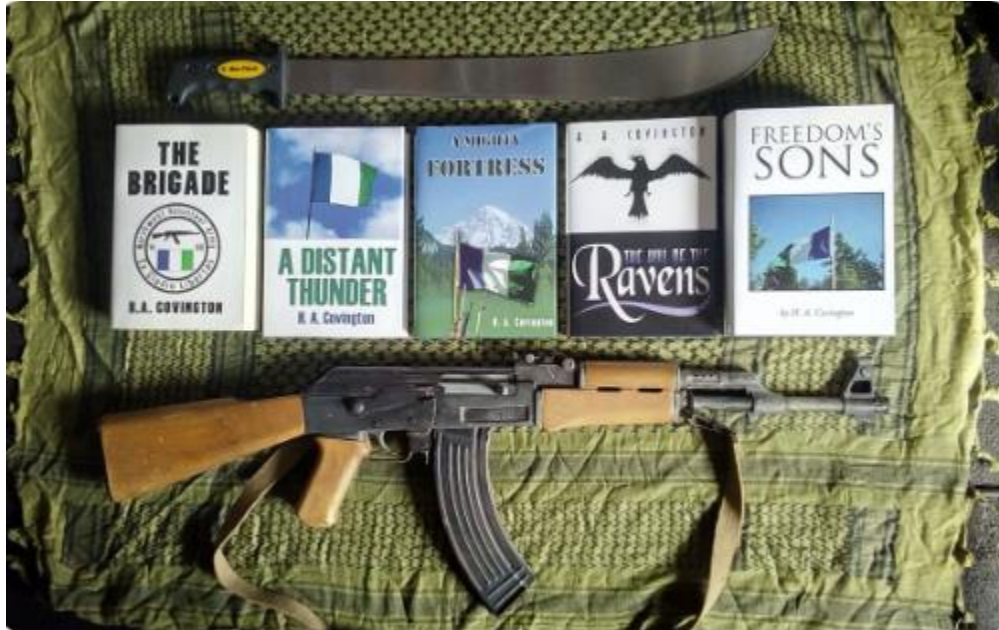
Under Covington, the Northwest Front promoted the creation of a whites-only ethnostate in the Pacific Northwest, the so-called “Northwest Imperative.” The Northwest Front’s version – dubbed the Butler Plan to claim the legacy of deceased Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler – calls on white people with steady employment to move to the region; form the Northwest Front as a “fighting revolutionary Party” and insert it into actual politics; and then to bring about “The seizure of state power through the creation of the Northwest American Republic in the power vacuum created by the collapse of the United States.”



At the time of his death Covington had 1726 followers on Twitter and 1,412 followers on a Gab page. Around that time, The Northwest Front had 360 Gab followers. As of March 2019 Andreas Donner had 703 Twitter and 288 Gab followers.

Covington’s shadow looms large over the Northwest Front. One example is seen in the group’s ongoing use of Covington’s “Northwest Novels.” This strategy is similar to that of National Alliance leader William Pierce, who used pulp fiction to inspire acts of racist terror. Starting in 2003, Covington wrote a series of novels that provided the “primary items of propaganda the Northwest Migration possesses,” in the words of the Northwest Front website. Dubbed the “Northwest Novels,” the five books depict various stages through which a group dubbed the Northwest Voluntary Army defeats the U.S. government and establishes a whites-only, authoritarian, Northwest American Republic. *A Distant Thunder* (2004), the second in the series,

describes the Northwest Voluntary Army as “a terrorist organization dedicated to overthrowing the United States government and establishing an independent nation.”²⁰



While ostensibly fictional accounts of Covington’s white nationalist fantasies, the novels are intended to provide a *practical roadmap for a white revolution*. In the words of Covington and the Northwest Front:

“These novels are not meant to be mere entertainment. They are meant to be self-fulfilling prophecies. The author wishes to inspire the creation of a real Northwest American Republic, and his novels are filled with a great deal of sound practical advice about how to do it... They can get some idea of what they should be doing and how they should be doing it...I decided that I would write a novel depicting what a future sovereign, independent Aryan nation in the Pacific Northwest would look like, and how such a new nation might come about.”²¹

Covington’s novels place a “threat” from immigrants, people of color, and Jews at the core of the “need” for a whites-only government. In *A Distant Thunder*, Covington listed the following atop the “Fundamental Principles of Northwest Migration”:

“The White race in North America is in danger of literal, physical extinction. If current destructive demographic trends continue, White people will be a minority in the United States and Canada by the year 2050, and we will have vanished completely from North America by 2100...Within a very short time, the median

age of the White population of North America will have become so high that we will no longer be capable of reproducing ourselves in sufficient numbers to overcome the tide of mud-colored Third World immigration... There is only one strategy remaining to us which may be able to secure the existence of our people and a future for White children. Our last remaining hope to stave off extinction is the establishment of a sovereign and independent nation on the continent of North America for White people only.” [italics added]²²

The protagonist in *A Distant Thunder* places Jews behind the immigration “threat,” stating that “By the time I was ten or so ZOG gave up the pretense and more or less just opened up the borders and said to hell with it.” ZOG refers to the “Zionist Occupation Government,” the Jewish conspiracy that many neo-Nazis claim is actually in power in the United States. Anti-Semitism in this form gives the white nationalist movement a revolutionary character and frames the perceived “need” for armed violence against not only the United States government but also Jews and people of color.

Covington’s “practical advice” to readers of his novels makes clear that *murdering immigrants is a strategic starting point for the Northwest Front’s envisioned revolution*. In *A Distant Thunder* this appears in Covington’s depiction of a white revolution in Lewis County, Washington:

“The trick was to bring down the system, not just chip away at it. That meant we had to figure out who and what to target, and that didn’t mean a lot of spectacular...shootouts with cops...*To begin with, we focused our attacks not against specific operations of the Zionist government’s control apparatus, but on the classes of people, the institutions, and the infrastructure that kept the power structure afloat. Foremost among these were the masses of non-whites, mostly illegal Third World immigrants, who provided the cheap labor that kept the capitalist system viable and provided a disincentive for change among the wealthy people who actually ran the country...* We gave an order to the muds to be gone, and by God they got gone and ZOG was clearly powerless to stop it... [I]t made the NVA [Northwest Volunteer Army] very popular indeed and gained us many recruits. Nobody in the Northwest actually liked being overrun with *Third World immigrants who didn’t speak our language, who undermined our way of life, who took our jobs, got all kinds of free benefits denied to white people, sold drugs, and caused a rash of families with mestizo grandchildren...* But the main effectiveness of the sniper offensive lay in the whitening of the Homeland. We demonstrated that in Lewis County. *It became apparent to the public very early on that for all their swaggering, threatening, chest-beating and arrogant, belligerent red, white and blue rhetoric, ZOG simply could not protect the average Juan or Rastus on the street from getting a .30-06 bullet in his skull.* The Northwest got real white, real fast... *Third World immigrants were in America not because they wanted to be Americans and enjoy all the wonderful benefits of living in a land of freedom and democracy and*

*all that asinine horse hockey. Non-whites came to America for one reason only, to take what the white man had.” [italics added]*²³

As Covington’s storyline continues, after murdering immigrants, white nationalist revolutionaries launch attacks on businessmen, lawyers, the media, judges, the IRS, financial leaders, and Judeo-Christian churches, eventually carrying out a “cleanup” against “white traitors.”²⁴

Covington’s continued to call for violence until his 2018 death.²⁵ In 2017 the racist leader appeared to grow impatient with the slow development of his fantasized ethno-state. On his weekly podcast Covington issued a series of shows dubbed “The Brandenburg Lectures,” a reference to the 1969 Supreme Court ruling in [*Brandenburg v. Ohio*](#). Ku Klux Klan leader Clarence Brandenburg had been prosecuted under an Ohio law punishing individuals who “advocate or teach the duty, necessity, or propriety” of violence “as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform.” Brandenburg had called for violence against African-Americans at a Klan rally, declaring “This is what we are going to do to the n-----...Send the Jews back to Israel...Bury the n-----.” The Supreme Court ruled his speech Constitutionally protected on that grounds that to be illegal, such advocacy of violence must be “directed to inciting or producing imminent lawless action and is likely to incite or produce such action.”²⁶

In his “Brandenburg Lectures,” Covington announced that “from now on I’m going to include regular segments on Radio Free Northwest dealing with the subject of direct action to bring about change in American society, up to and including what I term the ‘nonconsensual replacement’ of the existing government in the Pacific Northwest with a sovereign and independent white homeland.”

