



# **Modern American Hategroups:**

**Indoctrination Through Bigotry, Music, Violence & the Internet**

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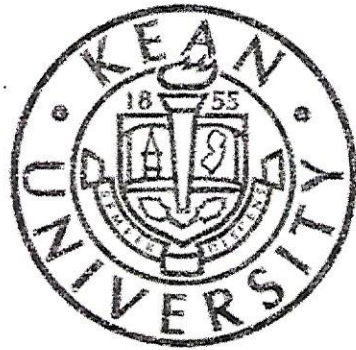
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This research thesis represents my own work in compliance with Kean University's academic integrity policy.

  
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## **Abstract:**

I focused my research on modern, American hate groups. I found some criteria for early-warning signs of antisemitic, bigoted and genocidal activities.

I included a summary of neo-Nazi and white supremacy groups in modern American and then moved to a more specific focus on contemporary and prominent groups like Atomwaffen Division, the Proud Boys, the Vinlanders Social Club, the Base, Rise Against Movement, the Hammerskins, and other prominent antisemitic and hate-driven groups. Trends of hate-speech, acts of vandalism and acts of violence within the past fifty years were examined. Also, how law enforcement and the legal system has responded to these activities has been included as well.

The different methods these groups use for indoctrination of younger generations has been an important aspect of my research: the consistent use of hate-rock and how hate-groups have co-opted punk and hardcore music to further their ideology. Live-music concerts and festivals surrounding these types of bands and how hate-groups have used music as a means to fund their more violent activities have been crucial components of my research as well. The use of other forms of music and the reactions of non-hate-based artists are also included.

The use of the internet, social media and other digital means has also be a primary point of discussion. Starting with Stormfront.org and other earlier attempts to utilize the internet, I looked more extensively at modern examples such as Gab, Reddit, Youtube, 4Chan, 8Chan, Breitbart, Discord, Twitter, Facebook, and other resources that white supremacists use to promote, plan and communicate. Live-streaming, podcasting, virtual forums, private chatrooms, virtual identity-building, internet dogwhistles, memes, Tor services and the Dark web are all innovations that these groups utilize.

Extent of proliferation, level of indoctrination, difficulty in exiting the groups, increased popularity, and increased escalation of hate-speech and violence have all provided ideas on how to combat these types of groups. Testimony from members of these groups who have subsequently abandoned the bigoted lifestyle and ideology was a great addition to my research, and I happy to be able to include my own interview with former-Aryan Brotherhood member, Thomas Englemann. Early-warning signs, like increased vandalism and hate-crimes may be helpful in combatting these groups and preventing the possible escalation to further violence and human atrocity. There has proven to be a rather widespread lack of research into thsee types of groups, so that they and the escalation to violence that occurs in the majority of them, are not well studied and written about, so a

base level addition to the base of knowledge on the issue seemed appropriate. I also considered and included the following:

- The threat of hatespeech, hate crimes, and hategroups in the United States is real. How seemingly-disorganized and seemingly-disparate groups are actually interconnected, especially using the internet, and how lone-wolf attacks make these groups that seem marginal to be much more dangerous than they superficially appear. (Hatespeech as a precursor to hate crimes.)

- Escalation and normalization could turn lone-wolf attacks into atrocity and possible genocide. The alt-right and others have sought to make their bigotry and exclusionary rhetoric more mainstream and commonplace. (Increased violence is already occurring.)

- Trump's assistance in the normalization of hatespeech and bigoted rhetoric. When the president of the United States, and other leaders for that matter, use hate-filled rhetoric and espouse bigotry, it makes others think it is ok.

- Comparison of Trump-era to Weimar Germany/comparison of Trump to Hitler. How Americans allow themselves to be willfully ignorant of history and ignore important lessons from the past. And how Americans seem to increasingly support the illiberalization of democracy in America and even authoritarianism, fascism and bigotry. (Trump himself has commended dictators.)

- While we are clearly not living in Germany during the 1920-30s, and it does seem that there are consistent protections to democracy which limit the dehumanization and persecution of marginalized/threatened groups, the threat Trump and the American political climate pose to democracy is real.

A fundamental issue in combating this problem is trying to tackle it from a purely logical viewpoint. The members of these groups are emotionally driven, by their fear and anger, with ideological doctrine that reinforces this fear and anger. While not an excuse by any means, it is a vital consideration in trying to understand what makes these individuals commit to this movement.

-A.S.

### **Note**

I chose not to censor difficult words. Any censorship found is from the original text, usually from an internet source. Readers should be aware that some words left uncensored in this manner could be triggers.

The hatred and bigotry and xenophobia exhibited by hate groups is real and should be startling. Inclusion of their hate-laced speech should not be deleted, instead the truth behind their vitriol should be shown.

Personally, I understand the gravity certain words have for some people. I think it makes said words, more powerful than “just words”. Hateful rhetoric and calls for genocide serve no purpose in America public discourse. Commodifying human suffering, denying human dignity, calling for someone’s death, regardless of intent, should be construed as a serious threat; even if the one making the call doesn’t act, they could influence others around them, who may be witnessing the normalization of the language of violence, mass atrocity and genocide.

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## Introduction:

### Modern Motivation towards Resolve

The election of Donald Trump has changed the political makeup of this country, emboldening elements that otherwise would have likely remained in the shadowy margins. These groups have used various resources to spread their ideology, strengthen their existing organizations and recruit new members. The result has been an increase in hate group activities, including hate crimes, political actions and spread of propaganda. According to a recent *Business Insider* article, “US counties where President Donald Trump held a campaign rally saw a 226% increase in reported hate crimes over similar counties that did not hold a rally”.<sup>1</sup> And a November 2018 article by the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* reported, “Since mid-2016, the number of antisemitic comments on far-right social networks has nearly doubled”.<sup>2</sup> CNN also reported and warned of “the dangers of unchecked hatred in a time when antisemitic acts are on the rise”.<sup>3</sup> According to the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), “in 2017, antisemitic incidents in the United States surged nearly 60%”.<sup>4</sup> According to a study by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), since Trump has taken office, there has been a 55% increase in the number of white nationalist hate groups in the country.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> David Choi. “Hate crimes increased 226% in places Trump held a campaign rally in 2016, study claims.” ><https://www.businessinsider.com/trump-campaign-rally-hate-crimes-study-maga-2019-3>>,1.

<sup>2</sup> Rich Lord. “How Robert Bowers went from conservative to white nationalist.” November 10, 2018. ><https://www.post-gazette.com/news/crime-courts/2018/11/10/Robert-Bowers-extremism-Tree-of-Life-massacre-shooting-pittsburgh-Gab-Warroom/stories/201811080165>>. February 20, 2020.

<sup>3</sup> Nicole Chavez, Emanuella Grinberg & Elliott C. McLaughlin. “Pittsburgh synagogue gunman said he wanted all Jews to die, criminal complaint says.” October 31, 2018. ><https://www.cnn.com/2018/10/28/us/pittsburgh-synagogue-shooting/index.html>>. March 13, 2020.

<sup>4</sup> Chavez, Grinberg & McLaughlin.

<sup>5</sup> Wilson, Jason. “White nationalist hate groups have grown 55% in Trump era, report finds.” March 18, 2020. ><https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/18/white-nationalist-hate-groups-southern-poverty-law-center>>. March 28, 2020.



The increase in hategroup activity and antisemitism are startling to both Jewish and gentile Americans. Despite the comparatively safe haven that America has provided Jewish citizens, this rise in antisemitism coming from extremist groups is especially concerning. Terrorist hategroup activity and virulent antisemitism both amplified before Adolf Hitler and the Nazi party gained power in Germany. The groups have increasingly welcomed Nazi doctrine and rhetoric, many feeling they have become an extension of the Third Reich. As Rinaldo Nazzaro, leader of the Base tweeted, “Führer, you were only the beginning. We will finish what you started. It’s not over yet—we carry the torch”.<sup>6</sup>

At least in part because of this connection to the Nazi party, antisemitism has remained essential and central to hategroup doctrine, making Jewish Americans and their allies the number one target. And while vandalism and the shouting of bigoted slogans do not equate to human atrocity and genocide, the rise of these types of actions, the escalation into greater antisemitism and violence and the increased normalization of this behavior make atrocity more probable and the likelihood of terrorist actions and genocidal massacres more real.

While President Trump himself may not have directly endorsed these behaviors, the groups responsible for them, their crimes, or their message, “it is hard to discount a ‘Trump effect’ when a considerable number of these reported hate crimes reference Trump” including crimes of “vandalism, intimidation, and assault”.<sup>7</sup> Bari Weiss condemns the Trump administration, writing “The naïve hope that he would grow into the presidency now seems like a

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<sup>6</sup> “The Base.” 2020. ><https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/the-base>>. February 18, 2020.

<sup>7</sup> Choi. “Hate crimes increased,” 1-2.

sick joke. His entire persona is built on upending order by betraying our allies and embracing our enemies”.<sup>8</sup> Weiss continues:

When the president of the party of Lincoln praises Robert E. Lee as a ‘great general’ [his supporters] hear that whistle. When the president talks not about patriotism but about nationalism, they hear that whistle. When he denigrates immigrants and declares ‘America first,’ they hear the whistle loud and clear.<sup>9</sup>

“Despite pressure to do more to combat the far-right, President Trump’s administration has defunded programs intended to stop the radicalization of young white people”.<sup>10</sup> Although in late 2019, “the FBI upgraded its assessment of the threat posed by racially motivated extremists to a ‘national threat priority’ [and the] Department of Homeland Security (DHS) announced a strategic shift toward countering racial hatred,” the SPLC also claimed that these endeavors have largely been hindered by some members of the Trump administration like senior member Stephen Miller, “who has long been allied with anti-immigrant hate groups”.<sup>11</sup> Stephen Miller, senior policy advisor, has openly defended white-supremacists and other hategroups, even contradicting some fellow Republicans.<sup>12</sup> Specifically, Miller has slammed the *Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals* (DACA), which seeks to protect children of illegal immigrants from deportation. After over 900 emails written by Stephen Miller were leaked to the SPLC, it was found that Miller promoted the trope that immigrant hordes were being brought into the country to replace the white population. This concept of “the great replacement” is of growing importance to the far-right, as evidenced by their chant at Charlottesville: “You will not replace

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<sup>8</sup> Bari Weiss. *How to Fight Anti-Semitism*. New York: Crown, 2019, 64.

<sup>9</sup> Weiss, 63.

<sup>10</sup> David Brennan. “Far Right Terrorism Has Increased 320 Percent in Just 4 Years, Extremism Watchdog Warns.” November 20, 2019. ><https://www.newsweek.com/far-right-terrorism-increased-320-percent-4-years-extremism-watchdog-1472642>>. January 29, 2020.

<sup>11</sup> Wilson. “White nationalist hate groups.”

<sup>12</sup> “Yes, Trump must dump Stephen Miller.” *The Star-Ledger*, November 27, 2019, A16.

us”.<sup>13</sup> This “replacement” is often cited by hate radicals as defensive rationalization for their violent actions. Aside from denouncing birthright citizenship, Miller “treated nonwhite immigration with contempt” and supported the idea that “Latinos are predisposed to lower IQs than whites”.<sup>14</sup> In a November 2015 email, Miller included an interview that supported that “undocumented immigrants should be shipped out on trains”, a concept that has a frightening historical parallel.<sup>15</sup>

Eric K. Ward, an activist who worked on the Ford Foundation’s Gender, Racial, and Ethnic Justice Team, and is now a senior fellow at the SPLC, asserted that “the white nationalist movement has come to national power” as Trump “seemed reluctant to disavow his endorsement by David Duke, the most notorious white supremacist in America”.<sup>16</sup> Ward condemned “Trump’s barely coded speech at fascist-style rallies, his support from the internet-based ‘Alt-Right,’ and his placement of White nationalist popularizers in top positions”; “White liberals are often accused of having kept their heads in the sand while more vulnerable populations sounded the alarm about the toll of economic crisis, mass incarceration, police violence, deportation, environmental devastation, and...the unending blare of everyday hate”.<sup>17</sup> Ward also suggests that despite some distancing from these groups by the Trump administration, antisemitism and hatred do “not exist in a vacuum...what is explicit on the margins is implicit in the center”.<sup>18</sup> Ward admitted that the hate group movement “has no clear center. Yet it does have a deadly

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<sup>13</sup> Michael Edison Hayden. “Miller Dismisses DACA in Emails, Mirroring Anti-Immigrant Extremists’ Views.” January 14, 2020. ><https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2020/01/14/miller-dismisses-daca-emails-mirroring-anti-immigrant-extremists-views>>. February 29, 2020.

<sup>14</sup> Hayden.

<sup>15</sup> Hayden.

<sup>16</sup> Eric K. Ward. “Skin in the Game: How Antisemitism Animates White Nationalism.” June 29, 2017.

><https://www.politicalresearch.org/2017/06/29/skin-in-the-game-how-antisemitism-animates-white-nationalism>>. March 9, 2020, 17.

<sup>17</sup> Ward, 4.

<sup>18</sup> Ward, 7

commitment to revolutionary violence against racial others, and [against] the state apparatus perceived to do their bidding” and in that battle, “Jews form a monstrous, all-powerful cabal that uses subhuman others, including blacks and immigrants, as pawns to destroy white nationhood”.<sup>19</sup> Ward also warned: “Contrary to a popular image of white nationalists living exclusively off the grid, far from people of color...white nationalists are our neighbors”.<sup>20</sup> The goal of these groups has increasingly become “perpetrating lone-wolf attacks against inferior races and their white apologists”.<sup>21</sup>

Mary Beth Altier, professor at New York University’s Center for Global Affairs weighed in: “Over the past year [between 2017-2018] we’ve seen an escalation. These lone actor attacks are more lethal in the United States because of access to firearms”.<sup>22,23</sup> Richard Firstman, American journalist and author, chronicled open discussion on the early internet, where online hatemongers hoped to motivate violence, calling for “lone wolves—radical racists who act alone or in small groups so as not to jeopardize the larger movement”.<sup>24</sup> Sociologists from Ohio State University, Josh Adams and Vincent J. Roscigno also documented: “A relatively new strategy that makes these organizations a legitimate threat is the ‘lone wolf’ approach to social action. The idea of the lone wolf racial revolutionary was immortalized in the novel *The Turner Diaries*...said to have been used by Timothy McVeigh as a blueprint for the Oklahoma City bombing”.<sup>25</sup> The concept has also been tied to similar ones as “leaderless resistance” and “solo terrorism”: “characterized by asymmetric warfare [and] horizontal networks of small cells or

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<sup>19</sup> Ward, 15.

<sup>20</sup> Ward, 8.

<sup>21</sup> Ward, 14.

<sup>22</sup> Lord. “How Robert Bowers.”

<sup>23</sup> Petter Nesser. “Research Note, Single Actor Terrorism: Scope, Characteristics and Explanations.” *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 6, No. 6, December 2012, 64.

<sup>24</sup> Mary E. Williams, ed. *Hate Groups: Opposing Viewpoints*. Farmington Hills: Greenhaven Press, 2006, 77.

<sup>25</sup> Josh Adams & Vincent J. Roscigno. “White Supremacists, Oppositional Culture and the World Wide Web.” *Social Forces*, Vol. 84, No. 2, December 2005, 771.

individuals who minimize interaction with organizational entities and a central command”.<sup>26</sup>

These types of perpetrators want to “maximize symbolism”, creating a political and media message through their violence.<sup>27</sup>

Adams and Roscigno include in their findings a particularly intense call to action: “An image on one site depicts a wolf with bloody teeth and swastika eyes; the caption for the image states, ‘lone wolves are everywhere. We’re in your neighborhoods, financial institutions, police departments, military and social clubs’”.<sup>28</sup> They also assert that these lone actors believe they are working for the greater good of their own people and have tacit support from the majority.<sup>29</sup> Having relatively few people involved in these criminal activities makes it more difficult for law enforcement to investigate, track and apprehend the perpetrators.<sup>30,31</sup>

Paramilitary groups, like Attomwaffen Division, the Base, the Indominitables and Feuerkrieg Division, which often have overlapping members and doctrines, take part in what they see as a “leaderless resistance”.<sup>32,33</sup> This has become an increasingly popular drive for these modern paramilitary groups.<sup>34</sup> Bombings, bomb threats, spreading of discriminatory literature and other issues also cause trauma and concern for Jews in schools, in synagogues, and at community centers, but also at home and in public.<sup>35,36</sup> In America, considered the land of promise and opportunity, this is troubling for gentiles and Jews alike. As groups in America

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<sup>26</sup> Nesser. “Research Note,” 61-2.

<sup>27</sup> Nesser, 64.

<sup>28</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 771-2.

<sup>29</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 772,

<sup>30</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 774.

<sup>31</sup> Nesser. “Research Note.”

<sup>32</sup> Williams. *Hate Groups*, 80.

<sup>33</sup> Wilson. “White nationalist hate groups.”

<sup>34</sup> Nesser. “Research Note,” 65.

<sup>35</sup> Arnold M. Eisen “Knowledge Of Jewish Tradition Can Fight Anti-Semitism In America.” March 10, 2017.

>[https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/anti-semitism-in-america\\_us\\_58c185a4e4b0a797c1d399f2](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/anti-semitism-in-america_us_58c185a4e4b0a797c1d399f2)>. March 17, 2019, 2.

<sup>36</sup> Lynn Langton. “Hate Crime Victimization, 2004-2015.” June 29, 2017, ><https://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=5967>>. March 17, 2019, 4.

continue to be treated differently, these groups are perceived as different, “others” and outsiders.<sup>37</sup> The “negative differences”, including stereotypes, bigotry and discrimination, of these threatened groups are emphasized and any cultural and social contributions are ignored or spun by hategroups.<sup>38</sup> “[T]hese views are perpetuated through a steady and unwavering identification of oppositional ‘others’ and a conspiratorial worldview that places whites continually on the verge of peril”.<sup>39</sup>

Ramon Spaaij, the Senior Research Fellow in the School of Social Sciences at La Trobe University, describes how lone actors tend to be spurred by “a particular mix of personal frustrations and ideology, in which subjects use the latter to explain the former”.<sup>40</sup> Spaaij also concluded that lone wolf actors also suffer from mental disorder and social ineptitude, helping understand why they have difficulty fitting in, tend to isolate and seek some refuge with hategroups.<sup>41</sup> He concluded that these actors “come from a variety of backgrounds, but tend to be well-educated and self-taught with regards to extremist ideology and terrorist attacks”.<sup>42</sup> Petter Nesser, a senior research fellow with the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI), discussed societal factors to the phenomenon:

Broader societal tendencies towards individualization and social fragmentation and alienation may intensify such radicalization processes. Alienated and socially isolated persons could drift into a world of online extremism and violent computer games, and in rare instances they could end up being exploited by terrorist organizations.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Koen Leurs. *Voices from the margins on Internet forums*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015, 118.

<sup>38</sup> Leurs, 118.

<sup>39</sup> Adams & Roscogni. “White Supremacists,” 772.

<sup>40</sup> Nesser. “Research Note,” 65.

<sup>41</sup> Nesser, 65.

<sup>42</sup> Nesser, 65.

<sup>43</sup> Nesser, 68.



Nesser asserts that lone wolf action “is on the rise and becoming more deadly” and it “appeals to a special kind of person—people of unusual psychological complexity”.<sup>44</sup>

Researcher, Devin Burghart, completed a study through the Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights, tracking white supremacy in music since the early 90s; he has said there has been a general increasing trend in performances of white-power bands since Donald Trump drew public attention for his political aspirations: “they have been emboldened”.<sup>45</sup> “[M]any politicians and pundits [have] accuse[d] Trump of emboldening white nationalists” although President Trump has said “that he did not believe white nationalism was a rising threat—despite evidence suggesting that far-right extremists and white supremacists were responsible for over half of extremist-related deaths in 2017”.<sup>46</sup> “I think it’s a small group of people that have very, very serious problems,” Trump was quoted as saying recently.<sup>47</sup> According to Mark Pitcavage, an historian who has worked with the ADL: “Since 2009, the United States has been in the middle of a huge resurgence of right-wing extremism...The number of militia groups has quintupled [between 2012 to 2015] and there have been many arrests of white supremacists over the same time for acts of violence...[i]t’s just a huge number of incidents from the extreme right since 2009. It’s the biggest resurgence. . .since the mid-1990s and the Oklahoma City bombing. . .and its causing problems all around the country”.<sup>48</sup> And considering that white supremacist violence has not often been labeled as terrorism in this country, studies on American groups from this perspective are few.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Nesser, 69-70.

<sup>45</sup> Cristina Maza. “So You Accidentally Booked a White Supremacist Band.” ><https://www.citylab.com/life/2017/11/so-you-accidentally-booked-a-white-supremacist-band/545594/>, 1-2.

<sup>46</sup> Choi. “Hate crimes,” 1-2.

<sup>47</sup> Choi, 1.

<sup>48</sup> Miranda S. Leitsinger. “Experts: Alleged temple gunman Wade Michael Page led neo-Nazi band, had deep extremist ties.” August 6, 2012. >[http://usnews.nbcnews.com/\\_news/2012/08/06/13147115-experts-alleged-temple-gunman-wade-michael-page-led-neo-nazi-band-had-deep-extremist-ties?lite](http://usnews.nbcnews.com/_news/2012/08/06/13147115-experts-alleged-temple-gunman-wade-michael-page-led-neo-nazi-band-had-deep-extremist-ties?lite)>. February 15, 2019, 2.

<sup>49</sup> Nesser. “Research Note,” 61.

President Trump has also received criticism for his reaction to the killing of 32-year-old Heather Heyer, a counter-protestor who was murdered at the ‘Unite the Right’ rally in 2017, “the largest public gathering of white supremacists in a generation”.<sup>50</sup> “[T]here was shock and confusion at the sight of bands of white men bearing torches, chanting racist slogans”, including ‘Jews will not replace us! Jews will not replace us!’.<sup>51,52</sup> Other hate group activists have also admitted being driven by the fear of “the idea that white people [are] being replaced”.<sup>53</sup> The SPLC report claims, “American racists have fretted over what they fear will be the loss of their place of dominance in society”.<sup>54</sup>

Despite Trump’s repeated claims to be anti-hate, pro-Jewish and pro-Israel, he has failed to condemn both the killing of Heather Heyer and the spreading of bigoted ideology, instead claiming there were “some very fine people on both sides” of the argument.<sup>55,56</sup> Another study by the SPLC found that in 2016 there were 917 groups with white supremacist and bigoted doctrines, “that is groups that attack or malign an entire class of people, typically for immutable characteristics”; that number had increased from 457 in 1999.<sup>57</sup> James Hall drew parallels between the surge in popularity of provocative groups such as Blood & Honour and the National Front to the expansion of groups like the Alt Right, RAM, and others.<sup>58</sup> Many of these groups openly promote violence, terrorism and murder, and many hold “accelerationist” views: “[they]

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<sup>50</sup> A.C. Thompson, et al. “Racist, Violent, Unpunished: A White Hate Group’s Campaign of Menace.” October 19, 2017. ><https://www.propublica.org/article/white-hate-group-campaign-of-menace-rise-above-movement>>. February 15, 2019, 1.

<sup>51</sup> Thompson, 1.

<sup>52</sup> Thompson, 13.

<sup>53</sup> Wilson. “White nationalist hate groups.”

<sup>54</sup> Wilson.

<sup>55</sup> Thompson. “Racist, Violent, Unpunished,” 1.

<sup>56</sup> Eisner. “Our Obsession,” 2.

<sup>57</sup> James Hall. “How Britain’s Nazi punk bands became a gateway drug for US white supremacy.” August 23, 2017.

><https://www.telegraph.co.uk/music/news/britains-nazi-punks-became-gateway-drug-us-white-supremacy/>>. February 1, 2020.

<sup>58</sup> Hall.

believe mass violence is necessary to bring the collapse of our pluralistic society”.<sup>59</sup> A Discord user, Dr. Goebbowls posted on December 22, 2017: “Anyone with half a brain and enough time can find the information to realize that accelerationism is the last resort of the white man of the modern age”.<sup>60</sup> Christchurch mosque perpetrator, Brenton Harrison Tarrant, wrote in his manifesto: “A vote for a radical candidate that opposes your values and incites agitation or anxiety in your own people works far more in your favour than a vote for a milquetoast political candidate that has no ability or wish to enact radical change”.<sup>61</sup> Accelerationists also hope to motivate less-active racists and white supremacists by using “a chain of societal reactions that further exacerbate the feeling of alienation among white supremacists and theoretically, a greater impulse in violence or other destructive behavior”.<sup>62</sup> The Fascist Forge is an online hate forum, where commenters consider the “optimal” form of aggressive activity. One user, Krokodil “who appears to have ties to white supremacist groups Atomwaffen [Division] and The Base, wrote on October 3, 2018: If we wanted to, hypothetically, every single one of us could go full McVeigh [Timothy McVeigh] and start dispatching political and economic targets today, helping build the social tension that will accelerate the collapse of the System”.<sup>63</sup> Atomwaffen Division, who follow particularly nihilist beliefs, is known for its discussion in closed chat groups concerning “the ultimate collapse”.<sup>64</sup>

Joel Finkelstein, director of the Network Contagion Research Institute, encouraged American lawmakers to reconsider hatespeech legislation and emphasized the connection

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<sup>59</sup> Wilson. “White nationalist hate groups.”

<sup>60</sup> “White Supremacists Embrace ‘Accelerationism’.” April 16, 2019. ><https://www.adl.org/blog/white-supremacists-embrace-accelerationism>>. February 19, 2020.

<sup>61</sup> “White Supremacists Embrace ‘Accelerationism’.”

<sup>62</sup> “White Supremacists Embrace ‘Accelerationism’.”

<sup>63</sup> “White Supremacists Embrace ‘Accelerationism’.”

<sup>64</sup> “White Supremacists Embrace ‘Accelerationism’.”

between hatespeech, hatecrimes and escalation to atrocity: “From a legal standpoint, incitement to genocide violates international law”.<sup>65</sup> Finkelstein continued, warning “If we do not find ways to meaningfully intercede with this, how bad do you suppose this could get? In my worst nightmares, I can envision [something happening] every other weekend, or worse. I fear that is what it might look like if we don’t stop it”.<sup>66</sup> Brian Levin, former police officer and now a professor of Criminal Justice at California State University in San Bernardino, defines a hate crime as “a crime against a community and a crime against a pluralistic society, [hate crimes] imprint on the rest of society a level of distrust. They’re additional poison injected into society”.<sup>67</sup>

And while RAM, Identity Europa, the Proud Boys and other groups have not been directly condoned by President Trump, “the groups don’t hesitate to invoke his presidency as validation for their belief systems”.<sup>68</sup> According to Herbert Blumer, American sociologist, when a marginalized group in society begins to leave the outskirts and becomes increasingly enfranchised, racialists commonly see these “illegitimate trespassers” as “threats to their supremacy” who attempt “to alter preexisting inequitable arrangements”.<sup>69</sup> Despite “mass anxieties about criminal victimization” and claims that whites are inordinately targeted by “amoral minority underclass[es]”, “violent crimes are almost always intraracial”.<sup>70</sup>

That being said, exceptions do occur. On December 28, 2019, on the seventh night of the Jewish holiday of Hanukkah, a masked man entered a Monsey, New York apartment and stabbed

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<sup>65</sup> Rich Lord. “How Robert Bowers.”

<sup>66</sup> Lord.

<sup>67</sup> Williams, ed. *Hate Groups*,” 41.

<sup>68</sup> Thompson. “Racist, Violent, Unpunished,” 8.

<sup>69</sup> Rachel M. Durso & David Jacobs. “The Determinants of the Number of White Supremacist Groups: A Pooled Time-Series Analysis.” *Social Problems*, Vol. 60, No. 1, February 2013, 131.

<sup>70</sup> Durso & Jacobs, 132.

five people. Grafton Thomas, the suspect in the stabbings, was found to be “in possession of handwritten journals that referred to Adolf Hitler and Nazi culture” and whose internet browser history contained searches including “‘German Jewish Temples near me,’ ‘Why did Hitler hate the Jews?’ and ‘Prominent companies founded by Jews in America’”.<sup>71</sup> Andrew Cuomo, Democratic governor of New York, referred to the act as an act of domestic terrorism: “This is violence spurred by hate, it is mass violence and I consider this an act of domestic terrorism. Let’s call it what it is”.<sup>72</sup> Despite Cuomo’s opinion that the act was a hate crime, others, including Attorney Michael Sussman, Reverend Wendy Paige, and some police officials have defended Thomas, claiming he suffers from mental illness and the crime was not antisemitically motivated. “I have heard nothing [leading me to think] that he is a domestic terrorist, that he intentionally targeted in that sense” said Sussman during a press conference two days after the attack.<sup>73</sup> Even the local affiliate of ABC News who reported the crime, made a point to emphasize that “Grafton Thomas has a long history of mental illness and hospitalizations. He has no history of [similar] violent acts and no convictions for any crimes. He has no known history of antisemitism and was raised in a home which embraced and respected all religions and races. He is not a member of any hate group”.<sup>74</sup> Despite those defending him from hate crime allegations, Thomas has been charged with “five counts of obstructing the free exercise of religious beliefs by attempting to kill with a dangerous weapon and causing injuries”.<sup>75</sup> Evan Bernstein, regional director of the Anti-Defamation League in New York and New Jersey said “The Jewish community is utterly terrified. No one should have to live like this. How many more

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<sup>71</sup> “Federal hate crime charges filed against suspect in New York Hanukkah stabbings.” December 30, 2019. >abc7ny.com/hate-crime-charges-filed-against-suspect-in-ny-hanukkah-stabbings/5798255/>. January 29, 2020.

<sup>72</sup> “Federal hate crime charges.”

<sup>73</sup> “Federal hate crime charges.”

<sup>74</sup> “Federal hate crime charges.”

<sup>75</sup> “Federal hate crime charges.”

times will it take for people in the Orthodox Jewish community to be terrorized with violence before something changes?”<sup>76</sup> Mental health issues have increasingly become a way to diffuse responsibility for violent spree killings in America.

On January 1, 2020 another recent example of a hate crime became widely publicized. Fox News reported that two women in Bushwick, Brooklyn attacked a twenty-two year-old Jewish man threatening him with Jewish slurs, yelling “F--- you Jew, I will kill you Jews”.<sup>77</sup> The conservative-leaning news source, owned by Rupert Murdoch, described how one of the women grabbed the man’s cell phone when he tried to record their invective; she then broke it and then threw it at his face, also shoving him to the ground. The victim had minor injuries; the perpetrators could be charged with a hate crime.<sup>78</sup>

Another event took place on January 31, 2020, when *The Guardian* reported that neo-Nazi propagandist, Scott Rhodes will face a \$12.9m FCC fine for using robocalls to influence his neighbors; “[Rhodes] targeted specific communities with the intent to cause harm”.<sup>79</sup> The FCC added: Rhodes “appears to have used an online calling platform to manipulate caller ID information so the calls he was making appeared to come from local numbers”, and the calls corresponded with elections or other leading news affairs.<sup>80</sup> Exploiting a murder, threatening a newspaper, preaching about “brown hordes” and trying to influence jurors in the recent James Fields trial, who was convicted of murdering Heather Heyer in Charlottesville.<sup>81</sup> This sort of

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<sup>76</sup> “Federal hate crime charges.”

