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As the US progresses in age, domestic terrorism incidents are likely to increase. The study of historical memory as addressed in the fields of psychology, sociology, and criminology serves as a key pillar for understanding what draws individuals to commit acts of domestic terrorism. This paper offers recommendations for addressing the grievances associated with historical memory before they turn destructive and begins with an overview of key domestic terrorism terminology, followed by a literature review devoted to historical memory.

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MASTER OF MILITARY STUDIES

**EXAMINING THE IMPACT OF HISTORICAL MEMORY ON DOMESTIC
TERRORISM**

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF MILITARY STUDIES

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Executive Summary

Title: Historical Memory's Involvement in Domestic Terrorism

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Thesis: As the US progresses in age, domestic terrorism incidents are likely to increase. The study of historical memory as addressed in the fields of psychology, sociology, and criminology serves as a key pillar for understanding what draws individuals to commit acts of domestic terrorism. This paper offers recommendations for addressing the grievances associated with historical memory before they turn destructive and begins with an overview of key domestic terrorism terminology, followed by a literature review devoted to historical memory.

Discussion: The paper begins with an overview of key domestic terrorism terminology, followed by a literature review devoted to historical memory. Several case studies are then introduced to illustrate various ways in which historical memory has motivated Americans to action – with both negative and positive outcomes.

Conclusion: When addressing historical memory, the human dynamic comes into play and the fields of psychology, sociology, and criminology in relation to domestic terrorism are interconnected. Historical memory is a significant factor that should not be overlooked in examining motivation to commit acts of domestic terrorism. Efforts to elevate Americans' understanding of historical memory should be incorporated into various educational contexts and be part of state and national level discussions if the US wishes to reduce instances of domestic terrorism.

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Preface

This paper highlights US historical events involving domestic terrorist groups that demonstrate the impact of historical memory on US domestic terrorism. While the international terrorist attacks of 9/11 are included as an example of how historical memory works, the 9/11 attacks are not fully explored as they are not directly linked to the paper's overall focus on domestic terrorism. Additionally, Black Lives Matter is not an officially *named* terrorist organization by the US government. I use Black Lives Matter under the Black Identity Extremist (BIE) heading only as an example of a current activist organization and how strongly history is woven into their mission statement.

The inherent challenges in researching this topic quickly surfaced when I engaged the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). I submitted 21 Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests to the DHS and FBI requesting history on domestic terrorist groups and personnel. DHS replied that they did not receive historical records from the FBI on these incidents before their 2003 inception and to contact the FBI for further information. From the FBI, I received one positive response about Ted Kaczynski and five denials of information. Later in my research, I discovered muckrock.com which is an organization that exists to assist researchers in requesting FOIA documents for educational purposes. Their database of federal agency information is quite extensive and a good resource for any reader interested in historical government documents on a vast array of subjects.

Historical examples of domestic terrorism, in some circumstances, demonstrate how inspired activist movements can evolve to radicalized ideology when passions, freedom, and the identity of a people are oppressed to the point of conflagration. The examples provided barely scratch the surface of historical information available, but the narrowing of focus is necessary. The goal of this research paper is to explore the cause and effect of historical events in the societal issue of domestic terrorism, while examining the interplay of the psycho – social – criminal triad. It is not plausible to provide an all-inclusive history of each domestic terrorist organization in that process. But it is essential to take a hard look at how America's historical memory contributes to the symptomatic societal issues of domestic terrorism today, in an effort to prevent the fulfilling of the prophecy of Abraham Lincoln, "America will never be destroyed from the outside. If we falter and lose our freedoms, it will be because we destroyed ourselves."¹

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¹ <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/lookingforlincoln/about/lincolns-legacy-a-conversation-with-henry-louis-gates-jr/297/>

Introduction

America has a rich history prior to the Revolutionary War, but the United States, as established by the Second Continental Congress in 1776, is in *historical* adolescence compared to other world powers. As is common with adolescence, the nation may still need to mature to develop a historical foundation on which to continue to build and define its civilization. Historical memory plays a crucial role in understanding national priorities. National historical events can produce everlasting emotions, provide people with connections to belief systems, and affect citizens in positive and negative ways. In the US, but not exclusive to the US, *historical memory* can be a powerful motivator in eliciting the kind of intense emotion that can lead to criminal activity or violent acts.² Historical memory connects humans to their ancestors through societal teachings and stories passed down through family lineage.

Currently, scholarly literature offers little, if any, research linking American historical memory as a potential cause of domestic terrorism. Additionally, historical memory's impact on current day national security is largely unexplored. While prior research indicates that crime and terrorism are linked, this research exposes the interplay and causal relationship of historical memory with the already established social conflict and social learning theories. The social conflict theory distinguishes that a person commits crime due to influence, oppression, or control of another person, group, or institution.³ While, the social learning theory distinguishes that people commit crime because they learn behaviors from each other by observing, interacting, and modeling what is learned within a community.⁴ Social learning theory would suggest that traumatic historical memory of a group could cause future social conflict, or create a perpetual status quo behavior in a group, class, or sub-culture of a people.

Historical memory also has a life of its own. In attempt to memorialize, romanticize, or sensationalize the past, some Americans positively or negatively tie the past to the present, in a “let us not forget” mentality, which could serve to effectually transfer emotions from one generation to the next. In this manner, historical memory can be created by the nation-state or an individual citizen, but one traumatic or controversial historical event that does not align with the declared values of a people, such as slavery or imperialism, could bifurcate a society into separate polarized ideological groups. This sin against the declared socio-cultural-political values system could serve as an impetus for future conflagration. These traumatic historical memories, of an oppressed people, can evolve and escalate to a short-term criminal activity or a long-term manifestation of domestic terrorism. This research remains focused on the impact historical memory has on domestic terrorism and its role in modern-day domestic terrorist groups.