Characterizing *Brandenburg* and the lessons he drew from it, Covington described,

“An old time Klansman, Clarence Brandenburg, got a bit impassioned at a cow pasture rally and made some rather strong and pointed remarks with regard to what needs to be done to federal government officials who plot to destroy the white race and western civilization, and who do harm to white children through race-mixing, school integration and other forms of genocide. Something about how such people deserve to die, which of course they do...[Brandenburg] basically affirmed that theoretical and philosophical discussion of the pros and cons of direct action in order to bring about change in American society, i.e., shooting the thieving motherf_____ who rule us in the head; wiring bombs to their cars and blowing their scaly asses to pieces; hanging them by their wretched necks and watching them kick and piss and crap in their pants while they die. That kind of thing. Anyway, theoretical discussions about all those ‘consummations devoutly to be wished,’ as

Shakespeare put it, is legal and Constitutionally-protected free speech under the First Amendment. Of course it is.”

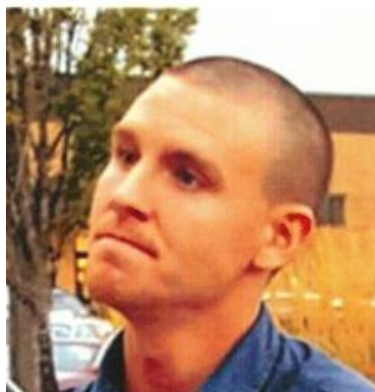
While continuing to stumble in the wake of Covington’s death, the Northwest Front remains a threat because of the violence it promotes and can inspire.

Matthew Holland’s Malicious Harassment

On September 9, 2017 a logical outcome of the persistence of such white supremacy here in Kitsap was demonstrated in Matthew Stephan Holland’s behavior. Holland, 27, was arrested at the Kitsap Mall and later charged with two counts of felony malicious harassment. As a result of a plea agreement, Holland was placed in a diversion program with the requirement that he not associate with white supremacist groups.

Holland was expelled from the program after being arrested for fourth degree assault and disorderly conduct on August 8, 2018 for allegedly punching a woman in the face and throwing her to the ground. Holland received just 20 days in jail for two counts of felony malicious harassment --a charge that court documents indicate has a “standard range” of “actual confinement from 6 to 12 months.”²⁷ The same court documents had Holland state “in my own words” that:

“On or about 9/9/2017 in Kitsap County Washington, I, because of my perception of a person (sic) race did threaten a specific person, two different persons, a (sic) placed these persons in a reasonable fear of harm and made the threats in a context who (sic) a reasonable person would persec (sic) as a serious express of intent to carry out the threat.”²⁸



Police reports and eyewitness accounts from the September 2017 Kitsap Mall incident illustrate the depth of Holland's racism and its connections to violence and threats of violence toward people of color and Jews, including a U.S. citizen apparently perceived by Holland to be an immigrant. Holland initially drew attention when he approached a kiosk in the mall and asked employees whether, were he to spend money there, if it would go to "Nig----" or "Spi----" (slurs for African-Americans and Latino-Americans). Holland then attempted to recruit the employees to attend a "National Vanguard" meeting. Holland also informed officers that he was a white supremacist and attended a local meeting of "Vanguard National," according to sheriffs' reports.²⁹

At this point, the situation escalated. Holland approached a U.S. citizen of Filipina ethnicity and "aggressively question her as to whether she had a green card on her or not," according the sheriff's report. Two eyewitnesses reported Holland pulling the woman's hair. As officers from Professional Security Consultants approached, two men were involved in separating Holland from the woman. Holland unleashed slurs and threats toward a mall security officer with a Latin surname, stating "F**cking Asian or Mexican, you shouldn't be in this country. I'll kick your a** right now. I'm going to find out what you drive and take you out. I'll bet he hates Trump," according to the security officer. Holland shouted "Filipinos don't belong here," clinching his fist and lunging at the officer. While being escorted from the building by a white security officer, Holland said that, "the only reason he wasn't doing anything to me was because I was white, but he'd better not find out that I was Jewish," the officer reported.

In police custody, Holland continued his threatening behavior. As recounted in the Sheriff's department report,

"At one point Mathew (sic) [Holland] started to state that there are surveillance camera (sic) at our office and they capture the license plates of the vehicles coming and going, and those vehicles travel back to our residences. Mathew (sic) was advised we drive our patrol vehicle to our personal residences and he replied something along the lines of well your wives probably drive cars to (sic). It appeared as if Mathew (sic) was insinuating that he could follow our vehicle back to our residences."

The white supremacist group to which Holland referred is unclear, reported differently in police reports and eyewitness accounts. This author does not know of a "Vanguard National," however, "National Vanguard," bears the same name as the publication of the national socialist group National Alliance, founded and led for many years by William Pierce. Over the last three decades of the 20th century, Pierce

emerged as a leading advocate of “vanguardism,” the idea that white nationalists should eschew attempts at mainstreaming their racism in favor of forming elite paramilitary organizations to overthrow the United States government. In his 1978 pulp fiction book *The Turner Diaries*, Pierce depicted such a group of white revolutionaries that kill blacks and Jews in the process of overthrowing the U.S. government, eventually seizing government, driving blacks and Latinos into the desert, engaging in the mass killing of Jews, dropping nuclear bombs on Israel and China, and imposing a dictatorship over the white enclaves it controls.³⁰ The book is credited with being a source of inspiration for the 1980s neo-Nazi terror group, the Order.

Bad Reaction: The Kitsap Patriot Tea Party and the Attack on Civil Rights and Community

White nationalists are not the only variety of organized bigots in Kitsap County. Another case in point is the Kitsap Patriot Tea Party, an organization that does not seek the whites-only ethnostate of the Patriot Front and Northwest Front, instead espousing a reactionary brand of nationalism that would thwart the expansion of civil rights in the community.

In 2017 when community members called on the Bremerton City Council to support a “Welcoming Resolution,” the Kitsap Patriots Tea Party (KPTP) opposed it. KPTP President Johnny Walker told the council:

“[S]ome of the people in this room would believe that if you don’t somehow declare yourself ‘welcoming,’ you suddenly aren’t. Bremerton is and always has been, in my 25 or so years in the Kitsap Peninsula, a welcoming community. This is one of those times where a so-called welcoming document would only cause division.”³¹

While Walker casts the city as already a “welcoming community,” he failed to mention to mention one significant detail: the Kitsap Patriots Tea Party has spent considerable time and energy engaged in activities that would make Kitsap County *anything but welcoming*. The group has used its platform to distort facts about immigrants. Over the years, the group has also provided a platform for speakers and organizations that promote anti-Muslim bigotry, far right conspiracy theories, and anti-LGBTQ bigotry. Other KPTP-sponsored speakers have promoted policies that would undermine the inherent treaty rights and sovereignty of Indian Nations, the civil rights of transgender people, and the ability of trade unionists to organize and protect workers.

The Kitsap Patriots Tea Party is affiliated with the Tea Party Patriots faction, one of six major Tea Party factions that formed in the wake of Barrack Obama’s 2008 election to the presidency. Tea Party Patriots was one of the more grassroots of the Tea Party factions, working to build and mobilize local affiliates around the country. Tea Party Patriots cast themselves as a conservative organization simply dedicated to

limited government, private property, and fiscal responsibility. However, from inception, the faction has promoted anti-immigrant and other bigoted politics. As the following pages show, the KPTP has not fallen far from the bigotry tree of its national affiliate.³²

Distorting the Facts: KPTP's Anti-Immigrant Crusade

In 2017 when the Kitsap Patriots Tea Party mobilized against the Welcoming Resolution proposed by the Kitsap Immigrant Assistant Center (KIAC), the group demonstrated many of the kinds of ideas that have animated anti-immigrant organizing. This has included KPTP distorting facts about immigrants.