<sup>77</sup> Larry Celona, C.J. Sullivan, Craig McCarthy & Ebony Bowden. “Jewish man attacked in NYC by 2 women after trying to record anti-Semitic tirade, report says.” January 1, 2020. ><https://www.foxnews.com/us/jewish-man-anti-semitic-brooklyn-new-york-city.print>>. January 29, 2020.

<sup>78</sup> Celona, Sullivan, McCarthy & Bowden.

<sup>79</sup> Jason Wilson. “US neo-Nazi faces \$12.9m fine for sending racist robocalls.” January 31, 2020. ><https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jan/31/us-fcc-neo-nazi-fine-robocalls>>. January 31, 2020.

<sup>80</sup> Wilson.

<sup>81</sup> Wilson.



astroturfing is similar to supposed efforts on the part of Russian nationals during the 2016 election. The FCC believed Rhodes was “motivated by a belief that these actions would result in media notoriety and accordingly would enable him to increase publicity for his website and personal brand,” including this podcast *The Road to Power*.<sup>82</sup> Podcasts have become an increasingly common platform for white power ideologues. It’s important to note that Rhodes’ crimes are not punishable by criminal law; his fines are a monetary punishment only. At this juncture, only direct threats of violence are prosecutable as a crime, while much speech is protected by the first amendment.

Trump has been accused of erosions of democracy, especially when his administration enacted its zero-tolerance policy regarding immigration. His policy of separating children from asylum-seeking parents, mostly from central and south America, has been broadly criticized. The migrant camps have been likened to concentration camps, ICE officials and guards to the gestapo and President Trump to Adolf Hitler. “Former CIA Director Michael Hayden posted a picture, directed at the Trump administration and ICE, of the entrance to Birkenau with the [caption], ‘Other governments have separated mothers and children...’”.<sup>83,84,85</sup>

Christopher Browning, Professor Emeritus of History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, compared the present political, socio-economic situation in America with the pre-World War II Weimar period and the rise of Nazi fascism. He believes there is some reasonable

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<sup>82</sup> Wilson.

<sup>83</sup> Deborah Lipstadt. “It’s Not the Holocaust.” June 22, 2018. ><https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/06/holocaust-family-separation/563480/>>. January 29, 2020.

<sup>84</sup> Jonathan Blitzer. “A New Report on Family Separations Shows the Depths of Trump’s Negligence.” December 6, 2019. ><https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/a-new-report-on-family-separations-shows-the-depths-of-trumps-negligence>>. March 15, 2020.

<sup>85</sup> Alan Gomez. “Democrats grill Trump administration officials over family separation policy on the border.” February 7, 2019. ><https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2019/02/07/democrats-trump-administration-family-separation-policy-border-immigration/2794324002/>>. March 15, 2020.

comparison between both regimes, including the destruction of “democratic norms”.<sup>86</sup> Browning detailed the “income disparity and a concentration of wealth at the top”, “a highly restrictionist immigration policy” and calls for “autonomous, xenophobic nation states”.<sup>87</sup> Browning depiction of Trump’s “preference for bilateral relations, conceived as zero-sum rivalries in which he is the dominant player and ‘wins’”, seems comparable to how Hitler approached foreign relations and even the Nazis’ internal hierarchies.<sup>88</sup> Browning also warns of “fascist-conservative alliances” and Trump’s open admiration for authoritarian dictators, including Vladimir Putin, Xi Jinping, Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Kim Jong-un.<sup>89,90</sup> Browning criticizes Mitch McConnell for the “hyperpolarization of American politics” during the Obama administration and “the obliteration of traditional precedents concerning judicial appointments”.<sup>91</sup>

According to Browning, Trump shows “complete disregard of US asylum law [and] basic humanitarian principles”.<sup>92</sup> Browning also cautions against so-called “illiberal democracy”, in which “opposition parties can be left in existence and elections can be held to provide a fig leaf of democratic legitimacy”.<sup>93</sup> “Xenophobic nationalism (and in many cases explicitly anti-immigrant white nationalism) as well as the prioritization of ‘law and order’ over individual rights are also crucial to these regimes in mobilizing popular support of their bases and stigmatizing their enemies”.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Christopher R. Browning “The Suffocation of Democracy.” The New York Review of Books, October 25, 2018.

><https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2018/10/25/suffocation-of-democracy/>>. January 31, 2020.

<sup>87</sup> Browning. “The Suffocation of Democracy.”

<sup>88</sup> Browning.

<sup>89</sup> Browning.

<sup>90</sup> Alexander Nazaryan. “Getting Close to Fascism with Sinclair Lewis’s ‘It Can’t Happen Here.’” October 19, 2016.

><https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/getting-close-to-fascism-with-sinclair-lewiss-it-cant-happen-here>>. February 20, 2020.

<sup>91</sup> Browning. “The Suffocation of Democracy.”

<sup>92</sup> Browning.

<sup>93</sup> Browning.

<sup>94</sup> Browning.

Timothy Snyder, American author of 2017's *On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century* and 2018's *The Road to Unfreedom*, has also warned about Trump's authoritarian tendencies. In discussing *On Tyranny*, Snyder asserted:

The premise...is not that Hitler is just like Trump or Trump is just like Hitler. The premise is that democratic republics usually fail and it's useful for us to see how they fail. One of the ways a democratic republic can fail is Germany in 1933...Americans are extremely lazy about history...[A]s soon as anyone suggests that the past might be useful, they we say 'but wait it's not exactly the same and therefore I'm just going to discard it'...Just saying 'Hitler's not like Trump' or 'Trump is not like Hitler' isn't going to save us. Learning from the past though, could.<sup>95</sup>

Snyder's warning also stressed the ecological factors: "The planet is changing in ways that might make Hitlerian descriptions of life, space, and time more plausible".<sup>96</sup> He condemned Russian actions of interference in the American electoral process and criticized those who denied it happened: "Russian obviously interfered in U.S. elections [and to think otherwise is to] deny truth".<sup>97</sup> Snyder sees the election of Trump as "a turn away from democracy and the rule of law" and he labels Trump a "sadopopulist": a politician who promises utopia to his followers, yet when in power, pursues policy which actually hurts his supporters.<sup>98</sup>

Madeline Albright, former secretary of state, also condemned Trump and his supporters in her 2018 book, *Fascism: A Warning*. She called Trump, "the first antidemocratic president in US history [who] flaunts his disdain for democratic institutions, the ideals of equality and social

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<sup>95</sup> Emmanuel Ocbazghi. "Yale history professor: Here's why it's useful to compare Trump's actions to Hitlers." April 14, 2017. ><https://www.businessinsider.com/yale-professor-shouldnt-afraid-compare-trump-hitler-on-tyranny-comparison-politics-2017-4>>. February 20, 2020.

<sup>96</sup> Mikanowski, Jacob. "The Bleak Prophecy of Timothy Snyder." April 12, 2019. ><https://www.chronicle.com/interactives/20190412snyder>>. February 20, 2020.

<sup>97</sup> Mikanowski.

<sup>98</sup> Richard J. Evans. "Fascism and The Road to Unfreedom review – the warning from the 1930s." July 19, 2018. ><https://www.theguardian.com/books/2018/jul/19/fascism-a-warning-madeleine-albright-the-road-to-unfreedom-timothy-snyder-book-review>>. February 20, 2020.

justice, civil discourse, civic virtues and America itself”.<sup>99</sup> Albright continued: “If we think of fascism as a wound from the past that had almost healed, putting Trump in the White house [is] like ripping off the bandage and picking at the scab”.<sup>100</sup>

Richard J. Evans, author and reporter for *the Guardian*, cautions against too frivolously condemning Trump as a fascist or comparing his administration to Nazi Germany. However, Evans does admit that Trump is “disruptive and dangerous”.<sup>101</sup> Evans states:

There can be little doubt about Trump’s hostility to democratic institutions or his contempt for democratic standards of public discourse. He defames his critics as liars, calls for the suppression of newspapers that expose his falsehoods, attacks judges who rule against him, urges the wider use of firearms in society, expresses sympathy for white supremacist demonstrators, withdraws demonstratively from international alliances and organizations and suggests that becoming president for life might not be a bad idea.<sup>102</sup>

Deborah Lipstadt, Professor of Modern Jewish History and Holocaust Studies at Emory University, experiences much of the same indignation concerning the isolation of migrant Latino/a children by the Trump administration. However, she encourages caution when comparing the contemporary situation with the rise of Nazi Germany. While atrocious, Lipstadt emphasizes that the treatment of these vulnerable people is not a genocide. Lipstadt also points out, “When there were mass shootings [by the Nazis], children were not typically separated from parents; they generally kept them together as not to alarm”.<sup>103</sup> Lipstadt continues: “Using historically invalid analogies gives those responsible for these outrages a chance to wriggle out

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<sup>99</sup> Evans.

<sup>100</sup> Evans.

<sup>101</sup> Evans.

<sup>102</sup> Evans.

<sup>103</sup> Lipstadt. “It’s Not the Holocaust.”

from the avalanche of justified attacks on their policies. It gives them the opportunity to shift the conversation to the appropriateness of the comparison, and the precision of the parallel”.<sup>104</sup>

In December of 2019, Jonathan Blitzer of *The New Yorker* did a follow-up report on the migrant internment centers. Blitzer stated: “The Trump administration, it turned out, had never made arrangements to keep track of the families it was separating. By late June, when a federal judge ordered the administration to reunite the families, it couldn’t figure out how”.<sup>105</sup> He continued: “The Trump administration had a clear sense of the magnitude [twenty-six thousand children] of what it was undertaking...but it simultaneously neglected to make even the most basic preparations to keep track of separated families”.<sup>106</sup> Democratic Representative from Illinois, Jan Schawkowski stated, “I really think that what we’re talking about is state-sponsored child abuse, and I would go as far as to say kidnapping of children”.<sup>107</sup> Commander Jonathan White, who was in charge of the care of minors for the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) condemned the policy: “Neither I nor any career person in ORR would ever have supported such a policy proposal. Separating children from their parents poses significant risks of traumatic psychological injury to the child. The consequences of separation for many children will be lifelong”.<sup>108</sup> When a leader and his administration show such blatant disregard for human dignity and treat a marginalized people with such contempt, it’s not surprising that his base of support often spouts anti-immigrant and anti-latina/o rhetoric. Attorney Lee Gelernt, of the American Civil Liberties Union, wants to see the government held responsible: “That’s

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<sup>104</sup> Lipstadt.

<sup>105</sup> Blitzer. “A New Report on Family Separations.”

<sup>106</sup> Blitzer.

<sup>107</sup> Gomez. “Democrats grill Trump.”

<sup>108</sup> Gomez.

what's going on with these children, any sense of stability has been shattered. Without real medical assistance, I think it's going to be really difficult for them to recover".<sup>109</sup>

Trump's election has led to a resurgence in popularity of books that depict a dystopian civilization, reflecting anxieties and worries that many Americans face as the future becomes less stable and predictable. Books like George Orwell's *1984* and Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* have seen record sales, especially after the 2016 election.<sup>110</sup> Another classic, Sinclair Lewis' *It Can't Happen Here*, has drawn much attention as well. "[*It Can't Happen Here*] is making a comeback as an analogy for the Age of Trump. Within a week of the 2016 election, the book was reportedly sold out on Amazon", seeming to suggest the counter idea: "It can happen here".<sup>111</sup>

The book depicts a fictional populist candidate, Buzz Windrip, who wins the 1936 election and plunges the country into undemocratic chaos.<sup>112</sup> Originally developed with Louisiana populist Huey Long in mind, who was shot a month before the novel came out, *It Can't Happen Here* was meant to spoof do-nothing liberals who watch as their country becomes co-opted by fascism, and yet do nothing to stop it.<sup>113</sup> The book also holds up media journalism as a barricade against fascism and oppression, especially pertinent in light of the anti-media denunciations by Trump, who acts "genuinely offended as any cartoon despot that a newspaper would dare print unflattering truths about his business or sexual transgressions".<sup>114</sup> The book also

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<sup>109</sup> Gomez.

<sup>110</sup> Guy Davies. "Brave New World Revisited, revisited." October 12, 2018. ><https://spectator.us/2018/10/brave-new-world-revisited-revisited/>>. February 1, 2020.

<sup>111</sup> Beverly Gage. "Reading the Classic Novel that Predicted Trump." January 17, 2017.

><https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/17/books/review/classic-novel-that-predicted-trump-sinclair-lewis-it-cant-happen-here.html>>. February 20, 2020.

<sup>112</sup> Sinclair Lewis. "It Can't Happen Here." July 2017. ><http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks03/0301001h.html>>. February 20, 2020.

<sup>113</sup> Gage. "Reading the Classic Novel."

<sup>114</sup> Nazaryan. "Getting Close."



illustrates how Americans, who are generally undereducated about how legislation, governance and politics actually work, can be easily manipulated with promises and threats.<sup>115,116</sup>

And while Windrup's America plunges into imprisonment of congressional officials, jailing of political opponents, martial law, labor camps and torture, which looks less like Trump's Twitter army and more like Hitler's militant regime, the book provides startling parallels to contemporary reality.<sup>117</sup> "We have already experienced some of what Lewis describes in the first third of his book: a blustery populist candidate rising, against all odds, to the presidency of the United States".<sup>118</sup> Trump, like Windrip in the book, has cast himself as the hero of the working class of "Forgotten Men", loves large impassioned rallies and condemns the irresponsibility and lies of the "fake media".<sup>119</sup> Also like his fictional counterpart, Trump has also emboldened his extremist followers to vent their resentments against marginalized victim groups, like blacks and Jews.

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<sup>115</sup> Nazaryan.

<sup>116</sup> Gage. "Reading the Classic Novel."

<sup>117</sup> Gage.

<sup>118</sup> Gage.

<sup>119</sup> Gage.

# I

## Literature Review

While hate groups have been a consistent presence in the history of United States, comprehensive literature and in-depth research about these groups has not been a popular topic for scholars and academics. In order to fully understand these groups and their presence in the socio-economic system of America, one must have a greater understanding of them, their methods, their victims and the perceptions of the world around them.

John M. Cotter, professor of Political Science at the University of Kentucky, discusses the growing number of groups targeted and denigrated by hate groups including, “anti-racists, Marxists, liberal politicians, homosexuals and criminal elements”.<sup>120</sup> Many scholars and researchers of hate groups have detailed the “us and them” mentality and the subsequent dehumanization of the “them” groups by the hate movement.<sup>121</sup> Karen Franklin, Forensic Psychologist at the Washington Institute for Mental Illness Research and Training, suggests a social structuralist component, detailing “an environment that disdains someone [as] ‘different’ or sees that difference as threatening”, in which “society sanctions attacks on certain groups”, and certain offenders feel they have “societal permission” to target vulnerable groups.<sup>122</sup> American journalist, Chip Berlet agrees, explaining how “the barriers to violence are simply breeched by arguments that the violence prevents a greater moral harm”.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Williams ed. *Hate Groups*, 132.

<sup>121</sup> Pete Simi, Kathleen Blee, Matthew DeMichele and Steven Windisch. “Addicted to Hate: Identity Residual among Former White Supremacists.” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 82, No. 6, December 2017, 1170.

<sup>122</sup> Williams ed. *Hate Groups*, 30.

<sup>123</sup> Williams, 49.

Cotter describes how hategroups are increasingly targeting immigrant and refugee groups, ascribing to “an ‘ideology of inequality’ that rigidly separates people according to those who ‘belong’ and those who do not...[one] directed at multiple minority groups”.<sup>124</sup> However, despite this, Cotter and other scholars see an overarching belief in “the notion of a global Jewish conspiracy against the white race”.<sup>125,126,127</sup> Alexandra Minna Stern wrote in her book about the alt right: “Antisemitism is a ferocious black hole in the alt-right cosmos and no conversation about the ethnostate can proceed very far without the demonization and dehumanization of Jews”.<sup>128</sup> As one anonymous Identity Europa blogger commented: “It is the Jew and the Jew only that stands in the way. Without first formulating a plan to remove these subversives from their positions of control [a white ethnostate is impossible]”.<sup>129</sup> Robert Kaplan, an attorney who is involved in the lawsuit against the supremacists at Unite the Right in Charlottesville, claims that hategroups “hate us all—black, Muslim, LGBTQ people, women, immigrants. But the group they hate with the fiercest passion—the people they say they want to burn once again in the ovens—are Jews”.<sup>130</sup>

Adams & Roscigno, in their study on Neo-Nazi and Klan groups, found “a comprehensive conspiratorial worldview in which the white race is victimized and subjugated by a vast network of Jewish-controlled organizations”.<sup>131</sup> The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) discusses on their website, how some supremacist accelerationists believe in a counter-accelerationist Jewish plan to “advance degenerate values and influences such as

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<sup>124</sup> Williams, 131.

<sup>125</sup> Williams, 130.

<sup>126</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 764.

<sup>127</sup> Alexandra Minna Stern. *Proud Boys and the White Ethnostate: How the Alt-Right is Warping the American Imagination*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2019, 57.

<sup>128</sup> Stern, 69.

<sup>129</sup> Stern, 69

<sup>130</sup> Weiss. *How to Fight Anti-Semitism*, 69.

<sup>131</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 774.

multiculturalism, liberalism and diversity...Jews are often blamed for their perceived role in promoting these elements—which white supremacists believe contribute to an imminent genocide of the white race”.<sup>132,133</sup> This conspiratorial concept of “white genocide” and a “great replacement”, which claims “Jews are deliberately pushing majority-white countries into accepting a multiracial society in order to eliminate white people from the planet”.<sup>134</sup> One Discord user named EagleJarl commented on November 4, 2017: “The Jews are the real accelerationists”.<sup>135</sup>

Eric K. Ward referred to the Jews as the “true archenemy” of the white nationalist movement.<sup>136</sup> “[A]ntisemitism fuels white nationalism, a genocidal movement now enthroned in the highest seats of American power, and fighting antisemitism cuts off that fuel for the sake of all marginalized communities under siege from the Trump regime and the social movement that helped raise it up. To refuse to deal with any ideology of domination, moreover, is to abet it”.<sup>137</sup> He describes how the movement has moved out of the shadows and increasingly into the mainstream of American political life. The real enemy of the white nationalist movement, in Ward’s opinion, is the federal government, controlled by an international Jewish cabal.<sup>138</sup> Ward contends that despite the growing number of marginalized peoples that hate groups victimize and the different forms of bigotry and hatred they espouse, “antisemitism forms its theoretical core”.<sup>139</sup> The significance of antisemitism to white nationalism has caused the movement to ask

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<sup>132</sup> “White Supremacists Embrace ‘Accelerationism’.”

<sup>133</sup> Nesser. “Research Note,” 68.

<sup>134</sup> Michael Edison Hayden. “White Nationalist State Department Official Still Active in Hate Movement.” January 30, 2020. ><https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2020/01/30/white-nationalist-state-department-official-still-active-hate-movement>>. February 29, 2020.

<sup>135</sup> “White Supremacists Embrace ‘Accelerationism’.”

<sup>136</sup> Ward. “Skin in the Game, 3.

<sup>137</sup> Ward, 16.

<sup>138</sup> Ward, 3.

<sup>139</sup> Ward, 4.

how a group of subordinate others could have affected American society to such an extent, and their answer invariably is that “[t]his diabolical evil [Jews] must control television, banking, entertainment, education and even Washington DC. It must be brainwashing white people, rendering them racially unconscious”.<sup>140</sup> For Ward, this casting of Jews “as the absolute other, the driving force of white dispossession” necessitates the dismantling of antisemitism before the other forms of hate group bigotry can be tackled.<sup>141</sup> Ward continually emphasizes how Jews are viewed as “an existential threat to whiteness” and how antisemitism has been and remains “the lynchpin of the white nationalist belief system”.<sup>142</sup> Ward continued:

The movement does not take a single, unified position on the Jewish question. But antisemitism has been a throughline from the Posse Comitatus, which set itself against ‘anti-Christ Jewry’; to David Duke’s refurbished Ku Klux Klan, which abandoned anti-Catholicism in the 1970s in order to focus on ‘Jewish supremacism’; to the neonazi group The Order, inspired by The Turner Diaries, which in the mid-1980s went on a rampage of robberies and synagogue bombings in Washington state and murdered a Jewish radio talk show host in Denver; to evangelical leaders like Pat Robertson who denounced antisemitism but used its popularity among their followers to promote implicitly white supremacist ‘Christian nationalism’; to the contemporary Alt Right named by white nationalist Richard Spencer, which has brought antisemitic thought and imagery to new audiences on the internet—and now at White House press conferences.<sup>143</sup>

Denial and apologia of the Holocaust, jokes and caricatures of Jews, proliferation of both classic and modern antisemitic tropes and other forms of anti-Jewish sentiment are common across a wide range of hategroups.<sup>144</sup> According to hategroup doctrine: “[A]ll the ills that plague Western societies are the work of ZOG, this includes not only Jews, but also traitors within the

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<sup>140</sup> Ward, 5.

<sup>141</sup> Ward, 7.

<sup>142</sup> Ward, 7-8.

<sup>143</sup> Ward, 13-4.

<sup>144</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 768.

white races such as the media, intellectuals, police and politicians”.<sup>145</sup> The myth of ZOG, or Zionist Occupationist Government, has developed the traditional anti-Jewish global conspiracies into a more modern form of antisemitism, casting “Jews and their collaborators [as] the threat to white civilization”.<sup>146,147</sup> Opponents of ZOG believe they will invariably take “revenge upon non-whites and race traitors for the part they played in the plot to destroy white people and their culture”.<sup>148</sup> This “ultrasecret Jewish government” and a host of other antisemitic tropes have become a consistent part of hategroups’ rhetoric.<sup>149</sup> Matt Hale, leader of the World Church of the Creator, now called the Creativity Movement, describes his group’s ideology as a “racial religion that embodies the best values of genetics, biology” which empowers the “white race imperiled by a Jewish occupation government [and] a sickly Jewish creed: [Christianity]”.<sup>150</sup> The National Alliance advocates a response to ZOG and Jewish world influence by establishing a new world government “spanning several continents...[a] White world...racial cleansing of the land, rooting out of racially destructive institutions, and the reorganization of society on a new basis”.<sup>151</sup>

Richard Firstman discusses how modern hategroups follow a mixed doctrine of traditional bigotry and antisemitism combined with a slew of American antisemitic tropes and myths: “the prominence of Jews in the [American] media, commerce and government;...[that] Benjamin Franklin declared...Jews were parasites and should be banned from the country; that consumers pay a hidden ‘kosher tax’ on food items; that the Federal Reserve is a Jewish

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<sup>145</sup> Williams. *Hate Groups*, 133.

<sup>146</sup> Williams, 133.

<sup>147</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 771.

<sup>148</sup> Williams, 135

<sup>149</sup> Williams, 10.

<sup>150</sup> Williams, 72.

<sup>151</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 771.

conspiracy”.<sup>152</sup> David Tyler, American journalist, has focused on poverty disenfranchisement and economic resentment. He claims the perceived “underprivileged existence” hategroup members endure leads them to both “claim that the Jews own more than their share” and denounce immigration and pluralism.<sup>153</sup> According to Loretta Ross, American activist and public advocate,

White fears of change or difference are exploited by hate groups. At the same time, they are expanding their targets of hate. They have adopted not only homophobia as a prominent part of their new agenda, but are forcefully anti-abortion, pro-family values, and pro-American, in addition to their traditional racist and antisemitic beliefs.<sup>154</sup>

Antisemitism has evolved over time and in different sections of the world. Despite these differences, antisemitic rhetoric and tropes have always sought to dehumanize and delegitimize the Jewish people in order to scapegoat them for societal problems, justify seizing their resources and properties, and rationalize their persecution and often destruction. Leon Pinsker, a Russian physician and supporter of Jewish emancipation, called antisemitism “a demonopathy...a psychic aberration like other superstitions and idiosyncrasies” and he felt that “polemics against it were useless...for prejudice could not be removed by rational argument”.<sup>155</sup>

According to Walter Laqueur, an American author and historian, historical antisemitism focused primarily on religious and cultural differences between Jews and their pagan and then Christian neighbors. While conversion was sometimes a method of escape for Jews in Europe and elsewhere, Jews who had seemingly embraced Christianity, such as *conversos* in Medieval

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<sup>152</sup> Williams. *Hate Groups*, 83.

<sup>153</sup> Williams, 67.

<sup>154</sup> Williams, 73.

<sup>155</sup> Walter Laqueur. *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism: From Ancient Times to the Present Day*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008, 26.

Spain, sometimes still faced discrimination and worse. Shedding outward Jewish characteristics, such as dress, beard and hair, and form of prayer, often allowed Jews to fit into the society around them.<sup>156</sup>

However, despite the threat to Jewish lives and property, anti-Jewish actions were rather inconsistent during antiquity, and usually occurred during periods of economic and cultural crises. One example, detailed by Laqueur, the spread of the black plague, was used to demonize Jews throughout Europe and helped perpetuate the myth of a widespread, international Jewish conspiracy. The publishing and spread of *the Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in 1903 continued this myth into the modern era.<sup>157</sup> The myth of usury, which cast Jews as immoral money-lenders who sought to drain their gentile neighbors of resources, has often been cited as a particularly pervasive and hurtful trope. According to Phyllis Goldstein, of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), usury, “nearly everywhere...pushed Jews to the margins of society and led to the stereotype of the Jew as greedy and money-hungry”.<sup>158</sup>

According to Joseph Bendersky, as antisemitism evolved, it retained many of the historical canards connected with it, such as usury, killers of Christ, blood libel/ritual sacrifice, and economic and far-reaching “Jewish power and conspiracies”.<sup>159</sup> As modern theories such as social Darwinism and eugenics became more popular, elements of these pseudo-sciences became incorporated, giving antisemitic ideology a more modern aspect and the façade of

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<sup>156</sup> Laqueur, 28.

<sup>157</sup> Laqueur, 29.

<sup>158</sup> Phyllis Goldstein. *A Convenient Hatred: The History of Antisemitism*. Brookline: Facing History and Ourselves, 2012, 73.

<sup>159</sup> Joseph W. Bendersky. “Holocaust-Era American Antisemitism: Selected articles from Holocaust and Genocide Studies.” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 2010, 8.



legitimacy.<sup>160,161,162,163</sup> According to David Berger, a professor of history at Brooklyn College and the City University of New York, modern antisemitism presented a myriad and often inconsistent assertions: “The Jews are Rothschilds and paupers, capitalists and communists, nationalists and deracinated cosmopolitans, religious separatists and dangerous free thinkers, evil geniuses and the possessors of superficial, third-rate minds”.<sup>164</sup>

This seemingly contradictory nature of modern anti-Jewish sentiment actually allowed its purveyors to apply different aspects of their belief system to different situations. The height of this was evident in the propaganda and inflammatory rhetoric of Adolf Hitler and his Nazi party, who incorporated the more historic political, social, cultural and economic aspects of antisemitism into their worldview, but also used the burgeoning idea of *race* and *purity of blood* to further dehumanize the Jews. As Berger noted, “[T]heir central message was that Jews were alien, demonic creatures, subhuman and superhuman at the same time, who threatened ‘Aryans’ with racial corruption and with profound, almost inexpressible terror”.<sup>165</sup> Instead of being a fixed set of beliefs, “the particular constellations of a given majority society, the living patterns of a specific Jewish minority, and...an inherited legacy of stereotypes combine to create ever-changing manifestations of anti-Jewish thinking and behavior”.<sup>166</sup>

According to Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, a Jewish scholar, “[T]he Holocaust did not begin with the building of crematoria...it all began with uttering evil words, with defamation, with language and propaganda...[and these words], once having been uttered, gain[ed] eternity

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<sup>160</sup> Laqueur, *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism*, 34.

<sup>161</sup> Bendersky. “Holocaust Era American Antisemitism,” 9.

<sup>162</sup> Deborah Lipstadt. “It’s Not the Holocaust.”

<sup>163</sup> Stern. *Proud Boys*, 3.

<sup>164</sup> David Berger, ed. *History and Hate: the Dimensions of Anti-Semitism*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1986, 9.

<sup>165</sup> Berger, 12.

<sup>166</sup> Berger, 50.

and can never be withdrawn”.<sup>167</sup> After the horrors of the Holocaust became more publicly known, Bendersky believed antisemitism fell out of favor and became increasingly less socially acceptable; “[P]articipating in the general exposure of the unprecedented barbarity and deadly consequences of Nazi racism...helped delegitimize racial ideas, including the antisemitic variant”.<sup>168</sup> According to Goldstein, antisemitism was “no longer a pillar of western thought and society”; nonetheless, modern hategroups have still incorporated much of the Nazis’ doctrine into their own.<sup>169</sup> Laqueur believes that in the modern period, blatant, “open, outspoken antisemitism is restricted to sectarians of the extreme right”.<sup>170</sup> Bendersky claims that although generally antisemitism is no longer acceptable in mainstream political discussion, there has been a recent increase in antisemitism by marginal groups in the United States.<sup>171</sup> And while much of this has resulted in only rhetoric and vandalism, we have seen “violent acts against individual Jews and Jewish institutions”.<sup>172</sup> While Jews have been generally considered to be assimilated into American culture, they still make up a small part of the population and for some Americans the Jewish traditions and belief system may seem bizarre and threatening.

According to Heidi Beirich of the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), antisemitism and other hatred never really went away, but instead was lurking in the shadows and has subsequently reemerged into everyday life; “[A]fter President Trump’s election, bias incidents became a daily reality and hate crimes targeting the nation’s most vulnerable communities became a national nightmare”.<sup>173</sup> According to the Anti-Defamation League’s website, hate

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<sup>167</sup> Goldstein. *A Convenient Hatred*, 2-3.

<sup>168</sup> Bendersky, “Holocaust Era American Antisemitism,” 7.

<sup>169</sup> Berger. *History and Hate*, 13.

<sup>170</sup> Laqueur. *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism*, 5.

<sup>171</sup> Bendersky. “Holocaust-Era American Antisemitism,” 1.

<sup>172</sup> Bendersky, 8.

