The National Urban League is a historic civil rights and urban advocacy organization. Driven to secure economic self-reliance, parity, power and justice for our nation’s marginalized populations, the National Urban League works toward economic empowerment and the elevation of the standard of living in historically underserved urban communities. Founded in 1910 and headquartered in New York City, the National Urban League has improved the lives of more than three million people each year nationwide through direct service programs run by 92 affiliates serving 300 communities in 37 states and the District of Columbia.

The National Urban League also conducts public policy research and advocacy work from its Washington, D.C., bureau. The National Urban League is a BBB-accredited organization and has earned a 4-star rating from Charity Navigator, placing it in the top 10% of all U.S. charities for adhering to good governance, fiscal responsibility, and other best practices.

The report explores the inequalities across America’s economics, employment, education, health, housing, criminal justice, and civic participation systems through research and the words of our contributors. Each edition contains penetrating commentary and insightful analysis from recognized authorities and leading figures in politics, the corporate and tech sectors, the nonprofit arena, academia, and popular culture. In the 47th edition of the State of Black America Democracy In Peril: Confronting the Threat Within, we are raising the alarm around the explosive growth of far-right and domestic extremism and the threat it poses to our communities, our families, and our nation. After the dismantling of Jim Crow and the freedoms won during the Civil Rights Movement, some of the most violent forms of white supremacy began to go underground throughout America. But in recent years, dangerous rhetoric that emboldens racists and incites violence has moved from the dark web into mainstream politics. Far-right extremists advocating for the erosion of our civil liberties are infiltrating our military ranks, law enforcement, political system, and classrooms under the guise of “parents’ rights.” The racist ideologies supporting this movement can also be tied to the increase in hate crimes, mass shootings, and police brutality, claiming lives in communities of color every day.

In partnership with the Southern Poverty Law Center, we have quantified the increase in racial violence, outlined the effects of hateful rhetoric on public attitudes around our political system, and traced the growing domestic threat of white supremacists infiltrating our law enforcement and our military ranks. We also leveraged data from UCLA Law’s Anti-CRT legislative tracking project, CRT Forward, which tracks laws across the country that are attempting to block, edit, and rewrite American history. Our contributing authors reflect on the aftermath of last year’s racially-motivated mass murder in Buffalo, New York, that claimed the lives of 10 African-Americans, address the increased threat to our Democracy and way of life posed by these extremists, and outline how the federal government and civil rights organizations are fighting this threat. We can no longer afford to minimize this movement by painting the actions of violent extremists as isolated incidents or politicians by invoking the same freedoms and protecting hate speech from far-right politicians by invoking the same freedoms they seek to limit for other Americans. The time to act is now.

To access the 2023 State of Black America suite of offerings—including author essays, data, expert analysis, and a ready-for-download version of this executive summary—head to the State of Black America website.
At least three members of the current U.S. Congress have promoted a conspiracy theory centered on a cabal of Satan-worshiping, cannibalistic, child abusers that includes Democratic politicians, Hollywood actors and business tycoons.

The leaked membership of a violent anti-government militia group that led the January 6th insurrection included 81 people who either held or were running for public office in 2022, 373 believed to be serving in law enforcement, and 117 believed to be active-duty military.

Restrictions on teaching the history of slavery and the Civil Rights Movement have grown so stringent that students planning a Black History Month in Alabama could not include events prior to 1970.

The 18-year-old white supremacist who opened fire in a Buffalo supermarket, killing 10 people and wounding three, was motivated by belief in the “Great Replacement” conspiracy theory foolishly promoted by media figures.

The mainstreaming of extremist ideology is an existential threat to American democracy, the rule of law, and decades of hard-won progress toward an equitable, inclusive, more perfect union. No longer limited to passing out mimeographed leaflets on street corners or huddling in corners of the dark web, conspiracy-mongers and white nationalists openly spew their bile across social media and cable television. They weave it into the public policy they impose on their constituents. It corrodes the trust between police and the military and the communities they are sworn to protect and serve.

Using data and analysis from our research partners, Southern Poverty Law Center, ADL, and UCLA Law, this year’s State of Black America® reveals just how deeply extremist ideology has seeped into America’s most vital institutions, resulting in an ever-rising tide of deadly violence, oppressive laws, and weaponized racial polarization.