Due to America’s plural society, there have been abundant opportunities of societal clash creating memories that could lead to domestic terrorism. The early “melting-pot” United States shaped a microclimate of domestic-globalization before the term globalization was coined. While the American ideal of a “melting-pot” was to assimilate multiple beliefs into one American belief system, this intense and rapid diversification created a culture clash from the nation’s birth by showing how “...ideas, styles, music, people, technology and capital circulate and collide in complex ways.”⁵ As the US transitions from an immigration friendly nation that freely flowed immigrants into the country to fill and cultivate its vast lands, to a restricted border nation, generations of citizens may increase their identification with the US’s version of historical memory. Some may become more proud, some more shamed by the sins of their ancestors, and some more outraged by the offenses incurred in their lineage. Because of this, as the US

ages societal clash may continue to evolve to social unrest, “in other words, later generations share the suffering of past generations even though they did not take part in the actual traumatic events themselves.”⁶ As the US progresses in age, domestic terrorism incidents are likely to increase. The study of historical memory as addressed in the fields of psychology, sociology, and criminology serves as a key pillar for understanding what draws individuals to commit acts of domestic terrorism. This paper offers recommendations for addressing the grievances associated with historical memory before they turn destructive and begins with an overview of key domestic terrorism terminology, followed by a literature review devoted to historical memory. Several case studies are then introduced to illustrate various ways in which historical memory has motivated Americans to action – with both negative and positive outcomes. This research is a synthesis and analysis of investigative documents on domestic terrorism and prior scholarly research conducted in this field. Though research on US historical memory is limited due to the country’s nascence as compared to other world powers, the concept of historical memory is present in the disciplines of psychology and sociology but remains mostly unexplored through the context of criminology.

Domestic Terrorism Terminology

Historical memory as a factor within the social conflict and learning theories like other theories assume nurture over nature. In the criminology field, Dr. Cesare Lombroso’s original positivist school of thought about physical attributes to today’s system of focusing on sociological, psychological, economic, and biological factors of criminality and includes several theories used by criminologists to provide answers to the question, “what motivates people to commit crime?” Further narrowing down the broad

term of crime, the question becomes, can historical memory contribute to current day motivation to commit acts of domestic terrorism? Historical memory, "...the ways in which groups, peoples, or nations remember, how they construct versions of the past and employ them for self- understanding and to win power and place in an ever-changing present,"⁷ can be linked to a single event such as the 2012 Trayvon Martin shooting or to multiple events connected through a timeframe such as a world war.⁸ Research within the social and behavioral sciences has been plentiful in the last 15 years, but there has been little review of criminology theory in relation to domestic terrorism; it is a mistake to dismiss historical memory as a cause to US domestic terrorism.⁹

Identifying the difference between domestic terrorism and home grown violent extremism is important for proper classification of terrorism events overall. The term *domestic terrorism* has varied meanings across government agencies, but this paper focuses on the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) definition of domestic terrorism as an event "perpetrated by individuals and/or groups inspired by or associated with primarily U.S.-based movements that espouse extremist ideologies of a political, religious, social, racial, or environmental nature."¹⁰ An example of a domestic terrorist is Timothy McVeigh who believed the US government was turning into a socialist government. Responsible for the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, he later stated he believed that the "federal government was the real criminal who he would get even with like Robin Hood against the evil king."¹¹ Domestic terrorism does not include homegrown violent extremists (HVE) that are inspired by foreign terrorist organization such as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS).¹² An example of a HVE terrorist is Omar Mateen who attacked Pulse Nightclub in Orlando, FL in 2016. Mateen, born in the US identified with the ISIS radicalized ideology and carried out the attack inspired by the

foreign extremist group.¹³ In the United States, domestic terrorist organizations pose a similar threat as ISIS, but media coverage of domestic terrorist events pales in comparison to the amount of news coverage concerning ISIS.¹⁴ US citizens must elevate their understanding of how historical memory can lead to acts of domestic terrorism- from either an individual domestic terrorist or organizational lens.

When Terrorism Follows the Birth of a Nation

Founded on conflict when revolutionaries forced their republicanism and Whig ideology “...engendered by the European *philosophies* and the age of enlightenment,”¹⁵ upon loyalists who believed they were *terrorized* by the revolutionaries provide an early historical example of terrorism inside America’s borders. For better or worse, the US placed one of its first deposits into the historical memory bank by being founded after a violent challenge to the existing government during the Revolutionary War. This ever-increasing repository has a present, most obvious impact on domestic terrorism through current day civil unrest. Following the Revolutionary War, America became a nation of power and a shining example of a democracy for the international community to behold. As Thomas Jefferson stated, “...a little rebellion now and then is a good thing,” because “...the tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants.”¹⁶ Today the patriots may include home defence forces, the FBI, local law enforcement, or the Department of Homeland Security, while the tyrants may include domestic terrorist organizations and individuals who believe their purpose is to bring awareness of perceived personal, national, or global injustice to others. Perhaps, Jefferson’s quote not only represented his personal view on the importance of liberty and freedom as a nation in the 1700s, but also the government’s flexibility for future

generations to modify the nation's laws as needed. It is unlikely that he meant future generations of American patriots would fight American tyrants who terrorize and slaughter one another on American soil, and more likely that the *tyrant* would come from beyond US borders. Domestic terrorist groups and events addressed below begin with the discovery of America and range through current day. Moreover, historical events are examined that show correlations between historical memory and the domestic terrorist organization or individual responsible for the event. Modern day US mentality may provide an explanation to why historical memory is not yet linked to US domestic terrorism. This mentality is best represented by the following observation, "...whether consciously or unconsciously, the American sense of history makes Americans generally insensitive to other people's historical grievances."¹⁷ The collective US mentality must shift to identifying and understanding historical memory through past historical events as a relevant factor to a cause of domestic terrorism and an everlasting societal fissure. The photos at the end of the paragraph represent periods in US history where historical markers were removed with both joy by some citizens and resistance by others, but it is important to remember historical markers represent "...profound significance to those who erected them. But societies change. Statues take on new meanings and lose their old ones. This is not something the nation should resist, but rather embrace. Citizens should not fear that others are changing history. History is always changing, whether citizens actively participate or not."¹⁸ While the South was originally allowed to have Civil War statues as an effort to reunify the US, society has changed and so has the symbology. It is important to be mindful that many of the terrorist organizations begin as peaceful and law-abiding groups that wish to bring awareness to their cause. It is the strong emotion linked to historical memory that can be exploited by opposition groups. Additionally,

actions by radical individuals that join the group or act in the name of the group may elevate the group's status from peaceful to an official domestic terrorist group.