<sup>173</sup> Heidi Beirich. “What’s Next: Confronting Hate.” *Intelligence Report*, No. 165, 2018, 3.

crimes threaten individuals, create inter- and intra-group tensions, “traumatize victims and polarize communities”.<sup>174</sup> Through the Federal Hate Crime Statistics Act (HCSA), the FBI creates annual reports from local law enforcement agencies regarding crimes “based on the victim’s race, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or disability”; some states also have their own separate reporting and documenting of these crimes.<sup>175</sup> Michael Gorman, American attorney and New York City police lieutenant, reported: “The criminal penalty often dictates the amount of effort detectives will put into a case, and hate crimes generally warrant more effort, both for the good of society at large and to protect the victim and his or her identifiable group”.<sup>176</sup>

Within the past several years America has been subjected to an increase in right wing extremist violence and antisemitic actions including vandalism, provocations and attacks.<sup>177,178</sup> Between 2016 to 2018, hate crimes have risen in the ten largest American cities by 12.5%.<sup>179</sup> According to the ADL’s Center on Extremism “every extremist killing in the U.S. in 2018 was linked to far-right individuals or organizations”.<sup>180</sup> According to the Human Rights Campaign (HRC), “Hate crimes rend the fabric of our society and fragment communities because they target a whole group of people and not just the individual victim. Hate crimes are committed to make an entire community fearful. A violent hate crime is intended to ‘send a message’ that a person of his or her ‘kind’ will not be tolerated—many times leaving the victim and others in their group feeling isolated, vulnerable and unprotected”.<sup>181</sup> According to Hamid Dabashi,

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<sup>174</sup> “Hate Crimes Data Collection and Prosecutions FAQ.” December 31, 2012. ><https://www.adl.org/news/article/hate-crimes-data-collection-and-prosecutions-faq#>>. February 29, 2020.

<sup>175</sup> “Hate Crimes Data.”

<sup>176</sup> Williams. *Hate Groups*, 44.

<sup>177</sup> Holocaust-Era American Antisemitism - A Special Virtual Issue.”

>[https://academic.oup.com/hgs/pages/american\\_antisemitism](https://academic.oup.com/hgs/pages/american_antisemitism)>. February 1, 2020.

<sup>178</sup> Ariel Koch. “The New Crusaders: Contemporary Extreme Right Symbolism and Rhetoric.” *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 11, No. 5, October 2017, 13.

<sup>179</sup> “By the Numbers.” *Intelligence Report*, No. 165, 2018, 11.

<sup>180</sup> Brennan. “Far Right Terrorism.”

<sup>181</sup> Williams. *Hate Groups*, 27.

scholar and author, “Antisemitism works by increasingly restricting spaces where Jews can feel welcome and comfortable, until none are left”.<sup>182</sup>

The HRC also asserts that hate crimes have been underreported in America, in large part because of victims’ “strained relations with law enforcement officials and fear [of] what is called ‘re-victimization’”, where victims are sometimes blamed for their own attack, or sometimes are berated and beaten by police.<sup>183</sup>

Steve Killelea of the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) states his organization has tracked an 320% increase in far-right terrorist attacks across the globe, with a majority of fatalities from these incidents occurring in North America, something he believes is linked to the easy procurement of weapons in the United States.<sup>184</sup> The IEP’s report also states that the majority of right-wing attacks commit their crimes as *lone wolf* attackers, not claiming allegiance to any particular group; use of this terminology has come under some criticism though as experts point to the vastly interconnected nature of hate group networks that these attackers have contact with.<sup>185,186</sup> Killelea asserts that the ability for these singular perpetrators to remain under the radar has made it “hard for a security organization to actually track them down and stop attacks in advance”.<sup>187</sup> According to Daniel Koehler, director of the Institute on Radicalization and De-Radicalization Studies, “right-wing terrorism or racist political violence remains one of the most dangerous threats to Western democracies”.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Weiss. *How to Fight Anti-Semitism*, 100.

<sup>183</sup> Williams. *Hate Groups*, 28.

<sup>184</sup> Brennan. “Far Right Terrorism.”

<sup>185</sup> Brennan. “Far Right Terrorism.”

<sup>186</sup> Koch. “The New Crusaders,” 13.

<sup>187</sup> Brennan. “Far Right Terrorism.”

<sup>188</sup> Koch. “The New Crusaders,” 13.

According to a study by Randy Blazak, an American sociologist at Portland State University, it was “found that many members joined [hate] groups because they felt their racial status was threatened after minorities began to join previously all white schools and move into white neighborhoods”.<sup>189</sup> In Blazak’s findings, the worldview of hate groups is “filled with evil conspiracies and righteous crusades”.<sup>190</sup> David Tyler cites American conservatives’ “tough on crime” platform which has placed more young people in prisons with tougher sentences and exposed them to hategroups and the ideology and indoctrination of hatred.<sup>191,192</sup>

In University of Colorado professor of Sociology, Abby Ferber’s opinion, “Many white men are raised with the belief that they are entitled to economic success, social leadership and personal happiness. And when they miss the mark in some or all of those areas, their frustration may fester into murderous rage”.<sup>193</sup> Members of these groups denounce interracial interactions, condemning those who have them as ““race traitors”” with “hybrid children who have lost the virtue and strength of pure whites”; [r]acial supremacists therefore justify their racist acts by presenting members of their race as victims”.<sup>194</sup> “They understand racial threats to white status as part of a larger historical process in which expanded minority rights have come at their expense”.<sup>195</sup> Information on the National Alliance website reads as follows:

Nature has refined and honed the special qualities embodied in the Aryan race so we could be better able to fulfill the mission allotted to us. Even though Nature also has developed other forms of life including other races of man, we have a special obligation to our own race: to ensure its survival, to safeguard its unique characteristics.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> Durso & Jacobs. “The Determinants of the Number of White Supremacist Groups,” 132.

<sup>190</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 761.

<sup>191</sup> Williams. *Hate Groups*, 69.

<sup>192</sup> “Thomas Englemann Interview.” March 26, 2020.

><https://drive.google.com/open?id=1Y1BUyIhQC15fC7YDburZSOqALi5venOj>>. April 29, 2020.

<sup>193</sup> Williams. *Hate Groups*, 68.

<sup>194</sup> Durso & Jacobs. “The Determinants of the Number of White Supremacist Groups,” 132.

<sup>195</sup> Durso & Jacobs, 132.

<sup>196</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 770.

Hategroups also commonly denounce liberalism and the “sickness” of multiculturalism, all of which encourage inclusion and ethnic, cultural and social diversity.<sup>197</sup> Hategroup movements are generally perceived as heavily working class, and there is some validity to that; however, white supremacists also tend to draw members from across different socio-economic classes as well.<sup>198</sup> Recruiting efforts often focus on the working class and leaders often utilize language surrounding the omnipresent issue of unemployment, and how minority groups increase competition for jobs.<sup>199</sup> Dave Morris discusses how the hate groups’ oft-targeted recruits are vulnerable and alienated young men, suggesting that the fresh recruits themselves are victims of the process of radicalization and racialization.<sup>200,201</sup> According to Rich Lord, reporter for *The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, “While the vast majority of people with fractured family lives and early exits from formal education don’t radicalize, research shows that the bulk of violent extremists come from such backgrounds”.<sup>202</sup> Stephan Lhotzky, professor of German at Augustana University, describes young recruits:

[W]ho are frustrated by a pluralism that seems to have left them out of the loop. [T]hese frustrations are deeply rooted in personal experiences of failure that are then projected onto a seemingly disorderly, permissive society. [And] individuals who are fascinated by virtually every aspect of historical National Socialism in Germany...the philosophy of political and social ‘order’, the concept of racial purity, the Fuehrer principle, and the fascination with ‘mythical’ ritual—all taken from Third Reich propaganda.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 770.

<sup>198</sup> Durso & Jacobs. “The Determinants of the Number of White Supremacist Groups,” 133.

<sup>199</sup> Durso & Jacobs, 135.

<sup>200</sup> Dave Morris. “A cultural history of neo-Nazi rock.” August 7, 2012. ><https://www.theglobeandmail.com /arts/music/a-cultural-history-of-neo-nazi-rock/article4468118/>>. February 20, 2020.

<sup>201</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 774.

<sup>202</sup> Rich Lord. “How Robert Bowers.”

<sup>203</sup> Williams. *Hate Groups*, 90.

Josh Adams and Vincent J. Roscigno, American sociologists, found that “nationalism, religion and definitions of responsible citizenship are interwoven with race to create a sense of collective identity for these groups, their members, and potential recruits”.<sup>204</sup> According to Adams and Roscigno, these groups “vigorously endeavor to spread their ideology, expand their spheres of influence and attract” while many “are experiencing a rapid process of decentralization, leading to the ‘lone wolf model’ of social action and violence”.<sup>205</sup> They also discussed “solidarity building and maintenance among movement participants through a belief in their own political or social efficacy, the construction of collective rationales for participation, and the generation of new definitions of social reality and delineation of the oppositional ‘other’”.<sup>206</sup> Adams and Roscigno also looked at how hategroups “often associate[e] themselves with pseudo-academic/scientific associations devoted to issues such as holocaust denial, racial determinants of intelligence or revisionist history” to appear more acceptable and to appeal to a mainstream audience.<sup>207</sup>

Berger discusses how white supremacist groups have consistently sought to glorify their supposed ancestral lands, usually assumed to be northern and northwestern Europe, even though these regions were historically viewed as “a backward hinterland to the more fully developed Mediterranean basin”.<sup>208</sup> Former skinhead Tony McAleer: “The far right is huge on the mythology front. It’s an identity to latch onto. For me, what I got from the scene was a sense of power when I felt powerless. I got a sense of acceptance and belonging when I felt unlovable. And I got a ton of attention when I felt invisible”.<sup>209</sup> Lhotzky also detailed in his study how

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<sup>204</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 759.

<sup>205</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 759.

<sup>206</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 760.

<sup>207</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 768.

<sup>208</sup> Berger. *History and Hate*, 51.

<sup>209</sup> Hall. “How Britain’s.”

groups offer “the care and nurturing of a functioning family” and “a sense of belonging”.<sup>210</sup> Other scholars note the increased sense of self-worth, pride and recognition that belonging to hategroups provides their members.<sup>211,212</sup> Christian Picciolini, former hategroup member and currently working with Free Radicals, designed to help deradicalize the world’s hate advocates, considered his own “search for identity, community, and a sense of individual purpose” that made him vulnerable to hategroup leaders.<sup>213</sup>

Both Bergen and McAleer help bring to light how the historical revisionism behind aryan supremacy and supposedly white-centered innovation and society these groups preach, falls short when compared to the actual historical record. Despite this disparity, nationalism has continued to be important for white supremacist and neo-Nazi groups, even in America, where these groups can only claim historically-distant connections to these old-world nation states. Nationalism also helps to explain the importance of anti-Israel and anti-zionist sentiment to these modern anti-Semites. Bendersky discusses how, anti-zionism, which began as resistance to the creation of the nation-state of Israel, has become another form of antisemitism; anti-zionists espouse the idea that Israel has no right to exist and should be wiped from the map of the planet. Many modern antisemites use criticisms of Israel as another veneer to hide their hatred of Jewish peoples.<sup>214</sup>

According to Laqueur: “Post-1945 antisemites have been careful to stress that their hostility is limited to colonialist, capitalist, imperialist individuals and groups advocating

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<sup>210</sup> Williams. *Hate Groups*, 91.

<sup>211</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch. “Addicted to Hate,” 1176.

<sup>212</sup> “Thomas Englemann Interview.”

<sup>213</sup> Christian Picciolini. *White American Youth: My Descent into America’s Most Violent Hate Movement—and How I Got Out*. New York: Hachette Books, 2017, xxiii.

<sup>214</sup> Bendersky. “Holocaust Era American Antisemitism,” 8.



racialist, aggressively militarist, and reactionary politics”.<sup>215</sup> This has become a common tactic for modern hategroups: accusing their targets of bigotry and exclusionary propaganda as the true racists and bigots. Antizionism, as a definitive doctrine, provides a legal and political loophole to continue their anti-Jewish activities while not relying on barefaced antisemitic sentiment as often.<sup>216</sup> Instead, their attacks on the supposed Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG), which they portray as a repressive and neo-colonialist regime, have become more politically acceptable and have attracted support from those on both the right and the left.<sup>217,218</sup> Bendersky claims this inclusion of anti-Israel, antizionist sentiment suggests the existence of a “new antisemitism”, one that has gone even further than the racist-theory-induced hatred that became popular at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>219</sup>

Those drawn towards hategroups and those prone to antisemitism and other forms of bigotry have been the focus of research in order to determine what types of people involve themselves in hatred and for what reasons. One World War II-era study by the Frankfurt School, an academic organization focused on studying social theory and philosophy, determined that those who flock to hategroups and bigotry do so because of dependence on authority, fragile self-worth, harsh, despotic and archaic attitudes, xenophobia and hostility towards newcomers; also, “they gravitated toward superstition and paranoia” and saw value in “power and toughness”.<sup>220</sup>

A group of University of California at Berkeley researchers, Theodor Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel Levinson, and Nevitt Sanford, conducted a similar study which began

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<sup>215</sup> Laqueur. *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism*, 5.

<sup>216</sup> Laqueur, 7.

<sup>217</sup> Laqueur, 17.

<sup>218</sup> Gilbert N. Kahn. “Anti-Semitism on Both Sides of the Channel.” February 20, 2019.

><https://njewishnews.timesofisrael.com/anti-semitism-on-both-sides-of-the-channel/>>. January 29, 2020.

<sup>219</sup> Bendersky. “Holocaust-Era American Antisemitism,” 1.

<sup>220</sup> Laqueur, *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism*, 32.

in 1947, to determine the causes of authoritarianism and antisemitism. They published their results in 1950 and listed conventionalism, submission to authority, aggression, close-mindedness, stereotypes and superstition, sexual preoccupation, power and toughness, and destructiveness and cynicism.<sup>221</sup> While none of these attributes guarantee involvement in hate groups or antisemitic thought, these studies do provide valuable insight into the worldview and thought process antisemitic hate group members possess. Of particular note, the Berkeley group found that antisemitic belief almost always coincided with fear, distrust, and hatred for many.<sup>222,223,224</sup> This is a process that Roger Eatwell, a British professor at the University of Bath has termed “cumulative extremism”, wherein one type of bigotry induces other forms of hatred, and these different doctrines of hatred exacerbate one another.<sup>225,226</sup>

Eric Voegelin, German political philosopher, in 1999 stressed the importance of the breakdown of societal fetters on antisemitic and other antisocial behaviors: “[T]he simple man, who is a decent man as long as the society as a whole is in order but who then goes wild, without knowing what he is doing, when disorder arises somewhere and the society is no longer holding together”.<sup>227</sup> Both historically and in the modern era, social tensions increase when society faces social, cultural, or economic crises, political turmoil and a lack of security.<sup>228</sup> When division is encouraged, when democratic norms are eschewed and protections for human rights are

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<sup>221</sup> James Waller. *Becoming Evil*, 2nd Ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, 82-3.

<sup>222</sup> Waller, 83.

<sup>223</sup> Williams. *Hate Groups*, 27.

<sup>224</sup> Ward. “Skin in the Game,” 5.

<sup>225</sup> Koch. “The New Crusaders,” 15.

<sup>226</sup> Eisen. “Knowledge Of Jewish,” 4.

<sup>227</sup> Waller. *Becoming Evil*, 288.

<sup>228</sup> Koch. “The New Crusaders,” 20.

collapsed by those in control, it creates a climate that encourages others to think that social norms have changed or need to change.<sup>229</sup>

Kathleen Blee, Pete Simi, Matthew De Michele and Steven Windisch, a team of sociologists from various universities across the country, state that the white supremacist movement in the United States is one of the most persistent political subcultures in the country.<sup>230</sup> In their study of 89 former white power hategroup members, the research group took into account the “neurophysiological changes that may operate in more automatic ways in bodily and emotional expressions that endure over time”.<sup>231</sup> “[Former members’] descriptions of involuntary and unwanted thoughts, feelings, bodily responses and behavior,” encouraged the group to compare participation in the hate movement and the difficulties in getting out to that of the struggles associated with drug addiction.<sup>232</sup> “[S]ocial experiences can become so engraved in our interactions, psyche, and body that the parallels between identity residual and addiction become an interesting point of exploration”.<sup>233</sup> The outward process of hate becomes both “social-interactional as well as neuro-cognitive”.<sup>234</sup> One participant in the study, Doug, explained:

I think with an ideology of skinheads the whole person is being consumed by the idea of what they’re embracing and espousing. It is an addiction because you order your life according to what you believe or think, your life is ordered according to that pattern...[it’s] in your heart. It’s deep-seated.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> Waller. *Becoming Evil*, 283-4.

<sup>230</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch. “Addicted to Hate,” 1167.

<sup>231</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1168.

<sup>232</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1168.

<sup>233</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1168.

<sup>234</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1171.

<sup>235</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1175.

Blee, Simi, DeMichele, and Windsich examined the strong emotional component to belonging to a hate group, and the knee-jerk reactions hategroup member's experience when they have become sufficiently immersed in the movement.<sup>236</sup> Members' lives become completely devoted to the movement and their comrades, their identity within the movement becomes enduring.<sup>237</sup> "Even their relationships to institutions, such as religion, and their peer relations became completely defined by [their] worldview...an entire way of life that includes parenting, recreation, and entertainment".<sup>238</sup> Hategroups "outlin[e] collective expectations for membership that strongly emphasize hate-directed beliefs" and "establish boundaries and ideological coherence" to such an extent that members often undergo a complete "identity transformation".<sup>239</sup> "[W]hite supremacy has the deep physical embodiment of specialized practices that require strict regimes of rehearsal and mastery".<sup>240</sup> Many of the members experience stimulating and spontaneous emotions, or "collective effervescence", wherein they feel "outside of themselves" and instead part of the greater whole.<sup>241</sup> This built-in community that hategroup members experience, in which interaction is relatively easy as all participants share the same doctrine and worldview, not only helps to highlight part of the lure of the movement, but also part of the difficulty in leaving it and rebuilding one's life.<sup>242</sup>

James Waller, an American psychologist, discusses the importance of hierarchies on those who tend towards authoritarianism and bigotry.<sup>243</sup> Aside from systems of hierarchies, hategroups also rely mythos, symbology, and ideology to cement their doctrine for their

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<sup>236</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1170.

<sup>237</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1171.

<sup>238</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1175.

<sup>239</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1174.

<sup>240</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1175.

<sup>241</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1174.

<sup>242</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1170.

<sup>243</sup> Waller. *Becoming Evil*, 289.

followers, as well as to offer a seemingly stable environment for new recruits. According to Robert Futrell, Pete Simi & Simon Gottschalk, images such as confederate flags, German iron crosses, crossed hammers, raised fists, and even images of Hitler himself have consistently been used as signifiers of belonging to the in-group; tattoos, patches, t-shirts, and album covers with slogans and phrases, such as ‘White Pride’, ‘White Power’, ‘SKIN’, and ‘Proud to Be White’ have also been important in this respect.<sup>244,245</sup> Samuel Totten, an American history professor at the University of Arkansas, stressed the importance of the actions of those in power or those seemingly in power in normalizing the ““exclusion of the victim from the universe of obligation””: when those who seem to have clout in society use disparaging language to call for the rejection, persecution, or elimination of vulnerable groups, not only do hategroup members see this as a call to action, but as a further normalizing of the dehumanization and exclusion of victim groups.<sup>246</sup> Totten also mentioned the detrimental and paradoxical effects of antisemitism and other forms of hatespeech, as well as other racist, exclusionary, or bigoted actors who crave order and yet who aggravate extant economic, social, and cultural tensions.<sup>247</sup> Adam Jones, a Canadian scholar, stresses this increasingly important point as more and more modern political and/or social leaders disseminate and use hatespeech, antisemitism and other bigoted viewpoints.<sup>248</sup> Some hategroups claim that there is room for outgroups to assimilate to American (white-protestant) culture; however, the fact that many American Jews have adopted these cultural elements and are increasingly considered *white*, that antisemitism remains the cornerstone of the ideology of a majority of these groups seems to contradict these claims.

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<sup>244</sup> Robert Futrell, Pete Simi & Simon Gottschalk. “Understanding Music in Movements: The White Power Music Scene.” *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 2, 2006, 287.

<sup>245</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 764.

<sup>246</sup> Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons & Israel W. Charny, eds. *Century of Genocide*, 2nd Ed. New York: Routledge, 2004, 476.

<sup>247</sup> Totten, 486.

<sup>248</sup> Adam Jones. *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction*, 3rd ed. New York: Routledge, 2017, 754.

Scholars, like Futrell, Simi and Gottschalk and organizations, like the SPLC, have discussed how many modern hategroups also harbor separatist attitudes, like Eric Meadows and his wife Angela Johnson, who have sought to create a whites-only commune in Tennessee, which they propose to call ‘Wotan’s Nation’, named after the Old High German name for the Norse god, Odin.<sup>249</sup> Other groups, like the Volksfront in Oregon and the Base in Washington, have made efforts to raise funds to purchase lands in a similar matter as well.<sup>250,251</sup> According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, in 2018 Meadows and Johnson applied for tax-exemption as a supposed religious organization, although it’s website does a poor job hiding the group’s supremacist, separatist nature by trying to disguise its focus as “indigenous Europeans”; “[i]t is very common for racist ‘volkisch’ groups to co-opt symbols and language from the broader pagan or heathen community to give their racist organizations a veneer of spiritual legitimacy”.<sup>252</sup>

Many modern hategroups have continued the Nazi tradition of misappropriating religious and spiritual symbols and doctrine, mainly Christian and pagan ones, to further validate their movements; this provides considerably less stigma in the eyes of non-hate-based religious groups.<sup>253</sup> This idea of “preserv[ing] European Christian values” has become an important recruiting tool.<sup>254</sup> According to Ariel Koch, in the past, groups tended to absorb pagan influences more than Christian ones, “due to the ‘Jewish nature’ of Christianity”; these days, however, modern groups have increasingly adopted symbology and rhetoric with a Christian slant,

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<sup>249</sup> “World of Wotan.” *Intelligence Report*, No. 165, 2018, 8.

<sup>250</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music in Movements,” 288.

<sup>251</sup> “The Base.”

<sup>252</sup> “World of Wotan,” 8.

<sup>253</sup> Koch. “The New Crusaders,” 15.

<sup>254</sup> Koch, 15.

especially as Muslims become a more important target group in their eyes.<sup>255,256</sup> Meadows and Johnson, who have ties with other hategroups like the National Socialist Movement, the League of the South, and the paramilitary group, the Indomitables, have posted on their website: There is a “need for our folk to have a place to practice our religion freely, without fear of social stigma and in a healthy and natural environment among other culturally and spiritually similar people”.<sup>257</sup> Adams and Roscigno explain how “[r]eligion provides an overarching cosmology that both explains and justifies racist ideology. Recent use of religion is witnessed by the Christian Identity movement, which views Blacks and Jews as subhuman and homosexuals as race traitors”.<sup>258</sup> “Less traditional groups such as racist Odinists also exploit the power of religion, envisioning ancient Nordic gods as archetypal representatives of appropriate human behavior and emphasizing the importance of European heritage as a source of identity and racial pride”.<sup>259</sup> Adams and Roscigno continue: “Hate groups rely heavily on ideological motivation as a means of recruitment and religion provides a strong ideological superstructure into which a racialized worldview can easily be incorporated”.<sup>260</sup> Adams and Roscigno focus often on these modern groups’ claims of white Christian values, which “establish an impression of historical continuity between a glorious Aryan past and the present” using “a diverse amalgam of Christian, traditional Nazi and pagan iconography,” “creating a sense of Aryan unity”.<sup>261</sup>

Hategroups have historically had a large presence in the American prison system as well, where racist differences seem to be almost encouraged by the privatized industry. Fostering

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<sup>255</sup> Koch, 20.

<sup>256</sup> Williams. *Hate Groups*, 12.

<sup>257</sup> “World of Wotan,” 8.

<sup>258</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 761.

<sup>259</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 761.

<sup>260</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 762.

<sup>261</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 772.

ethnic and cultural divisiveness within the prison system encourages segregation and makes the officials' jobs easier.<sup>262</sup> One such group is the Aryan Circle, a sect of the Aryan Brotherhood of Texas. The group, according to the Justice Department, "emerged as an independent organization during a period of turmoil" that is quickly becoming "a powerful race-based, multi-state organization" with members both inside and outside of the prison system.<sup>263</sup> James Jasper discussed the "anger, hatred, and outrage that galvanize members against an 'other'".<sup>264</sup>

According to many experts, hate groups often involve themselves with criminal and violent activities to attack the targets of their hate but also to fund and expand their organizations. The SPLC reported on one such group, Aryan Strikeforce, which was established by New Jerseyan Josh "Hatchet" Steever in 2013 and has been involved with money laundering, illegal weapon possession, smuggling and drug running.<sup>265</sup> Initially founded in Phillipsburg, New Jersey, the group has had chapters up and down the East Coast, as well as in Canada, South Africa, South America, and Eastern Europe and has been connected to other groups such as Combat 18, Aryan Terror Brigade, Atlantic City Skins and the National Socialist Movement.<sup>266</sup> According to a law enforcement source, the criminal network Steever had created was a lot larger than initially thought.<sup>267</sup> The group was willing to involve themselves in basically any criminal activity in order to fund their bigoted actions; said Justin "Rocko" Lough, "I'm very much accustomed to, you know, making money any way I can".<sup>268</sup> According to federal

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<sup>262</sup> "Thomas Englemann Interview."

<sup>263</sup> "Rise of the Aryan Circle." *Intelligence Report*, No. 165, 2018, 10.

<sup>264</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. "Understanding Music in Movements," 290.

<sup>265</sup> "For Racist Skinhead Crew Aryan Strikeforce, 88 Stands for 8 Arrests in 8 Months." June 30, 2017.

><https://www.adl.org/blog/for-racist-skinhead-crew-aryan-strikeforce-88-stands-for-8-arrests-in-8-months>>. February 18, 2020.

<sup>266</sup> Barrouquere, Brett. "Blood & Dishonour: Greed, guns lead to Aryan Strikeforce's downfall." *Intelligence Report*, No. 165, 2018, 16-7.

<sup>267</sup> Barrouquere, 16.

<sup>268</sup> Barrouquere, 17.



prosecutors, the group had planned a suicide bombing attack, targeting counter-protestors at a rally in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.<sup>269,270</sup> The group's deficiency of funds may have led them to cancel the attack, yet this monetary need also made them uncontrolled and deadly. Some good news is that the group's reckless behavior has led many of them to be arrested, culminating in a multi-state sting, which used a confidential informant to lure them into a scheme involving the trafficking and sale of what the group thought was methamphetamine. Six high-ranking members were arrested and face charges including interstate travel in aid of racketeering, conspiracy to distribute and attempted distribution of a controlled substance, money laundering, transport, delivery, and receipt of unregistered machine guns, and possession of firearms by convicted felons.<sup>271, 272</sup>

Many scholars, including Jones, Waller and others have discussed the importance of gender. Gender seems to be an increasingly important component in how hategroups function and recruit. Misogyny, obsession with sex, and entitlement towards women as sexual objects has caused hategroup members to fear 'losing' white women to minorities.<sup>273,274</sup> According to Adams and Roscigno, hategroup discourse consistently and increasingly points to "an apparent threat to the white race: a threat that must be addressed through the protection of the white family and white women by propagating white unions and childbearing... There is clearly a gendered character to this discourse—one wherein traditional gender roles function to preserve the white race through family formation and childbearing".<sup>275</sup> Renate Bitzan, a German

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<sup>269</sup> "For Racist Skinhead Crew."

<sup>270</sup> Barrouquere. "Blood & Dishonour," 17.

<sup>271</sup> "For Racist Skinhead Crew."

<sup>272</sup> Barrouquere. "Blood & Dishonour," 18.

<sup>273</sup> Waller. *Becoming Evil*, 83.

<sup>274</sup> Jones. *Genocide*, 792.

<sup>275</sup> Adams & Roscigno. "White Supremacists," 771.

sociologist, predicted that an increase in women involved in far-right movements, would cause the scene to solidify; because women defied the common public image of hate group member, “the more [who] enter the scene, the less negative its image will become”.<sup>276</sup>

Gender has become a large component related to claims of *white genocide*, as hate groups misrepresent Section D of Article II of the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, which states that genocide is applicable when a group is found to be “imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group”.<sup>277</sup> Sex, procreation, and reproductive partners themselves are seen as a right, are treated as a commodity, and are given as justification for many of the ‘defensive’ acts geared towards excluding, marginalizing and terrorizing minority groups.<sup>278</sup>

The internet has become an indispensable tool for modern white supremacists, both in recruiting and spreading ideology. The importance of the internet within the hate movement has become increasingly apparent to scholars, journalists, and academics alike. Laqueur believed the internet has provided “unprecedented access” to antisemitism, bigotry and American hate groups.<sup>279</sup> Koen Leurs, professor at the London school of Economics and Political Science, called internet forums “safe arenas to form counterpublics and exert agency” for those seeking to “connect with like-minded people”.<sup>280</sup> Zizi Papacharissi and Emily Easton believe interactions in virtual forums “promote particular forms of storytelling and invite others to listen in through specific practices”.<sup>281</sup>

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<sup>276</sup> Williams, 92.

<sup>277</sup> “Genocide: Definition.” 2020. ><https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/genocide.shtml>>. February 18, 2020.

<sup>278</sup> “Thomas Englemann Interview.”

<sup>279</sup> Laqueur. *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism*, 17.

<sup>280</sup> Leurs. *Voices from the margins*, 103.

<sup>281</sup> Leurs, 103.

While those hoping to receive pamphlets and information, buy haterock albums or join hategroups in the past had to rely on mailing lists or in-person encounters, now it is all available to them in seconds. Possible comrades often meet each other using the chat and forum features of a growing number of web-based platforms including, Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, Reddit, 4Chan, 8Chan, Discord, LinkedIn, Gab and many others.<sup>282,283</sup> According to Robert Futrell, Pete Simi, and Simon Gottschalk: “Virtual scenes connect physically separated people to create a ‘sense of scene via fanzines and, increasingly, through the Internet’”.<sup>284</sup>

Increased sophistication in technology that society benefits from has also strengthened the resources of white supremacists on the internet. This is especially true while considering the advent and proliferation of streaming, live-streamcasting and podcasts.<sup>285</sup> These advancements in technology are especially appealing to younger generations, who have increasingly more consistent access and exposure to networking, communications, and cyberspace technology.<sup>286</sup> This has also helped recruit younger members into hate groups.

According to Anthony Pierpoint, founder of haterock label Panzerfaust Records. “I probably do over a hundred emails a day...your average 14 or 15 year old kid that came across us by doing an Internet search, or because he saw a sticker or some friends of his told him about the label...they actually read the literature, they read the articles, they listen to the MP3s, they watch the music videos, they listen to what we’re saying, and it’s like they just soak it up”.<sup>287</sup> Pierpoint’s assertion that ‘average’ kids are interested in haterock/hategroups seems inaccurate. Most academics, including John M. Cotter have found that hategroup members not represented

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<sup>282</sup> Barrouquere. “Blood & Dishonour,” 18.

<sup>283</sup> “[The Base](#).”