In the wake of the Buffalo massacre, the National Urban League and other social justice organizations urged President Biden to convene a summit to confront violent extremism and develop a whole-of-society response. The United We Stand Summit in September marked the first step on that journey. It cannot be the last.
Peyton Gendron dedicated a 180-page hate-filled manifesto he made accessible on social media and online forums like Discord and 4chan before he walked into Tops grocery store in Buffalo, NY, last May and murdered ten people because of the color of their skin.

Unfortunately, Gendron’s violent attack wasn’t an isolated incident. Instead, it was one of the growing number of hate crimes and attacks carried out by white supremacists and far-right extremists.

According to a preliminary report from the Center for the Study of Hate & Extremism at California State University in San Bernardino, hate crimes increased by 44% in 2021. More alarming, the Anti-Defamation League reported a 22% drop in hate crime reporting from law enforcement agencies over the same period. This is a growing threat that we cannot afford to ignore.

### EXTREME MURDERS IN 2022

1. **4/29/2022 • FORT PIERCE, FL**
   - **RIGHT WING (ANTI-GOVERNMENT)**
   - Police arrested Robert Lisby, a self-declared sovereign citizen, and Joy Tyler, for the murder of a Black man at a gas station. Both reportedly had a history of connections to white supremacist groups.

2. **3/15/2022 • TRACY, CA**
   - **RIGHT WING (WHITE SUPREMACIST)**
   - Police arrested Jeremy Jones and Christina Darver for the murder of a Black man at a gas station. Both reportedly had a history of connections to white supremacist groups.

3. **2/19/2022 • PORTLAND, OR**
   - **RIGHT WING (OTHER)**
   - Benjamin Smith opened fire at a group of left-wing protesters, killing one and wounding five. His online postings revealed racism, antisemitism, and far-right ideas.

### EXTREME TERROR ATTACK PLOTS IN 2022

1. **5/23/2022 • COLLEYVILLE, TX**
   - **ISLAMIST**
   - Malik Faisal Akram took four people hostage at a synagogue, claiming to have weapons and bombs, and demanding a suspected Al-Qaeda courier be released from prison. Akram apparently chose the location because, he claimed, “America only cares about Jewish lives.”

2. **2/10/2022 • SPRINGFIELD, MA**
   - **RIGHT WING (WHITE SUPREMACIST)**
   - Dushko Vulchev was indicted on federal hate crime charges for an arson that destroyed a predominantly Black church. Vulchev reportedly displayed evidence of racism and white supremacy.

3. **1/15/2022 • KEIZER, OR**
   - **LEFT WING**
   - A crisis pregnancy center was the target of an arson attack using Molotov cocktails. It was one of a number of attacks against perceived anti-abortion targets in 2022.

### TO FIND ADDITIONAL HATE BY THE NUMBERS DATA, VISIT STATEOFBLACKAMERICA.ORG

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1. https://www.ny1.com/nyc/all-boroughs/news/2022/02/14/hate-crime-increase-2021-asian-american-
Anti-CRT Efforts in the U.S.

Since September 2020, a total of 245 local, state, and federal government entities across the United States have introduced 91 anti-critical race theory bills, resolutions, executive orders, opinion letters, statements, and other measures.

CRT Forward Project

University of California Los Angeles, CRT Forward Project

Tracking a Parental Rights’ Movement Rooted in Racism: The Threat Within Education

When Ray Bradbury wrote Fahrenheit 451, a dystopian story about an America where books were outlawed and burned, he was inspired by the book burnings in Nazi Germany and the repression of ideologies by the Soviet Union.

Sixty years later, the cautionary tale is becoming a reality. Across the country, over 567 laws have been introduced to suppress our children’s access to school libraries, censor and censure our educators, and rewrite American history. Operating under the guise of “parents’ rights,” extremists are railing against the teaching of Black history and center whiteness in the classroom. They are disrupting school board meetings and, under the leadership of extremist state leaders, have even introduced laws to arrest and prosecute teachers for doing their jobs.