Credit: William Walcutt
 "Pulling down the statue of King George III at Bowling Green, July 9, 1776." 1857, oil on canvas, Lafayette College Art Collection.



Credit: LAURA BUCKMAN / AFP GETTY IMAGES
 "Workers remove a statue of Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee from a park in Dallas, Texas." 2017

Seeing and Experiencing Historical Memory

Currently, theories in the criminology field do not include historical memory as a causative factor of domestic terrorism. Even if historical memory proves to be an outlier, an outlier is still a contributing factor that deserves attention and research. Additionally, the outlier may one day become the dominant factor as society evolves. Democracy was originally considered a radical idea but is now arguably the most coveted American ideal. There are several domestically radicalized groups today that strive to make their ideologies the dominant factors in tomorrow's society.

The American Indian Movement (AIM), the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), Black Identity Extremist (BIE) groups, and Anti-fascist (ANTIFA) groups provide relevant case-studies for analysis and substantiation of a causative link between historical memory and domestic terrorism. Each of these groups were identified and classified by the FBI as domestic terrorist organizations.¹⁹ They also each reflect the theories of social conflict theory and social learning theory within their group dynamics. These domestic terrorist

groups routinely engage in rioting against each other, the government, or unsuspecting citizens, but unlike HVEs, they do not identify killing as a primary objective. Not unique to domestic terrorist groups, a large part of their identity is embedded within symbology and teaching aids of historical memory. Lastly, the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) and Animal Liberation Front (ALF) provide examples of domestic terrorist organizations that are focused on the present and the future, showing that not any single theory is universal.

Teaching aids to historical memory are school textbooks, historical education sites, and roadside historical markers. Historical Sites throughout America that help build historical memory include, but are not limited to Civil War battlefields, statues and markers, 9/11 memorials, and the treasure trove of national monuments and museums throughout Washington, D.C. involving war, past Presidents, culture, race, and gender. D.C. is also home to Pennsylvania Avenue; as an important capital landmark, America's past has marched in celebration and also in protest along the Avenue.²⁰

Conflicting accounts of historical events ranging from early settlers in the 1400s to the terrorist attacks of 9/11 are abundant throughout American history textbooks. This disparity demonstrates a discord or disagreement among the historian community which directly impacts the public education system and the informing of the American people. Regardless if the printed history is an accurate depiction, an accepted myth to teach a lesson, a lie, or a one-sided encounter, it is the perception and critical thinking ability of the reader that matters the most based on their own experiences and education aside from the American history classes they received. As will be demonstrated in the pages to follow, historical memory can have a powerful impact on both emotion and motivation to act.

their memory of being discriminated against. The movie depicts the discrimination factor as racism, but this technique could be used for a variety of other discriminating factors.²³ Victims of terrorism often describe similar emotions such as anger and frustration shown by the students in the film. Overall, understanding domestic terrorist ideology allows examination of historical memory's role in domestic terrorism beginning with the American Indian Movement identified by the FBI as a domestic terrorist group.

American Indian Movement

The study of Christopher Columbus's impact on Taino and American Indians is an example of forming a collective American historical memory. While some Americans may only remember that "in 1492 Columbus sailed the ocean blue" or that he was credited with "discovering America", many citizens were never educated about Christopher Columbus's negative encounters in Santo Domingo or as being a man with impure morals as present day American citizens may describe him. An account from a letter Columbus wrote in 1500 stated, "...a hundred *castellanoes* [Spanish currency] are as easily obtained for a woman as for a farm, and it is very general and there are plenty of dealers who go about looking for girls; those from nine to ten are now in demand."²⁴ This statement refers to sex slaves which Columbus provided his crew members to rape as reward for a job well done. Once Columbus and his sailors landed in Santo Domingo, sex slaves became a regular requirement for the Spaniards.²⁵ Santo Domingo locals suffered at the hand of Columbus and their population became non-existent, from about 3 million pre-Columbus to extinct by 1555.²⁶ The time in-between shows how Columbus's forced-labor system became detrimental to their existence. A Spanish missionary named Pedro de Cordoba documented Columbus's atrocities, as known today, in a letter to King

Ferdinand in 1557 stating, “as a result of the sufferings and hard labour they endured, the Indians choose and have chosen suicide...many, when pregnant, have taken something to abort or have aborted. Others after delivery have killed their children with their own hands, so as not to leave them in such oppressive slavery.”²⁷ One could argue today, as Spanish historian Las Casas did in the 1500s, that the Indian slave trade Columbus started was, “...among the most unpardonable offenses ever committed against God and mankind.”²⁸ Yet, most if not all, American history books omit this information and use Christopher Columbus as a teaching aid to explain how America was discovered. In the Americas, Columbus continued his conquest by enslaving and battling with American Indians. Some Americans must wonder how Christopher Columbus’s statue ended up as one of 16 bronze statues gazing down upon scholars working in the Library of Congress reading room, where the historical documentation of these atrocities are safe-guarded or how Columbus was selected to be portrayed as part of a mural in the nation’s sacred Capital Building taxed with protecting and enforcing democracy. Why are American-Indians not actively demanding removal of Christopher Columbus from these most sacred and national sites as other Americans demand removal of Civil War Confederate statues?