<sup>284</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music in Movements,” 279.

<sup>285</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 283.

<sup>286</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 284.

<sup>287</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 284.

by the average American, but instead are “alienated and isolated young people seeking to recover a sense of community and personal identity”.<sup>288</sup> Matt Hale leader of the Creativity Movement claims:

The youth are certainly the vanguard of the White racial loyalist movement. Half our members are 30 or younger and a quarter are under 20. We have people writing me saying, ‘I’m 13 years old, can I join the church?’ and, of course, I answer yes. People can join no matter how old they are. It means they have joined a community who have love for their own kind and hatred for their enemies and there’s nothing more natural or beautiful than that.<sup>289</sup>

Futrell, Simi and Gottschalk detailed how increasingly younger users stream videos and music, share photos and sound clips, and chat and network through social media; interviews with movement leaders and prominent band members are also available.<sup>290</sup> The internet is also incredibly appealing to those apprehensive about attending rallies, protests, marches and concerts, both young and old; the virtual space provides a degree of anonymity, reduction of risk and a buffer from the stigma associated with white supremacy.<sup>291</sup> By only participating virtually, they can promote viral hate with videos, memes and forums, while remaining displaced from direct association with white supremacy and any connection to the Klan, neo-Nazism, or separatism. However, Koen Leurs considers how perceived anonymity does not make online participants completely “immune to negative exposure”.<sup>292</sup>

Through the spreading of antisemitic and other bigotry rhetoric and propaganda, hategroups influence their age peers utilizing private messages and cartoonish drawings, or

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<sup>288</sup> Williams. *Hate Groups*, 127.

<sup>289</sup> Williams, 82.

<sup>290</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music in Movements,” 285.

<sup>291</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 296.

<sup>292</sup> Leurs. *Voices from the margins*, 104.

memes. “Cyberspace is a particularly important dimension of this involvement, as it enables participants to experience the [white power] scene without having to be physically ‘there’.”<sup>293</sup> Remotely connecting to the greater public sphere, hate advocates can hide within the quasi-anonymous and disparate internet and dark-webs. Private forums, Tor servers, chat rooms, websites like 4Chan, 8Chan, and Reddit are all used “for operational purposes such as instruction and training, data mining, coordination, and psychological warfare”.<sup>294</sup> J.M. Berger, author and historian, has warned that neo-fascist and white racialist groups have a larger presence on Twitter than those in support of ISIS.<sup>295</sup> According to Jacquélien van Stekelenburg, Dirk Oegema, and Bert Klandermans, “The social structure in society tends to be reflected in the social structure of the web forums”.<sup>296</sup>

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<sup>293</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music in Movements,” 296.

<sup>294</sup> Koch. “The New Crusader,” 14.

<sup>295</sup> Koch, 14.

<sup>296</sup> Leurs. *Voices from the margins*, 111.

## II

### History

#### **A History of American Hategroups: 1930s - Present**

Hategroups have a long history in America. Despite the general image of them as backwards and uneducated, many hategroups have posed significant threats throughout American history.<sup>297</sup> In 1936, in solidarity with the Nazi party and showing deference to both George Washington and Adolf Hitler, The German American Bund held a rally at Madison Square Garden, in New York City. The group mixed Nazi and American paraphernalia including hailing Hitler, reading the Pledge of Allegiance, and co-mingling American and Nazi flags and banners.<sup>298</sup> Bund leader, Fritz Kuhn announced to his audience, “American patriots, I am sure I do not come before you tonight as a complete stranger. You all have heard of me through the Jewish controlled press as a creature with horns, a cloven hoof, a long tail”.<sup>299</sup> He emphatically continued: “We, with American ideals, demand that our government shall be returned to the American people who founded it. If you ask what we are actively fighting for...a social, just, white, Gentile-ruled United States...Gentile-controlled labor unions, free from Jewish, Moscow-directed domination”.<sup>300</sup>

There were German American Bund camps across the country, including one in Andover Township, Sussex County, New Jersey. Camp Norland, rather isolated, served as a training camp mostly for families, to encourage pro-Nazi ideology. The camp also held joint rallies with local

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<sup>297</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 759.

<sup>298</sup> “A Night at the Garden” Dir. Marshall Curry. New York: Field of Vision, 2017.  
><https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MxxxlutsKul>>. April 28, 2020.

<sup>299</sup> “A Night at the Garden,” 2:49 – 3:11.

<sup>300</sup> “A Night at the Garden,” 3:14 – 3:49.

KKK groups, sometimes hosting up to 10,000 guests. The German American Bund was active between 1936 to 1941, when most German sympathy ceased.<sup>301,302,303</sup>

In 1866 six former-confederate officers, led by Nathan Bedford Forrest, created the Ku Klux Klan. From the Greek word for circle, *kuklos*, the group sought to return to a state of black-submission. Wearing drab masks and long robes, they instilled terror in southern blacks who had recently gained their rights. They disrupted voting and pushed black politicians out of power. They also fought to end Reconstructionist state governments in the South. Forrest became the first grand wizard and other ex-Confederates acted as state grand dragons. “Led by elites and drawing on a cross-section of white male society” they caused such turmoil amongst black Americans that Republicans in Congress passed “the Enforcement and Ku Klux Klan Acts aimed at protecting rights of blacks and a Joint Select Committee issued a 12-volume report on its hearings on Klan violence”.<sup>304</sup> President Grant sought convictions in South Carolina and Mississippi and also suspended the writ of habeas corpus, allowing for indefinite imprisonment of Klan criminals. Ultimately, the 1883 Supreme Court found that Congress “lacked the authority to outlaw racial discrimination by private individuals and organizations”.<sup>305</sup> The Federal government at this point stopped forcing Reconstructionism and protection and integration on the southern states, fulfilling the Klan’s goal; “In white Southern legend, the Klan was enshrined as the savior of a downtrodden white people from what they saw as the fearful disorder of black equality”.<sup>306</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> George Thayer. *The Farther Shores of Politics: The American Political Fringe Today*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967.

<sup>302</sup> David Chalmers. *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1987.

<sup>303</sup> Jim Bredemus. *American Bund: The Failure of American Nazism: The German-American Bund’s Attempt to Create an American “Fifth Column”*. ><https://web.archive.org/web/20180124131225/> <http://www.traces.org/americanbund.html>>. April 28, 2020.

<sup>304</sup> David Chalmers. “Essay: Ku Klux Klan.” 2013. ><https://web.archive.org/web/20130930172212/http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-files/ideology/ku-klux-klan/the-ku-klux-klan-0>>. April 28, 2020.

<sup>305</sup> Chalmers. “Essay.”

<sup>306</sup> Chalmers.

In the early twentieth century, the story of the post-Civil War Klan was carried in the history books, and, most famously, in Thomas Dixon's 1905 romanticized racist novel *The Clansman*, on which D.W. Griffith based his epic 1915 motion picture, "The Birth of a Nation." Inspired by the film, "Colonel" William J. Simmons of Atlanta, a former Methodist minister and salesman, initiated a small group of Klansmen in front of a blazing cross on top of nearby Stone Mountain.<sup>307</sup>

The second Klan would be "the great fraternal lodge of the 1920s and the political engine of native-born, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, American nationalism".<sup>308</sup> The group organized a series of Protestant ministers to go out into America to "sell" the Klan. The new Klan was fiercely anti-Catholic and endorsed Prohibition and "law and order".<sup>309</sup> Membership figures for this period's Klan usually indicate between four to seven million men and women, but some figures go as high as eight million. They were active in every state of the union and were "particularly politically powerful in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Colorado, and Oregon".<sup>310</sup> They did not form their own political party; however, they helped put into power at least twenty governors and senators. "The Klan came to town bringing social excitement, Protestant morality and reform. However, infighting, corruption, greed and the "illusionary" threat of Catholicism quickly depreciated the Klan's image. Finally, "[a]n attempted merger with the German American Bund proved to be a poor public-relations choice. With World War II, gas rationing, and a large bill for back taxes," leadership shuttered the Ku Klux Klan.<sup>311</sup>

However, one Klan member would not allow the Klan to die. Samuel Green, who had joined in the second Klan in 1920, to congeal the existing members, focusing initially on Georgia. The Klan remained considerably fragmented, being united in name, but represented in reality by the state, regional and local chapters all over the country.

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<sup>307</sup> Chalmers.

<sup>308</sup> Chalmers.

<sup>309</sup> Chalmers.

<sup>310</sup> Chalmers.

<sup>311</sup> Chalmers.



During the 1950-60s civil rights movement, the third Klan saw increased membership as a reaction to social and cultural changes in America, especially after the Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka decision in 1954 which forced the desegregation of all schools; at the time southern state schools were heavily segregated. “In the 1950s, the KKK bombed and shot up Jewish synagogues in the South, in a wave of antisemitic violence that blamed Jews for their support of the civil rights movement”.<sup>312</sup> The Klan also consistently targeted black/African Americans and political opponents during this period. The Federal government began tackling the Klan and other extremist groups using law enforcement and legislation and people began speaking out against the institutionalized racism.<sup>313</sup>

As the Klan escalated their course of violence, Americans increasingly disapproved.<sup>314</sup> Too often depictions of violence by hategroup members showed up on their televisions and in their newspapers, and even if some of the viewers held bigoted views, they often did not agree with violence.<sup>315</sup> Other Americans completely disagreed with the Klan. The late 60s and early 70s saw a youth response to the Klan that also galvanized the Kennedy and Johnson administrations to enact the 1964 Public Accommodations Act and the 1965 Voting Act, both meant to protect the rights of black/African-American constituents and curtail efforts of the Klan.<sup>316</sup> This marked a change in attitude of the FBI, who up to this point had little focus on the Klan. In fact, southern judges often shared racist and antisemitic beliefs and cops in southern states were often members of the Klan, which “amounted to general immunity from arrest, prosecution and conviction”.<sup>317</sup>

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<sup>312</sup> Weiss. *How to Fight Anti-Semitism*, 55.

<sup>313</sup> Chalmers. “Essay.”

<sup>314</sup> Chalmers.

<sup>315</sup> Chalmers.

<sup>316</sup> Chalmers.

<sup>317</sup> Chalmers.

Initially, even the passage of the major civil rights bills provided no protection against the Klan — or the police. The killers of Viola Liuzzo on the road back to Selma, Ala., and Col. Lemuel Penn on the highway near Athens, Ga., were found not guilty. The killing of Mickey Schwerner, Ben Chaney, and Andrew Goodman in Philadelphia, Miss., couldn't even get into court. The bombers of Birmingham's 16th Street Baptist Church and the murderers of Medgar Evers and Vernon Dahmer, among others, walked free. The best the federal courts could do was send the Liuzzo, Penn, and Philadelphia, Miss., killers to jail with limited civil rights-violation sentences.<sup>318</sup>

However, violent clashes between racists and antiracist occurred throughout the 1970's. One such occurrence happened in November 1979. The event which would later be called the Greensboro Massacre, occurred when members of the American Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan stormed a march of the Communist Workers Party and other protestors, killing five marchers and leading to the injury of twelve others.<sup>319</sup>

Hategroups had a resurgence throughout the 1980s and the 1990s. This reaction is often attributed to the gains made by the modern civil rights movement, especially “advances made by civil rights organizations on behalf of minorities, women and gays”.<sup>320</sup> Eric Ward describes:

The white nationalist movement that emerged the last decades of the twentieth century grew across the country. But it was Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming that neo-Nazis in the 1980s carved out as the territorial boundaries of their future whites-only state, a region that self-identified ‘aryans’ from around the country began to colonize with nothing short of white national sovereignty as their goal.<sup>321</sup>

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<sup>318</sup> Chalmers.

<sup>319</sup> Amy Goodman. “Remembering the Greensboro Massacre of 1979, When KKK & Nazis Killed 5 People in Broad Daylight.” November 4, 2019. >[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3aYuql\\_69g0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3aYuql_69g0)>. April 28, 2020.

<sup>320</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 762.

<sup>321</sup> Ward. “Skin in the Game,” 11.

This concept became known as the Northwest Territorial Imperative, a plan to create a separate nation from these five states. Robert Miles, long time white supremacist and activist and organizer for the Aryan Nations, endorsed this plan: “Ourselves alone willing, we shall begin to form the new nation even while in the suffocating embrace of the ZOG”.<sup>322</sup>

This area became increasingly tense as white supremacists sought to establish their own legal system, their own churches and their own militia forces or paramilitary. White supremacist groups often have little qualms about attacking law enforcement they see as a threat, and law enforcement’s response to this was to generally ignore the gangs.<sup>323</sup>

During this period, Klan-based groups tended to focus on connecting themselves with mainstream religion and using political ventures to create action, while Neo-Nazi groups emphasized their perception of aryan privilege, the historical struggle between aryan and sub-humans, and a racial hierarchy in nature.<sup>324,325</sup>

“[The] overall image of the Klan has changed little over the years,” despite their adaptation to technology as well as their reversal from anti-Catholicism.<sup>326</sup> It still retains its image of a “good ol’ boys” organization; an image many younger groups have tried to stay away from.<sup>327</sup> The Klan has increasingly cultivated in its members an identity cemented in the concept of race, yet also allows for the incorporation of political and cultural ideas such as patriotism, nationalism, religious duty, and service to god.<sup>328</sup> Problems in the view of the Klan include, [a]ffirmative action, [attacks on] white Christian and family values, education, minority hate crimes on whites, minorities in high placed government positions which adversely affect and

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<sup>322</sup> Ward, 11.

<sup>323</sup> Ward, 12.

<sup>324</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 763.

<sup>325</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music.”

<sup>326</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 765.

<sup>327</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 765.

<sup>328</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 766.

discriminate against whites, immigration slanted heavily on minority influxes to our nation”.<sup>329</sup> The modern KKK which has only about 5000-8000 members, publishes a newspaper called *The Crusader*.<sup>330</sup> These figures are not entirely encompassing however, as many other groups claim affiliation and network with the Klan. These groups also sometimes vie for turf and clout, often feuding over illegal gun or drug trades.<sup>331</sup>

Information from Klan publications claim the group wants to “[a]chieve a credible and recognized standing within the U.S. judicial system, to represent white people and others wronged by discriminatory practices and other actions [and to] promote an attitude of ‘Equal Rights for White People’ with special favors for NO persons or race”.<sup>332</sup>

American neo-Nazi Groups which have more commonly attracted younger racists, spend effort promoting “an inherently racialized conception of the ideal state and the identity of the populace”.<sup>333</sup> Their materials proclaim: “To a White Separatist, the overriding importance is race, not what have known as nation [and] none but those of aryan blood, whatever their creed, may be members of the nation”.<sup>334</sup> Neo-Nazis seek a complete reestablishment of the state while narrowly redetermining rights of citizenship.<sup>335</sup>

Despite differences in both organizational framing and suggested strategies for group efficacy, the white supremacist movement has functioned thus far without any fracturing along those fault lines; due in part to decentralization and evidenced by linkages between Klan and neo-Nazi websites, these two main halves of the hategroup movement in America has remained ambivalent, if not amicable.<sup>336</sup>

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<sup>329</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 768.

<sup>330</sup> Ariel Koch. “The New Crusaders,” 16.

<sup>331</sup> David Chalmers. “Essay.”

<sup>332</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 768.

<sup>333</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 770.

<sup>334</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 770.

<sup>335</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 770.

<sup>336</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 772.

Modern hategroups, Nazi, Klan, separatist/nationalist, Christian Identity or otherwise blame societies' problems on "liberalism" and "multiculturalism", generally used as references things seen in adversity with the white-privilege status quo, but often as dogwhistles for Jewish influence.<sup>337</sup> During this period several hategroup leaders like Tom Metzger, former Klansman and founder of White Aryan Resistance (WAR) and Louis Beam, Klu Klux Klan leader, promoted the idea of the lone wolf, "a lonesome, patriotic warrior" who took action into his own hands with little or no direction from a greater group.<sup>338</sup> "[E]xecuting attacks on their own, but having various types of contacts with organized extremists during the radicalization process".<sup>339</sup> This tactic was in part a response to increased law enforcement arrests and raids during the 90s and early 00s, a "tactical adaptation to a dire security environment".<sup>340</sup>

In 1995, Timothy McVeigh, a Gulf War veteran, detonated a bomb in a van adjacent to the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma.<sup>341,342,343</sup> A former colleague, who worked with him at an armored car service in Buffalo remembers that McVeigh "owned numerous firearms and had a survivalist philosophy—a tendency to stockpile weapons and food in preparation for what he believed to be the imminent breakdown of society".<sup>344</sup> Growing up, he was shy, did not date and "exist[ed] on the margins".<sup>345</sup> During his time in the Army he was viewed as a gun nut. Later, he sought entry into the Special Force, yet he was unable to complete

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<sup>337</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 772.

<sup>338</sup> Nesser. "Research Note," 62.

<sup>339</sup> Nesser, 63.

<sup>340</sup> Nesser, 68.

<sup>341</sup> Adams & Roscigno. "White Supremacists," 771.

<sup>342</sup> "Timothy McVeigh." March 29, 2001. ><https://web.archive.org/web/20100301192549/http://archives.cnn.com/2001/US/03/29/profile.mcveigh/>>. April 28, 2020.

<sup>343</sup> Picciolini. *White American Youth*, xxi.

<sup>344</sup> "Timothy McVeigh."

<sup>345</sup> "Timothy McVeigh."

training, and he dropped out. This was a huge personal disappointment for McVeigh. During the Waco, Texas standoff between the Branch Dividians and federal agents in 1993, McVeigh traveled to the area and expressed sympathy for the Dividians. He also used antisemitic magazines to advertise some of his weapons for sale, as well as communicating with white supremacists. He showed interest in the Christian Identity and was a member of the National Rifle Association (NRA).<sup>346</sup>

McVeigh “received assistance from his comrade Terry Nichols and had ties to organized white supremacists”.<sup>347</sup> McVeigh was also influenced by advice he received in rightwing and supremacist magazines, often called fanzines.<sup>348</sup> At the sixth annual Preparedness Expo, “a clearinghouse for the militia movement...a series of speakers told expo attendees the real story the attack had been perpetrated by the government itself as an excuse to take citizens’ guns away”.<sup>349</sup>

William Pierce, who had founded the separatist organization the National Alliance, also authored *The Turner Diaries*, which depicted a country divided by racial warfare. The novel depicted “terrorist campaigns by ideologically driven terrorist cells and individual terrorists against foreigners, pro-immigration spokespersons and government targets”.<sup>350</sup> *The Diaries* has been cited as an influence on many white supremacists and separatists, especially McVeigh. “The novel takes place in a near-future in which Jews have unleashed Blacks and other undesirables into the center of American life, and follow the triumph of a clandestine white supremacist organization that snaps into revolutionary action, blowing up both Israel and New

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<sup>346</sup> “Timothy McVeigh.”

<sup>347</sup> Nesser. “Research Note,” 64.

<sup>348</sup> Nesser, 68.

<sup>349</sup> Ward. “Skin in the Game,” 2.

<sup>350</sup> Nesser. “Research Note,” 62.

York City”.<sup>351</sup> One of the characters in the book asserts that “trying to distinguish the ‘good’ Jews from the bad ones” makes as much sense as “some of our thicker-skulled ‘good ol’ boys still...trying [to] separat[e] the ‘good niggers’ from the rest of their race”.<sup>352</sup> Later in the book Pierce writes: “Life is uglier and uglier these days, more and more Jewish. No matter how long it takes us and no matter to what lengths we must go, we’ll demand a final settlement of the account between our two races...no Jew will [survive]. We’ll go to the uttermost ends of the earth to hunt down the last of Satan’s spawn”.<sup>353</sup> The book is also critical of more conservative rightists, who damage the movement by lacking radical-enough beliefs. “[O]ne of the major purposes of political terror...is to force the authorities to take reprisals and to become repressive, thus alienating a portion of the population and generating sympathy for the terrorists. And the other purpose is to create unrest by destroying the population’s sense of security and their belief in the invincibility of the government”.<sup>354</sup>

James Mason, American neo-Nazi, authored another provocative publication, called *Siege*. This compilation of essays also depicted society as degenerated and on the verge of collapse: “the entire foundations itself is thoroughly corroded”.<sup>355</sup> Mason used this fictional scenario to call for violence towards accelerating the impending collapse; “At this juncture social malaise cannot be halted, only accelerated onward to the abyss, capitulating the whole vile episode of this end cycle”.<sup>356</sup> *Siege* has been cited as incredibly influential for modern hategroups, especially paramilitary group Attomwaffen Division, who espouse similar accelerationist and nihilist views and endorse violence, disorder and devastation.<sup>357</sup>

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<sup>351</sup> Ward. “Skin in the Game,” 7.

<sup>352</sup> Ward, 7.

<sup>353</sup> Ward, 13.

<sup>354</sup> “White Supremacists Embrace ‘Accelerationism’.”.

<sup>355</sup> “White Supremacists Embrace ‘Accelerationism’.”.

<sup>356</sup> “White Supremacists Embrace ‘Accelerationism’.”.

<sup>357</sup> “White Supremacists Embrace ‘Accelerationism’.”.

Atomwaffen Division, which was founded by former national guardsman Brandon Russell, in Miami, Florida in 2015, has grown within the past several years.<sup>358</sup> When Russell was inevitably arrested and his apartment searched, a framed picture of Timothy McVeigh was found, along with bomb parts, bomb-making information, homemade body-armor, weapons, nuclear materials, and explosives. Despite the arrest and conviction of this early leader to the group, Atomwaffen continued to exist and in fact has expanded.<sup>359</sup> Other prominent members include Nicholas Giamba who killed his girlfriend's parents and was a prominent supporter online, Sam Woodward who stabbed to death an openly gay University of Pennsylvania student, Blaze Bernstein, and former member Devon Arthurs who shot his two roommates and fellow members during a falling out.<sup>360, 361</sup>

The name, which comes from German, means "atomic weapons". On November 20, 2018, Frontline released an hour-long expose about the group, detailing their history, some of their members and the group's actions up to that point. The investigation had been led and co-produced by ProPublica reporter A.C. Thompson, who also walked the audience through the news piece itself. At the time, Thompson called the group the most extreme organization amongst white supremacists. The piece was largely in response to both the slaying of Heather Heyer in Charlottesville and the murder of eleven Jewish Americans worshipping at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh. Thompson was able to interview a few former members of the group, who were willing to divulge details about Atomwaffen, yet they chose to remain anonymous as they wanted to protect themselves. The group has explicitly discussed disabling

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<sup>358</sup> Ryan Lenz. "Things Fall Apart." *Intelligence Report*, No. 165, 2018, 35.

<sup>359</sup> "Documenting Hate: New American Nazis." *Frontline*, SE 36, EP 17, November 20, 2018.

><https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/documenting-hate-new-american-nazis/>>. February 16, 2019.

<sup>360</sup> "Documenting Hate."

<sup>361</sup> Alexander Mallin & Luke Barr. "Justice Department announced nationwide arrests of members of neo-Nazi Atomwaffen group." February 26, 2020. ><https://abcnews.go.com/US/justice-department-announces-nationwide-arrests-members-neo-nazi/story?id=69239957>>. February 28, 2020.



American infrastructure like powerlines, nuclear reactors and ports, but they also consistently advocate attacking synagogues as well. The group also promotes lone wolf tactics, not necessarily directing its followers to commit plans Attomwaffen orchestrates, but calls to take action on their own. However, it does seem that the group itself also espouses the use of lone wolf tactics as part of its operational measures.<sup>362</sup>

Interviews with “John”, one former member of the group, describe Attomwaffen Division as a “Nazi extremist group seeking to spread terrorism”.<sup>363</sup> The interview also included discussion on how the group has been forming training camps and actively recruiting veterans. The desire to attract members who have special skills, especially military, but also engineering and survivalist has become a common trend in American hategroups and in fact historically, hategroup numbers increase after conflicts end. John also discussed the increased membership after Charlottesville; when he left Attomwaffen there were “60” members, but twice as many recruits.<sup>364</sup> John talked about how militant and devoted to Nazi ideology the group is and how the group hopes to become more palatable to the mainstream populace.<sup>365</sup> “Jeremiah”, another former member who also used an assumed name and asked his face and voice to be distorted for the Frontline broadcast, also contended that there are good number of white supremacists in the armed forces.<sup>366</sup>

John asserted that the group espouses lone wolf terrorism and he claimed that Attomwaffen lives by the doctrine “How do you meet terrorism? You meet it with stronger terrorism”; a similar belief is often attributed to Adolf Hitler.<sup>367</sup> He also warned of the instability

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<sup>362</sup> “Documenting Hate.”

<sup>363</sup> “Documenting Hate,” 8:24-9:33.

<sup>364</sup> “Documenting Hate.”

<sup>365</sup> “Documenting Hate.”

<sup>366</sup> “Documenting Hate.”

<sup>367</sup> “Documenting Hate,” 9:54-10:00.

inherent in many of the members of the group: “All it takes is one guy to just snap and to do something [terrible]”.<sup>368</sup>

Discussion often turned to James Mason a devote Neo-Nazi who authored a collection of essays which is now referred to as *Seige*. John asserted that this neo-Nazi and accelerationist writing was “like a bible” to Attomwaffen.<sup>369</sup> The book describes an American “undermined by Jews in positions of power”, and Mason encourages attacks on Hollywood, the Media, and the courts. These targets may be different from the one’s Attomwaffen chat logs discuss; however, the book has clearly been influential.<sup>370</sup> The logs also consistently contain condemnation of other elements of the right, including the alt-right, who Attomwaffen believe lack conviction to actually accomplish an ethnostate.<sup>371</sup>

Attomwaffen has both an online presence as well as their “hatecamps” and street action initiatives. When Sam Woodward murdered Blaze Bernstein, other members celebrated online, as private chat logs reveal, calling Woodward a “one man gay jew wrecking crew”.<sup>372</sup>

Despite the intense nature of the group and the crimes it was associated with, as of the 2018 news piece, little interest had been directed towards the group by law enforcement officials.<sup>373</sup> Historically, white supremacist groups have been considered marginal and ineffectual. However, the groups have definitely become more refined and sophisticated. It is not entirely surprising that in February of 2020 the FBI announced the arrest of John Denton, who was leader of the group, and several others.<sup>374</sup> Denton was arrested for his part in a series of “swatting events”, or prank calls which attempt to fool SWAT teams into raiding targets like a

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<sup>368</sup> “Documenting Hate,” 10:27-10:41.

<sup>369</sup> “Documenting Hate,” 6:03-6:11.

<sup>370</sup> “Documenting Hate.”

<sup>371</sup> “Documenting Hate.”

<sup>372</sup> “Documenting Hate,” 21:53-21:58.

<sup>373</sup> “Documenting Hate.”

<sup>374</sup> Mallin & Barr. “Justice Department announced.”

Cabinet official who lives in Virginia, Alfred Street Baptist church, Old Dominion University and the New York branch of ProPublica. Apparently, Denton had been enraged by the Frontline investigation; the official affidavit reads: “Denton allegedly chose the...targets because he was furious with ProPublica and the investigative journalist for publishing his true identity and discussing his role in Atomwaffen”.<sup>375</sup> Kaleb Cole, another one of the Atomwaffen members arrested had recorded a message for other members of the group as a response to the Frontline episode: “The matter of these nosy reporters coming into our daily lives, where we work, where we live, where we go in our spare time. We must simply approach them with nothing but pure aggression... We cannot let them think they are safe in our very presence alone”.<sup>376</sup>

Three other members in different states were also arrested for “allegedly targeting journalists and members of the Anti-Defamation League”.<sup>377</sup> Another of those arrested was Cameron Brandon Shea, a recruiter and higher-up in the group’s hierarchy. He coordinated the “Death Valley Hatecamp” where members “trained in hand-to-hand combat, firearms and creat[ing] neo-Nazi propaganda videos and pictures of themselves posing with weapons”.<sup>378</sup> FBI Special Agent in Charge, Ray Duda said,

The subjects arrested here this morning and the other subjects arrested around the country posed a legitimate and escalating threat to anyone who dared counter or try to expose their activities... They utilized the internet and social media to spread their message make their plans. As the group expanded, they participated in military-style training. Investigating them wasn’t easy. The subjects took steps to conceal their identities and activities both online and in real life.... The subjects arrested today crossed the line from protected ideas and speech to illegal acts of intimidate and coercion.<sup>379</sup>

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<sup>375</sup> Mallin & Barr.

<sup>376</sup> Mallin & Barr.

<sup>377</sup> Mallin & Barr.

<sup>378</sup> Mallin & Barr.

<sup>379</sup> Mallin & Barr.

Another hategroup that appears to be ascending in the American political scene is called The Base. “The group appears to admire and closely observe Islamist extremist tactics and activity”.<sup>380</sup> The Base shares its name with Al-Qaeda, which means ‘The Base’ in Arabic. According to Rinaldo Nazzaro, who goes by ‘Norman Spear’ and ‘Roman Wolf’ online and is founder of the group, “al-Qaida [sic] used its international network and propaganda to rally fighters around one flag united in their conviction and self-sacrifice”.<sup>381</sup> Nazzaro called the group “kind of like a nationalist survivalist LinkedIn type of thing”.<sup>382,383</sup>

The Base has maintained a substantial online manifestation. Even when one platform cracked-down on their activity and banned their members, the group just moved on, “migrating from Twitter, to Gab, to Matrix and most recently Telegram while also using white supremacist forums like Fascist Forge”.<sup>384</sup> Recently however, the group has encouraged its followers to move their hate advocacy and actions into the real world. Nazzaro urged this directly: “You don’t necessarily need to quit your job or live off-grid to fight the System—in fact you [sic] day job is actually the perfect cover—use it. ‘Normie’ by day, urban guerrilla fighter by night. Learn, train, act—and don’t get caught”.<sup>385</sup> The group has amped up its propaganda campaign, spreading pamphlets across the country, “as well as alleged acts of antisemitic vandalism linked to the group”.<sup>386</sup> The group has also supposedly begun the establishment of paramilitary training camps, similar in nature to Attomwaffen’s hatecamps.<sup>387</sup> The Base also embraces accelerationism like Attomwaffen as Nazzaro claims, “Our enemies will accelerate our situation

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<sup>380</sup> “The Base.”

<sup>381</sup> “The Base.”

<sup>382</sup> “The Base.”

<sup>383</sup> Joe Atmonavage. “Leader of Neo-Nazi group lived in N.J., report says.” *The Star Ledger*, January 28, 2020, A9.

<sup>384</sup> “The Base.”

<sup>385</sup> “The Base.”

<sup>386</sup> “The Base.”