In an open letter to the Bremerton City Council during its opposition to the KIAC-sponsored Welcoming Resolution, KPTP stated,

“What is the benefit, if any, to adopting an allegedly ‘symbolic’ resolution other than to pander to a far left ideology zealously opposed to the enforcement of existing immigration law, undermine secure national borders, facilitate the drug trade, and establish lawful citizens as acceptable losses to ideological gain.”³³

The group reiterated such themes in a January 2019 statement defending the border wall proposed by President Donald Trump:

“It is the unfortunate reality of our time that criminal drug activities, terrorism, human trafficking, and other risks have increased along the southern border beyond the point where the status quo is acceptable. The real risks are simply too great to ignore and a physical wall substantially mitigates those risks.”³⁴

Claims of a dire threat posed by undocumented immigrants to American citizens perhaps the most common form of misinformation and bigotry used to attack immigrant rights. For example, part of KPTP's argument here is that undocumented immigration “facilitate[s] the drug trade” and that “criminal drug activities” make the “risks...too great to ignore and a physical wall substantially mitigates those risks.”

Contrary to KPTP misinformation, the Drug Enforcement Administration's 2018 National Drug Threat Assessment describes that “The most common method employed by these [Mexican] TCOs [Transnational Criminal Organizations] involves transporting illicit drugs through U.S. POEs [ports of entry] in passenger vehicles with concealed compartments or commingled with legitimate goods on tractor trailers.”³⁵ Additional trafficking takes place aboard commercial cargo trains, passenger buses,

and through maritime vessels. While some trafficking does occur across “clandestine land trails,” cross-border, land-based smuggling frequently involves subterranean tunnels used mostly to transport “ton quantities of marijuana.” Columbian, Dominican, and Asian TCO’s involved in the international drug trade also utilize port-of-entry channels through Mexico, other ports of entry, or the mail.

Likewise, KPTP’s argument that “terrorism” has “increased along the southern border beyond the point where the status quo is acceptable” echoes erroneous statements made by the Trump administration to bolster the alleged “need” for a border wall. Trump administration spokespersons, including former Press Secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders and then-Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen, stated that in 2018 some 3,000 to 4,000 suspected terrorists “came across the southern border” and/or had been apprehended at the southern border.³⁶

It soon became clear that the statements were grossly misleading. For instance, the Department of Justice and Department of Homeland Security’s own reporting indicates that the agency’s *fiscal year 2017* (not 2018) apprehensions of individuals on the terror watchlist (i.e., the FBI’s Terrorist Screening Database) consisted of 2,170 individuals attempting to enter the U.S. through airports, 49 by sea and 335 by land.³⁷ White House counselor Kellyanne Conway generously called Huckabee-Sanders misrepresentation as “an unfortunate misstatement.”³⁸

Even referring to those on the FBI watchlist as “suspected terrorists” is a misrepresentation. For instance, analysis by the FBI Terrorist Screening Center (TSC) conducted during the George W. Bush administration found that 45% of watchlist records related to individuals seeking redress for being placed on the list were inaccurate and incorrectly included. An Inspector General analysis during the Barrack Obama Administration found that 35% of nominations to the list were outdated, people were not removed in timely fashion, and tens of thousands of people on the list were placed there with an inadequate factual basis.³⁹

KPTP’s claim that a border wall is necessary to prevent terrorism is also starkly contradicted by the U.S. State Department’s July 2017 *Country Reports on Terrorism 2016* conclusion that,

“Counterterrorism cooperation between the Mexican and U.S. governments remained strong. There are no known international terrorist organizations operating in Mexico, no evidence that any terrorist group has targeted U.S. citizens in Mexican territory, and no credible information that any member of a terrorist group has traveled through Mexico to gain access to the United States.”⁴⁰

The same applies to the KPTP call for a border wall as a means of addressing human trafficking. Martina Vandenberg of the Washington D.C.-based Human Trafficking Legal Center describes that approximately two-thirds of trafficking victims in the United States are U.S. citizens. In addition, of those who are foreign born, most enter the U.S. on some form of visa and are then coerced into labor or sex slavery.⁴¹ Also, as the Office for Victims of Crimes, a component of the Office of Justice Programs in the U.S. Department of Justice, describes,

“Although there is no defining characteristic that all human trafficking victims share, traffickers frequently prey on individuals who are poor, vulnerable, living in an unsafe situation, or are in search of a better life. In the United States, some of the most vulnerable populations include American Indian/Alaska Native communities, lesbian-gay-bisexual-transgender-questioning individuals, individuals with disabilities, undocumented immigrants, runaway and homeless youth, and low-income individuals. These victims are deceived by false promises of love, a good job, or a stable life and are lured or forced into situations where they are made to work under deplorable conditions with little or no pay.”⁴²

In the end, then, social vulnerability while in the United States, not the manner by which an individual arrived, is the dominant factor opening someone to human trafficking victimization. In fact, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) itself describes that “ICE recognizes that in order to successfully investigate and prosecute traffickers, victims must be stable and free from fear and intimidation to be effective witnesses.”⁴³ Undocumented immigrants fearful of deportation are rendered vulnerable to such exploitation. However, the same applies to U.S. citizens. On the other hand, stability and freedom from intimidation are potentially fostered by the practices of the Bremerton Police Department and principles within Welcoming Resolutions. Such a stable climate is starkly at odds with the aims of anti-immigrant forces like white nationalist groups and Kitsap Patriots Tea Party.

Anti-Muslim Bigotry

On Monday, March 19, 2018, some 50 people gathered at the KPTP monthly meeting at the Baymont Inn & Suites in Bremerton to hear Heidi Mund of Frankfurt am Main, Germany. Mund shot to far right celebrity in 2013 after disrupting an event held to build bridges between Christians and Muslims at the Memorial Church of the Reformation in Speyer, Germany. When a Muslim imam offered a prayer, Mund shouted, “Jesus Christ alone is Lord of Germany...I break this curse...Allahu Akbar is what Muslims scream while murdering people.”⁴⁴

KPTP billed their event as a “special presentation by Heidi Mund, ‘The Brave German woman’,’ the moniker Mund’s bigotry earned her among those admire her and provide her a platform. Mund would later elaborate on her bigoted outburst:

“They should have thrown the imam out and not me because I am a believer in Jesus Christ, but he serves another god. This Allah is not the same god. And this is not the truth...This 'allahu akbar,' they use it when they kill people...This is, for me, worship to an idol, to their god. And when a Muslim calls 'allahu akbar' in a church, that means this church is not a church anymore, it's a mosque.”⁴⁵

Mund had previously appeared at a November 2015 Kitsap Patriot Tea Party meeting where she expressed a narrow Christian Nationalism, cast the terrorist group ISIS as “the real Muslims,” and appeared to call for banning the *Koran*:

“ISIS – these are the real Muslims...and they follow the example of Muhammad. And I say it again, today, those books have to be prohibited. There are no other books where there are general commands to kill people. It’s written in those books and we should not have those books in our country. And if we don’t stop it, they will kill us, because it’s a command from Muhammad...The history of Islam is always, is only, only bloody, only bloody...In our Constitution... yours also, when our forefathers wrote about religion there was only one religion. They never meant Islam or anything else...This [Islam] is not a religion, it is a political system...we should not call it religion – they want to take over the whole world at any price it costs, they lie until they have it.”⁴⁶



Heidi Mund at 2015 Kitsap Patriots Tea Party Meeting

Levelling bigotry at Muslims in our community affects both immigrants and citizens alike. Some 3.45 million Muslims reside in the United States, about 1.1% of the

population, according to the Pew Research Center.⁴⁷ Muslims make up less than 1% of the population in Washington State.⁴⁸ While 58% of Muslims in the United States come from other countries, 42% are U.S. born, according to a 2017 survey by the Pew Research Center.⁴⁹ Racially, 41% of Muslims in the United States identify as white, 20% as black, 28% as Asian and 8% as Latino. In addition, 52% of second generation U.S.-born Muslims identify as white and 51% of third generation as black. Bigotry such as that espoused by Heidi Mund, and given a platform by the Kitsap Patriots Tea Party, thus targets immigrant and citizen alike and affects people across the spectrum of so-called “races.”