The American Indian Movement (AIM) started out as a peaceful advocacy group but was later named by the FBI as a militant domestic terrorist group, mostly known for the 1970s Wounded Knee II incident that resulted in the death of two Indians and severely injured two federal agents.²⁹ While the AIM considers their work unfinished due to longstanding land disputes, they make no mention of Christopher Columbus in their agenda. Perhaps the historical memory of American Indian spiritual heritage pre-dates Columbus and is a richer and stronger memory passed between generations. It is possible that unity for the culture and heritage overshadows the atrocities committed by

Columbus and later by the American government, the land dispute being an exception. Reform maybe too late for a tribal type culture in the modern world. American Indians make up only 1.3% (inclusive of Alaska Native) of the American population according to US census data on race and Hispanic origin.³⁰ The factor of low population representation may also present a challenge when other citizens are not connected to their cause through historical memory and must be convinced (sympathizers) to support their cause.³¹ Historical markers throughout America depict land grabs by the US government from the American Indians; however few if any historical markers represent the oppression American Indians faced at the hands of Columbus. This fits neatly within the social learning theory as to why domestic terrorist groups such as the AIM exists to fight for what they believe is ‘right’ in terms of territory, but not to remove Christopher Columbus statues from historic education sites and markers. The following photographic images represent a sample of markers throughout the United States pertaining to American Indians. The photographs of the roadside marker and burial at Wounded Knee below helped form historic memory not only for AIM, but also for students and scholars to study and learn from when forming a historic narrative of Wounded Knee. Of note, there is a historical memory marker that reads “Massacre at Wounded Knee” erected by Indian-Americans as opposed to the “Tragedy at Wounded Knee” per the government marker shown below. This shows a varied



Credit: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, “U.S. Soldiers putting Indians in common grave; some corpses are frozen in different positions.”



Credit: Associated Press, "This undated file photo shows the historical marker commemorating the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890 on the road near the Sacred Heart Catholic Church in Wounded Knee, S.D."

interpretation of how the Indian-Americans and the government want other citizens to view the events at Wounded Knee. Historical photographs and markers can create strong emotional ties that contribute to fuelling grievances. This factor can turn non-

violent advocacy groups into FBI named terrorist organizations as AIM exhibits.

Ku Klux Klan

The next example examines historical memory's role in the KKK. Historical memory relating to the American Civil War is arguably the most alive and vivid historical event concerning Americans today. When civil unrest is highlighted in the news, the causal factors of the unrest are rarely, if ever, mentioned despite their connected importance. When the media communicates a narrative lacking causal factors the narrative may be viewed as a *propaganda* tool that opposition groups exploit. The most well-known and recognized oldest US domestic terrorist group is the KKK. The KKK "is a racist, anti-Semitic movement with a commitment to extreme violence to achieve its goals of racial segregation and white supremacy. Of all the types of terrorist groups that exist in the US, the Klan remains the one with the greatest number of national and local organizations."³² The handbook for the KKK known as the *Kloran* provides several examples of how the KKK uses historical memory to build and justify their modern-day organization. The *Kloran* provides several examples, from the KKK perspective, that portrays white southerners as being disregarded by the US government

during the Civil War and subsequent Reconstruction period. An example of the KKK's perceived injustice by the US government is provided below:

When the shuddering pearls of the thunder of the impending storm of the American Reconstitution were heard above the fading echoes of the battles of the great Civil War, the chosen victims stood against and pale, wondering at the meaning and purpose of the gathering gloom. Darkness gathered apace, and the demons were loosed from hell's most dismal depths; the blighting hand of devastation complete was laid heavily upon the southern people, -a people pauperized, bleeding, prostrated, and defenceless. These noble people turned to the power of the National Government for protection but were spurned away with contempt and scorn.³³

The KKK uses their interpretation of historical memory to build emotional power and recruit white citizens that share a historical sense of injustice to the antebellum south, either for themselves or their ancestors, and a superior race mentality. Children born into the KKK are indoctrinated into its culture and beliefs system at a young age. Their assimilation is an example of social learning theory exacerbated by group-think which is united through historical memory. During the beginning of the Reconstitution period, the KKK organized themselves into an illegal militia and responded to US government policy actions by employing themselves as a *Slave Patrol* in the South.³⁴ The KKK made efforts to shape the election of 1874 by killing and terrorizing black Americans to deter them from voting, they illegally seized their guns (provided by the US government to form black-militias) without due process, and most notable is the Louisiana Colfax Massacre. Enraged by the 1874 election results in favor of the Republican Party, the KKK cornered about 150 freedmen at the local courthouse, both sides armed, but when the firefight erupted the freedmen retreated into a stable nearby. The stable was set ablaze and the freedmen ran out with their hands in the air to surrender, but they were massacred by KKK members as they ran or as they were taken prisoner, lined up, and executed.³⁵ Despite the national government's actions to bring the KKK to justice, the

U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *U.S. v. Cruikshank* that “the right of bearing arms for a lawful purpose is not a right guaranteed by the constitution nor is it in any manner dependent upon that instrument for its existence...this is one of the amendments that has no other effect than to restrict the power of the national government.”³⁶ Because the ruling did not affect individual citizens, the Supreme Court decision further empowered the KKK to recruit, use deadly force against, and enforce their political aspirations against black citizens without fear of reprisal. The objective of the KKK is to achieve white supremacy and in this landmark legal decision the Supreme Court “...handed white racists all the legitimization they needed to institute a reign of terror that would last nearly a hundred years.”³⁷ Some would argue not only did their reign of terror last over 100 years, but the KKK continues today and is currently experiencing a period of membership growth. The horrific slaughter in 1874 is taught as a positive historical memory by the KKK and a victory still spoken of today within the Kloran. *U.S. v. Cruikshank* is one historical sample of many involving the KKK terrorizing black citizens. This is the departure point in history where recognition of the fissure between races began, continued to widen during the Civil Rights movement, and is reopened today during conflicts related to civil unrest and disagreements. Today they make their presence known at protests and rallies to keep Confederate Civil War monuments alive or to counter the Black Lives Matter movement. These monuments represent an important symbology for the KKK. The photographs below show the KKK tradition of the torch spanning from the 1860s to modern day America.



Credit: James Edward Bates/Baptist Press
 “Klansman Art Dixon shows his son Floyd Dixon, 3, the proper way to hold the torch during a South Mississippi Knights of the Ku Klux Klan cross-lighting ceremony held in Pearl, Miss., in June 2001. Young Floyd is a fifth-generation Klansman, following his parents' beliefs and teachings.”



Credit: Zach D Roberts/NurPhoto via Getty Images
 “Neo-Nazis, Alt-Right, and White Supremacists encircle counter protesters at the base of a statue of Thomas Jefferson after marching through the University of Virginia campus with torches in Charlottesville, Va., on Aug. 11, 2017.”