In the 2022 midterm elections, candidates who denounced the 2020 election results, spouted hate, and spread harmful conspiracy theories ran for office nationwide. These are just a few examples of a growing number of radical political figures entering our political system.

U.S. Representative Lauren Boebert (R) retained her seat representing Colorado’s District 1. Boebert is known for her anti-Muslim bigotry, tune to militia groups, and appearances on QAnon-related shows.

U.S. Representative Paul Gosar (R) won the primary to retain his congressional seat representing Arizona’s 8th District. Gosar has ties to the Oath Keepers, Proud Boys, and America First, and has been seen with far-right fringe figures including Steve Bannon, Alex Alexander, and white supremacist Nick Fuentes. Gosar has a history of promoting conspiracy theories—including those surrounding the 2020 election—and in November 2021 he was censured for sharing an anime cartoon that depicted the killing of a character meant to be Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez.

U.S. Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene (R) was elected to the House of Representatives in 2020 and became one of the most visible extremists to enter the Republican party. The Georgia congresswoman, who has suggested Jewish space lasers are responsible for wildfires, speculated whether 9/11 was a hoax, and supported the QAnon conspiracy theory, was part of a new wave of Trumpian Republicans, and was mocked, ridiculed, and reviled in equal measure—including by some in her own party.

Current Arizona State Senator and self-proclaimed oath keeper Wendy Rogers (R) won the race to retain her Arizona State Senate seat representing District 1. Rogers spoke in February at the America First Political Action conference—a white nationalist conference organized by Nick Fuentes. Appeared on the anti-Semitic fringe 4chan streaming platform, has been a prominent voice in the effort to undermine the 2020 presidential election, and was censured in March for threatening rival politicians with violence.

Angelica Gas (R) was elected to the Michigan State House in District 79 by a large margin despite her being a January 6th participant. In response to being called an insurrectionist or treasonist, Ripes said, “I consider all of those terms a compliment, because our founding fathers were called all the same things.”

Hate in the Nation: The Threat Within Our Political System

There is a fire burning in America. Hate-fueled rhetoric and conspiracy theories have radicalized Americans and fanned the flames of an extremist movement. A movement that has taken flight from the internet’s darkest corners and found its way into state legislatures, our courts, and the halls of Congress.

Across the country, we are beginning to see how elected officials are weaponizing dangerous far-right ideologies. In every state, bills challenging who gets to vote in our elections, what our children are allowed to learn in the classroom, and who is entitled to civil rights are being passed into law. What many on the right are calling a “culture war” is a coordinated attack on every American’s civil rights.

Emboldened by an angry base, state leaders have punished the business community and public institutions, including colleges and universities, for embracing diversity, equity, and inclusion practices by threatening to withhold funding. And in Congress, far-right party leaders have held the country hostage by refusing to pass laws protecting our civil rights and have gone as far as to block the election of a new Speaker of the House.

This report calls this coordinated assault on progress precisely what it is: hatred.
A THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY:
HATE WITHIN LAW ENFORCEMENT & THE MILITARY

The uptick in police brutality, specifically against Black Americans, is no coincidence. Across the nation, white supremacist groups and domestic terror cells have infiltrated law enforcement and our military ranks, posing a threat to homeland security and the general public.

According to a Brennan Center report, the FBI reported that white supremacists posed a “persistent threat of lethal violence” that has produced more fatalities than any other category of domestic terrorists since 2000. And FBI policy documents have also warned agents assigned to domestic terrorism cases that the white supremacist and anti-government militia groups they investigate often have “active links” to law enforcement officials.

Countries around the world have been destabilized by military and law enforcement coups led by extremists holding right-wing ideologies. To protect our communities and our democracy, we must take this threat seriously.

A TIMELINE OF WHITE SUPREMACY & VIOLENCE IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

1970s
There were an estimated 13,000 ‘sundown towns,’ where police officers and vigilante mobs enforced policies prohibiting Black and other nonwhite people from remaining in town past sunset, across the U.S.

1982
Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, denying Chinese immigrants and their relatives already living in the U.S. naturalization.

1990s
A done active civil rights lawsuit alleged a group of South Carolina sheriff’s deputies perpetuated “symbolic acts of brutality, including beating, terrorizing, harassment, false imprisonment...” The county paid $5 million in settlements.