But Heidi Mund is not the only anti-Muslim speaker given a platform by the Kitsap Patriots Tea Party. In April 2016 the KPTP announced "Trevor Loudon, author of 'The Enemies Within' and producer of a new movie by the same title, returns to Washington to speak to the Kitsap Patriots Tea Party. Loudon visited us for a special summer presentation in 2014. As promised, he is back again!"⁵⁰

Loudon's New Zeal blog promotes the Christchurch, New Zealand-based bigot's conspiracy placing “hidden and subversive elements” and a combined “far-left and Islamist” agenda behind a broad range of liberal policies. As described on Loudon's own blog:

“Trevor Loudon's thesis is that what is commonly regarded as mainstream political policy is in fact driven and guided by hidden subversive elements. The Democratic party's consistent defunding of the US military, Obamacare, the Iran Nuclear Deal, normalization of relations with Cuba, Islamic refugee re-settlement, \$15 minimum wage, fracking bans, pipeline shutdowns and the push for illegal alien amnesty are all consistent with far-left and Islamist agendas.”⁵¹

The group also hosted Art Moore of Worldnetdaily.com in January 2018. Moore's *See Something, Say Nothing* purports to expose “the US government's submission to jihad,” in the words of the KPTP's promotion of the event.



State Secessionist Matt Shea and Christian Nationalist Paramilitarism

In February 2017, KPTP announced that its guest speaker was state representative Matthew Shea (R-WA District 4), casting the Spokane Valley legislator as a “prominent constitutional conservative” with a “singular background of service” who is “uniquely positioned to inform our audience of current issues, priorities, and strategy.”⁵² Current KPTP Treasurer Chuck Acosta would declare Shea a “great speaker” and “highly knowledgeable...especially in national security.”⁵³ Matt Shea is also a member of an online KPTP discussion group.⁵⁴

In 2014 KPTP promoted an appearance by Shea and other state legislators at a meeting of the Kitsap Republic Liberty Caucus.⁵⁵ In its 2012 newsletter KPTP published Shea’s statement criticizing state house Democrats for working on a same-sex marriage bill before unveiling an operating budget.⁵⁶



KPTP's Johnny Walker (left) and State Legislator and Christian Warfare Enthusiast Matt Shea (right) at 2017 KPTP Meeting

In April 2019 Matt Shea drew criticism after taking part in private discussions in which participants advocated surveillance, psychological operations, and violence against their political enemies. Shea offered to aid in surveillance, though he later cast it as a “tongue-in-cheek” conversation. One participant in the conversation was Jack Robertson, a far right activist who broadcasts the Radio Free Redoubt under the alias “John Jacob Schmidt.”⁵⁷ Following the murder of 50 people at two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand by a white nationalist, Schmidt declared on his show, “We don’t want Islam in America. Islam does not belong in America, has no place in America. I’m just going to say it.” Both Schmidt and Matt Shea promote the “Liberty State” effort to secede the eastern part of Washington State.⁵⁸

Matt Shea had previously gained national attention in 2018 when he distributed a 4-page document titled “Biblical Basis for War.”⁵⁹ The document, the metadata for which indicates that it was created by Shea, purports to grapple with the question “When is the time for war?” and lay out certain “Rules of War.” The document outlines that believers can “know its time to fight” when a “Leader inquires of God” in a “Prayer Council” or “God puts it on the hearts of the people,” among other “divine” indications. Prior to war believers should “make an offer of peace,” but that opponents must “surrender on terms of justice and righteousness, which include:

“1. Stop all abortions; 2. No same-sex marriage; 3. No idolatry or occultism; 4. No communism; and 5. Must obey Biblical law.”

If opponents do not yield, the document states, “kill all males” but “Do not attack or kill productive citizens.”

The document outlines a hierarchical paramilitary structure and parameters for “Biblically Dealing with Tyranny,” defining that “A tyrant is someone who rules without God.” Under the heading of “Options” for dealing with tyranny, the document includes “Armed Resistance & Guerilla War.” Also under this heading is listed “Assassinations & Sabotage,” noting that “Assassination to remove tyrants is just, not murder.”

Shea casts the document as simply a “summary of a series of sermons on biblical war in the Old Testament as part of a larger discussion on the history of warfare.”⁶⁰

However, this claim is undermined by the fact that the document’s terms for opponents surrendering “on term of justice and righteousness” include “no communism” – a philosophy that developed in the 18th and 19th centuries. Conversely, various books of the Old Testament were written some 3,500 to 2,500 years ago, while the early writings of the New Testament begin in the middle of the first century.

Shea’s claim that the document was simply a theoretical discussion was also belied in August when leaked emails exposed his relationship with Team Rugged, a group that has trained children, teens, and men for religious-inspired armed conflict. According to a 2016 email from Team Rugged leader Patrick Caughran to Shea:

“The entire purpose behind Team Rugged is to provide patriotic and biblical training on war for young men...Everything about it is both politically incorrect and what would be considered shocking truth to most modern Christians. There will be scenarios where every participant will have to fight against one of the most barbaric enemies that are invading our country, Muslims terrorists.”⁶¹

Given that Shea’s warfare document proposes armed resistance and assassination as tools against tyranny and tyrants, it is especially troubling that his stump speeches and pronouncements regularly claim that we are presently living under “tyranny.”⁶² Shea has also urged followers to prepare for violence. At a January 19, 2019 “gun rights” rally in Spokane Shea declared, “I want there to be a gun behind every bush, behind every tree, behind every blade of grass. But more importantly, I want the people standing behind those guns to be absolutely resolute that the Constitution of the United States, the Constitution of Washington state, will never – ever – be abrogated on our watch.”⁶³

Shea travelled to Nevada in 2014 to support racist rancher Cliven Bundy’s claim that he did not have to pay grazing fees on federal land. Shea declared federal enforcement rules and regulations a “war on rural America.”⁶⁴ Shea has also promoted the spurious [“nullification” doctrine](#) which claims that states can overrule federal laws and advocates

the secession of eastern Washington from the western part of the state to form Liberty State.⁶⁵

In keeping with the anti-LGBTQ tone of the Biblical warfare document, Shea boasts that, “He is co-founder of the Washington Family Foundation, which later merged with the Family Policy Institute of Washington.”⁶⁶ The Washington Family Policy Institute is a leading force of anti-LGBTQ politics in the state, including heading efforts to oppose same-sex marriage and transgender civil rights.⁶⁷

Shea also includes attacking Muslims in his bigoted bag of tricks. Shea organized a Spokane Chapter of Act for America, a leading national anti-Muslim group whose founder, Brigitte Gabriel, once stated that, “we must realize that the portent behind the terrorist attacks is the purest form of what the Prophet Mohammed created. It’s not radical Islam. It’s what Islam is at its core.”⁶⁸ When the Spokane City Council approved a salutation to the Council on American-Islam Relations, a Muslim civil rights group, Shea joined a protest and declared that “Shariah law is not compatible with the U.S. Constitution.”⁶⁹ Shea has also promoted anti-Muslim conspiracy theories, stating on a June 2015 episode of his radio program that, “the creeping of sharia law is real in the United States, and we need to do something about it...We have heard that there are some places in the United States that are now actually implementing sharia law.”⁷⁰

Such ideas are a driving element of anti-Muslim mobilizations. As a personal religious practice, its overwhelming application by Muslims, sharia is absolutely compatible with and protected by the U.S. Constitution. The Constitution’s first amendment forbids the implementation of religious law of any kind, including the Christian law seemingly advocated in Shea’s Biblical war document.