Black Identity Extremists

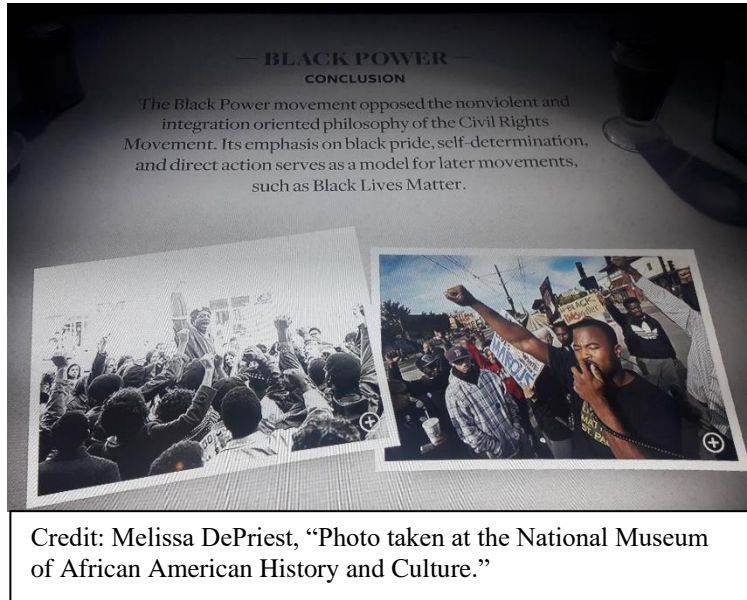
BIEs are defined by the FBI as “individuals who seek, wholly or in part, through unlawful acts of force or violence, in response to perceived racism and injustice in American society and some do so in furtherance of establishing a separate black homeland or autonomous black social institutions, communities, or governing organizations within the United States.”³⁸ By the definition, domestic terrorist organizations within the BIE category may also align within the definition of an ANTIFA organization due to some groups practicing anarchistic ideology which is addressed later within this paper. Additionally, the BIE definition suggests that BIE groups are moving backwards towards America’s past by self-segregating rather than moving forward to a better future of integration. The domestic terrorist organizations that fall under the term BIE have not been identified or addressed by US government agencies including the FBI. Therefore, there is controversy over which groups and individuals should be characterized as BIEs. BIE organizations are commonly connected to the historic

memory of perceived injustice and inequality. BIE's historical memory narrative of injustice by the US government and oppression from white America are common ideological threads behind BIE motivation. There is an overwhelming and inconceivable amount of information relating to the injustice of black Americans throughout US history; the issue of slavery and the Jim Crow segregation laws serve as strong traumatic historical memory foundations. Dating back even further, throughout Thomas Jefferson's life he addressed slavery in his writings. He advocated for slavery to be addressed in the Constitution, however after many edits, the Founders made the decision to omit slavery due to their belief that as society changes an amendment would address it when the whole of society was ready.³⁹ Jefferson was a strategic thinker and understood how devastating the historical memory of slavery would be to the future nation should the founders not address it immediately, as evidenced by his following statement, "nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people are to be free; nor it is less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government."⁴⁰ Almost 200 years after Jefferson's prediction, America has domestic terrorist groups fighting for extreme and opposite ideological beliefs that aim to divide America.

During and after the Reconstitution Period the black community was unsure of their place in society, yet most were hopeful. Starting with the National Centennial Exposition of 1876, African-Americans began building their own collective historical memory and challenging the "dominant, white-centred interpretations of American history."⁴¹ As a black community they came together to honor the founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Reverend Richard Allen by advocating that a permanent statue of him be unveiled at the Exposition in the Fairmont park in Philadelphia. While the statue was temporary despite advocacy for permanency, the statue signified "national

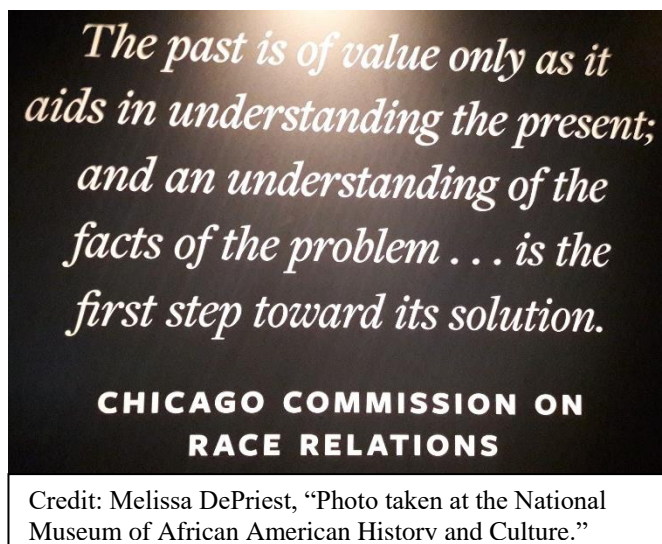
belonging and race pride...it would pay tribute to the race's emancipation, manhood, moral worth and intellectual superiority and it simultaneously represented blacks as part of the nation's celebration of itself."⁴² Amid several problems with the transportation of the statue, the statue arrived behind schedule and almost 2 months after the Exposition began, was presented in the remaining days of the Exposition, and removed upon conclusion of the Exposition.⁴³ What could have brought white and black races together marked another departure in history where it increased the divide for many. In the 1870s, "blacks' difficulty in gaining equal inclusion in the Centennial proceedings reflects their marginalization in the political life of the nation"⁴⁴ and it took until 2016 to erect a permanent statue of Reverend Allen in Philadelphia. The 1876 National Centennial Exposition marks the beginning of a two-century struggle not only between some white and black citizens, but also an internal struggle between the black community on agreeing what their historical narrative and heritage are.⁴⁵ Another example of historical memory carries over from Moorish culture. Some people in BIE organizations identify with the Moorish culture; "Moors are people from North Africa Berber and Arab descent."⁴⁶ Gavin Eugene Long is an example of a BIE who shot six law enforcement officers in Louisiana in 2016. In his manifesto, "Long declared himself to be a Moor, and changed his birth name, which he referred to as his slave name to the Moorish name Cosmo Ausar Setepenra and was carrying a Moorish identification card at the time of this death."⁴⁷ The use of the words *slave name* in Long's manifesto provides an example of how the historical memory of slavery is a powerful motivator to BIE groups.