<sup>387</sup> “The Base.”

as they are intent on achieving their goals. We cannot halt this acceleration. We can however speed it up even further—every act of resistance by whites causes a further reaction by our enemies”.<sup>388</sup>

The group declares that it has chapters across the country including in Connecticut, Georgia, California, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Michigan as well as alleged groups in Australia, Canada, and South Africa. As of writing this, all of their activity off the internet has occurred in the US.<sup>389</sup> Their website, filled with propaganda videos, memes and posts, makes the statement: “Membership is limited to nationalists of European descent who understand and accept that the current system cannot be reformed, that societal collapse is seemingly inevitable and, certainly, desirable. With this understanding in mind, we strive to not only survive the ever-accelerating anarchy, but to thrive in it so as to eventually rise from the ashes of Western civilization and impose order from chaos, as our sense of loyalty to blood and soil compels us”.<sup>390</sup>

The Base hold a wide range of antisemitic beliefs, and it also has denounced the LGBTQ+ movement and Latino/a/Hispanic immigrants, but they also target “the media, mainstream conservatives and even other white supremacists, such as members of the alt right whose tactics [The Base] consider toothless”.<sup>391</sup> The Base “embraces age-old antisemitic conspiracies of Jewish control of society [that] engenders degenerate values and threatens their existence”.<sup>392</sup> One of Nazzaro’s Tweets, from 2018, seems to suggest a possible further evolution of antisemitic rhetoric, as if being Jewish was a state of mind: “[The] Majority of White

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<sup>388</sup> “White Supremacists Embrace ‘Accelerationism’.”

<sup>389</sup> “The Base.”

<sup>390</sup> “The Base.”

<sup>391</sup> “The Base.”

<sup>392</sup> “The Base.”

Americans are mentally Jewish [Jewish] so even if all genetic and spiritual Jews [sic] expelled, USA would still have a Jewish [sic] problem—unfixable in time available”.<sup>393</sup>

Nazzarro constantly warns his followers of the ZOG and to prepare for a revolution or civil war or some other conflict. He and his followers are victims of ZOG oppression “prepared for armed struggle”.<sup>394</sup> A propaganda video from June 23, 2019, supposedly made by The Base, shows a man firing a weapon at a target with the Star of David attached to it. In November 2019, New Jersey-native Richard Tobin was arrested after he claimed responsibility for a vandalism campaign across several states he called ‘Operation Kristallnacht’. Tobin admitted to having ties with The Base and helping vandalize synagogues in Hancock, Michigan and Racine, Wisconsin “with antisemitic graffiti, including swastikas, other Nazi imagery and The Base logo”.<sup>395</sup>

The group has collectively endorsed bombings, destruction of infrastructure, and having a shooter enclosed in the trunk of a car who then fires on unsuspected targets. They provide materials to their users such as manuals which discuss “guerrilla warfare tactics, gunsmithing literature, survival tactics, military tradecraft and weapons handling”.<sup>396</sup> Despite this, Nazzarro claims the group is just a survivalist club, despite he himself having written: “It’s only terrorism if we lose—If we win, we get statues of us put up in parks”.<sup>397</sup>

### **Studying Hate Groups**

It has been historically difficult to track membership in white supremacist groups; since they often participate in unpleasant and sometimes illegal activities, they are hesitant to divulge

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<sup>393</sup> “The Base.”

<sup>394</sup> “The Base.”

<sup>395</sup> “The Base.”

<sup>396</sup> “The Base.”

<sup>397</sup> “The Base.”

their membership numbers.<sup>398</sup> For a long period, “many larger social justice organizations refused to take white nationalism seriously,” instead local and regional groups did most of the tracking and documentation.<sup>399</sup>

Modern organizations, especially the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) rely on “group publications, citizen reports, law enforcement agencies, news reports, and field sources” and focus their efforts tracking group actions like “marches, rallies, speeches, meetings, leafleting, publishing literature [and] criminal activities”.<sup>400</sup> There are a multitude of white power, neo-confederate, and racist groups, including but not limited to: “White Aryan Resistance, Aryan Nations, ...Hammerskins, National Alliance, Ku Klux Klan (KKK), Southwest Aryan Separatists (SWAS), ...Aryan Front, Bayside Skins, Independent Skins, L.A. County Skins and Orange County Skins”.<sup>401</sup> While these organizations act as separate entities, hategroups across America have enjoyed a general state of interconnectedness for decades.<sup>402</sup> Abby Ferber, author and professor of sociology at the University of Colorado at Colorado Springs, explains how these groups tend to agree on central principles and “share common ideologies and goals and an overriding commitment to maintain white supremacy”.<sup>403</sup> Their primary goal is “defending the ‘white race’ from ‘genocide’” and they “envision a racially exclusive world where ‘nonwhites’ are vanquished, segregated, or at least subordinated”.<sup>404</sup>

White power movement members “are strongly antisemitic, support Aryan militarist nationalism, and claim to seek a white homeland to control and defend against non-Aryans. [They] idealize conservative, traditional, and patriarchal family forms and community relations

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<sup>398</sup> Durso & Jacobs. “The Determinants of the Number,” 134.

<sup>399</sup> Ward. “Skin in the Game,” 14.

<sup>400</sup> Durso & Jacobs. “The Determinants of the Number,” 134.

<sup>401</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music in Movements,” 280.

<sup>402</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele and Steven Windisch. “Addicted to Hate,” 1168.

<sup>403</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “The Determinants of the Number,” 281.

<sup>404</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 281.

dominated by Aryan kinship”.<sup>405</sup> White supremacists across a wide variety of groups consistently evoke “Aryan nationalism, white power, race war, antisemitism, anti-immigration, anti-race-mixing, and white victimization”.<sup>406</sup>

Members of hategroups have traditionally dressed in Nazi paraphernalia, use Nazi salutes, and evoke Nazi culture in other ways as well.<sup>407,408</sup> These groups have commonly invoked “a white supremacist slogan called the ‘14 words’ . . . authored by David Lane” who was imprisoned for the murder of Jewish talk show host Alan Berg.<sup>409</sup> The phrase, which usually has been cited as: ‘We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children’ has often been compared to a section from Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*: “What we must fight for is to safeguard the existence and reproduction of our race and our people, the sustenance of our children and the purity of our blood, the freedom and independence of the fatherland”.<sup>410,411</sup> Members of supremacist crews often tattoo themselves with Nazi symbols and slogans, as both advertisement as well as a form of initiation: tattoos like “Blood & Honour” and “Thug Reich”, *Totenkopf* skulls, swastikas, *Schutzstaffel* lightning bolts, and even the *Schwarze Sonne*, or black sun.<sup>412</sup> White supremacists also show solidarity by participating in physical gestures such as “*sieg heils*, clasp shoulders, and ‘busting knuckles’ or ‘knocking elbows’”.<sup>413</sup>

Yet not all supremacist and neo-nazi groups don these types of cultural signifiers; in fact the modern trend has been just the opposite. “Most of the time, the young men of the [alt-right],

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<sup>405</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 281.

<sup>406</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 281.

<sup>407</sup> Geoff Edgers. “White Trash.” August 6, 2012. ><https://www.gq.com/story/definite-hate-wade-page>> March 25, 2019., 7-8.

<sup>408</sup> Hall. “How Britain’s Nazi.”

<sup>409</sup> Thompson. “Racist, Violent, Unpunished,” 12-13.

<sup>410</sup> Helen O’Neill. “Ex-skinhead removes tattoos.” October 31, 2011. ><https://www.mrt.com/opinion/editorials/article/Ex-skinhead-removes-tattoos-7451140.php>>. February 16, 2019., 5.

<sup>411</sup> Barry Balleck. *Modern American Extremism and Domestic Terrorism: An Encyclopedia of Extremists and Extremist Groups*. United States: Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2018, 4.

<sup>412</sup> O’Neill. “Ex-skinhead removes tattoos,” 1.

<sup>413</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music,” 288.



nearly all of them in their 20s, look perfectly innocuous: close-cropped hair, clean-shaven faces, T-shirts and jeans”.<sup>414</sup> While attempting to achieve a more palatable public image, these groups nonetheless often wear skull masks, provocative bandanas, goggles, and ski-masks during political rallies. But in order to enter into the mainstream political and cultural arena, hategroups are realizing they need to refine their image.

Other groups have co-opted religion to rationalize and condone their activities; Christian fundamentalism, especially with ties to the crusades, and convoluted forms of paganism, such as Odinism, have been two of the more notable examples of this phenomenon.<sup>415,416</sup> Jean Rosenfeld, researcher at the UCLA Center for the Study of Religion weighed in: “Hating becomes a religious obligation. . .Demonizing the other is a precondition for killing and winning”.<sup>417</sup>

### **History of Antisemitism: “The Oldest Hatred”**

Antisemitic and anti-Jewish tropes have shown incredible vitality, perpetuating misconceptions throughout history, some of which have survived since antiquity, like the ideas that the Jews killed Christ, that Jewish men rape non-Jewish women, and that Jews use the blood of gentile children to make matzah.<sup>418</sup> Paul-Henri Baron d’Holbach called the Jews “hopelessly foreign to Europe”.<sup>419</sup> Christian antisemitism has been “historically the most long-lived, culturally entrenched and pervasive”, which has continued through the 1940s although has somewhat subsided in the 1960s.<sup>420</sup> Jews were also condemned along with Freemasons and

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<sup>414</sup> Thompson. “Racist, Violent, Unpunished,” 6.

<sup>415</sup> Lord. “How Richard Bowers,” 2.

<sup>416</sup> David Holthouse. “Motley Crews: with decline of Hammerskins, independent skinhead groups grow.” October 19, 2016. ><https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2006/motley-crews-decline-hammerskins-independent-skinhead-groups-grow?page=0%2C1>>. February 15, 2019, 4.

<sup>417</sup> Noel Merino. *Hate Crimes*. Farmington Hills: Greenhaven Press, 2009, 14.

<sup>418</sup> Hal Marcovitz. *Hate Crimes*. San Diego: Reference Point Press LLC, 2019, 17-18.

<sup>419</sup> Laqueur. *The Changing Face*, 72.

<sup>420</sup> Bendersky. “Holocaust-Era American Antisemitism,” 6.

sometimes the two groups were conflated. Jews were also often accused of being lazy and adverse to manual labor.<sup>421</sup> Another consistent concern was that Jews represented a state-within-a-state and had no or only partial loyalty to their ‘host’ states; Immanuel Kant said: “[Jews] have acquired not without reason the reputation of swindlers”.<sup>422</sup>

Antisemitic tropes have been historically corrosive; one twentieth-century example is the German Weimar Republic, a democratic government that emerged after World War I. Two anti-Jewish tropes helped doom the Weimar government: one was Hugo Preuss, “father” of the constitution, who was also Jewish. He provided another element of truth to claims of governmental control by Jews. The second was the “stab-in-the-back” myth, a modern version of older claims of Jewish disloyalty; the narrative claimed “that Jews had shirked their wartime duties...undermining the war effort”.<sup>423,424</sup>

Despite liberalism bolstered by the Enlightenment and then Wilsonianism, “a dramatic resurgence of antisemitic racial theories, institutions, and political forces characterized 1920s and 1930s America”; Bendersky believed this was a blending of the “respectable patrician antisemitism”, that focused on fixing Jews to better fit in to society and seemingly “sophisticated versions of Darwinian scientific racism”.<sup>425</sup> Jews were targeted for “both their hereditary inferiority and insidious goals and activities”.<sup>426</sup>

The spread of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* heightened antisemitism across the globe, including in America where Henry Ford, American industrialist, used his public image to

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<sup>421</sup> Laqueur. *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism*, 73.

<sup>422</sup> Laqueur, 74.

<sup>423</sup> Bendersky. “Holocaust-Era American Antisemitism,” 2.

<sup>424</sup> Boris Barth. “Stab-in-the-back-myth.” 2014, >[https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/stab-in-the-back\\_myth](https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/stab-in-the-back_myth)>. October 10, 2018.

<sup>425</sup> Bendersky. “Holocaust-Era American Antisemitism,” 2.

<sup>426</sup> Bendersky, 2-3.

attract attention to it.<sup>427,428</sup> Originally published in 1903, the *Protocols* depicted a fictitious meeting of a world cabal of Jewish elders.<sup>429</sup> Despite scholarly consensus since its inception that the document was a forgery, the *Protocols* continues to spread antisemitic-based fear.<sup>430</sup>

In a similar trope concerning supposed Jewish conspiracy of control, the Jews have been depicted “as the source of leadership of international Communism”.<sup>431</sup> There is some element of truth as Leon Trotsky and a large portion of other Soviet officials had Jewish heritage. However, these Jews had generally renounced their religious and cultural heritage, instead focusing themselves upon world revolution. It’s of note that many of the Soviet-loyal Jews would eventually be purged by Stalin. Paradoxically, the Jews have also been regarded as “agents of capitalism, of commerce, speculation, and exploitation”.<sup>432</sup>

The combination of these fears was part of America’s support for strict immigration legislation in the 1920s.<sup>433</sup> American isolationists, many under the sway of antisemitic institutions including the churches, “perpetuated and reinforced the general tendency in the American public and its government towards inaction regarding [Jewish] relief and rescue”.<sup>434</sup> “The anti-Zionist Protestant churches also resisted the other major potential refuge for Jews by their opposition to immigration to [future Israel]”.<sup>435</sup> Even some Christian and Protestant groups who did fight for Jewish protections and autonomy worried going too far would only “intensify antisemitism by confirming suspicions of Jewish international solidarity rather than loyalty to America”.<sup>436</sup>

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<sup>427</sup> Bendersky, 3.

<sup>428</sup> Laqueur. *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism*, 85.

<sup>429</sup> Bendersky. “Holocaust-Era American Antisemitism,” 3.

<sup>430</sup> Weiss. *How to Fight Anti-Semitism*, 54.

<sup>431</sup> Bendersky. “Holocaust-Era American Antisemitism,” 3.

<sup>432</sup> Laqueur. *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism*, 79.

<sup>433</sup> Bendersky. “Holocaust-Era American Antisemitism,” 3.

<sup>434</sup> Bendersky, 6.

<sup>435</sup> Bendersky, 6.

<sup>436</sup> Bendersky, 7.

Dr. Phyllis Gerstenfeld, criminal justice professor at California State University, Stanislaus claimed: “Hate groups hate a great many people, but the group they have the greatest fear of is Jews because [Jews] are presumed to have the power to carry out their nefarious plans”.<sup>437</sup> That Jews have gained international omnipotence is another consistent denigrating modern notion.

While Jews have felt relatively safe in modern America, and antisemitism has generally thought to have dissipated, a wave of antisemitic crime in the beginning of the twenty-first century has challenged this belief.<sup>438</sup> The desecration of Jewish gravestones, community centers, and synagogues, while not resulting in deaths or personal injury, have been potent indicators that Jews are still very vulnerable in this country.<sup>439</sup> As one Philadelphia woman said: “I’m a child of a Holocaust survivor so I grew up with stories of destruction of Jewish cemeteries. I always thought we were done with this”.<sup>440</sup> According to Benjamin Gampel, an educator at the *Jewish Theological Seminary* in New York: “That the safety of a minority cannot be assured [is] a truth about the fate of all people and of all groups whose security is dependent on others”.<sup>441</sup>

During the Holocaust, opponents of antisemitism underestimated it as a purely “foreign Nazi import”, not realizing the scope of the hatred internationally and domestically.<sup>442</sup> The Council for Democracy, a public advocacy group, feared focusing attention on the plight of the Jews might actually exacerbate antisemitism in America, so instead they “universalized the [Nazi] threat as one to all of Western civilization and humanity”.<sup>443</sup> Although this train of

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<sup>437</sup> Marcovitz, *Hate Crimes*, 18.

<sup>438</sup> Jane Eisner. “Our Obsession With The Holocaust Made Us Blind To American Anti-Semitism.” ><https://forward.com/opinion/420754/our-obsession-with-the-holocaust-made-us-blind-to-american-anti-semitism/>>, 1.

<sup>439</sup> Eisner, 2.

<sup>440</sup> Marcovitz. *Hate Crimes*, 18-19.

<sup>441</sup> Eisen. “Knowledge Of Jewish Tradition,” 4.

<sup>442</sup> Bendersky. “Holocaust-Era American Antisemitism,” 4.

<sup>443</sup> Bendersky, 4.

thought sought to encourage international cooperation in defeating the fascists, it was a huge component of American “reluctance to identify the centrality of Jews to Nazi actions, and to respond accordingly...ultimately eschewing the fact that the Jews were the primary and special [Nazi] objective”.<sup>444</sup> Aside from state department resistance to rescuing Jews from the death camps, “American professional organizations offered some of the staunchest resistance to [Jewish] refugees, with American physicians and medical academicians among the most openly hostile”.<sup>445</sup>

While the Ku Klux Klan and other early hate groups have lost much of their influence and solidarity compared to decades past, what has replaced these giants of bigotry may be worse. Instead, hundreds of smaller sects and factions of neo-nazi, white supremacist, neo-nationalist, and confederate-separatist groups have continued to fill the void left by the Klan and other larger organizations. And even when these modern groups expand, they still often rely on smaller cell-like groups to enforce their bylaws and perform recruitment and initiations. And in most examples, when these larger groups do begin to fall apart, instead of going away entirely, they splinter off into various regional groups, with varying degrees of cohesion. How connected these groups remain varies greatly group-to-group and state-to-state, yet they generally share the same doctrine of exclusionary hatred and bigotry. Although the list of vulnerable, minority groups these hatemongers target has continued to grow, the Jewish people have always been high on their list for debasement, ridicule, and harassment. It is also important to consider Roger Eatwell’s concept of *cumulative extremism*, when another minority faces abuses and violence, Jewish communities tend to also face problems from supremacist groups, and when other

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<sup>444</sup> Bendersky, 4.

<sup>445</sup> Bendersky, 5.

marginalized communities face hatred, as do Jewish ones.<sup>446</sup> So even though American Jews have gradually become more associated with ‘whiteness’ in the contemporary political environment, this has not stopped these hate-groups from continuing to denigrate Jews and perpetuate antisemitic tropes.

Additionally, anti-Zionism, has taken form, primarily in the American left, as the anti-Israel Boycott Divestment and Sanction (BDS) movement. This platform casts the nation of Israel as an imperialistic and authoritarian state, abusing some groups, especially the Palestinians, within its borders. This movement has seen significant “support within American literary and historical associations and campuses nationwide”, as the ideas become increasingly acceptable in mainstream discourse.<sup>447</sup> This trend somewhat mirrors the attempts of many of those on the right to normalize and publicize their world view.

### **The Hammerskin Nation: From Poster to Prodigal**

The Hammerskins, a Dallas-based, white supremacist group formed in 1988, like other groups, were able to learn from the past and solidify discipline and popular recognition within the younger generation of skinheads and separatists; they moved away from the drunken, street-thug violence of the 1980’s into a more refined period. A late 1990s Hammerskin Press newsletter reported: “The seeds have been planted. We are far more advanced than the movement of 10 years ago. Camouflaged in society and rooted deep in the system, we’re no longer an easy target, but a revolutionary force”.<sup>448</sup> The group utilized a strict entry process, similar to outlaw biker gangs, allowing for more serious vetting. The group also promoted more

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<sup>446</sup> Eisen. “Knowledge Of Jewish Tradition,” 4.

<sup>447</sup> Bendersky. “Holocaust-Era American Antisemitism,” 8.

<sup>448</sup> Michael Reynolds. “Hammerskin Nation Emerges from Small Dallas Group.” December 15, 1999.

><https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/1999/hammerskin-nation-emerges-small-dallas-group>>. February 15, 2019, 1-2.

serious political messaging; another Hammerskin Nation (HSN) publication claimed:

“Teach[ing] by example is the most productive form of recruiting, not to mention the safest! Not only are we in a Race struggle, but we’re in a Class struggle as well”.<sup>449</sup> The organization was influenced by British neo-Nazi fugitive Del O’Connor, who received assistance and eventually comradeship from the Dallas Hammerskins. British and German sects of Hammerskins have also sprung up; in 1998 journalist Eike Wunderlich wrote about German Hammerskins: “[They] are organized like a political party [and] attempt to present themselves as an elite force of politically convinced and trained nazi skinheads. . . The organizational form adopted by the Hammerskins consists of single, decentralized, autonomously organized nazi cells”.<sup>450</sup>

One excerpt from the Hammerskin’s now underground newsletter boasted:

Everyday we get a letter from some kid who is fed up with his mutli-culturalist surroundings. . . They are looking for answers and a way out. Kids grow up without any form of self-identity. They are given two choices, either go with the ‘norm’ of multi-culturalism and race mixing or be deemed an outcast, a minority. Let’s take hold of the Racist minority and welcome them into the movement.<sup>451</sup>

Additionally, The Hammerskins have a long history of violence and criminal activity towards minorities. Their members have been involved in the firebombing of a minority-owned nightclubs, assaulting and murdering of minorities as well as calls to violent action of other racially motivated hate-groups.<sup>452</sup>

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<sup>449</sup> Reynolds, 2.

<sup>450</sup> Reynolds, 3.

<sup>451</sup> “The Hammerskin Nation.” 2019. ><https://www.adl.org/education/resources/profiles/hammerskin-nation>>. April 25, 2020, 4.

<sup>452</sup> “The Hammerskin Nation”, 5-7.

Tension within the Hammerskins, much of which had stemmed from public image concerns of leadership and attempts to reduce violence, led the group to splinter into smaller, disparate crews. Some have declared the HSN dead, like Eric Fairburn and Brien James, both members of the Keystone State Skinheads, one of the aforementioned splinter groups.<sup>453</sup> Yet, as of submittal of this document, the ADL has yet to update their website declaring HSN defunct.<sup>454</sup> They did however report that the group had discontinued the *Hammerskin Press*, their online and print newsletter.<sup>455</sup> While solidarity within the Hammerskin Nation has decreased, the number of active skinhead crews across the states has not: eighteen groups in 2002 has tripled to fifty-nine in 2016.<sup>456</sup> And while the breaking in solidarity of the Hammerskins could be seen as a positive, one result has been a much less stable environment, filled with cohorts and rivals vying for influence, clout and control, similar in some ways to organized crime and the Nazis themselves. Younger members have often acted more aggressively in pursuing position in the groups, which can lead to more violence and abuse; groups like the Outlaw Hammerskins, Volksfront, and the Vinlanders cultivate both relationships and rivalries with each other and what's left of the Hammerskin Nation.<sup>457</sup>

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<sup>453</sup> Holthouse. "Motley Crews," 1.

<sup>454</sup> "The Hammerskin Nation."

<sup>455</sup> "The Hammerskin Nation", 8.

<sup>456</sup> Holthouse. "Motley Crews," 2.

<sup>457</sup> Holthouse, 4.



## **Modern Actors: Lone Wolves & Street Action**

On October 27, 2018, Robert Bowers entered the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and began firing into the crowded service with an AR-15 and three pistols.<sup>458,459</sup> He fired into multiple crowds for about twenty minutes, killing eleven and wounding 6 others. At some point during the attack, Bowers shouted, “All Jews must die!” and later he reportedly told police that he performed the attack because Jews were committing genocide against his people: “I just want to kill Jews.”<sup>460,461,462,463</sup> Investigation into Bowers looked at how his online presence showed him morph from “staunch conservatism [which] metastasized into white nationalism” and how he “became a follower of aggressive online provocateurs of the right wing’s fringe”.<sup>464</sup>

Rabbi Hazzan Jeffrey Myers, vowed to recreate his congregation even in the face of the horrific attack: “My holy place has been defiled”.<sup>465</sup> The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) said the Tree of Life attack is a clear indication of “all the dangers of unchecked hatred and antisemitism, which must be confronted wherever they appear”.<sup>466</sup> When asked his thoughts on Bowers, Pete Simi, a professor at Chapman University, said: “I would say, [he’s] a terrorist. His act of violence was motivated by a political ideology, to target a very specific group, to intimidate and coerce a given community”.<sup>467</sup> Days after the attack, however, US Attorney Scott Brady declined to say that Bowers was a domestic terrorist: “We continue to

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<sup>458</sup> Andy Sheehan & Meghan Schiller. “11 Dead, Several Others Shot at Pittsburgh Synagogue.” October 27, 2018. ><https://pittsburgh.cbslocal.com/2018/10/27/heavy-police-presence-near-synagogue-in-squirrel-hill/>>. March 13, 2020.

<sup>459</sup> Chavez, Grinberg & McLaughlin. “Pittsburgh synagogue gunman.”

<sup>460</sup> Sheehan & Schiller. “11 Dead.”

<sup>461</sup> Chavez, Grinberg & McLaughlin. “Pittsburgh synagogue gunman.”

<sup>462</sup> Lord. “How Robert Bowers.”

<sup>463</sup> “Documenting Hate.”

<sup>464</sup> Lord. “How Robert Bowers.”

<sup>465</sup> Chavez, Grinberg & McLaughlin. “Pittsburgh synagogue gunman.”

<sup>466</sup> Chavez, Grinberg & McLaughlin.

<sup>467</sup> Lord. “How Robert Bowers.”

see where that line is. But for now, at this point in our investigation, we're treating it as a hate crime".<sup>468</sup>

Matt Browning, detective with the Mesa, Arizona police department discussed another violent hategroup, the Vinlanders: "They're more violent, they're more technically savvy than before in terms of using the Internet to organize, and while they're still motivated by race and politics, its also about money now".<sup>469,470</sup> Browning continued: "The decline of the Hammerskin Nation has been fueled by the insurrection of the Outlaw Hammerskins, lawsuits filed by hate crime victims, and widespread discontent with Hammerskin Nation's elitism among working-class, anti-authoritarian racist youths".<sup>471</sup>

Modern American hategroups continue to proliferate and their presence has encouraged increased reference in popular culture. The 2016 film *Imperium* starring Daniel Radcliffe depicted the star's character infiltrating a skinhead gang in hopes of working a case up to national leadership. Although fictionalized, the film was based on the real-life experiences of Michael German, an ex-FBI operative who worked undercover extensively to penetrate a Nazi skinhead club and separatist organizations.<sup>472,473</sup>

At the first official 'Blood and Honour council', or 'Council of 28', "a unity meeting of regional skinhead crews" held in 2005, over 60 representatives of more than a dozen crews, including the Keystone State Skinheads, the Jersey Skins, the National Alliance, the Maryland Skins, and the Imperial Klans of America agreed to recruitment standards, alliances, and

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<sup>468</sup> Chavez, Grinberg & McLaughlin. "Pittsburgh synagogue gunman."

<sup>469</sup> Holthouse. "Motley Crews," 2-3.

<sup>470</sup> Merino. *Hate Crimes*, 13.

<sup>471</sup> Holthouse. "Motley Crews," 3.

<sup>472</sup> "Imperium." DVD. Santa Monica: Lionsgate Premiere, 2016.

<sup>473</sup> Johnny Brayson. "Daniel Radcliffe's 'Imperium' Character Isn't A Real Person, But His Inspiration Is."

><https://www.bustle.com/articles/179020-daniel-radcliffes-imperium-character-isnt-a-real-person-but-his-inspiration-is>>

fundraising plans. “The Vinlanders [one of the larger groups] have the backing of the hate rock record labels now, the labels are bringing money to the table.”<sup>474</sup>

Donald Trump’s candidacy and election were supported by a wave of young racialists and neo-Nazis, called the Alt-Right. This group has made “efforts to rebrand white supremacy to appeal to a younger and more tech savvy generation [and] the movement has received greater attention”.<sup>475</sup> The Alt-Right “adherents build a collective identity and participate in an all-encompassing movement lifestyle”.<sup>476</sup> Eric Ward believes that since Trump’s presidency, “the white nationalist movement has come to national power”.<sup>477</sup>

Modern hategroups “share fundamental ideas such as the impending catastrophe of ‘white racial genocide’ and the view that a multicultural society is antithetical to the interests of European Americans”.<sup>478</sup> Many studies show that these groups actually have a high drop out rate, the stigma of being publicly racist and the difficulties maintaining long-lasting personal relationships given as two of the possible reasons. Because of this, hategroups go to great expenses to discourage people from leaving.<sup>479</sup>

Christian Picciolini, an American author, public speaker, former neo-Nazi punk rock musician, and founder of both Life After Hate and the Free Radicals Project also elaborated on the contemporary situation: “Here we are, 30 years later, and we’re using terms like ‘white nationalist’ and ‘alt-right’—terms that the white supremacists came up with. . .They sat around

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<sup>474</sup> Holthouse. “Motley Crews,” 5.

<sup>475</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch. “Addicted to Hate,” 1167.

<sup>476</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1167.

<sup>477</sup> Ward. “Skin in the Game,” 17.

<sup>478</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch. “Addicted to Hate,” 1168.

<sup>479</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1168.

and said ‘How can we identify ourselves to make us seem less hateful?’<sup>480</sup> This type of rebranding has been common for hate-groups including the HSN and modern organizations across the world. One example of this is Paul Golding’s British National Party (BNP) “a party supported by white supremacists, neo-Nazis, fascists”, which “abandon[ed] the neo-Nazi scene”, “in order to obtain broader public legitimacy”.<sup>481</sup>

A crucial moment in the world of hategroups happened on August 11- 12, 2017 at the Unite the Right Rally in Charlottesville, Virginia.<sup>482,483</sup> Joseph Bendersky called it a “flashpoint and symbolic manifestation” of the “recent upsurge in antisemitism in the United State”.<sup>484,485</sup> According to Bari Weiss, “[Unite the Right] was a shattering awakening for those who believed that the poisonous ideology of white supremacy was mostly confined to the lunatic online fringe. That day, it turned out a crowd”.<sup>486</sup> During the protest, the hategroups chanted “Blood and soil, the English translation of the Nazi slogan ‘*Blut und Boden*’, “White lives matter” and “Jews will not replace us”.<sup>487</sup>

One of the supremacist groups that attended the rally in Charlottesville was the Rise Against Movement (RAM). This group has encouraged physical violence as well as espousing racist and antisemitic beliefs. Many of the members of this group have had previous and serious run-ins with the law and yet the group has garnered little to no attention from law enforcement agencies. RAM has participated in extremist music events, networking with other hate-groups.<sup>488</sup>

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<sup>480</sup> “A Former Neo-Nazi Explains Why Hate Drew Him In — And How He Got Out.” January 18, 2018. ><https://www.npr.org/2018/01/18/578745514/a-former-neo-nazi-explains-why-hate-drew-him-in-and-how-he-got-out>>. February 16, 2019, 2.

<sup>481</sup> Koch. “The New Crusaders,” 17.

<sup>482</sup> “Documenting Hate.”

<sup>483</sup> Picciolini. *White American Youth*, xxi.

<sup>484</sup> Bendersky. “Holocaust-Era American Antisemitism,” 1.

<sup>485</sup> Hall. “How Britain’s Nazi.”

<sup>486</sup> Weiss. *How to Fight Anti-Semitism*, 67.

<sup>487</sup> Weiss, 67.

<sup>488</sup> “Documenting Hate.”