Joseph Backholm and the Attack on LGBTQ Civil Rights

On April 17, 2017 the Kitsap Patriots Tea Party played host to Joseph Backholm. At the time Backholm was President of the Family Policy Institute of Washington (FPIW) and a state leader in promoting anti-LGBTQ bigotry and attacks on LGBTQ civil rights. In February 2012, when the Washington state legislature passed a bill to legalize same-sex marriage, Backholm chaired Preserve Marriage Washington which gathered more than 200,000 petition signatures to place the issue on the ballot. As the anti-LGBTQ effort kicked off, Backholm displayed his crass bigotry by comparing same-sex marriage to the medieval practice of bloodletting:

“Redefining marriage in this way, saying that there is no difference between men and women, that’s not important for children to have both a mother and a father, that’s not just bad policy, it’s wrong in the eternal sense. So because it’s untrue, it will ultimately be proven as untrue and we will come around to recognize the error of our ways. We used to believe in bloodletting as good medical practice, culture has embrace a lot of things temporarily until they realized it’s based on things that are not true.”⁷¹

Washington State voters shot down Backholm’s efforts when 53.7% cast a ballot to uphold this basic civil right.⁷²

Backholm’s 2017 KPTP appearance took place as he and the group were supporting Initiative 1552, a measure to define gender solely by biological sex assigned at birth; bar public schools state from allowing individuals to use restrooms and other facilities that match their gender identity; and ban state and local governments from outlawing such gender-identity discrimination.⁷³ KPTP lauded Backholm as speaking on “why it is important to fight the modern gender revolution.” KPTP declared, “Don’t let the transgender lobby intimidate women or conservatives to sacrifice the rights of women to extreme left ideology.”⁷⁴

Backholm had previously led an attack on transgender rights through 2016’s Initiative 1515. During this campaign, Backholm suggested that male signature gatherers follow women into restrooms should they refuse to sign.⁷⁵ Both initiatives failed to gather the necessary signatures to place them on the ballot.⁷⁶

Backholm also displayed a disregard for Muslim lives, asking in a tweet about President Donald Trump’s travel ban, “Can Trump just blow up the airports in the 7 countries to implement the ban.”⁷⁷



Backholm left FPIW in 2018 and now serves as the Legal Counsel and Director of the Embassy Project for the Colson Center for Christian Worldview. The Center is named for founder Charles Colson, a one-time Nixon Administration special counsel

who plead guilty to obstruction of justice charges for attempting to defame Daniel Ellsberg during the lead up to his trial related to releasing the Pentagon Papers. The Colson center is a strong opponent of LGBTQ civil rights, the Center's John Stonestreet and G. Shane Morris writing in 2017 that:

“Here at the Colson Center, we believe, as the Christian Church has taught for two millennia, that any sex outside of marriage between a man and a woman runs contrary to God’s design. It is serious sin, condemned in no uncertain terms in both the Old and New Testaments. So to justify homosexual behavior, or any other expression of sexual deviance, one must do imaginative hermeneutic gymnastics.”⁷⁸

KPTP Against Trade Unions

KPTP has also allied its cause with anti-labor organizations and supported a frontal attack on trade unions in the form of so-called “right to-work” legislation. In 2017 the group supported a right-to-work bill being promoted by the Washington Policy Center:

“Remember when unions were important? Then they started spending your money on things you didn't believe in, pushing political agendas, artificially inflating costs, and stopping good people from being able to work in good jobs. In Washington and many other states, unions don't believe people have a right to work, nor do they believe in free speech. [SB 5692](#) could make Washington "main stream" by being the 29th State to enact right-to-work legislation. [Read more](#) from the Washington Policy Center, and encourage this Bill to a full vote... in the "right" direction.”⁷⁹

Trade unions are a cornerstone of democracy in the United States, providing workers a voice in their wages, benefits, and conditions of work where they would otherwise have none. When he was assassinated in April 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was in Memphis, Tennessee supporting a sanitation workers strike by the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). Dr. King worked closely with trade union leaders throughout the course of the Civil Rights movement.

Right to work laws undermine trade unions by prohibiting *union security agreements*, or agreements achieved through collective bargaining that require all employees at a given business to pay unions dues. Even in right-to-work states unions are legally required to represent all workers, even those that do not pay fees to the union. This allows these workers to “free ride,” benefiting from the gains from collective

bargaining even though they do not pay union fees. Evidence indicates that so-called right-to-work laws contribute to lower union membership rates and may result in lower wages for workers.⁸⁰

KPTP, Property Rights, and the Attack on Tribal Sovereignty

In its open letter to the Bremerton City Council opposing a Welcoming Resolution, KPTP cited as evidence for its aim that “We have a strong and respectful integration with first nations. To suggest Bremerton is not welcoming is disingenuous and perhaps a lie.”⁸¹

KPTP’s claim to a “respectful integration with first nations” in the community – nations that include the Suquamish and Port Gamble S’Klallam tribes – is belied by the group’s own recurring promotion of organizations that have opposed and maligned the inherent political sovereignty of indigenous nations. Two such close KPTP allies are the Olympia-based Washington Policy Center and the Freedom Foundation.

Both the Freedom Foundation and the Washington Policy Center are affiliates of the State Policy Network, a national network of state organizations that promote “free market” policies and receive donations from large, transnational corporations.⁸² State Policy Network member groups promote privatization and deregulation policies that would undermine the ability of the federal government to enforce environmental and workplace protections.⁸³

In one example of this alliance, the Kitsap Patriot Tea Party has built a relationship with Glen Morgan, a onetime leader of the Freedom Foundation now at the helm of the Enumclaw-based Citizens Alliance for Property Rights (CAPR).⁸⁴ KPTP hosted Morgan at its August 2018 monthly meeting, monthly meetings in 2017 and 2014, and the group’s 2013 annual picnic.⁸⁵ In May 2018 KPTP promoted Morgan’s “Full Contact Activism Tour,” a series of events also featuring longtime anti-tax activist Tim Eyeman.⁸⁶

For its 2013 KPTP meeting, the group billed Morgan as the Freedom Foundation’s Property Rights Director, on hand to “discuss the successes, the challenges, and the actions you can take right now to defend your property rights.”⁸⁷ As director of the Freedom Foundation’s Stop Taking Our Property (STOP) – Thurston County, Morgan attacked the very idea of vegetated regulatory buffers used by county and city

governments to place vegetated strips between developments and critical areas such as shorelines, streams, and wetlands. Such buffers slow inflows and filter contaminants that might otherwise harm fisheries and threaten water quality in these critical ecosystems.

When Thurston County considered such policies during a review of its Critical Areas Ordinance, Morgan was led to ask, “Why is it that so many who support the Critical Areas Ordinance appear to be so callous and uncaring about the plight of their fellow citizens?” Morgan continued by comparing the Thurston County CAO process to the “banality of evil” observed by Hannah Arendt. Arendt’s book *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, analyzed WWII-era German Nazi war criminal Adolph Eichmann’s role in the extermination of European Jews. While Morgan concedes that “it may not be as extreme as Hannah’s writings,” he concludes that “Our government does not care about the little guy, and neither do the ‘environmentalists.’ There is no human empathy there.”⁸⁸

Morgan’s anti-environmentalism is coupled to disrespect for inherent tribal sovereignty. When Thurston County attempted to tax the Great Wolf Lodge – a development built on Chehalis Indian Tribe trust land by a corporation with majority tribal ownership-- Morgan wrote,

“A troubling trend in local government is always the desire to increase taxes, and invent new fees and excuses to take more and more money from average people while politically-connected entities escape with no significant penalties. Nowhere is this dichotomy more evident than in Thurston County.”

Casting this tribal development as a “multi-million dollar out-of-state corporation” getting away with “zero tax liability,” Morgan continued,

“Any international organization can set up an identical company across the state on one of these newly purchased ‘tribal trust land’ properties, and undercut identical tax paying businesses across the road. These mini-Cayman Islands of Washington State do not deserve to exist.”⁸⁹

Contrary to Morgan’s view that tribal governments apparently “do not deserve to exist,” the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in 2013 that permanent improvements made on tribal lands are not taxable by state and local governments – a recognition of tribal sovereignty.⁹⁰

Befitting Morgan’s views, the now-CAPR leader attended a 2013 gathering in Bellingham, Washington hosted by the Citizens Equal Rights Alliance (CERA). CERA is a leading national organization dedicated to the outright termination of tribal

governments and the complete abrogation of treaties signed between the United State and tribes.