Black Lives Matter is not an official terrorist organization per the US government, but like other activist organizations some members exhibit behavior that arguably fits the FBI's definitions of domestic terrorism or black identity



extremists. Moreover, Black Lives Matter is a prime example of an activist organization with a legitimate grievance associated with historical memory that should be properly acknowledged and addressed by the US government and the American people before members of the group turn destructive. Black Lives Matter believes, they “have a unique history in our country [US] and that history plays a part in the condition of our people today”⁴⁸ and that their mission “is to bring forth the plans and solutions that take us from the dream to the physical manifestation of our excellent and complete potential.”⁴⁹ The shared emotion tied to their mission creates a strong bond between members and is a respectable example of how history memory [slavery] can play a role in today’s community. From the Emancipation Proclamation and the Reconstruction Period through World War II, slavery was repackaged into prison labor camps and involuntary servitude. It was not until the 1951 that Congress passed legislation “making any form of slavery in the United States indisputable a crime.”⁵⁰ For many decades following Reconstruction, black citizens were arbitrarily arrested and fined with bills they could not pay. The inability to pay their bills ultimately made them criminals. They became prisoners that

could not pay to get out of jail and who were sold as forced labourers to the most undesirable jobs such as coal mines and quarries. They were mistreated by their ‘masters’ and some beaten so horribly their bodies became disfigured.⁵¹ The historical memory behind BIE ideology is very strong due to multiple generations being alive during a time when involuntary servitude was acceptable and events from the civil rights movement are in the not so distant past. Some tell their children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren their personal narrative of the injustices they experienced firsthand. Some BIEs were recruited when they reached an emotional boiling point or when they became intolerant with the historical narrative of the trickle of progress between 1776 and the 1950s, and some will even argue through present day explained by the expectation gap. Perhaps, “only by acknowledging the full extent of slavery’s grip on US society, its



intimate connections to present-day wealth and power, the depth of its injury to millions of black Americans, the shocking nearness in time of its true end can we reconcile the paradoxes of current American rift.”⁵²

Anti-Fascist Groups



Credit: Stephen Lam. "Counter-protesters [ANTIFA] pepper spray a Trump supporter during a rally in Berkeley in April [2017]." Reuters

Fascism is a political ideology closely associated with governments led by dictators, such as Benito Mussolini (founder of fascism) in Italy and Adolf Hitler in Germany and *not* typically associated with the US that serves as the global beacon of a model democracy. However, there have been and are currently anti-fascist groups within the US that advocate against fascism, large government capitalism, and racism; the movements of these groups have similarities with the Nazi movement of the 1920s and 30s. Again, it can be seen how some domestic terrorists share some ideological overlap with other groups. And much like the BIE title, the ANTIFA has multiple groups that fall into the ANTIFA title. ANTIFA groups claim racism and elements of fascism are currently alive and thriving throughout the US. In 2017, ANTIFA groups were identified by the DHS as a top domestic terrorist concern.⁵³ In recent riots in Charlottesville, Virginia or Los Angeles, California ANTIFA groups and BIE groups have combined efforts opposite of the KKK. Some ANTIFA groups and followers identify President Woodrow Wilson not only as America's first fascist leader, but as "twentieth century's first fascist dictator."⁵⁴ They contribute their beliefs to President Wilson's beliefs in

eugenics and superiority as a nation and as a white race, racial bias and xenophobic statements which some ANTIFA groups believe was behind his *One Word Order* agenda. There are many agendas behind ANTIFA groups as stated above and the definition of ANTIFA published by the DHS remains vague stating ANTIFA is “a subset of the anarchist movement and focuses on issues involving racism, sexism, and anti-Semitism, as well as other perceived injustices.”⁵⁵ Most major cities in the US have ANTIFA organizations. While they lack command structure they use social media as an effective tool to bond and communicate with one another. The Philadelphia ANTIFA division states they “are in direct conflict with Racism, Homophobia, Sexism, Anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, Transphobia, and all the various other flavors of fascism.”⁵⁶ Similar to the KKK’s use of historical memory, ANTIFA groups combine historical memory of past events with the current political environment and perceived social injustice they blame the US government for. These issues combined create strong ideological and historical narratives linking modern day ANTIFA domestic terrorist groups to those of the past. The period surrounding Woodrow Wilson’s Presidency offers some of the USs earliest accounts of anti-fascism behavior.

President Wilson encouraged Americanism as most US leaders do, but during his third annual message to Congress, in 1915, stated, “the gravest threats against our national peace and safety have been uttered within our own borders. There are citizens of the United States...born under other flags...who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life; who have sought to bring the authority and good name of our Government into contempt, to destroy our industries...and to debase our politics to the uses of foreign intrigue.”⁵⁷ In 1919, years after his third annual message, President Wilson still believed America’s greatest threat came from “hyphenated

Americans”⁵⁸ stating, “I cannot say too often-any man who carries a hyphen about with him carries a dagger that he is ready to plunge into the vitals of this Republic whenever he gets ready.” ANTIFA groups believe in the most extreme, worst-case scenarios about the US government and its leaders without considering societal evolution. President Wilson was not the first or last president to make crude statements about immigrants nor is he the only President identified by ANTIFA groups as fascist. The following examples represent some of the earliest accounts of the first ANTIFA Americans attempt to peacefully protest or express freedom of speech. Freedom of speech even then, was supposed to be protected by the First Amendment, but is remembered through US injustice due to government actions that followed. Unlike the historical examples below, modern day ANTIFA domestic terrorist groups are not usually found in a peaceful protest or only exercising free speech.