They also have used nationalistic and white-pride music in the videos they have posted as advertisements for their group; one such video posted on October 26, 2018 showed members at a concert featuring German hate-core band Brainwash.<sup>489</sup>

RAM, the Hammerskins and other modern supremacist movements have used violence against more than just their political targets. They tend to encourage “street-based involvement [including] routine acts of violence to express their commitments”.<sup>490</sup> Journalist and writer Frank John Tristan, and colleagues Julie Leopo and Brian Feinzimer of *OC Weekly*, while covering a recent rally, were verbally and physically abused by the group. Tristan recalled “[RAM] members carrying an antisemitic sign and a massive banner emblazoned with the words ‘Defend America’”; Leopo asserted that “Trump supporters felt empowered to ridicule and intimidate me”.<sup>491</sup> The assault that followed, when all three were physically attacked by RAM members, was captured on video, yet as of today, no case has been filed in connection with these attacks.<sup>492</sup> Former *OC* editor Gustavo Arellano lamented, “What good is the truth when the law doesn’t give a shit?”<sup>493</sup>

RAM, amidst other groups, has attempted to “portray itself as a defense force for a Western civilization under assault by Jews, Muslims and brown-skinned immigrants”.<sup>494</sup> Their literature and protest material often features the slogan ‘Da Goyim Know’, an antisemitic slogan meant to highlight a supposed [obvious] conspiracy by Jews to control the globe and subjugate

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<sup>489</sup> “Brainwash Playlist.” March 26, 2016. >[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V5\\_fi1tHluM&list=PLeSjXJVC4FCxnHEREdOEPaWD73SQcsiBz](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V5_fi1tHluM&list=PLeSjXJVC4FCxnHEREdOEPaWD73SQcsiBz)>. April 25, 2020.

<sup>490</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele and Windisch. “Addicted to Hate,” 1176.

<sup>491</sup> Thompson. “Racist, Violent, Unpunished,” 4.

<sup>492</sup> Thompson, 4-5.

<sup>493</sup> Thompson, 6.

<sup>494</sup> Thompson, 7.

non-Jews”, although their violence and rhetoric has also targeted Muslims, black people, Hispanics, and other vulnerable minorities.<sup>495</sup>

One RAM leader, who refused to reveal his name, believed his organization was not racist and had the audacity to say that he doesn’t “even know what the word ‘racism’ means”; “We’re proud of our identity, [we] are ignored by politicians, taught to be ashamed by leftist academics, and marginalized and driven from the workforce by economic globalization. . .there is no other option for [us]”.<sup>496</sup> This idea that the supremacists have been victimized, and not the minorities they hope to terrorize, is not uncommon in hate-group doctrine, and echoes ideas proposed by Hitler. The RAM leader admitted to hoping to create “‘a conservative counter-culture’ as an antidote to the ‘complete degeneracy’ of contemporary American life and ‘the left-wing ideology that’s poisoning the youth’”.<sup>497</sup> RAM has consistently “espouse[d] blatantly antisemitic and racist views”, using “antisemitic graphics, including an illustration glorifying the Nazi SS” while they have “drawn recruits from the ranks of the Hammerskin Nation” and other extremist factions.<sup>498</sup>

Another group that has been increasingly recognized by the mainstream, is the Alt Right. This group, which began as mostly an online organization, took part in protests in street actions, peaking in the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville. After the murder of Heather Heyer and other public relations difficulties, the Alt Right has lost much of its clout as a respectable organization and has, for the most part, receded. The group has spread much propaganda about “white genocide” as well as modern “stereotypes about people of color, crime rates and IQ scores”.<sup>499</sup> The group often stresses the importance of “human biodiversity” and of creating a

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<sup>495</sup> Thompson, 7.

<sup>496</sup> Thompson, 7.

<sup>497</sup> Thompson, 8.

<sup>498</sup> Thompson, 8.

<sup>499</sup> Stern. *Proud Boys*, 3.

white ethnostate.<sup>500</sup> The Alt Right still possesses a vast online presence, posting several blogs, hosting chat rooms and authoring countless websites to promote their ideology, including racist and misogynist content.<sup>501</sup> Hateful memes, comments, and posts on Twitter, 8chan, 4chan, and other platforms have been consistent tools of the Alt Right, both before the 2016 elections, and after Trump was elected. They posted fake news articles, conspiracy theories and hatespeech in an effort to defeat Hillary Clinton who at the time responded: “These are race-baiting ideas, anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant ideas, anti-woman—all key tenets making up an emerging racist ideology known as the Alt-Right”.<sup>502</sup> This statement, as well as her “deplorables” remark ended up galvanizing the group, who increased their presence on the internet to intensify their message in hopes of defeating Clinton.<sup>503</sup> After Trump’s victory, the group felt even more emboldened; even though Trump is not as radical as many of the group would have preferred, they still referred to him as “a step towards the new normal”.<sup>504</sup>

The group, like many other hategroups, often pitches itself as the victim with “white interests...diluted and...under attack, crime rates are skyrocketing, fatherless families are on the rise, and, disturbingly, the demographic transition is bringing about the browning of America”.<sup>505</sup> The groups often claim to be non-violent, yet also advocate “a little bit of social oppression” as necessary for their plans of a white ethnostate. Also like many other hategroups, the alt right has a long list of “others” they consider inferior and encourage their dehumanization.<sup>506</sup>

The group has sought to distance itself from the stereotypical image of American hategroups, often associated with skinhead neo-Nazi groups and the Klan. They hope to express

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<sup>500</sup> Stern, 4.

<sup>501</sup> Stern, 4.

<sup>502</sup> Stern, 6.

<sup>503</sup> Stern, 6.

<sup>504</sup> Stern, 6.

<sup>505</sup> Stern, 46.

<sup>506</sup> Stern, 56-7.

a more palatable image by “shed[ding] the Nazi insignias and KKK white hoods associated with white supremacy”.<sup>507</sup> Eschewing both the white-robos and burning crosses of the Klan, and the skinhead and tattooed look of the neo-Nazis, they fight a public relations effort to appear clean-cut and respectable. Yet, despite these efforts, some alt righters are seen at rallies and on the internet using more traditional white supremacist symbology, including swastikas.<sup>508</sup>

They have also made efforts in this direction by trying to rebrand themselves as “dissident right”, “affirmative right”, “ethnonational”, and “identitarian”.<sup>509</sup> The group has received support, not just from Trump, but also from some news outlets, most notably from Fox News’ Tucker Carlson, who serves as conduit for the Alt Right’s esoteric, online materials into the mainstream. Trump, Tucker and other supporters, like Ann Coulter and Laura Ingraham, have helped to normalize and reinforce the group’s ideas of patriarchy, bigotry, racial and gender determinism, anti-democracy, white victimhood and genocide, and a natural hierarchy.<sup>510</sup>

A potent representation of this is the white ethnostate, envisioned by alt-righters as a homogenous, pristine, orderly, and eugenically engineered utopia... [T]hese ideas are torqued and spun, as they travel and ricochet around the digital playground of the internet, enabling the alt-right to mimic and appropriate mainstream popular culture to white nationalist ends.<sup>511</sup>

One of the results of Charlottesville on the group was infighting and a resplintering, which returned the group to its pre-2016 election state of being a loosely-connected conglomerate of smaller neo-nationalist groups. Differing perspectives on ideology have also caused rifts between members of the Alt Right, who endorse wide-ranging opinions and strategies on contentious issues, especially the “Jewish Question” (JQ) and the “Women

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<sup>507</sup> Stern, 5.

<sup>508</sup> Stern, 113.

<sup>509</sup> Stern, 7.

<sup>510</sup> Stern, 8-9.

<sup>511</sup> Stern, 9.



Question” (WQ). These two points of conflict arise from the question of how inclusive should the Alt Right be, especially in regards to women, who are seen as a valuable ally by the group and in regards to Jewish Americans, who some extremists have begun to consider as “white”.<sup>512</sup> The JQ has become an “edge case” where some members of the alt right go against common hategroup doctrine and accept some Jews who are vetted. Some actually laud Israel as a successful white ethnostate. “[However] most white nationalists see a Jewish stranglehold on American society that fuels multiculturalism and feminism and hence accelerates white extinction, constituting the largest obstacle to the white ethnostate”.<sup>513</sup>

Despite the fallout of Charlottesville, other legal issues and the internal political and leadership issues within the group, the Alt Right has not stopped growing. Identity Europa, renamed the American Identity Movement in 2019, one Alt Right group, has claimed it has seen increased membership and chapter expansions after Charlottesville.<sup>514</sup> This may be just the group trying to save face however. Several alt right leaders have left the group as well, most often a result of doxing, the process of breaking a user’s anonymity by exposing their personal information. The online presence of the alt right has been tarnished, and tech companies crack down more efficiently and more regularly on their hateful posts, and the posters of such posts are banned more often.<sup>515</sup> This has forced some of the alt right to migrate their online presence from one platform to another. Even Reddit, which has a history of tolerating extremist white nationals, cracked down in 2017 banning some of the alt right subreddits, with later bans in 2019 and 2020. Of note is that r/The\_Donald, a site devoted to the praise and defense of Donald Trump, remains. GoDaddy, a popular domain registration service, closed the original AltRight.com, claiming the

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<sup>512</sup> Stern, 7.

<sup>513</sup> Stern, 68-9.

<sup>514</sup> Stern, 7.

<sup>515</sup> Lenz, “Things Fall Apart,” 32.

site promoted violence. Crowdfunding services designed to raise donations from those sympathetic to white supremacy have also been shuttered including “GoyFundMe.com”, “WeSearchr” and “Hateron”.<sup>516</sup>

Despite the defeats of the alt right, the movement lives on and may still be growing, even if the growth is not centralized. According to Bari Weiss: “I fear that the decline of the alt right...is actually the beginning of a movement both more diffuse and more mainstream. The movement’s poisonous ideology no longer lives only on Breitbart or on Reddit boards visited by disaffected keyboard warriors. Turn on Fox and you can hear ‘experts’ talking about the ‘Soros-occupied State Department’”.<sup>517</sup>

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<sup>516</sup> Lenz, 34.

<sup>517</sup> Bari Weiss. *How to Fight Anti-Semitism*. New York: Crown, 2019, 64.

### III

#### Music

Music has long been used “to mobilize protest and create group solidarity,” “through the ritual of performance”.<sup>518</sup> From Woody Guthrie to Bob Dylan, Public Enemy to Rage Against the Machine, artists have sought to engage in political discourse with their audiences.

Sociologists Simi, Blee, DeMichele and Windisch claim "what and how we hear reflects deeply held cultural values; environmental sounds can stimulate a variety of related thoughts and feelings".<sup>519</sup> This passionate response to the music amplifies the emotional connection to the movement. Christian Picciolini, former hategroup member, recalls:

Punk rock became part of the lives of its devotees in a way that outsiders, especially adults, never understood. It spoke to us and allowed us to speak when we didn't feel we had a voice. It was uncensored and raw and proved it was okay to be lonely or angry or confused about being a teenager in the world. Music was the common link allowing us all to see we were not lost and alone.<sup>520</sup>

Since the early days of American neo-Nazism and white supremacy, racists have reappropriated music which appealed to the younger generations, especially white young men, who have been the main targeted audience for hategroups.<sup>521</sup> Hate music has helped to sustain the white power movement in America, “despite the extreme marginalization and stigma associated with overt white power activism”.<sup>522</sup> To some extent, in emulation of their European

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<sup>518</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music,” 275.

<sup>519</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele and Windisch. “Addicted to Hate,” 1177.

<sup>520</sup> Picciolini. *White American Youth*, 41.

<sup>521</sup> Morris. “A cultural history of neo-Nazi rock.”

<sup>522</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music,” 276.

counterparts, American racist organizations sought to tap into the burgeoning punk rock, thrash and hardcore scenes. As these genres of music already espoused angry melodies, intense lyrics and rough dance moves, this made sense for the white-supremacist, neo-Nazi leadership. In their mind, it would take little to convince disaffected youths to scream obscenities about Jews and other minorities into the mic instead of (or in some cases along with) the anarchistic and anti-establishment messages the punk rockers were already writing lyrics about. The use of heavy metal, thrash, ska, oi, punk and hardcore music by supremacist groups has been brought to further public awareness by modern films such as *American History X* and *Green Room* which, although both are fictional narratives, are based on elements of truth. Both feature films feature authoritative leaders who throw shows to improve comrade-ship and spread their message. The musical social events proved to be staging grounds for group violence.<sup>523,524</sup> The events are often described by members as “havens”; the live musical experiences “evoke collective meanings that help anchor [member’s] commitment to the movement.”<sup>525</sup> The leisurely and good-time feeling of events allows a certain “looseness” amongst members.<sup>526</sup> Both *American History X* and *Green Room* depict sequences in which racist leadership facilitated and encouraged punk and hardcore music concerts to influence and indoctrinate new generations of bigots and to encourage criminal activity which led to murder. The ritualistic behavior associated with the live concerts and festivals has been crucial in “recruiting and mobilizing activists.”<sup>527</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele and Windisch mention “ritualized dances, salutes, uniforms, and paramilitary training”.<sup>528</sup>

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<sup>523</sup> “American History X.” DVD. Burbank: New Line Cinema, 1998.

<sup>524</sup> “Green Room.” DVD. New York: A24 Films LLC, 2016.

<sup>525</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music,” 276.

<sup>526</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 288.

<sup>527</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 277.

<sup>528</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch. “Addicted to Hate,” 1174.

On the other hand, the majority of punk and hardcore bands have consistently promoted inclusivity and diversity, denouncing racism and other forms of bigotry. Political activism and protest music have called out perceived inequality and often called the populace to actions. The Clash's song *White Riot* was an attempt to stand in unity with Caribbean immigrants rioting against police brutality at Notting Hill in 1976.<sup>529</sup> Post-punk band Fugazi often stopped their shows to try to pay the Nazi skins to leave, and then not continue with their set if the skins did not.<sup>530</sup>

Dave Morris explained how: "punks like the Sex Pistols' Sid Vicious or the Stooges' Ron Asheton wore Nazi symbols as a provocation or, at best a declaration of their postmodern numbness; yet to ascribe a political motive to such lumpen gestures is giving their authors entirely too much credit".<sup>531</sup> From early influences like the Dead Kennedys who performed a direct response to 80s racialist infiltration with their song "Nazi Punks Fuck Off", to modern punk groups like NOFX and modern anarchist groups like Leftover Crack who promote tolerance and inclusion, reaction to the neo-Nazis and separatists and their vitriol has been high on the list of many punk-rockers and hardcore artists alike.<sup>532,533</sup> Mark Bray, author of *The Antifa Handbook* said, "the North American modern Antifa movement grew up as a way to defend the punk scene from the neo-Nazi skinhead movement, and the founders of the [predecessor] Anti-Racist Action network in North America were anti-racist skinheads. . . [in] a fight for control of the punk scene".<sup>534</sup> Eric Ward recalled his experience:

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<sup>529</sup> Morris. "A cultural history of neo-Nazi rock."

<sup>530</sup> Ward. "Skin in the Game," 12.

<sup>531</sup> Morris. "A cultural history of neo-Nazi rock."

<sup>532</sup> Steve Knopper. "Nazi Punks F\*\*k Off: How Black Flag, Bad Brains, and More Took Back Their Scene from White Supremacists." ><https://www.gq.com/story/punks-and-nazis-oral-history>>, 1.

<sup>533</sup> Travis M. Andrews. "Yes, neo-Nazis have rock bands, too. They've been around for decades." >[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2017/08/23/yes-neo-nazis-have-rock-bands-too-theyve-been-around-for-decades/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.a0bf77dfbd7a](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2017/08/23/yes-neo-nazis-have-rock-bands-too-theyve-been-around-for-decades/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.a0bf77dfbd7a)>, 1-2.

<sup>534</sup> Jamie Thomson. "'No Fascist USA!': how hardcore punk fuels the Antifa movement."

><https://www.theguardian.com/music/2017/sep/09/no-fascist-usa-how-hardcore-punk-fuels-the-antifa-movement>>, 1.

The L.A. punk scene of the late 1970s brought me into constant, unavoidable contact with proto-White nationalist youth. The scene was utopian and dystopian, thrilling and violent, gave me friends for life—black, white, and Filipino, U.S.-born and undocumented—and killed some of them. The scene attracted the brightest minds and the burgeoning sociopaths from across lines of race and class. Chaos broke out at shows and kids formed gangs. There were racist and antiracist skinheads. Someone wearing a swastika armband might be a neonazi or might just be fucking around.<sup>535</sup>

Many white supremacist rockers started as “alienated teenage punks” who have been seduced by a strong sense of belonging and community similar to a cult; even though this transition has often “cost them most of their punk friends, [it also] brought them a new family of sorts”.<sup>536,537</sup> Byron Widner, a self-confessed violent former-Vinlander, spoke about the group he eventually became estranged from: “I had lived with them, bled with them, sat in jail with them, that was the only way of life I knew. My crew was my family”.<sup>538</sup> Haterock has become and remains one of the most persistent forms of bigoted representation among young and old hate group members; in a 2002 Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) report, over 100 American white power bands were tracked.<sup>539</sup> Hategroups have expanded their genres of choice as well to include not only punk, trash, hardcore, oi and ska music but increasingly heavy metal and death metal, country/western, and techno and folk music.<sup>540,541</sup> “One arena that has received special attention...is music above all heavy metal, which offers a bridge from the neo-Nazism of the 1980s and 1990s to the alt-right counterculture of the 2000s”.<sup>542</sup> One *Radix Journal* author writes: “I can say with confidence that heavy metal music has done far more to advance

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<sup>535</sup> Ward. “Skin in the Game,” 9-10.

<sup>536</sup> Geoff Edgers. “White Trash,” 4.

<sup>537</sup> O’Neill. “Ex-skinhead removes tattoos,” 4.

<sup>538</sup> O’Neill, 6.

<sup>539</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music,” 281.

<sup>540</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 281.

<sup>541</sup> Dave Morris. “A cultural history.”

<sup>542</sup> Stern. *Proud Boys*, 29.

authentic right wing aesthetics, values, and yes even philosophy than all the failed institutions of the...Right put together”.<sup>543</sup>

Some converts have grown up with racist and bigoted family members who influenced their development and ultimately their decision to embrace white-power; Josh from the group Definite Hate remembered how “his granddaddy wouldn’t let him play with a black friend from school”.<sup>544</sup> Josh also admitted being influenced by other white-power bands, especially notorious acts like No Remorse, Nordic Thunder, Brutal Attack, and Skrewdriver. Josh explained an experience that influenced him, when beforehand he had had doubts: “I had these thoughts in my mind. . .but when I heard Skrewdriver, it was like some big Paul Bunyan motherfucker came up and booted me right off the fence”.<sup>545</sup> Christian Picciolini: “I fell hard for the edgy British punk band [Skrewdriver] the moment I heard them—their tunes and their beats, the slick way they dressed and the raspy voice of Ian Stuart”.<sup>546</sup>

An anonymous skin head explained: “I had some racist views before I started listening to [hate rock] music, but once I heard that first Skrewdriver song I was sold. It really did change my life...[I said] ‘you know, I’m racist. So what? I’m proud of who I am’...[W]hites are getting pushed aside...[The music] gives you an identity...you’re special, you know, because you’re white”.<sup>547</sup> In an article by James Hall he emphasizes the importance of the band and its international influence, claiming a “cult of Skrewdriver had...spread”.<sup>548</sup> Teddy, a former Hammerskin recalled the “chills” he’d get from listening to Skrewdriver.<sup>549</sup> Alicia, a former member of the World Church of the Creator: “I haven’t listened to Skrewdriver or any of that

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<sup>543</sup> Stern, 30.

<sup>544</sup> Edgers. “White Trash,” 4.

<sup>545</sup> Edgers, 5.

<sup>546</sup> Picciolini. *White American Youth*, 42.

<sup>547</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, “Understanding Music,” 293.

<sup>548</sup> Hall. “How Britain’s Nazi.”

<sup>549</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch. “Addicted to Hate,” 1176.

crap in so many years. And even today I have snippets of songs. Odd moments”.<sup>550</sup> Brent, a former Volksfront member still listens to neo-Nazi rock music: “I don’t have the same thoughts I don’t have the same feelings, but I can’t stop listening to the music...It’s pretty catchy fucking rock-n-roll...Kind of cool. So I’m reliving some glory fucking days”.<sup>551</sup>

The frontman of the band, Ian Stuart Donaldson went on to found Blood & Honour a white supremacist organization that distributed magazines and promoted and organized haterock concerts under the Rock Against Communism brand.<sup>552</sup> Tony McAleer, a former white supremacist remembers buying his first Skrewdriver CD and how it changed his life. He believes Donaldson became the “heroic ideal” for the far-right.<sup>553</sup> Dave Morris also mentioned the importance of Skrewdriver and other bands in recruitment for hategroups.<sup>554</sup>

Hate-rock has offered bands a chance to avoid insignificance; many of the labels offer a built-in fanbase, often willing to travel great distances for concerts and festivals. According to the SPLC, “[s]ince 1998, both the frequency and size of festivals has increased dramatically”.<sup>555</sup> Haterock labels also provide extensive networking capabilities connecting groups with similar messages, both in America and internationally. “After years of struggling in punk-rock obscurity, Josh from Definite Hate discovered the potential of white power [music]—or hatecore, as it’s also known—which merges ‘80s thrash with lyrics so harsh they’re illegal in some countries. Hatecore welcomed Josh and his bandmates with its Caucasian arms wide open. . .[They

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<sup>550</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1176.

<sup>551</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1177.

<sup>552</sup> Hall. “How Britain's Nazi.”

<sup>553</sup> Hall.

<sup>554</sup> Morris. “A cultural history.”

<sup>555</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music,” 288.



quickly] had scored a record deal and a slot at a Klan music showcase called Nordic Fest and were offered a European tour”.<sup>556,557</sup>

Another festival, the Rocky Mountain Heritage Festival, seemingly innocuous in title, included the National Alliance and Klu Klux Klan affiliates from across the country and overseas as well. The Florida-based Folk Fest debuting in 2001, “features live bands, a hammer-lifting competition, a playground for children, food, camping, boat rentals, and hikes on nature trails” and is run by the white power group Nordwave.<sup>558</sup> The Oregon-based Volksfront, threw its own Aryan Fest, with part of the proceeds “earmarked to benefit Volksfront land purchase for Aryan community development”.<sup>559</sup>

This has proven very appealing to musicians even ones like Josh and his bandmate Ben, who both expressed doubts about the music’s message. According to George Burdi, who founded Resistance Records, a Canadian record company headquartered in Detroit, but later distanced himself from the scene: “They’re rock heroes in their little town. . .their interviews are printed in twenty different languages. That’s quite a bit for some poor kid”.<sup>560</sup> George Burdi, who was initially the sole employee at Resistance Records, the one-time best-selling distributor of white supremacist music, he was also the singer and lyricist for RaHoWa, a racially-driven skinhead band. RaHoWa, which stands for “racial holy war” has intense and graphic lyrics:

Kill all the niggers and you gas all the jews  
Kill a gypsy and a coloured too  
You just killed a kike  
Don’t it feel right

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<sup>556</sup> Edgers. “White Trash,” 2.

<sup>557</sup> Hall. “How Britain’s Nazi punk bands.”

<sup>558</sup> Futrell, Simi, & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music,” 288.

<sup>559</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 28.

<sup>560</sup> Edgers. “White Trash,” 5.

Goodness gracious, darn right!<sup>561</sup>

According to Burdi: “Music alone cannot save our race, granted. But our music is precious to us, and highly effective as a recruiting tool”.<sup>562</sup> Lyrics to the song “Perish and Fight” help show how division and hatred is encouraged in the music’s listeners:

In order for Jews to control us all,  
All that oppose them, must—PERISH AND FALL  
Armed with the media, the cops and feds,  
Never resting until the white movements dead  
When the time comes to stand and fight,  
You’ll be marked the enemy because your white.<sup>563</sup>

Simon Frith, a British sociomusicologist and former critic, “observes that making and experiencing music culture is not simply a way of expressing ideas, but “a way of living them”; identity and behavior become intertwined.<sup>564</sup> Even with less than remarkable sales, haterock labels such as *Resistance Records* have propagated hate and bigotry successfully.<sup>565</sup>

Fame, even niche fame, as well as adoration from diehard fans has provided enough impetus to get off-the-fence for some people, encouraging even those with doubts to quickly buy into the scene. Groups like *Definite Hate* have quickly begun contributing to the spread of hate-filled rhetoric and condemning minority groups, especially “the media-hogging Jews”.<sup>566</sup> “Josh insists he isn’t a violent guy, though on the *Definite Hate* album, he screams for a race war [and] he sings longingly of when the ‘fucking Jews burn again’”.<sup>567</sup>

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<sup>561</sup> “Special Report: Deafening Hate: The Revival of Resistance Records.” Anti-Defamation League, 2000.

<sup>562</sup> “Special Report.”

<sup>563</sup> Barbara Perry. *In the Name of Hate: Understanding Hate Crimes*. New York: Routledge, 2001, 177.

<sup>564</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music,” 289.

<sup>565</sup> Hall. “How Britain’s Nazi.”

<sup>566</sup> Edgers. “White Trash,” 3.

<sup>567</sup> Edgers, 10.

Ron Doggett, who represents NO FEAR (which subsequently changed its name to the European-American Unity and Rights Organization or EURO) claimed: “There’s an attack on our heritage, and ethnic cleansing, if you will, of our people’s symbols, our monuments, our holidays”.<sup>568</sup> NO FEAR was started and run by David Duke, former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. The group has primarily involved itself in political ventures and campaigns for officials whose views coincide with their own; however, Doggett has encouraged his members to involve themselves with supremacist youth events, especially rallies, concerts, and festivals.

Resistance Records has been one of the largest and well-known white-power music labels. It was started in 1993, and subsequently run by partial-owner William Pierce. Resistance Records has continued to offer hate bands instant exposure using its magazine, its website and live music exposure. While other labels have come and gone, Resistance has provided one of the most dependable store-fronts for purchasing white-power punk and hardcore music.<sup>569</sup> Erich Gliebe who has helped run Resistance for years, and as of 2007 was listed as the acting CEO of the company, spoke on the future of the scene: “A lot of white kids are attracted to rap because they talk about killing cops and women. Sometimes we have to do the same thing. It’s like hitting them over the head with a hammer”.<sup>570</sup> Gliebe has admitted that the messages expressed by many of the bands he represents have actually been more extreme than his own views, yet he hopes to build the American hatecore scene up to a level equal to that of its European counterpart, which has been called “a white-power stronghold”; Gliebe has been attempting to push into other genres: “Something that sounds a bit like Godsmack or Smashing Pumpkins”.<sup>571</sup> This mirroring of more popular forms of musical expression “while investing it with radically

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<sup>568</sup> Edgers, 3.

<sup>569</sup> Edgers, 5.

<sup>570</sup> Edgers, 6.

<sup>571</sup> Edgers, 6.

racist themes” can be seen in white supremacists’ early attempts to co-opt punk rock as well as in more modern attempts to reappropriate metal, techno and folk.<sup>572</sup>

Although he died in 2002, William Pierce expressed faith in using music as tool; to him “[m]usic [was] a tool to spread his alternative history—one that casts Hitler as a hero and the whites of the world as victims” and in this war, as he believed it, he specifically targeted disaffected youth to perpetuate his message of exclusion and bigotry: “Imagine what we could do with these millions of aimless young white people if we owned MTV. They feel there’s no future for them, and they’re mad as hell. I share their anger.”<sup>573</sup> The goal of record labels and distributors of haterock is to provide an alternative to the mainstream pop music culture which they often characterize as tainted or corrupted by multi-cultural and multi-ethnic elements.<sup>574</sup> A chat post by “Joe” from the Resistance Records website: “It’s great to have something that doesn’t degenerate our culture and heritage. With MTV and the major record labels promoting hip-hop...too many white kids...drive around listening to blacks sing about ‘killing whitey’”.<sup>575</sup>

Another prominent white-power group has been the Hammerskin Nation (HSN). The group has used music to inculcate its followers, encourage comradeship and solidarity, entice new recruits, and propagate its bigoted and hateful message. The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) listed it as “the most violent and best-organized neo-Nazi skinhead group in the United States” with many members who “have been convicted of harassing, beating or murdering minorities”.<sup>576</sup> The Hammerskins have also been referred to as a “loosely structured but highly aggressive Nazi skinhead gang with chapters across the US and in Europe”.<sup>577</sup> Joanna

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<sup>572</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music,” 285.

<sup>573</sup> Edgers. “White Trash,” 7.

<sup>574</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music,” 284.

<sup>575</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 294.

<sup>576</sup> “The Hammerskin Nation,” 1.

<sup>577</sup> Thompson “Racist, Violent, Unpunished,” 12.

Mendelson, who worked with the ADL, discussed the group: “Adherents have their own unique subculture and are dedicated to furthering Hitlerian ideology”.<sup>578</sup> Originally founded in the late 1980s in Dallas, the group quickly spread to the rest of the country as well as internationally. The Hammerskins coopted their name and symbology from the fictional fascist group who were antagonists on Pink Floyd’s album *The Wall*.<sup>579</sup> One supremacist exclaimed after a 2003 Confederate Hammerskins show near Jacksonville, Florida: “What a great show!! After [the] speech I was ready to take on every jew in the land with a stick...[It’s] great to see all the kids come out and have fun for they are why we do this...till every jew is d\*\*d”.<sup>580</sup>

At one point, the group boasted twenty-one regional chapter in America and ten international chapters found in Poland, Canada, England, France, Spain, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Australia and New Zealand. The group spread in good part by using music as a way to entice and influence new recruits, especially jaded, disaffected young men.<sup>581,582</sup>

The HSN has constantly recruited and promoted hate by sponsoring numerous bands, festivals and concerts, spreading bigotry from Florida, Texas and Pennsylvania to Hungary, England and Poland.<sup>583</sup> According to Ed Wolbank, leader of haterock group Bound for Glory and former director of the Northern Hammerskins in St. Paul, Minnesota: “Music is number 1. It’s the best way to reach people. Through music people can start getting into the scene, then you can start educating them. Politics through music”.<sup>584,585</sup> The end goal of this “racial education” is political action.<sup>586</sup> A Southern Californian skinhead described the live shows as “informational

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<sup>578</sup> Thompson, 12.

<sup>579</sup> Reynolds. “Hammerskin Nation,” 1.

<sup>580</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music,” 292-3.

<sup>581</sup> “The Hammerskin Nation”, 1-3.

<sup>582</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music,” 284.

<sup>583</sup> Reynolds. “Hammerskin Nation,” 3.

<sup>584</sup> “The Hammerskin Nation”, 4.

<sup>585</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music,” 284.