1996
A class action civil rights lawsuit alleged a gang of racist, bigoted police officers belonging to a KKK gang at a sheriff’s office in Mississippi and that the police chief with a hate crime for assaulting a Black teenager after several of his deputies murdered a Black man.

2001
Two Texas sheriff’s deputies were fired after they exposed their KKK affiliations in an attempt to recruit other officers.

2017
Florida state prosecutors convicted three prison guards of plotting with fellow KKK members to murder an inmate.

2019
Los Angeles County paid $17 million to settle a wrongful death lawsuit against two deputy officers for shooting an unarmed Black man. They were part of a group of deputy sheriffs with tattoos in the tradition of earlier deputy gang.

2020
The FBI reported that white supremacists posed a “persistent threat of lethal violence” that has produced more fatalities than any other category of domestic terrorists since 2000. And FBI policy documents have also warned agents assigned to domestic terrorism cases that the white supremacist and anti-government militia groups they investigate often have “active links” to law enforcement officials.

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THE DIVIDED STATE OF AMERICA:
A SURGE OF DIVISIVE POLICIES

Across the country, calls for “law and order” and taking America back to a “Christian nation” have moved from podiums at extremist rallies to bills and policies that are reshaping America.

REWRITING HISTORY & RACISM IN EDUCATION
In a backlash to the commitments to racial justice after the murder of George Floyd, some states have led an assault on our children’s right to learn under the guise of “parental rights” in a heinous anti-CRT movement.

This January, Florida announced that it would not allow its high schools to teach AP African American Students, stating that the course “lacks educational value” and violates state law. And though it said that political pressure played no role in the changes, the College Board drastically revised the course for national instruction removing concepts—like intersectionality, mass incarceration, reparations, and the Black Lives Matter movement.

ASCRIPT ON A WOMAN’S RIGHT TO CHOOSE
Following the dismantling of Roe v. Wade, states across the country launched trigger bans on abortion. One of the most severe was S.B. 8 in Texas, which bans terminating a pregnancy after six weeks—1 in 3 women don’t know they are pregnant until after the same time window. The state also made performing an abortion after six weeks an offense punishable by up to life in prison and a $100,000 fine.

CONTINUED RESTRICTION OF THE BALLOT BOX
As voters rejected many of the most extreme Congressional candidates in the 2022 midterm elections, states continued to pass some of the most restrictive voting laws since Reconstruction.

According to research by the Brennan Center, at least eight states enacted 11 restrictive voting laws. Overall, at least 408 restrictive bills were considered by lawmakers in 39 states in 2022.

Examples of this include:
- OK H.B. 3365: Oklahoma enacted a relatively unique law that will make it more difficult for voters without traditional addresses—such as voters living on tribal lands and homeless voters—to register to vote and cast a ballot.
- AZ H.B. 2243: Arizona will allow voters to be purged based on information from public safety or national databases that suggest they are not citizens. Even as data suggests the databases are not reliable ways of proving citizenship, the law risks the voter registration status of some 200,000 voters.


https://www.tdcaa.com/legislative/dobbs-abortion-related-crimes/
Expressions of hate and bigotry towards communities of color cause trauma and reinforce oppression for African Americans in this country. The history of inequality and anguish suffered by the Black community dates to enslavement.

BISHOP GARRISON
Former Senior Advisor to the Secretary of Defense; Fellow, National Security Institution at George Mason School of Law

This dialogue is amplified through the comments of elected officials and pundits with their own agendas. And for the first time in generations, these attacks are now aimed at members of the strongest, most advanced military the world has known. These efforts erode the nation’s capacity to project power and maintain the liberal order.

THOMAS BEAUFORD
President & CEO, Buffalo Urban League

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SUSAN CORKE
Director of the Intelligence Project, Southern Poverty Law Center

White nationalists seek to return to an America that predates the implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965... The hard right in America sees the nation’s increasing diversity as a threat that must be countered in politics, in law, in court, in the media—and with violence.

KRISTEN CLARKE
Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Justice

As recent FBI statistics confirm, hate crimes remain prevalent, the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice has an ongoing commitment to using federal civil rights laws, such as the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act, and other tools to combat hate in our communities.