Morgan's CAPR has also built a relationship with longtime CERA figure Elaine Willman. In May 2017, the Skagit County chapter of CAPR hosted Elaine Willman in Sedro Wooley, Washington.⁹¹ At the event, Willman expressed her fallacious view that treaties with tribes are "already abrogated" and distributed material disparaging the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act for "closing back up what was going to go away forever – which is reservations and tribal governments. They were intended to go away forever by the turn of the century." That is, Willman reiterated her longtime call for termination and treaty abrogation. CAPR has continued to champion Willman as one who "points out the hypocrisy of tribal leaders and various others in what she calls the Indian industry who are invested in American Indian victimhood in order to secure political favoritism and more taxpayer largess."⁹²

Another KPTP property rights ally is the Olympia-based Washington Policy Center (WPC). In September 2016 the KPTP hosted Paul Guppy, Vice-President for Research of Washington Policy Center.⁹³ As describe above, KPTP also promoted the WPC's so-called right-to-work proposal.

The late Jack Kemp once referred to the conservative think tank as "The Heritage Foundation of the Northwest," a reference to the conservative think tank that became central to New Right political mobilizations after its creation in 1973. The Washington Policy Center has earned this description by promoting conservative budget proposals, aggressively opposing public sector unions, and advocating "free market environmentalism."⁹⁴

The WPC has also opposed tribal sovereignty in the form of seeking to impose tax-like fees on tribes and rejecting environmental policies that would protect tribal communities reliant on fisheries resources. In 2008 WPC Policy Analyst Brandon Housekeeper wrote, "For decades tribal members have benefited from a system of *special rules and regulations* that give them significant competitive advantages not available to other citizens." For Housekeeper, these "special" rights include tribal exemption from state taxation and smoking laws.⁹⁵

The language of "special rights" is frequently used by anti-Indian leaders to undermine the legitimacy of tribal rights. In keeping with such language, the WPC castigated Governor Christine Gregoire for failing to incorporate "revenue sharing" into gaming compacts with tribes in Washington State. In these compacts, authorized under the 1988 Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, tribes agreed to provide funds to

reduce problem gaming and discourage tobacco use and invest in government services, law enforcement, job training, health care, and public works.⁹⁶ Despite this commitment of resources by gaming tribes, Housekeeper criticized that the agreement “do(es) not require Indian tribes to pay any part of their gambling profits to the state, in place of the taxes normally paid by most other business.”⁹⁷

The WPC also assailed gas agreements between 16 tribes and the State of Washington. Under these pacts tribes purchase fuel for tribally-owned stations with the state’s motor vehicle fuel tax included, report their purchases to the Department of Licensing, and receive 75 percent of the tax as a refund. In addition, tribes agree to spend fuel tax proceeds on transportation and related services.⁹⁸

The Washington Policy Center also opposed a proposal by the Washington State Department of Ecology to raise fish consumption rates used in human health risk assessment. Ecology uses these rates to estimate the potential human health effects (such as cancer) from toxins that accumulate in the bodies of fish, and then humans, as they move up the food chain. The more fish people are estimated to eat, the lower the allowable toxin levels in water must be to protect human health. Tribal communities in the state have long depended on fisheries resources for subsistence and to make a living. In the end, this is a fundamental issue of both environmental justice and upholding the treaty rights of indigenous nations that reserved the right to take fish in their “usual and accustomed” fishing places.⁹⁹ Higher estimated fish consumption rates also protect water quality for all people in the state.

Not so for the Washington Policy Center. Eastern WPC Director Chris Cargill cast the Department of Ecology’s proposals to raise fish consumption rates as an avenue to give “more power to unelected bureaucrats...to impose harsher water rules.” Cargill confusingly claims that the proposed changes are “not based on science but statistical projections” and wrongly asserts that DOE provides “little evidence” for the proposed increase. Cargill’s most callous argument comes in the following criticism:

“Many of those high [fish] consumers, according to the DOE, are the state’s Native Americans, who make up less than 2 percent of the state’s population. The state insists basing consumption rates for the state on such a tiny percentage is appropriate.”¹⁰⁰

For Cargill and the Policy Center, it is apparently “inappropriate” for the Department of Ecology to set default consumption rates to protect vulnerable communities if they are a small percentage of the population.

Conclusion: Advocating for a Welcoming Kitsap County

The struggle for civil and human rights in the United States is one of our most enduring legacies. It stretches back to the common cause found between black and white indentured servants in colonial times; through the period of Abolitionist struggle to end human enslavement; during the Reconstruction era's brief embodiment of equality, bequeathing to us the 14th Amendment; and across the 1950s-1960s Civil Rights Movement that ultimately toppled Jim Crow segregation.

The struggle continues today.

As in each era when people of all colors, creeds, and backgrounds came together in the name of liberty and justice for all, some in our country and communities have organized against that change. This remains true today. White nationalists and reactionary groups and individuals continue to mobilize to thwart the advance of civil rights. And they do so by taking advantage of persisting forms of inequality, bigotry, misinformation, and explicit and implicit forms of bias that continue to exist in our society.

As in our distant and recent past, the answer remains the same. People of good will must come together to demand that all in our community be treated with dignity and respect for the full measure of civil and human rights to which they are entitled.

The Welcoming Resolution drafted by the Kitsap Immigrant Assistance Center, and supported by many individuals and organizations in our community, represents a clear statement of community values in keeping with our legacy of civil rights struggle. Such resolutions represent a clarion call to make those values live in our community. And such resolutions represent a clear voice that we will continue to strive to make this community and country a "more perfect union."

Please join us in making this vision a reality.

NOTES

¹ See Bremerton City Council. Agenda Bill for Resolution No. 3316 affirming the City's Commitment to the Principles of Equity and Inclusion. Study Session Date: February 13, 2019. Council Meeting Date: February 20, 2019. See also Vosler, Christian. "Bremerton City Council passes 'welcoming' measure to reject discrimination, bigotry." *Kitsap Sun*. February 21, 2019. <https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/local/2019/02/21/bremerton-city-council-passes-equity-anti-racism-resolution/2939511002/>.

² For background see Vosler, Christian. "Bremerton City Council passes 'welcoming' measure to reject discrimination, bigotry." *Kitsap Sun*. February 21, 2019. <https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/local/2019/02/21/bremerton-city-council-passes-equity-anti-racism-resolution/2939511002/>; Farley, Josh. "Crowd urges Bremerton Council to approve 'welcoming' resolution." *Kitsap Sun*. March 2, 2017. <https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/local/2017/03/02/crowd-urges-bremerton-council-approve-welcoming-resolution/98634268/>; Vosler, Christian. "No vote on 'welcoming city' title at Bremerton council meeting." *Kitsap Sun*. March 30, 2017. <https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/local/communities/bremerton/2017/03/30/no-vote-welcoming-city-title-bremerton-council-meeting/99794636/>; Pilling, Nathan. "Bainbridge to adopt 'Welcoming City' title." *Kitsap Sun*. February 8, 2017. <https://www.kitsapsun.com/story/news/local/communities/bainbridge-islander/2017/02/08/bainbridge-adopt-welcoming-city-title/97632998/>.

³ For a detailed look at the institutional support for slavery in the U.S. Constitution, see Finkelman, Paul. 1996. *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson*. New York: M.E. Sharpe.

⁴ For an extensive examination of racism in Federal Indian Law, see Williams, Robert A. 2005. Jr. *Like a Loaded Weapon: The Rehnquist Court, Indian Rights, and the Legal History of Racism in America*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press.

⁵ See Facing History, Facing Ourselves. "Black Office Holders in the South." <https://www.facinghistory.org/reconstruction-era/black-officeholders-south>.

⁶ See Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

⁷ For a recent look at income inequality, see Kockhar, Rakesh and Anthony Cilluffo. "Key findings on the rise in income inequality within America's racial and ethnic groups." Pew Research Center. July 12, 2018. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/07/12/key-findings-on-the-rise-in-income-inequality-within-americas-racial-and-ethnic-groups/>; for wealth inequality, see Institute for Policy Studies. "Facts: Racial Economic Inequality." <https://inequality.org/facts/racial-inequality/>.

⁸ Washington State Partnership Council on Juvenile Justice and Washington State Department of Social and Health Services. *Washington State Partnership on Juvenile Justice 2017 Annual Report to the Governor and State Legislature*. <https://www.dcyf.wa.gov/sites/default/files/pdf/18-1271-Juv-Justice-Report-w-DataSection.pdf>.