<sup>586</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 284.

as well as entertaining which is really important to combine”.<sup>587</sup> James Hall also discussed the importance of blending entertainment with education and recruitment and warned that “the [haterock] scene has a firm foothold in the US”.<sup>588</sup>

Mark Potok, editor of the *Intelligence Report* explained: “The music has also been terribly important in bringing young kids into the movement. I’ve talked to many people who have come out of this movement. To a man and a woman, they say it was the music, more than any other influence, that brought them to the movement in the first place”.<sup>589</sup> Former Hammerskin member Christian Picciolini, who became disillusioned with the group in 2011 said, “I believe that music is a very powerful tool that the movement uses to inspire vulnerable people into a very hateful social movement”.<sup>590</sup> According to Picciolini, the music aspect “permeates” white power activism and it acts as “a kind of gateway drug”.<sup>591</sup>

In 2004, using the Hammerskin-affiliated record label, Panzerfaust Records, the organization planned a massive, nation-wide campaign which targeted middle and high school students. The effort, called ‘Project Schoolyard’ involved the printing of over 100,000 CDs containing samples of hatecore music; then the Hammerskins and other hate groups passed them out at various schools across the country. The free sampler CDs appeared inconspicuous; however, the music contained on the discs propagated the racially-motivated messages that the Hammerskins and like-minded groups hoped to spread to the youths. As the Panzerfaust website bragged: “We just don’t entertain racist kids. . .we create them”.<sup>592</sup> Those who were willing to

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<sup>587</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 292.

<sup>588</sup> Hall. “How Britain’s Nazi punk bands.”

<sup>589</sup> Andrews. “Yes, neo-Nazis have rock bands, too,” 3.

<sup>590</sup> “A Former Neo-Nazi,” 2.

<sup>591</sup> Hall. “How Britain’s Nazi.”

<sup>592</sup> Merino. *Hate Crimes*, 63.

entertain the supremacist, bigoted, and often antisemitic rhetoric were directed to the label's website, where more albums could be purchased.

There was some pushback from some of the targeted communities, where students reported the distributors of the CDs to faculty members, information was sent to parents, schools increased security on their grounds, and in some areas, protests against the groups took place as well. Many school districts also reported racist and antisemitic newsletters and pamphlets being spread amongst the community.<sup>593</sup> Despite these reactions, the supremacist and white-power groups claimed victory with many users on the label's online forum claiming they personally handed out several CDs to kids, not only at schools but also at stores and malls as well. Groups like the National Socialist Movement then encouraged more skinhead groups to join in the effort and made a contest out of the event, competing against each other to see who could distribute the most propaganda, pamphlets, and samplers.<sup>594</sup> Although it has not been easy to quantifiably evaluate how effective these types of campaigns have been, the ability to connect with any number of young people and steer them towards bigotry and violence has likely been seen as a success for the hate-groups. College students and young professionals have become an oft-targeted demographic for the alt-right and other groups.

Wade Michael Page, who attacked the Sikh Temple of Wisconsin, killing six people and wounding four others, had connections to the Hammerskins. He himself was the founder and band leader of End Apathy, a band that had played many Hammerskin-organized concerts. In a 2005 interview, Page hoped to help "end people's apathetic ways" and "stay the course in our sick society"; conspicuously absent from the interview was any direct recognition of racially

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<sup>593</sup> Merino, 64-66.

<sup>594</sup> Merino, 67.

motivated hate-speech or violence.<sup>595,596</sup> Both bands Wade played with, End Apathy and Definite Hate, were featured at different times by Panzerfaust Records. They also played at Independent Artist Uprise, a racially-oriented music festival in Baltimore.<sup>597</sup> “Mark Pitcavage, who worked as investigative director for the ADL, held no doubts that Page was intimately involved with the white-power music efforts of the Hammerskins, which he referred to as “one of the oldest and largest hardcore racist skinhead groups”.<sup>598</sup>

Pete Williams of NBC also confirmed: “We had identified Page several years ago as someone who was prominent in the white power music scene”.<sup>599</sup> Pitcavage further attested that white-power music has been a “fairly important part of the white supremacist subculture” and it seems evident that this played a crucial role in drawing Page further into supremacist culture and ramping up his extremist and violent views.<sup>600</sup> In further discussing the group, Pitcavage said: “[The Hammerskin Nation] has had a strong association with violence over the past several decades”, noting he was not shocked that Page “was a white supremacist because white supremacist shooting sprees tend to be directed at minorities.”<sup>601</sup> Mark Potok, who has worked extensively for the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), said Page was a “frustrated neo-Nazi who had been the leader of a racist white-power band [and who also] had attempted to purchase goods from the neo-Nazi National Alliance” another prominent hate-group.<sup>602</sup>

The Hammerskins have encouraged other groups to utilize music as a recruitment and propaganda tool and subsequently started their own music festival called ‘Hammerfest’. This

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<sup>595</sup> Leitsinger. “Experts,” 1.

<sup>596</sup> Heidi Beirich & Mark Potok. “Alleged Sikh Temple Shooter Former Member of Skinhead Band.” ><https://www.splcenter.org/news/2012/08/06/alleged-sikh-temple-shooter-former-member-skinhead-band>>, 2.

<sup>597</sup> Beirich & Potok. “Alleged Sikh Temple Shooter,” 2.

<sup>598</sup> Leitsinger. “Experts,” 1.

<sup>599</sup> Leitsinger, 1.

<sup>600</sup> Leitsinger, 1.

<sup>601</sup> Leitsinger, 2.

<sup>602</sup> Leitsinger, 2.



annual gathering, their smaller concerts, and the sale of records have proved important in accruing resources for the group, and this business model has influenced other white-power movements as well.<sup>603,604</sup> The festival and concerts thrown by the group help to solidify the sense of family and belonging that many of the followers seek.

Eventually the Hammerskin Nation fell into decline. One factor in this fall was the revelation in 2005 that Anthony Pierpont, owner of Panzerfaust Records, a major distributor of Hammerskin's hatecore music, had Mexican ancestry and that he had dated transgender individuals and non-white women. Pierpoint in the past described how his label catered to young white kids "looking for an outlet, a space, to sort of be something different where they don't have to feel guilty about being white or act like a nigger to be cool".<sup>605</sup> Panzerfaust had promoted hate messages and helped network amongst supremacist bands and groups since 1998. The name of the label being a reference to a Nazi anti-tank launcher, it literally means 'armored fist' and has been referred to as "the audio ordnance that's needed by our comrades on the front lines of today's racial struggle".<sup>606</sup> When *the Intelligence Report* 'outed' Pierpont, he was quickly disowned and pressured to close the company by the Hammerskins. Smaller crews have shifted their allegiance and challenged the HSN's rules regarding violence and public image, yet many of these groups have continued to use music as a weapon. The Keystone State Skinheads with nine chapters in Pennsylvania as of 2016, held "regular concerts and white power picnics".<sup>607</sup>

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<sup>603</sup> "The Hammerskin Nation", 9.

<sup>604</sup> Hall. "How Britain's Nazi."

<sup>605</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. "Understanding Music," 284.

<sup>606</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 283.

<sup>607</sup> Holthouse. "Motley Crews," 4.

Detective Matt Browning, who spent years working undercover to infiltrate violent racist groups, emphasized how crucial haterock has been to maintaining and expanding these groups.<sup>608</sup>

According to Interpol reports:

White power music. . . is a more lucrative trade in Europe than dealing in hashish. . . The demand for American skinhead music is tremendous there both because there are far more skinheads and because it is illegal for hate rock bands to perform, record, or even rehearse in most European countries. So while skinheads in Europe, for the most part, consider their American counterparts to be drunken buffoons – and with good reason – they are dependent upon the disorganized crime of US skinheads to supply them with merchandise they otherwise couldn't have.<sup>609</sup>

Jeff Scheop, manager of white-pride music label N~~S~~M&& explained his point of view to *Spin Magazine*: “We’re far more interested in spreading our point of view. . . If people can hear communist sympathizers like Rage Against the Machine, they should have the right to hear music that celebrates white culture. The Beastie Boys and other Jewish artists support banning ideas, but we don’t”.<sup>610</sup> “Themes of violence and racist hatred aimed at blacks, Jews, Asians, and immigrants are articulated in the songs, cover art, and band names”: names like “‘Fueled By Hate’, ‘Aryan Terrorism’, ‘Blue-Eyed Devils’, ‘Angry Aryans’ and ‘Racist Redneck Rebels’”.<sup>611</sup> According to a southeastern Aryan activist: “The live shows are energizers for racial pride, they just fill you up with love and hope for the future”.<sup>612</sup> As Mark Hamm, criminology professor at Northeastern University, suggested “listeners of this music...transform themselves from their ordinary realities to something wider, something that enlarges them as people. They become [white power activists]”.<sup>613</sup> Daniel Koehler, formerly of the *Institute for the Study of Racial*

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<sup>608</sup> Holthouse, 5.

<sup>609</sup> Holthouse, 5.

<sup>610</sup> Andrews. “Yes, neo-Nazis have rock bands,” 3.

<sup>611</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music,” 283.

<sup>612</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 291.

<sup>613</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 294.

*Movements* believed music “is not just a recruitment tool, but also a very important tool for financing infrastructure, networks, and to buy guns and to buy explosives”.<sup>614</sup>

The level of indoctrination that affects those involved with the white-power scene often runs deep, especially those involved with the music; Brent of Definite Hate talked about his upcoming fatherhood and his unborn son when he said, “I’m a little nervous, but at least I’ll have a little Adolf junior in my arms”.<sup>615</sup> The lyrics to “Aryan Child” by Brutal Attack: “What your ancestors fought for, sacrifice untold, Has all been stolen by bankers of the Jewish fold” and the title “Six Million More” of a song by the Bully Boys both serve as examples of the clear antisemitism and intolerance these bands invoke and impart to their listeners.<sup>616</sup> The lyrics also often invoke themes of “‘global brotherhood,’ ‘volk,’ ‘white pride,’ and ‘Aryan heritage’”.<sup>617</sup> Haterock lyrics are consistently used “as tools for framing grievances”, especially those focused on minority groups and supposed race traitors.<sup>618</sup> According to Tia DeNora, professor at the University of Exeter, while lyrics are important, so is “‘the cultural practices in and through which music is used to produce social life. [Music] is constitutive of styles of conduct’” and behavior.<sup>619</sup> One Midwest Aryan supremacist explained:

I listen to white power and I still have that feeling of being involved with something as a whole. Listening to music like Max Resist, it’s something where I can sit at home alone and even though the whole world is against me I can...listen to it and go not only is this uplifting me but I know the band’s behind it and there are people who have the same CD that forms a community and gives us strength.<sup>620</sup>

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<sup>614</sup> Andrews. “Yes, neo-Nazis have rock bands,” 3.

<sup>615</sup> Edgers. “White Trash,” 4.

<sup>616</sup> Andrews. “Yes, neo-Nazis have rock bands,” 2.

<sup>617</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music,” 281.

<sup>618</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 276.

<sup>619</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 278.

<sup>620</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 290.

Another Aryan activist explained: “When you’re at a show you get to do things you normally can’t do and it just feels great to let go and be what you are. You know, be a racist with everyone else who’s here...where that’s not a crime and you don’t have to be ashamed of it... It’s hard to find places where you can do that”.<sup>621</sup> Shows also provide a point for dissemination of more traditional propaganda materials, such as band T-shirts and other clothing, albums, stickers and patches, as well as pamphlets, zines, and other white supremacist literature.<sup>622</sup>

Live events, in a similar way to political rallies and marches, often become the staging-ground for acts of violence, as the attendees get riled up by the angry, aggressive and persuasive music and then are sent back into society. “Organizers struggle to maintain the local [white power] music scene’s availability and openness while simultaneously excluding...opponents from shows”, although young attendees will likely be let in if they pose no threat and are recruitable.<sup>623</sup> White power music has grown to incorporate many elements in its attempt to solidify and indoctrinate: “bands, performances, performing spaces, indigenous recording companies, recordings, broadcasts, symbols, street sheets, fanzines, Web sites that report on movement music and the activists who are involved”; all of these help “create powerful cognitive and emotional changes to sense of self and commitment to the movement”.<sup>624</sup> However, haterock can become contentious in the movement as well; Kathleen Blee, professor of sociology at the University of Pittsburgh, observes “not all racists agree on what forms of racist culture are appropriate...the question of music can provoke especially hot disputes”.<sup>625</sup> Blee’s comment could be seen as evidence of the infighting and fracturing seen throughout the history of hategroups in America. For some the scene “becomes the limit of one’s involvement in the

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<sup>621</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 287.

<sup>622</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 287.

<sup>623</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 287.

<sup>624</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 279.

<sup>625</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 295.

movement rather than a gateway into deeper commitments that hold the potential for active insurgency”.<sup>626</sup> Still, “many young racists see [hate] music as the key to reviving a movement they regard as foundering under the lifeless leadership of older Klan and Nazi leaders”.<sup>627</sup>

A skinhead from California: “When people come together at the music shows we’re telling each other our beliefs can withstand all the bullshit out there and we don’t have to cave in, we don’t have to give up and go with the race-mixing multicultural propaganda”.<sup>628</sup> An Idaho Aryan admitted: “I really hate missing the shows...[they] really bring people together. They keep you strong, they keep you feeling like you’re part of something, part of the movement if we can keep together then there’s hope that we can save the white race from destruction”.<sup>629</sup>

Websites connected to the specific labels and bands have become increasingly important in the haterock scene as well. James Hall claims, “the dawn of downloading and streaming on the internet has allowed racist rockers to find a new audience”.<sup>630</sup> One site, the Hammerskin Nation site, gave viewers a chance to listen to speeches given by activists between musical sets and to browse “photo galleries of concert participants displaying dress, tattoos, and other insignia of Aryan authenticity and style that viewers are encouraged to assimilate, emulate and reproduce”.<sup>631</sup> Websites have also encouraged their participants to using blogging, chatting and vlogging to recreate their musical experiences for users not able or willing to physically attend the haterock events.<sup>632</sup> This vicarious participation “can help members experience the ambient moods and tones that nourish their sense of belonging and identification with the collective ‘we’

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<sup>626</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 295.

<sup>627</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 295-6.

<sup>628</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 291.

<sup>629</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 291.

<sup>630</sup> Hall. “How Britain’s Nazi.”.

<sup>631</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music,” 284.

<sup>632</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 285.

of the movement music scene”.<sup>633</sup> In 2014 the SPLC uncovered that the iTunes library contained hatermusic from over 50 bigoted bands. The Noisey website reported in 2014 as well, that “nearly every major online retailer” carried white power music and Digital Music News reported in August 2017 that Spotify carried music from close to 40 such bands.<sup>634</sup> Since then, these outlets have removed most of the offensive material. Some believe this amounts to banning and censorship, yet McAleer supports the move saying listeners are now unlikely to “stumble across it”.<sup>635</sup> Google on the other hand, has been resistant to remove hategroup materials, claiming it only removes media “in very rare circumstances, such as if ordered by law enforcement”.<sup>636</sup>

In my March 26, 2020 interview with Thomas Englemann, former Aryan Brotherhood member, he speaks briefly about the state of haterock today. He acknowledges its continued use and spoke to its effectiveness in conditioning followers, but he feels its use has somewhat declined, mostly because of the advent and rise of the internet.<sup>637</sup>

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<sup>633</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 286.

<sup>634</sup> Hall. “How Britain’s Nazi.”

<sup>635</sup> Hall. “How Britain’s Nazi.”

<sup>636</sup> Hayden. “White Nationalist State Department Official.”

<sup>637</sup> “Thomas Englemann Interview,” 1:55-2:15.

## IV

### The Internet

Ariel Koch, a researcher at the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, described “the creation of a virtual community and connections with similar elements from different parts of the world that share the same world-view”.<sup>638</sup> Members of the extreme right can react to ongoing news events in real time and exploit crisis moments like shootings, street violence, immigration and terrorism; they educate, publicize, recruit, propagate and maintain their groups through social media, “private, encrypted chatrooms” and livestreams.<sup>639,640</sup> These participants have been called “media junkies” who regularly “monitor public discourse”.<sup>641</sup> “The internet is a relatively cheap and efficient tool for disseminating organizational information/propaganda to a mass audience [with] limited media and political constraint”.<sup>642</sup> It provides a form of communication “where anonymity and plausible deniability are built-in features”.<sup>643</sup> “[T]here is no shame on the internet, no neighbor watching to cast a sideways glance. Here the alienated can connect with one another to form a common cause... You no longer have to meet a KKK grand wizard... to be swept up in their cause”.<sup>644</sup> “Before the internet, hate speech largely was available only in plain brown envelopes and down dark alleys, and its reach was limited. Rallies rarely attracted large crowds. Now, on the internet,

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<sup>638</sup> Ariel Koch. “The New Crusaders,” 20.

<sup>639</sup> Koch, 20.

<sup>640</sup> “White Supremacists Embrace ‘Accelerationism’.”.

<sup>641</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 762

<sup>642</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 763.

<sup>643</sup> Stern. *Proud Boys*, 95.

<sup>644</sup> Weiss. *How to Fight Anti-Semitism*, 70.

hate is on display for all to see and the potential audience is vast. The dawn of hate on the internet has wreaked havoc on American society with a marked increase in hate crimes”.<sup>645</sup>

The internet allows many participants to “(re)construct their identities at the crossroads of ethnicity, gender and religion”.<sup>646</sup> Joel Finkelstein, director of the Network Contagion Research Institute described an “epidemic” of an online “organization that no one understands, no one knows how to police, and there’s not a civil mechanism to deal with”.<sup>647</sup> John Horgan, professor at Georgia State University’s Global Studies Institute said: “For the last several years, analysts have warned that these kinds of conditions [on the internet] would lead to these kinds of actions. I genuinely fear that we are seeing the culmination of something that has been boiling over for some time now...And I fear that we’re not prepared for it”.<sup>648</sup> This “evolution in public spaces” has been monumental in human existence.<sup>649</sup>

Nancy Fraser, an American critical theorist, discussed how these participants “formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests and needs”.<sup>650</sup> Denizens of the internet find comfortable places to discuss not just ideology and politics but almost everything including “personal prosaic experiences, trivial thoughts, banal idea and everyday issues that all enable peer-verification”.<sup>651</sup> This gives them “a sense of freedom from the tensions in society”, either perceived or real.<sup>652,653</sup> Internet forum spaces have become “digital replacements for physical bulletin boards”.<sup>654</sup> “[Hategroup] sites assign specific meanings to current and past events,

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<sup>645</sup> Perry. *Hate Crimes*, 215.

<sup>646</sup> Leurs. *Voices from the margins*, 104.

<sup>647</sup> Lord. “How Robert Bowers.”

<sup>648</sup> Lord..

<sup>649</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 763.

<sup>650</sup> Leurs. *Voices from the margins*, 113.

<sup>651</sup> Leurs, 106.

<sup>652</sup> Leurs, 121.

<sup>653</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 759.

<sup>654</sup> Leurs. *Voices from the margins*, 110.



providing ideological reinterpretations of contemporary issues in an effort to promote unity among adherents while simultaneously appealing to potential recruits”.<sup>655</sup> The sites offer links to ICE and INS contact information, “home schooling resources”, merchandise and racially themed accoutrements, which is a source of income for the groups.<sup>656</sup>

According to author Koen Leurs, “The line between publicness and privateness is blurred online” allowing “the unspeakable [to be] asserted”.<sup>657</sup> These stigmatized, unspeakable “remarks used to dissolve in the masses, however once online, they leave material traces”.<sup>658</sup> Internet forums, chat rooms, videos, music, live streams, webzines, picture and document dumps, and other resources have all been utilized by white power and neo-confederate groups.<sup>659</sup> Hategroups have established themselves as “early adopters” of internet technology, which they successfully use for the “direct marketing” of antisemitism, bigotry and violence.<sup>660</sup> White supremacist groups have latched onto the internet from early on, including Stormfront, an early internet and continual mainstay for virtual hate.<sup>661</sup>

The earliest white supremacist sites on the internet is Stormfront.org, founded by Don Black, a former member of both the KKK and the American Nazi Party (ANP). Created in 1995, Black “foresaw the potential of the internet as a vehicle to disseminate racism”.<sup>662</sup> When he first published the site, Black called it a “White Nationalist Resources Page” and “a resource for those courageous men and women fighting to preserve their White Western culture, ideals and freedom

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<sup>655</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 763.

<sup>656</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 768.

<sup>657</sup> Leurs. *Voices from the margins*, 123.

<sup>658</sup> Leurs, 125.

<sup>659</sup> Hall. “How Britain's Nazi.”

<sup>660</sup> Perry. *Hate Crimes*, 215.

<sup>661</sup> Leurs. *Voices from the margins*, 110.

<sup>662</sup> Stern. *Proud Boys*, 112.

of speech and association—a forum for planning strategies and forming political and social groups to ensure victory”.<sup>663</sup> One Stormfront notice asserts:

Education is a key component to our survival, however, the conventional idea of education is not sufficient, because of the liberal, Jewish bias that is imposed on most learning materials...For our children to be properly educated we must have places to teach them the accomplishments of white Europeans and the importance of staying true to one's race. If we don't take the time to show them the way, they will be brainwashed by ignorant liberal teachers...that encourage race mixing and degeneracy.<sup>664</sup>

“The site includes news items, letters, the Canadian white racist magazine *Up Front*, neo-Nazi graphics and symbols, current and archived ‘articles of interest to White Nationalists,’ mailing lists, news groups and electronic bulletin boards. In addition, it provides links to myriad other white nationalist sites”.<sup>665</sup>

For many who may encounter these webpages, the ideas and images are antithetical to their understanding of American ideals of democracy and equality. As such, they are quickly dismissed. Yet for others, they reinforce or implant tolerance and hostility. Thus, those with embedded biases may find affirmation on the net.<sup>666</sup>

The site has remained a constant presence for American hate advocates and has influenced the creation of numerous other supremacist sites, including InfoWars, Red Ice TV, the Right Stuff, and the Daily Stormer, the latter considered to be Stormfront's modern successor.<sup>667</sup>

“It probably is not an exaggeration to say that there are thousands of domestic and international websites marketing various brands of hatred and intolerance”.<sup>668</sup> Black himself called the

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<sup>663</sup> Perry. *In the Name of Hate*, 175.

<sup>664</sup> Pete Simi & Robert Futrell. *American Swastika: Inside the White Power Movement's Hidden Spaces of Hate*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010, 34.

<sup>665</sup> Perry. *In the Name of Hate*, 175.

<sup>666</sup> Perry, 176.

<sup>667</sup> Stern. *Proud Boys*, 30

<sup>668</sup> Perry. *In the Name of Hate*, 175.

internet “the biggest breakthrough... as far as recruiting”.<sup>669</sup> “There is a potential here to reach millions. I think it’s a major breakthrough. I don’t know if it’s the ultimate solution to developing a white rights movement in this country, but it’s certainly a significant advance”.<sup>670</sup> When Barack Obama won election in 2008, Stormfront was bumped offline by the high volume of web visits the site was inundated with.<sup>671</sup>

All over the internet, from YouTube, Facebook and beyond, Stormfront has influenced the creation of vlogs and webzines like *Occidental Quarterly*, *Counter-Currents*, *Radix Journal*, *Vox Day*, *VertigoPolitix*, and *Sargon of Akkad*.<sup>672,673</sup> “These sites are visited by thousands of users, many of whom offer comments or participate in live chats. For example, Stormfront counts over 800,000 monthly visits and close to 1,800 interlinked websites; the Daily Stormer nearly 600,000 monthly visits and over 1,000 interlinked websites; and the more academic American Renaissance gets 350,000 monthly visits with just under 1,500 interlinked websites”.<sup>674,675</sup>

In 2008, in part because of the insights of his son, Derek, who subsequently renounced the white power movement, Black removed all swastika and Klan symbols from the site.<sup>676,677</sup> David Duke, long-time associate of Black, supported this idea: “Avatars that promote or satirize lynchings or mass murder, or that promote [Nazi] or Klan symbology, only get in the way of our most fundamental task: the task of awakening, educating, motivating and organizing our people

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<sup>669</sup> Barbara Perry ed. *Hate Crimes: Responding to Hate Crime*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2009, 215.

<sup>670</sup> Stephen E. Atkins *Encyclopedia of Right-Wing Extremism In Modern American History*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2011, 113.

<sup>671</sup> Pete Simi & Robert Futrell. *American Swastika: Inside the White Power Movement's Hidden Spaces of Hate*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010, 85.

<sup>672</sup> Stern. *Proud Boys*, 30-1.

<sup>673</sup> Barbara Perry ed. *Hate Crimes: Responding to Hate Crime*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2009, 215.

<sup>674</sup> Stern. *Proud Boys*, 31.

<sup>675</sup> Atkins. *Encyclopedia*, 113.

<sup>676</sup> Stern. *Proud Boys*, 112.

<sup>677</sup> Eli Saslow. *Rising Out of Hatred: The Awakening of a Former White Nationalist*. New York: Doubleday, 2018.

around the world”.<sup>678</sup> This general rebranding of white supremacist groups, led to greater proliferation on the mainstream internet. Those no longer able to post swastikas, holocaust denialism, racist memes and calls to violent, lynching-type action found new, more-accepting homes elsewhere on the internet.<sup>679</sup> “These anonymous realms are inhabited by racist agitators...and contain digital chasms drenched in blood-curdling ripostes and depraved cartoon depictions of the death and dismemberment of Jews, blacks, immigrants and women”.<sup>680</sup> And despite a short take-down in April of 2018, when Black announced the main server of the site would be shuttered and archived, Stormfront has remained a safe space for extremists to continue espousing the greatness of the white race, the inferiority of many other groups and spread many forms of antisemitism, racism and misogyny.<sup>681,682</sup> “Online, extremists may find guidance not only on how to attack, but also whom to attack. Antigovernment sites frequently post information about judges, law enforcement and other government officials”.<sup>683</sup>

Mike Wendling, a British journalist, studied the activities of users on some of these popular rightist sites like 4chan and Reddit’s sub-Reddit r/The\_Donald, the latter being a forum for devotees to Trump, their “god emperor.” Reddit has caught a lot of criticism for its so-far refusal to completely ban the group, despite numerous violations of their site rules. Wendling’s study initially aimed at exploring the tech-savvy youth supposedly behind the alt right. However, he found that the forums were often initiated and led by older men who “harbor lingering resentments against political correctness” who then voice their hatred and influence other,

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<sup>678</sup> Stern. *Proud Boys*, 112.

<sup>679</sup> Stern, 112.

<sup>680</sup> Stern, 112.

<sup>681</sup> Ryan Lenz. “Things Fall Apart,” 34.

<sup>682</sup> Stern. *Proud Boys*, 91.

<sup>683</sup> Perry. *Hate Crimes: Responding to Hate Crime*, 216.

younger posters.<sup>684</sup> “[A]bout 90 percent of the movement happens online, mediated through a cyberspace of interlinking programs and platforms like YouTube, Twitter, Facebook and increasingly the shadow sites of Gab and BitChute”.<sup>685</sup>

Hammerskin Nation has successfully utilized the internet in conjunction with their other promotional tools: “The well-designed Hammerskin Nation website, coordinated by the Eastern Hammerskins in New Jersey, feature[d] concert reviews, chapter listings and information about upcoming events”.<sup>686,687</sup> The site also included forum boards where like-minded bigots have been able to vent about minorities in their lives, suggest reading and listening materials, warn their fellow racists of infiltrators and agent provocateurs, explain initiation processes, encourage recruitment, as well as perpetuate hate rhetoric and antisemitism; one user espoused Nazi propaganda materials, suggesting the group utilize writings by Helmut Stellrecht whose literature had been influential in the Hitler Youth movement, while another user worried their words might be “twisted and turned by some jew lawyer into being a hidden, underlying message to kill”.<sup>688,689</sup> One section of the Hammerskin website designated itself as a “private plotting forum”.<sup>690,691</sup> “The extreme right...learned how to mobilze and motivate the masses through social networks, and how to spread hatred via these tools”.<sup>692</sup>

In the Robert Bowers investigation, it was revealed, primarily through his internet and social media history, Bower’s transition from conservative to extreme national and racial views.

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<sup>684</sup> Stern. *Proud Boys*, 73.

<sup>685</sup> Stern, 95.

<sup>686</sup> “The Hammerskin Nation”, 11.

<sup>687</sup> Reynolds. “Hammerskin Nation,” 4.

<sup>688</sup> “Forum 38: the Hammerskins Forum.”

><https://web.archive.org/web/20130530034404/http://www.crew38.com/forum38/content.php>>, 1-4.

<sup>689</sup> Randall Bytwerk. “German Propaganda Archive: Faith and Action.” ><https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/glauben.htm>>, 1-2.

<sup>690</sup> “The Hammerskin Nation, 11.

<sup>691</sup> “Forum 38.”

<sup>692</sup> Koch. “The New Crusaders,” 14.

He participated on Gab, which has been commonly understood to be ‘alt-right sympathetic’.<sup>693</sup> He ascribed to the belief that an existing Jewish cabal has taken control of the civilized world including Hollywood, mass media, banks, etc. He also posted and shared Holocaust denial material.<sup>694</sup> Bowers became a follower of Jim Quinn, an American radio personality, who encouraged his listeners to fear global conspiracies surrounding the UN and the Jews. Gradually Bowers became more involved in Gab and other internet platforms. One post by Bowers warned of a coming “false flag” attack: “one of the final desperate attempts by the jewish international oligarchy to maintain power in the face of collapsing public trust”.<sup>695</sup> Just before the attack Bowers posted “HIAS [the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society] likes to bring invaders in that kill our people. I can’t sit by and watch my people get slaughtered. Screw your optics. I’m going in”.<sup>696,697,698</sup> Bowers received no condemnation when he posted or shared antisemitic and anti-immigrant content on Gab.com and instead received praise and encouragement.<sup>699</sup> One poster on Gab wrote after the attack: “There is no #MAGA as long as there is a kike infestation. Open your eyes! It’s the FILTHY jews Bringing the Filthy EVIL Muslims into the Country!”.<sup>700</sup>

Bowers also became a follower and reposter of the online persona, Jack Corbin, who consistently “target[s] perceived anti-fascist, or left-leaning figures” and who “targeted students at the University of North Carolina Chapel Hill who were demanding the removal of a confederate monument”.<sup>701</sup> Pete Simi, a professor of sociology at Chapman University claimed: “[The internet] is just creating this reinforced echo chamber where you’re just getting these like-

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<sup>693</sup> Chavez, Emanuella & McLaughlin. “Pittsburgh synagogue gunman.”

<sup>694</sup> Lord. “How Robert Bowers.”

<sup>695</sup> Lord.

<sup>696</sup> Sheehan & Schiller. “11 Dead.”

<sup>697</sup> Chavez, Emanuella & McLaughlin. “Pittsburgh synagogue gunman.”

<sup>698</sup> Lord. “How Robert Bowers.”

<sup>699</sup> Lord.

<sup>700</sup> Weiss. *How to Fight Anti-Semitism*, 5.