The first US historical ANTIFA example occurred in 1919, “at a Victory Loan pageant, a man [anti-fascist] refused to stand for the national anthem-when the star spangled banner ended, a furious sailor shot the ‘disloyal’ man three times in the back, when he fell the crowd burst into cheering and handclapping.”⁵⁹ It is estimated that around 175,000 Americans were arrested for failing to demonstrate patriotism, all were punished and many went to jail.⁶⁰ ANTIFA groups don’t only target US Presidents as the leader of the nation and government, but they target fascism as an overall trend they see throughout America’s history and within society, the US government as an institution, and the perceived lack of democracy it has provided to its citizens. Lastly, hints of fascism can be seen in America stemming from entertainment propaganda. Prior to the viewing of the 1933 film, *Mussolini Speaks*, Columbia Pictures ran an ad for the film stating, “it [fascism] appeals to all red blooded Americans” and “it [fascism] might be the

answer America needs.”⁶¹ Columbia Pictures, an American company, appears to be promoting and advocating for fascism within US borders. ANTIFA groups remain vigilant on societal issues and governmental policy that they perceive suppress freedoms guaranteed by a democracy.

Animal Liberation Front and Earth Liberation Movement

Lastly, an example of a domestic terrorist organization that does not fit within the historical memory argument. Historical memory as a cause to commit an act of domestic terrorism trends in-line with the other social science theories as not being a universal theory. The Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the Earth Liberation Movement (ELF) are extremist domestic terrorist groups and have been identified collectively as the number one domestic terrorist organizations spanning multiple years in the past due to the amount of property damage they cause. These organizations are focused on the present and future rather than operating based on the historical memory of the past. They are combined due their grouping by the FBI as eco-terrorists. The ALF is mainly concerned with liberating animals from perceived wrongdoings. The ELF is an eco-terrorist organization defined by the FBI as threatening the “use of violence of a criminal nature against innocent victims or property by an environmentally-oriented, subnational group for environmental-political reasons, or aimed at an audience beyond the target, often of a symbolic nature.”⁶² It would be a stretch to link these domestic terrorist organizations to historical memory, however the importance is to identify that there is *not* one single theory that explains domestic terrorism as a category of crime. Historical memory as a subcategory to the social conflict and learning theories is no different.

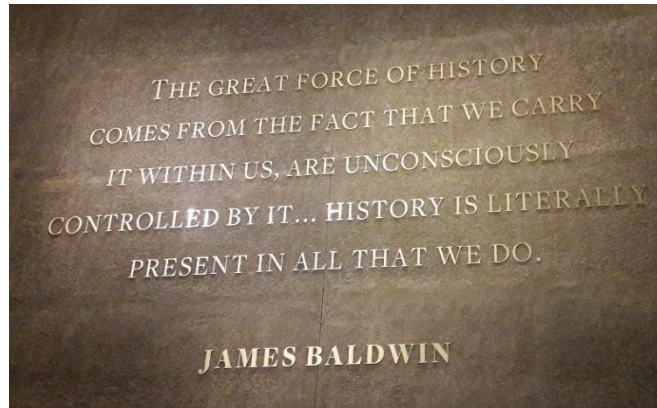
Learning From Historical Memory

US actions during World War II left behind a wake of historical memory. In this case, perhaps for the betterment of society and to today portrays at one of many positive uses of US historical memory. When Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt ordered over 117,000 Japanese-Americans (two-thirds US Born) to pre-identified government assembly areas, where they moved to permanent locations outside of restricted military zones.⁶³ The US government claimed the order was to “prevent espionage and to protect persons of Japanese descent from harm at the hands of Americans who had strong anti-Japanese attitudes,” to this sentiment, one internee stated, “if we were put there for our own protection, why were the guns at the guard towers pointed inward, instead of outward?”⁶⁴

Today, the US uses lessons learned from this historical memory as a teaching aid. Since World War II the US has had conflict with other nations but has not wholly placed a group demographic of people into internment camps. A modern-day example is the strong anti-Middle Eastern attitudes of some American citizens post 9/11 and the US declaring war on terror abroad, namely in the Middle East. More importantly, the collective US recognized their wrongdoing of placing Japanese-Americans into internment camps, took responsibility, and signed the Civil Liberties Act to monetarily compensate those forced into internment camps during World War II.⁶⁵ This act of recognition is an example of creating positive nationalism for citizens that may otherwise harbour additional resentment had the Civil Liberties Act not been passed.

Conclusion

While a terrorist may act alone in a physical sense, they are never truly alone because it is historical memory that links them to others who share their ideology. Political leadership down to the city level has an opportunity to drive the



Credit: Melissa DePriest, "Photo taken at the National Museum of African American History and Culture."

narrative and address grievances in historical memory as an effort to prevent such extreme acts from taking place. Identification of legitimate grievances and proper acceptance before the grievance festers into humiliation or resentment could correct the path of an organization or individual following ideology that is leading them towards committing an act of domestic terrorism. The aforementioned lack of media coverage on domestic terrorism events creates knowledge gaps. Using the media to inform the public on domestic terrorism events can be a powerful tool as it has been for the past seventeen years of coverage on international terrorism and the war on terror. Unpacking the grievances and making them part of the narrative is necessary for understanding the ideology of the terrorist responsible.

Historical memory is a significant factor that should not be overlooked in examining motivation to commit acts of domestic terrorism. Efforts to elevate Americans' understanding of historical memory should be incorporated into various educational contexts and be part of state and national level discussions if the US wishes to reduce instances of domestic terrorism. When the US collectively recognizes that "not all grievances are baseless"⁶⁶ and that historical memory acts as a reminder of perceived

wrongdoings, then the US government down to the state levels can begin addressing legitimate grievances before they turn into potentially strong and extreme acts of violence with everlasting consequences. Despite “absolute poverty and other aspects of economic deprivation that have a weak link to terrorism, a pervasive sense of humiliation and hopelessness does not.”⁶⁷ America’s short but traumatic historical memory roots citizens to un-amended grievances that may conflagrate into extreme ideologies and domestic terrorism. Once conflagrated, the aggrieved will fight back even if that means committing an act of domestic terrorism that injures or kills tens, hundreds, or even thousands of their fellow citizens. The historical markers, museums, statues, battlefields, and history books keep both positive and negative historical memory alive. The US government must find a way to use these artifacts to acknowledge the people’s grievances from its wrong-doings and crimes against humanity while presenting an unaltered version of history to facilitate the cultural healing process and prevent further acts of domestic terrorism. Through objective education the US can elevate Americans’ understanding of the connection between historical memory and domestic terrorism.