⁹ Child Welfare Information Gateway. *Racial Disproportionality and Disparity in Child Welfare. Issue Brief*. November 2016. https://www.childwelfare.gov/pubpdfs/racial_disproportionality.pdf

¹⁰ See Kinder, Donald. R. and Lynn M. Sanders. 1996. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

¹¹ For the relationship between "symbolic racism" and opposition to public policies to address racial inequality, see See Kinder, Donald. R. and Lynn M. Sanders. 1996. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. For the link between this measure of racism and the vote for David Duke in his 1990 bid for the U.S. Senate, see Howell, Susan E. and Sylvia Warren. "Public Opinion and David Duke." In Rose, Douglas, Ed. 1992. *The Emergence of David Duke and the Politics of Race*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press. For

the relationship between “symbolic racism” and Donald Trump in the 2016 presidential election, see Riley, Emmitt. 2018. “Economic Anxiety or Racial Predispositions? Explaining White Support for Donald Trump in the 2016 Presidential Election.” *Journal of Race & Policy*. 14(1):5-24.

¹² Bobo, Lawrence, Kluegel, James R. Ryan A. Smith. 1997. “Laissez-Faire Racism: The Crystallization of a Kinder, Gentler, Antiracist Ideology.” In Tuch, Steven A. and Jack K. Martin, eds. 1997. *Racial Attitudes in the 1990s: Continuity and Change*. London: Praeger.

¹³ See Harvard Implicit Bias Test. <https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/takeatest.html>.

¹⁴ For a detailed examination of this trend, see Zeskind, Leonard. 2009. *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream*. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux.

¹⁵ Tanner, Chuck. “Pierce County (Washington) Men Linked to Olympic College Patriot Front Activity.” Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights. November 13, 2018. <https://www.irehr.org/2018/11/13/pierce-county-washington-men-linked-to-olympic-college-patriot-front-activity/>.

¹⁶ Tanner, Chuck. “Vanguard America: National Socialist American Style.” Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights. February 24, 2018. <https://www.irehr.org/2018/02/24/vanguard-america-national-socialism-american-style/>.

¹⁷ For background on Covington, see Zeskind, Leonard. “Harold Covington Dies.” Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights. October 30, 2018. <https://www.irehr.org/2018/10/30/harold-covington-dies/>; Tanner, Chuck. “Harold Covington Dies. Which Way the Northwest Front?” Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights. July 31, 2018. <https://www.irehr.org/2018/07/31/harold-covington-dies-which-way-the-northwest-front/>.

¹⁸ Zeskind, Leonard. 2009. *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream*. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux.

¹⁹ For more background on Harold Covington and the Greensboro massacre, see the work of the Greensboro Truth & Reconciliation Committee, available at <http://www.greensborotrc.org/>.

²⁰ See Covington, Harold. Author on the Novels. Northwest Front. <http://northwestfront.org/northwest-novels/author-on-the-nw-novels/>; Northwest Front. The Northwest Quintet. <http://northwestfront.org/northwest-novels/the-northwest-quintet/>.

²¹ Covington, Harold. Author on the Novels. Northwest Front. <http://northwestfront.org/northwest-novels/author-on-the-nw-novels/>; Northwest Front. The Northwest Quintet. <http://northwestfront.org/northwest-novels/the-northwest-quintet/>. The longer quote states “These novels are not meant to be mere entertainment. They are meant to be self-fulfilling prophecies. The author wishes to inspire the creation of a real Northwest American Republic, and his novels are filled with a great deal of sound practical advice about how to do it... Can anything be accomplished through fiction? *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* has been credited with starting the Civil War, and *The Turner Diaries* has been given credit for inspiring The Order as well as other things, so the power of the written word shouldn’t be underestimated... What the Northwest novels do is to give our people a good look at the cover of the box, so that they know what a White revolution should look like, and what a real one might possibly look like in reality. They can get some idea of what they should be doing and how they should be doing it, instead of wandering down endless dead ends... I decided that I would write a novel depicting what a future sovereign, independent Aryan nation in the Pacific Northwest would look like, and how such a new nation might come about... In these four books the Northwest independence movement has some unique tools to create a vision of our future freedom in a land of our own.”

²² Covington, H.A. *A Distant Thunder*. 2004. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, p.67.

²³ Covington, H.A. *A Distant Thunder*. 2004. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, p. 149-150. The full quote gives the flavor of the early stages of the Northwest Front’s envisioned white revolution: “The trick was to bring down the system, not just chip away at it. That meant we had to figure out who and what to target, and that didn’t mean a lot of spectacular...shootouts with cops. Cops and later FATPO were basically annoyances and interruptions of our work that we tried to avoid whenever we could, so we could concentrate on the business of bringing down The Beast... Our job

wasn't just to slaughter our enemies, but to create our new nation. The fact is that ZOG didn't care about its soldiers. They were expendable as toilet paper, and with the massive unemployment all across the empire, the régime could always buy more. The Feds didn't care how many cops or soldiers or even Fatties we killed. We had to hit them where they cared. *To begin with, we focused our attacks not against specific operations of the Zionist government's control apparatus, but on the classes of people, the institutions, and the infrastructure that kept the power structure afloat. Foremost among these were the masses of non-whites, mostly illegal Third World immigrants, who provided the cheap labor that kept the capitalist system viable and provided a disincentive for change among the wealthy people who actually ran the country.* We hit the businessmen and the corporations that hired them, the wealthy ruling élite who were completely mercenary and who we knew could be persuaded to change sides once it became clear that there was a serious threat to their money... After the non-whites in importance came the media. Then came lawyers and the legal system, and above all the tyrants in the black robes. The corrupt and venal politicians. The Internal Revenue Service and the tax collection machinery and financial infrastructure. The Judeo-Christian churches and those damned false prophet preachers and televangelists who shrieked and scammed for Israel. That's where we concentrated our fire... The first thing we did was to clear Lewis County of non-whites, which reaped the NVA an immense propaganda and public relations bonus... We gave an order to the muds to be gone, and by God they got gone and ZOG was clearly powerless to stop it... [I]t made the NVA very popular indeed and gained us many recruits. Nobody in the Northwest actually liked being overrun with Third World immigrants who didn't speak our language, who undermined our way of life, who took our jobs, got all kinds of free benefits denied to white people, sold drugs, and caused a rash of families with mestizo grandchildren... But the main effectiveness of the sniper offensive lay in the whitening of the Homeland. We demonstrated that in Lewis County. *It became apparent to the public very early on that for all their swaggering, threatening, chest-beating and arrogant, belligerent red, white and blue rhetoric, ZOG simply could not protect the average Juan or Rastus on the street from getting a .30-06 bullet in his skull.* The Northwest got real white, real fast... The nonwhites were pretty much all gone by the time of the Cleanup and it was the white traitors who got theirs during that period. *Third World immigrants were in America not because they wanted to be Amurricans and enjoy all the wonderful benefits of living in a land of freedom and democracy and all that asinine horse hockey. Non-whites came to America for one reason only, to take what the white man had.*" [italics added]FATPO refers to the "Federal Anti-Terrorist Police Organization," a fictional federal entity in the book that operates loosely under the Department of Homeland Security to suppress the white revolution. In Covington's words, "The FATPOs in short order became nothing more than gangs of brutal gun thugs devoted to the bloody suppression of the NVA and any white citizen of the Northwest whom they so much as suspected might be sympathetic to the NVA. Strict policies of affirmative action and mandatory diversity were applied, and at any given time the force was only about 35% white and perhaps 25% white male. There was an unknown but significant percentage of lesbian and homosexual sadists who mainly operated in the intelligence units of FATPO as interrogators, and who earned themselves a reputation as some of the most cruel and vicious torturers in the history of human tyranny."

²⁴ Covington, H.A. *The Brigade*. 2007. Longview, WA: Northwest Publishing Agency, p. 88-89. Filipino is placed in quotations here because this is the spelling used in the book despite the character being female, and therefore Filipina. Covington's 2007 book *The Brigade* Covington personifies the threat of immigrants in a female "Filipino" immigrant character who quickly obtains a green card by staging a fake episode of spousal abuse before rising through affirmative action to obtain a law degree and elevation into the United States Attorney's office. From this point, the character proceeds to persecute of white revolutionaries.