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WES MOORE
Governor of Maryland

This issue isn’t just political to me, it’s personal. I come from a family of real patriots: ministers, teachers, and engineers who built this nation with their hands. I led patriots in combat when I served in Afghanistan... I lead patriots every day as Governor—working alongside dedicated public servants committed to building a better Maryland where no one is left behind.

M CHAEL LI EBENMAN
Senior Policy Counsel, Southern Poverty Law Center

This racist “great replacement” conspiracy furnishes the central framework for the white supremacist movement. The murders in Buffalo last year provide a brutal example of how antisemitism is an animating feature of white nationalist ideology, inextricably intertwined with anti-Black racism.

SECRETARY MARCI A FUDGE
U.S. Secretary, Housing and Urban Development

We recognize that credit scores have long been barriers to aspiring homeowners, especially people of color. To create more opportunity for hardworking people, the Federal Housing Administration now allows positive rental history to be used to determine someone’s creditworthiness.

SECRETARY J ENNI FER GRANHOLM
U.S. Secretary, Department of Energy

Every day, the compounding and catastrophic effects of the use of fossil fuels emphasize the necessity to ensure the viability of a living planet for future generations. We face a collective imperative to transition to a clean energy system made in the image of equity and justice, and we have the tools to do it.

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J ONATHAN GREENBLATT
CEO & National Director, Anti-Defamation League

Those who hate aim to divide and isolate us. They seek to demonize and marginalize those they target. The antidote to hate and extremism must therefore be unity and collaboration. We are stronger and safer when we work in partnership.

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John C. Yang
President & Executive Director, Asian Americans Advancing Justice

The histories of Asian and Black communities have always been intertwin ed, our struggles connected, and our collective progress tied together in unity. Asian and Black communities have been strongest when we have sought to dismantle White supremacy together.

KRISTEN CLARKE
Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Justice

As recent FBI statistics confirm, hate crimes remain prevalent, the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice has an ongoing commitment to using federal civil rights laws, such as the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act, and other tools to combat hate in our communities.
As the nation’s largest historic civil rights organization, we’ve spent over a century fighting for Black Americans’ empowerment and civil rights. Foremost among those rights is the freedom to live in a nation free of hate crimes and domestic terrorism. The Urban League movement is leading the fight to hold violent extremists accountable for their acts of hatred and working alongside elected leaders to create policies that stop this cancerous violence at its root.

In 2021, we introduced 21 Pillars for Redefining Public Safety and Restoring Community Trust, paving a way beyond the status quo. Our forward-thinking plan is designed to protect and preserve life, dignity, and trust while building safer communities.

The National Urban League Movement believes that an education that turns a blind eye to the realities of the world, or schooling that intentionally misinforms students and communities about the history and current events, is as inherently dangerous as no education at all.

Through our 92 affiliates that serve over three million people in 300 communities, our signature Project Ready programs provide educational opportunities that improve our kids’ outcomes in and outside the classroom every day. Our Project Ready programs include mentorship, a focus on STEAM education, and accurate, culturally relevant, and resonant curricula on the Black urban experience in 21st-century America.

In the face of unrelenting attacks by far-right reactionary politicians on our civil liberties, we have taken an active role in supporting and advocating for progressive policies, unifying policies put forth by this administration, including:

- The George Floyd Justice in Policing Act
- Emmett Till Anti-Lynching Act
- The John R. Lewis Voting Advancement Act

Research confirms that those who weaponize hate specifically target marginalized and minority communities, including the Black, Latino, American Indian, Asian, and Pacific Islander communities, communities of color, religious minorities, and the LGBTQ community.

With support from the Joyce Foundation in 2022, we launched Project CODE to provide information and collaboration to extend allyship across organizations whose communities are directly affected by rising political violence.

In 2023, Project CODE established www.theprojectcode.org to serve as a resource hub for community members, organizers, researchers, and advocates to leverage data and insight from our partners.
SUPPORT THE WORK OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE AS WE CONTINUE TO ADVANCE POLICIES AND PROGRAMS TO EMPOWER AFRICAN AMERICAN AND OTHER URBAN COMMUNITIES.

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