Notes

² Joshua D. Freilich and Gary Lefree, eds. *Criminology and Terrorism: New Applications and Approaches* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 5.

³ Hugh D. Barlow and David Kauzlarich, *Explaining Crime: A Primer in Criminology Theory*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010), 61-62, 80.

⁴ *Ibid*, 80.

⁵ Joshua D. Freilich and Gary Lefree, eds. *Criminology and Terrorism: New Applications and Approaches*, 21.

⁶ Zheng Wang, *Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014) 21.

⁷ David W. Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory, and the American Civil War*, (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002.) pg. 1.

⁸ Zheng Wang, *Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations*, 3.

⁹ Joshua D. Freilich and Gary Lefree, eds. *Criminology and Terrorism: New Applications and Approaches*, 1.

¹⁰ <https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/terrorism>

¹¹ Peter A. Olsson, *The Making of a Homegrown Terrorist: Brainwashing Rebels in Search of a Cause*, (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2014) 92.

¹² Military.com. Paige Schilling and Allison Toll Homeland security video.

<http://www.military.com/video/operations-and-strategy/terrorism/homegrown-violent-extremists-vs-domestic-terrorists/4817328121001>

¹³ Federal Bureau of Investigation, FBI press release, 2016. <https://www.fbi.gov/contact-us/field-offices/tampa/news/press-releases/investigative-update-regarding-pulse-nightclub-shooting>

¹⁴ Military.com. Paige Schilling and Allison Toll Homeland Security Video.

<http://www.military.com/video/operations-and-strategy/terrorism/homegrown-violent-extremists-vs-domestic-terrorists/4817328121001>

¹⁵ Robert Kumamoto, *The Historical Origins of Terrorism in America 1644-1880*, (New York: Routledge, 2014), 7.

¹⁶ Robert Kumamoto, *The Historical Origins of Terrorism in America 1644-1880*, 13.

¹⁷ Zheng Wang, *Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations*, 25.

¹⁸ Jason Steinhauer, *History is Not There to be Liked: On Historical Memory, Real and Fake*, September 15, 2017.

¹⁹ <https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/terrorism>

²⁰ National Park Foundation, "Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site," accessed January 2, 2018, <https://www.nationalparks.org/explore-parks/pennsylvania-avenue-national-historic-site>

²¹ James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong*, (New York: Touchtone, 2007), 342.

²² Zheng Wang, *Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations*, 3.

²³ James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Teacher Got Wrong*, (New York: Touchtone, 2007), 343.

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- ²⁴ James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Teacher Got Wrong*, 58-59.
- ²⁵ *Ibid*, 58.
- ²⁶ *Ibid*, 57.
- ²⁷ *Ibid*, 57.
- ²⁸ *Ibid*, 68.
- ²⁹ www.usmarshals.gov/history/wounded-knee
- ³⁰ <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US>
- ³¹ *Ibid*.
- ³² <https://trackingterrorism.org/group/ku-klux-klan-kkk>
- ³³ William J. Simmons, *Kloran: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*. Middletown, (DE: Ku Klux Press, 2017), 48.
- ³⁴ Michael A. Bellesiles, *Arming America: The Origins of a National Gun Culture*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 438.
- ³⁵ *Ibid*, 439-440.
- ³⁶ *Ibid*, 441.
- ³⁷ *Ibid*, 441.
- ³⁸ Federal Bureau of Investigation Counterterrorism Division, FY17 Intelligence Assessment, *Black Identity Extremists Likely Motivated to Target Law Enforcement Officers*. (3 August, 2017), 2. <https://info.publicintelligence.net/FBI-BlackIdentityExtremists.pdf>
- ³⁹ George Livermore, *An Historical Research: Respecting the Opinions of the Founders of the Republic on Negroes as Slaves, As Citizens, and as Soldiers*, (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1970), 15-138.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 45.
- ⁴¹ Mitch Kachun, "Before the Eyes of All Nations: African-American Identity and Historical Memory at the Centennial Exposition of 1876," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 65, no. 3 (1998): 300.
- ⁴² *Ibid*, 318.
- ⁴³ *Ibid*, 300-324.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 314.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 320.
- ⁴⁶ FBI Counterterrorism Division, FY17 Intelligence Assessment, 5.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 5.
- ⁴⁸ <http://www.blacklifematters.org/our-mission>
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid*.
- ⁵⁰ Douglass A. Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name*, (New York: Doubleday, 2008), foreword.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid*.
- ⁵² Douglass A. Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name*, (New York: Doubleday, 2008), 402.
- ⁵³ <https://www.njhomelandsecurity.gov/analysis/anarchist-extremists-antifa>
- ⁵⁴ Jonah Goldberg, *Liberal Fascism: The Secret History of the American Left from Mussolini to the Politics of Meaning*, (New York: Doubleday), 80.
- ⁵⁵ State of New Jersey Office of Homeland Security and Preparedness, *Anarchist Extremists: Antifa*, June 12, 2017. <https://www.njhomelandsecurity.gov/analysis/anarchist-extremists-antifa>

⁵⁶ <https://phillyantifa.org/aboutdonate/>

⁵⁷ Goldberg, 115-116.

⁵⁸ Goldberg, 116.

⁵⁹ Goldberg, 116.

⁶⁰ Goldberg, 117.

⁶¹ Goldberg, 30.

⁶² <https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/news/testimony/the-threat-of-eco-terrorism>

⁶³ National Archives, Japanese Relocation During World War II, accessed 3 January, 2018, <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/japanese-relocation>

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Bilal Qureshi, *From Wrong to Right: A U.S. Apology For Japanese Internment*, heard on All Things Considered, National Public Radio, 2013. <https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2013/08/09/210138278/japanese-internment-redress>

⁶⁶ Tore Bjorgo, *Root Causes of Terrorism: Myths, Reality, and Ways Forward*. (New York: Routledge, 2005), 29.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 29.

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