²⁵ Tanner, Chuck. "Harold Covington Dies. Which Way the Northwest Front?", Institute for Research and Education and Human Rights. July 31, 2018. <https://www.irehr.org/2018/07/31/harold-covington-dies-which-way-the-northwest-front/>.

²⁶ See *Brandenburg v. Ohio* (1969, 395 U.S. 444). The Ohio criminal syndicalism law at issue in the case was passed in 1919 amidst an anti-communist Red Scare. Brandenburg had been charged after a speech at an armed Klan rally in which he declared, "We're not a revengent organization, but if our President, our Congress, our Supreme Court, continues to suppress the white, Caucasian race, it's possible that there might have to be some revengeance taken." Brandenburg also declared "This is what we are going to do to the n——...Send the Jews back to Israel...Bury the n——." The Court found the Ohio law unconstitutional, ruling that "constitutional guarantees of free speech and free press do not permit a State to forbid or proscribe advocacy of the use of force or of law violation except where such advocacy is directed to inciting or producing imminent lawless action and is likely to incite or produce such action."

²⁷ Binion, Andrew. “‘White supremacist’ gets 20 days in jail”, *Kitsap Sun*. February 21, 2019; *State of Washington v. Matthew Holland*. Statement of Defendant on Plea of Guilty to Non-Sex Offense (Felony). No. 17-1-01711-18. January 29, 2019.

²⁸ *State of Washington v. Matthew Holland*. Statement of Defendant on Plea of Guilty to Non-Sex Offense (Felony). No. 17-1-01711-18. January 29, 2019.

²⁹ Kitsap County Sheriff. Kitsap County Sheriff’s Office Incident/Investigation Report. September 9, 2017. Case Number K17-008950.

³⁰ In *Blood and Politics*, Leonard Zeskind recounts the role of Pierce and the *Turner Diaries* in building the vanguard wing of the movement and inspiring both the terrorist underground the Order in the 1980s and Oklahoma City federal building bomber Timothy McVeigh - including in the book an eerie similarity between McVeigh’s use of a truck bomb to blow up the Alfred P. Murrah federal building and the use of a similar bomb by The Organization in the book. In the wake of legal problems and infighting in the years following William Pierce’s 2002 death, the National Alliance dwindled and has remained small in recent years. Kevin Strom, sentenced to 23 months in prison for possession of child pornography in 2008, continues to be the editor of the online *National Vanguard*. See also Southern Poverty Law Center. Kevin Strom. <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/kevin-strom>; National Vanguard. About Us. <https://nationalvanguard.org/about/>. Accessed March 5, 2019.

³¹ Beahm, Michelle. “‘Welcoming City’ resolution will not get a Bremerton City Council vote – yet.” *Kitsap Daily News*. March 31, 2017. <https://www.kitsapdailynews.com/news/welcoming-city-resolution-will-not-get-a-bremerton-city-council-vote/>

³² Burghart, Devin and Leonard Zeskind. 2010. *Tea Party Nationalism: A Critical Examination of the Tea Party Movement and the Size, Scope, and Focus of Its National Factions*. http://naacp.3cdn.net/36b2014e1dddfe3c81_v7m6bls07.pdf.

³³ Kitsap Patriots Tea Party. “We are already a welcoming community”. March 21, 2017. <https://kitsappatriots.wordpress.com/2017/03/21/we-are-already-a-welcoming-country/>.

³⁴ Kitsap Patriots Tea Party. Facebook. January 11, 2019. <https://www.facebook.com/KitsapTP/>.

³⁵ Drug Enforcement Administration. 2018 National Drug Threat Assessment. October 2018. <https://www.dea.gov/sites/default/files/2018-11/DIR-032-18%202018%20NDTA%20final%20low%20resolution.pdf>.

³⁶ Wade, Peter. “Trump Administration Won’t Stop Lying About Terrorism and Immigration.” *Rolling Stone*. January 5, 2019. <https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-news/trump-administration-terrorism-immigration-775387/>; Ordonez, Franco. “Trump officials exaggerate terrorist threat on southern border in tense briefing.” January 4, 2019. <https://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/policy/immigration/article223944055.html>; Ainsley, Julia. Fact Check: Did the U.S. Catch 4,000 terrorists at the southern border in 2018? *NBC News*. January 4, 2019. <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/immigration/fact-check-did-u-s-catch-4-000-terrorists-southern-n954796>.

³⁷ Department of Justice/Department of Homeland Security. DOH, DHS Report: *Three Out of Four Individuals Convicted for International Terrorism and Terrorism-Related Offenses were Foreign-Born*. January 16, 2018. <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/doj-dhs-report-three-out-four-individuals-convicted-international-terrorism-and-terrorism>.

³⁸ Samuels, Brett. “Conway: Sarah Sanders made ‘unfortunate misstatement’ about terror suspects at border.” *The Hill*. January 8, 2019. <https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/424303-conway-sarah-sanders-made-unfortunate-misstatement-about-terror>.

³⁹ See American Civil Liberties Union. *U.S. Government Watchlisting: Unfair Processes and Devastating Consequences*. March 2014. https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/assets/watchlist_briefing_paper_v3.pdf.

⁴⁰ U.S. State Department. *Country Reports on Terrorism 2016*. July 2017. <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/272488.pdf>.

⁴¹ Jorgensen, Sarah and Polo Sandoval. “Experts: Trump’s tape-bound women trafficking claim is misleading.” CNN. January 28, 2019. <https://www.cnn.com/2019/01/27/us/human-trafficking-fact-check/index.html>; Krajewski, Jenna. “The hypocrisy of Trump’s anti-trafficking argument for a border wall.” *The New Yorker*. February 5, 2019. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/the-hypocrisy-of-trumps-anti-trafficking-argument-for-a-border-wall>.

⁴² Office for the Victims of Crimes. “About Human Trafficking.” U.S. Department of Justice. <https://ovc.ncjrs.gov/humantrafficking/about.html>.

⁴³ Immigration and Customs Enforcement. “Human Trafficking and Smuggling.” January 16, 2013. <https://www.ice.gov/factsheets/human-trafficking>.

⁴⁴ Tanner, Chuck. “Importing Bigotry: Heidi Mund and the Kitsap Patriots Tea Party.” Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights. March 24, 2018. <https://www.irehr.org/2018/03/24/importing-bigotry-heidi-mund-and-the-kitsap-patriots-tea-party/>.

⁴⁵ *Charisma News*. “German Woman’s Public Rebuke of Islam Goes Viral.” February 7, 2014. <https://www.charismanews.com/world/42705-german-woman-s-public-rebuke-of-islam-goes-viral>

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Reservation. 447 U.S. 134 (1980) (States may tax purchases by non-Indians on an Indian reservation even when tribes may be economically harmed by the tax); *Oklahoma Tax Commission v. Chickasaw Nation* 515 U.S. 450 (1995) (“if the legal incidence of the tax rests on non-Indians, no categorical bar prevents enforcement of the tax”) . An important case upholding tribal sovereign immunity in a tax case is *Oklahoma Tax Commission v. Citizen Band Potawatomi Indian Tribe*. 498 U.S. 505. (Tribal sovereign immunity bars the state from suing to collect on-reservation taxes).

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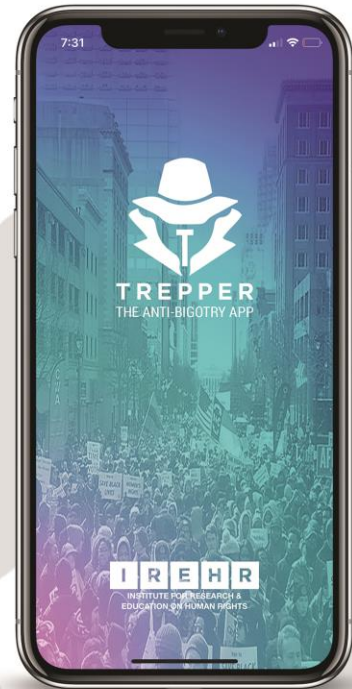
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