<sup>701</sup> Lord. “How Robert Bowers.”

mindful sources of information that are consolidating and coalescing and pushing you in this direction”.<sup>702</sup> Simi continued: “There’s so many figures now to pay attention to. Some of these people on Twitter have an amazing number of followers...Its really frightening”.<sup>703</sup>

According to Mary Beth Altier, professor at New York University’s Center for Global Affairs, “Because online advertising and social media feeds usually respond to the person’s web searches, clicks and posts, the internet can slowly draw a person from a strident ideology toward full-blown racial thinking”.<sup>704</sup> Altier claims “[extremists] find a sense of belonging in these chat rooms or radio shows or whatever they’re engaging with online. It gives them a sense of purpose, especially if their career is going nowhere [and it] helps them makes sense of personal crises they’ve experienced, or a lack of achievement”.<sup>705</sup>

In Petter Nessers study on lone wolf terrorists, he detailed the concept of “contagion”, in which one terrorist studies another’s operational techniques and mimics them; Globalization and internet-based mass media and social media accelerate and intensify such processes...in the internet age it is important not to underestimate the contagious nature of extreme violence, and the potential for spread among terrorist networks and copycat killers”.<sup>706</sup> One 8Chan anon who promoted white power and accelerationist beliefs posted on March 21, 2019: “I used to think acceleration was a marxist trick...Now, however, I see its value”.<sup>707</sup>

On April 27, 2019, John T. Earnest attacked the Chabad of Poway synagogue in California. Less than a day later, the media reported on an open letter signed by Earnest and posted to the extreme-right virtual message board site 8chan which praised Brenton Harrison

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<sup>702</sup> Lord.

<sup>703</sup> Lord.

<sup>704</sup> Lord.

<sup>705</sup> Lord.

<sup>706</sup> Nesser. “Research Note,” 69.

<sup>707</sup> “White Supremacists Embrace ‘Accelerationism’”.

Tarrant, Christchurch mosque perpetrator, and Bowers, along with Hitler; Earnest also blamed the Jewish community for supposed white genocide, and he took responsibility for a March 2019 arson attack on California mosque as well.<sup>708</sup> Earnest’s manifesto was “riddled with almost exclusively antisemitic tropes and advocacy for white supremacy”.<sup>709</sup>

Earnest disliked Trump because of his support for Israel and “complain[ed] conservatives aren’t violent enough in support of their politics”.<sup>710</sup> Earnest credited 8chan with his radicalization and after he posted his manifesto “8chan users cheered the poster of the note. The first response encouraged [Earnest] to ‘get a high score’”—a phrase used commonly by video gamers, which when directed to Earnest meant, “kill as many people as possible”.<sup>711,712</sup>

Brenton Tarrant, the Christchurch mosque perpetrator was also radicalized by the internet. He livestreamed the first 17 minutes of the attack on Facebook and he posted his manifesto, titled “The Great Replacement” on Twitter and 8chan, as well as emailing to thirty specific addresses, including the New Zealand prime minister and several media outlets.<sup>713</sup> After the attacks, Tarrant received praise from users on Gab, YouTube, Reddit, 8chan and other online platforms.<sup>714</sup> In one section of his manifesto, Tarrant claimed: “True change and the change we need to enact only arises in the great crucible of crisis. A gradual change is never going to achieve victory. Stability and comfort are the enemies of revolutionary change. Therefore we must destabilize and discomfort society where ever possible”.<sup>715</sup> One anonymous 8chan poster

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<sup>708</sup> Ben Collins & Andrew Blankstein. “Anti-Semitic open letter posted online under name of Chabad synagogue shooting suspect.” ><https://www.nbcnews.com/us-news/anti-semitic=posted-online-under-chabad-synagogue-n999211>>

<sup>709</sup> Collins & Blankstein.

<sup>710</sup> Collins & Blankstein.

<sup>711</sup> Collins & Blankstein.

<sup>712</sup> Weiss. *How to Fight Anti-Semitism*, 70.

<sup>713</sup> Charlene Wong. “The Manifesto of Brenton Tarrant – a right-wing terrorist on a Crusade.” March 15, 2019.

><https://web.archive.org/web/20190315144811/https://observer.news/featured/the-manifesto-of-brenton-tarrant-a-right-wing-terrorist-on-a-crusade/>>. April 28, 2020.

<sup>714</sup> “White Supremacists Embrace ‘Accelerationism’.”

<sup>715</sup> “White Supremacists Embrace ‘Accelerationism’.”



lauded Tarrant: “‘acceleration’ means...making things worse...and thus t [sic] alienate the white popluation [sic] and get the fence sitters off the fence...This was the core of what Bretton [sic] was trying to explain in his manifesto. He understood that ZOG would double down on censorship, gun grabbing, free speech, etc”.<sup>716</sup>

Another online poster, whose internet handle is Wild Rich, also celebrated the Christchurch attack, using Telegram, an instant messenger service known for harboring hategroups: “Violence is the only thing these freaks will understand. You’re not going to rationalize them or outbreed them or outvote them. They’ll need to be strung up from lampposts, dragged into the streets at night, gunned down en masse, and systematically eliminated like any other pest”.<sup>717</sup> Wild Rich claims to be building “a legal advocacy organization for the white nationalists, which he calls the “SS SPLC”, a play on both the Southern Poverty Law Center as well as the Schutzstaffel or SS, a Nazi paramilitary organization which operated during World War II.<sup>718</sup> We need our...own think tank and policy org...explicitly pro-white...our own thing with our own money with people knowing from the very beginning, ‘hey, these guys are pro-white, they know what the Jews are up to”.<sup>719</sup>

Today’s hate advocates utilize a wide range of online resources to communicate and spread their ideology, including 4chan, 8chan, Reddit, Youtube, Gab, Twitter, Telegram, Discord, BitChute, Matrix, Mumble and others.<sup>720,721,722</sup> Hategroups attempt to disguise their true intentions by using “humor, sharply and effectively, as a way to deflect and avoid

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<sup>716</sup> “White Supremacists Embrace ‘Accelerationism’.”

<sup>717</sup> Hayden. “White Nationalist State Department Official.”

<sup>718</sup> Hayden.

<sup>719</sup> Hayden.

<sup>720</sup> Leurs. *Voices from the margins*, 2015, 110.

<sup>721</sup> “Thomas Englemann Interview,” 4:20-4:30.

<sup>722</sup> Stern. *Proud Boys*.

responsibility”.<sup>723</sup> Often upon being called out for their hate-filled rhetoric, online hate-advocates often respond with: ‘It’s just a joke.’

Hategroups purchase their domain names from sympathetic providers like Epik, which “has a documented history of working with websites that traffic hate”.<sup>724</sup> Thomas Englemann, former Aryan Brotherhood member who works for Life After Hate, which helps members deradicalize and separate from the groups, talks about excessive website propaganda, use of Discord, a live chat service, by “gamers” to spread propaganda and use of Youtube to radicalize new white supremacists. He mentioned that Youtube recently scrubbed their site of most neo-Nazi materials. Englemann also spoke about Christian Identity movements as well as the incel, or involuntary celibate movement, that supports men’s rights, specifically ‘beta males’ who are forced to be celibate by the societal hierarchy.<sup>725</sup>

Matthew Q. Gebert, a former state department official, was suspended in August 2019 after it was reported by SPLC that he had extensive white nationalist ties. Gebert had been found to operate as a recruiter for a DC sect of The Right Stuff, which is “a multi-state antisemitic, white nationalist organization”.<sup>726</sup> However, this did not prevent Gebert from his online activities, and in fact these seem to have escalated. Gebert shared thousands of extremist images, posts and memes on Twitter and Telegram and hosted eighteen episodes of his white supremacist-themed podcast.<sup>727</sup> On one of his podcasts from January 2020, Gebert claims: “We, the ones who live with our eyes wide open, recognize all the sickness, and treachery, and evil in this world. And we know who is responsible for it”.<sup>728</sup> Gebert also tried to cast himself as the

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<sup>723</sup> Weiss. *How to Fight Antisemitism*, 71.

<sup>724</sup> Hayden. “White Nationalist State Department.”

<sup>725</sup> “Thomse Englemann Interview,” 5:01-6:10.

<sup>726</sup> Hayden. “White Nationalist State Department Official.”

<sup>727</sup> Hayden.

<sup>728</sup> Hayden.

victim in his expulsion from the state department: “Merely for stating the obvious, that others are either too stupid or indoctrinated or cowardly to do, we face risks to our reputations, our livelihoods and even our safety. Yet we soldier on”.<sup>729</sup>

White power movements have made it increasingly difficult to monitor their activities as they often utilize the internet to expand their communities and spread their ideology. Larger organizations like *Resistance Records* and the Hammerskin Nation have used online forums and store-fronts to this end quite successfully, and currently “[t]here is an entire ecosystem of low-budget white supremacist media outlets—websites, blogs, forums, podcasts, YouTube channels, and the like”.<sup>730</sup> On his bigoted podcast ‘Locker Room Talk’, James Allsup praised the violent actions of RAM and other supremacist groups: “They kicked the shit out of people in Berkeley. It was great. . . They like to go to rallies and beat up Communists”, as if these hatemongers represented “the embodiment of the ideal American man”.<sup>731</sup>

According to David Hoffman of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), “the internet presents opportunities for [white power] networking that did not exist by offering a private form of communication and ‘bring[ing] distant isolate groups and individuals together. [It] has the potential to reach an audience far beyond any they could reach with their traditional propaganda”.<sup>732</sup> This lower risk, and lower cost, yet increasingly accessible medium has had increasing appeal to hate groups.<sup>733</sup> Joseph Bendersky described how “the fringe right...has been facilitated by the internet and social media,” drawing a growing if yet marginal following.<sup>734</sup>

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<sup>729</sup> Hayden.

<sup>730</sup> Thompson. “Racist, Violent, Unpunished,” 6.

<sup>731</sup> Thompson, 6.

<sup>732</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding,” 282.

<sup>733</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 282.

<sup>734</sup> Bendersky. “Holocaust-Era American Antisemitism,” 8.

“Online and in public displays, such groups project antisemitic caricatures and epithets not only identical to the most extreme Nazi propaganda but even reviving medieval canards”.<sup>735</sup>

One Aryan Front member explained: “It keeps me connected...emailing and chatrooms and just the web sites make me feel a lot less alone...I think the internet just makes it easier to be a racist when you know what’s out there and how many other people all over the world are fighting for pretty much the same thing you are and feel the same way you do”.<sup>736</sup> White power movement members can easily and “continuously network with one another outside face-to-face contexts, providing a continuity of scene experiences that would otherwise be difficult to produce”.<sup>737</sup> According to George Washington University researcher Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens and geopolitical analyst Nick Kaderbhai: “[T]he internet is seen as allowing for the creation of a virtual community for groups and movements that can support existing physical networks while disseminating different ideologies”; expansive use of the internet by the extreme right and religious fundamentalists has led to “the formation of a transnational community”.<sup>738</sup>

Most web-based platforms rely on self-moderation, depending on users to root out and report language and behavior they find offensive.<sup>739</sup> As what becomes permissible greatly depends on the collective norms of users, many site and forums become echo-chambers, allowing bigoted sentiment to stay up and be expanded up on.<sup>740</sup> According to American sociologist John Bargh “Online, anonymity-fueled disinhibition may grow when users feel they can violate norms without risking sanction, repercussions or disapproval” because “the costs and risks of social sanctions for what we say or do are greatly reduced”.<sup>741</sup>

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<sup>735</sup> Bendersky, 8.

<sup>736</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk. “Understanding Music,” 285.

<sup>737</sup> Futrell, Simi & Gottschalk, 288.

<sup>738</sup> Koch. “The New Crusaders,” 14.

<sup>739</sup> Leurs. *Voices from the margins*, 108.

<sup>740</sup> Leurs, 125.

<sup>741</sup> Leurs, 127.

At the end of 2019, a huge data dump released private information from Iron March “a notorious website for violent white supremacists” which had previously gone dark in 2017.<sup>742</sup> Dumps like these usually come from disgruntled former members who seek retribution from the group that scorned them or sometimes they come from hacktivist groups like Lizard Squad, Homebrew Computer Club and Anonymous. The data dump, posted anonymously on Internet Archive, included IP addresses, user names, direct private messages, public posts and forum topics, and registered emails, including two from American universities. Leaked direct messages showed some members who claimed to be in the United States armed forces: “Be careful if you get deployed with those fucking sand [deleted] and jews... They are a bunch of slippery pieces of shit that wash their faces in rain puddles in dirt on the ground. We are too good to be interacting with those people, maybe trump will at least relax the [rules of engagement] so those pieces of shit can be blasted back to allah, jews and all”.<sup>743</sup> Originally launched in 2011 by Alexander “Slavros” Mukhitdinov, Iron March condoned an extreme-right racist and fascist dream. The website was critical of the Alt Right groups which had gained popularity after Donald Trump’s election in 2016; they felt that Alt Right movement had not radicalized enough and presented too soft of a movement. Technology outlet Ars Technica reported:

Iron March was affiliated with or offered support to at least nine fascist groups in nine different countries over its six-year span. Several violent neo-Nazi paramilitary fascist groups were organized on the forums, including the Antipodean Resistance and the Atomwaffen Division. Members and associates of the groups and their offshoots have been connected to at least five murders documented by the SPLC and Rational Wiki.<sup>744</sup>

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<sup>742</sup> Dan Goodin. “Members of violent white supremacist website exposed in massive data dump.” November 7, 2019. ><https://arstechnica.com/information-technology/2019/11/massive-data-dump-exposes-members-of-website-for-violent-white-supremacists/>>. January 29, 2020.

<sup>743</sup> Goodin.

<sup>744</sup> Goodin.

Iron March fostered many groups including one named Vanguard America, the group James Alex Fields had marched with during the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville Virginia. Fields was responsible for plowing his car into counter-protestors and killing activist Heather Heyer.<sup>745</sup> The Iron March file dump will enable investigators to continue their inquiries into hategroups on the internet: “The ability for researchers, law enforcement investigators, and others to cross-reference IP addresses, email addresses, and private and public posts is likely to shine a bright light into a nether region that thrives on darkness”.<sup>746</sup>

Internet hate advocates often offer up the internet as the “the ultimate [form of] freedom of speech...a forum of democracy”.<sup>747</sup> However they often chose to remain anonymous on sites like 4Chan, 8Chan, Reddit, Youtube and others and they also frequent the dark web to “market specialty goods” and pass around memes.<sup>748</sup> They circulate material “on manufacturing weapons [and] publish...hitlists”.<sup>749</sup> However, online hate advocates also use coded lingo in order to mask their beliefs from outsiders, while still communicating with ease amongst their comrades who are in the know. One such term is “red-pill” or “red-pilling”, which is a reference to the 1999 film *The Matrix* and has been co-opted by hategroups. If someone has been red-pilled, they have been awakened to the “truths” of the world, and thusly begin their radicalization of antisemitism, bigotry, and misogyny.<sup>750</sup> Being red-pilled suggests that someone finally sees that “[t]hings are not what they seem, more pointedly that whites have been sold a bill of goods called diversity, inclusion, multiculturalism and gender equality”.<sup>751</sup> Before being redpilled to the truth of the

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<sup>745</sup> Goodin.

<sup>746</sup> Goodin.

<sup>747</sup> Adams & Roscigno. “White Supremacists,” 772.

<sup>748</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 772.

<sup>749</sup> Adams & Roscigno, 774.

<sup>750</sup> “The Base.”

<sup>751</sup> Stern. *Proud Boys*, 10.

world, one is called a “normie”. Normies are oblivious to the truths around them and often trust the authorities and support the status quo, both generally antithetical to hategroups and online hate advocates. The term cuck or cuckservative have similar meanings to normie, as both are generally used to described right-leaners who are not extreme enough for the more radical hategroup members. Another term used, not exclusively on the internet, but one that has become increasingly common on 4chan, 8chan and Reddit is “against the wall”, which refers to executing ones’ rivals with a firing squad. Another popular term often used is “fed posting” which refers to explicitly violent posts by white nationalists that “could potentially draw increased scrutiny from the FBI”.<sup>752</sup>

Hategroups also use typographical elements to both try to obscure the explicit hatred in their online posts, while remaining legible to those in the know. One example is the use of parentheses in what has become known as “the echo”. The echo is “used to indicate someone’s Jewishness without spelling it out” directly.<sup>753</sup> Bari Weiss uses an example which originated from criticism of herself after an online appearance, where her name appeared surrounded by the echo to make those who understood know unequivocally that she is Jewish: “(((Bari))) [is] cancer”.<sup>754</sup> The echo is also often used to emphasize phrases with antisemitic connotations such as: “(((Rubs hands together greedily)))”, “(((Hears coins hit the ground, runs to pick them up)))” and “(((why always them)))”.<sup>755</sup> Other typography is used by hategroups in a similar way, like the Base’s Rinaldo Nazzaro, who uses one parentheses to try to obscure his antisemitic rhetoric: i.e.: )ewish or )ew.<sup>756</sup>

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<sup>752</sup> Hayden. “White Nationalist State Department.”

<sup>753</sup> Weiss. *How to Fight Antisemitism*, 74.

<sup>754</sup> Weiss, 74.

<sup>755</sup> Weiss, 74.

<sup>756</sup> “The Base.”

Considering the use of online jargon, spread of hate-memes which usually include cartoon characters, and the far-rights utilization of video games seem to suggest that hategroups intentionally target children. Video games such as “Aryan 3, Shoot the Black, White Power Doom, ZOG’s Nightmare 2 and Ethnic Cleansing” draw the youth audience and often include digital representations of hategroup propaganda throughout the games, haterock soundtracks and a chance to simulate violence against Jews, black/African Americans, LGBTQ+ and other marginalized groups. Charlie, a Southeast Aryan claimed: “Online video games are a great idea for the movement. It’s planting a seed. We need these games for what they say and do. There’s just something about the visual part and being able to really get into it”.<sup>757</sup> Some websites appeal directly to young children, including WAU14.com and ILoveWhiteFolks.com, which contain racist coloring books, Aryan crossword puzzles for young adults, white power fairy tales and resources for parents who chose racist homeschooling for their young Aryans.<sup>758</sup>

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<sup>757</sup> Simi & Futrell. *American Swastika*, 87.

<sup>758</sup> Simi & Futrell, 87.



## V

### Conclusions and Prevention

In late July of 2016, Laura Ingraham capped off a divisive speech in Cleveland by giving what looked like a Nazi salute to Trump who was on a huge screen alongside her. During her speech that night she railed against immigrants, while later claiming she was only concerned about the safety of America. Luke O’Neil, from the *Observer*, wrote in response to the incident: “White nationalism, xenophobia, racism and fear of so-called ‘white genocide’ have increasingly moved out of the sketchier corner of the far-right and disreputable online forums and become entrenched in establishment discourse”.<sup>759</sup>

As Erik Ward eloquently demonstrated, antisemitism is at the root of the problem of hategroups in America. Multiple reports stress the downward trends in awareness and understanding of the Holocaust across the planet, especially among younger generations.<sup>760</sup> And while America still tends to have a more favorable view of Jews (77% favorable in a 2008 Pew poll), the increases in antisemitic crimes and rhetoric in the country is troubling.<sup>761</sup> Of all religiously-motivated hatecrimes in America in 2017, 58.1% were perpetrated against Jewish Americans.<sup>762</sup> In New York City in 2019, fifty-seven percent of all hate crimes were directed at Jews as well.<sup>763</sup> The effects of the theory of “cumulative extremism” have been considered as well: when the Jews face persecution in America, other marginalized people can expect the

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<sup>759</sup> Stern. *Proud Boys*, 133.

<sup>760</sup> Weiss. *How to Fight Anti-Semitism*, 141.

<sup>761</sup> Weiss, 141.

<sup>762</sup> Weiss, 94.

<sup>763</sup> Weiss, 83.

same. Erik Ward believes fighting antisemitism is an early, if not primary step to dismantling hategroups and the systems that seems to foster them.<sup>764</sup>

In addressing and fighting antisemitism, Joseph Bendersky posits: “On this issue...history does not provide a set of specific lessons or applicable formulaic solutions. However, history does offer essential insights and a necessary sense of proportion”.<sup>765</sup> Other scholars like Timothy Snyder and Robert Melson encourage looking to history for lessons in fighting the collapse of democracy and the rise of authoritarianism, increase in genocidal activity and genocidal and hate rhetoric.<sup>766,767</sup> Bendersky discussed tackling American antisemitism and the challenges of this daunting task, yet despite these obstacles, he held hope in “individual and organizational efforts” and he also warned of “the horrendous outcome of not taking action”.<sup>768</sup>

He promoted scholarly and academic research as a means to engage in “nuanced interpretations” and as “a necessary corrective to entrenched generalizations”.<sup>769</sup> Walter Laqueur and others also espouse the usefulness of cross-academia perspectives on history, sociology, psychology, and Jewish-studies.<sup>770,771</sup> Although clearly worried about contemporary American antisemitism, Bendersky does express faith in America; he believes a reversal in public acceptance of American Jews is “highly improbabl[e]”.<sup>772</sup> He points to the change in doctrine of mainstream Christian churches in modern American society and their scorn of antisemitic rhetoric; “Jews are not shunned by governmental institutions” and many of the old canards seem

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<sup>764</sup> Ward, “Skin in the Game.

<sup>765</sup> “Holocaust-Era American Antisemitism - A Special Virtual Issue.”

>[https://academic.oup.com/hgs/pages/american\\_antisemitism](https://academic.oup.com/hgs/pages/american_antisemitism)>. February 1, 2020.

<sup>766</sup> Ocbazghi. “Yale history professor.”

<sup>767</sup> Robert Melson. *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992, 285.

<sup>768</sup> Bendersky. “Holocaust-Era American Antisemitism,” 1.

<sup>769</sup> Bendersky, 5.

<sup>770</sup> Laqueur. *The Changin Face*, 22.

<sup>771</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch. “Addicted to Hate,” 1169.

<sup>772</sup> Bendersky. “Holocaust-Era American Antisemitism,” 8.

blatantly absurd today.<sup>773</sup> “[E]xtremist Islamist terrorism has bound Jews, America and the West together as its common enemy”.<sup>774</sup> Ariel Koch believes “Jihadi terrorism has attracted most of public and media attention [but] right wing terrorism and violence has become an acute problem”.<sup>775,776</sup>

Bari Weiss, in her book *How To Fight Antisemitism*, asserts “I think it is essential to understand and analyze this disease of the mind, in its various permutations, because to understand antisemitism is to inoculate oneself against an ideology that cannot withstand critical thinking. Understanding it is also the beginning of fighting it”.<sup>777</sup> Weiss continues: “[Antisemitism] is a shape-shifting worldview that slithers away just as you think you have it pinned down and, in doing so stays several steps ahead of anyone trying to clobber it”.<sup>778</sup> “Antisemitism successfully turns Jews into the symbol of whatever a given civilization defines as its most sinister and threatening qualities”.<sup>779</sup> “[A]ntisemitism rises at times of great insecurity and upheaval. When there is unrest or inexplicable change, the Jew is often blamed... Today, alas, the culture we live in is increasingly grasping for it”.<sup>780</sup> “[American hategroups] are gripped by a fear of “whiteness” being muddied and diluted and eventually washed away by ways of non-white, non-Christian Americans and immigrants—a takeover engineered, of course, by the devious Jews”.<sup>781</sup>

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<sup>773</sup> Bendersky, 9.

<sup>774</sup> Bendersky, 9.

<sup>775</sup> Koch. “The New Crusaders,” 13.

<sup>776</sup> Brennan. “Far Right Terrorism.”

<sup>777</sup> Weiss. *How to Fight Anti-Semitism*, 25.

<sup>778</sup> Weiss, 27.

<sup>779</sup> Weiss, 32.

<sup>780</sup> Weiss, 45-6.

<sup>781</sup> Weiss, 52.

Weiss also makes several suggestions on how to combat one of the most virulent forms of hatred known to man.<sup>782</sup> I feel personally that these ideas can also be used to fight other forms of hatred and bias as well: Talk plainly about the problem, both in America and abroad: while foreign instances of hategroups and hatecrimes might seem far away, the groups are often connected internationally and escalations can occur. Don't support political or social organizations that condone or endorse hateful and antisemitic behavior: use your dollar and your vote to on companies, organizations and political campaigns/candidates. And while hatespeech that doesn't explicitly threaten physical violence is protected by law in this country, that doesn't mean that its protected from criticism. Arguing with people on the internet can seem like a futile struggle, and I know about this personally, but stand up to people both on and offline who denigrate people for their religion, color, gender, sex, etc. Not everyone can bring themselves to call someone out in public. Take note of what happens, take pictures or video if you can safely.

Don't trust dividers. Those who seek to push or minimize one group, even if they are part of that group, are not seeking constructive solutions to societal problems. Excluding any "other" from legislative, economic, governmental or socially normative protections only adds to the cycle of intolerance, scapegoating and subjugation. Accept change. Even things that seem unreasonable because they are traditional may need to change in America for the problems of antisemitism, hatecrimes, and hategroups to even improve. While historically more progressive in terms of the treatment of some groups, other groups have long lists of grievances against the United States. This country prospered because of the tragedies faced by black/African Americans, not faced by any of my ancestors or family. And the system of prejudice that enslaved and persecuted those people for years has not completely gone away either. The

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<sup>782</sup> Weiss, 169-97.

privatized prison system, racist cops, many in the KKK, and biased judges. “During the era of Jim Crow, it was the local police who enforced the rigid segregation, laws in the south, who prevented Blacks from sitting at ‘whites only’ lunch counters or riding in the ‘whites only’ front section of the bus. In the north, the police played a major role in supporting segregation, if not as openly as in the south”.<sup>783</sup>

Praise those who act compassionately and inclusively. Don’t solely condemn bigoted behavior, praise cross-cultural initiatives, education curriculum, and politicians who practice what they preach. And in keeping with that sentiment: Call out hatred on your own side of the aisle and from your own quadrant of the political compass. This seems especially pertinent as the narrowminded efforts of the Boycott Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement, very much embraced by left leaning actors. Jewish Americans are justly deserving of the same human dignity and political protections. The idea that they have become a privileged class should stand as testament to the way the meritocracy in America should work. Instead they are still viewed condescendingly, as if Jewish struggles in America, and in the world no longer matter. Show up: Get out there; talk to people of different cultures, religions, genders, etc., volunteer, help yourself humanize those who are somewhat different in you. Find the similarities; the similarities between us as humans is far greater than the differences. Don’t expect from others what you would not consider acceptable for yourself, or your family, or your loved ones. Empathize with having to tell your son or daughter just to put their hands up when approached by a police officer. Resist tribalism. We are really all in this together. The planet is our home. Escape to another inhabitable planet has an infinitesimal chance of success. All groups have suffered. All people suffer. That’s

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<sup>783</sup> Jack Levin & Jack McDevitt. *Hate Crimes Revisited: America's War On Those Who Are Different*. New York: Basic Books, 2009, 155.

not to minimize the intense tragedy faced by victims of massacres, atrocity and genocide. Those acts should be thoroughly condemned. Let us not play the “Olympics of Victimization”.<sup>784</sup> “An attack on a minority is an attack on you...When someone is attacked because of [their] identity and not [their] ideas, see that as an attack on you”.<sup>785</sup>

Interviewing former members, often referred to as just “formers”, has been a helpful strategy in gaining greater understanding of hate groups. How they function, what forms of indoctrination they use, their recruitment tactics, how leadership leads, about their propaganda: all valuable information from those who have renounced their hate-filled lifestyle and sought redemption, although often victims themselves. Vulnerable and disenfranchised youth, who are looking for validation and a place to feel a part of. The acts they commit as hategroup members should be condemned, but the people themselves should be embraced and helped.

Julie Larsen, who once belonged to the National Alliance but renounced her racist beliefs, explained: “The movement had answers for everything, and the answers usually revolved around the special status of the white race and the fact that most of the existing problems in society, in the economy, in the world, were created by Jews, or blacks or immigrants”.<sup>786</sup> Joseph Pearce, another reformed hategroup member, explained the movement’s goal from his perspective: “Our job was basically to disrupt the multicultural society to make it unworkable and make various different groups hate each other to such a degree that they couldn’t live together”.<sup>787</sup>

Another former member, Carter, explained:

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<sup>784</sup> Weiss. *How to Fight Antisemitism*, 187.

<sup>785</sup> Weiss, 188.

<sup>786</sup> O’Neill. “Ex-skinhead removes tattoos,” 4.

<sup>787</sup> Hall. “How Britain’s Nazi.”

[I]t took me less than two years to learn to hate and it took me nine years to unlearn it... There is still a lot of pollution in there... Since [the group was] religious based, I had to learn to look at those scriptures differently... For years, I didn't even pick up a Bible anymore. I couldn't... without only reading it from the bad point of view. I just couldn't see another interpretation of that. I didn't want to read it... I think it was [nine years] before I got rid of it all.<sup>788</sup>

Christian Picciolini, once a white supremacist and participant in the haterock scene, in his own words “help[ed] build one of America’s most violent homegrown terror organizations”.<sup>789</sup> After renouncing his racist beliefs, Picciolini helped found, along with Tony McAleer, the advocacy group Life After Hate, which helps others leave hate groups.<sup>790</sup> More recently, Picciolini has left Life After Hate to found Free Radicals, an international organization aimed at the deradicalization of hategroup members. Famous rocker, Joan Jett, who Picciolini’s non-racist band Random55 toured with, praised Picciolini: “[H]e learned to recognize his blindness, to see how violently corrupted he’d become. He was able to pick his head up from the muck of that ideology and see the error of his ways... He not only left at last denounced the movement... he went on to become a powerful voice against hatred”.<sup>791</sup>

According to Picciolini, most Americans “fail to realize the scope of our homegrown terrorism epidemic [and] fail to see the blood on all our hands”.<sup>792</sup> He feels that hate-activated attacks are “underreported... or utterly ignored by our news media”, which often focuses on Islamist-based attacks.<sup>793</sup> “Many terrorism researchers and extremist experts agree that since the United States was attacked by al-Qaeda... on September 11, 2001, more people have been killed

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<sup>788</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele and Windisch. “Addicted to Hate,” 1175.

<sup>789</sup> Picciolini. *White American Youth*, 13.

<sup>790</sup> Hall. “How Britain's Nazi.”

<sup>791</sup> Picciolini. *White American Youth*, xvi.

<sup>792</sup> Picciolini, xxii.

<sup>793</sup> Picciolini, xxii.

on American soil by homegrown white supremacists than by any other extremist or terror group, both foreign *and* domestic combined”.<sup>794</sup>

Picciolini presented a very humanistic approach to hategroups, focusing on members’ “trauma, marginalization, or abandonment, untreated or undiagnosed mental health conditions, addiction, chronic unemployment, poverty, isolation, extreme neglect or even extreme privilege” that made them prone to influence by leadership within the hate movement.<sup>795</sup> “[No one] is born a terrorist”.<sup>796</sup> He focused blame on hategroup leadership and “those who prey on the insecure and exploit their loneliness, fear, confusion and feelings of worthlessness” and he encourages his readers to believe that it is never too late to help someone get out of a hategroup.<sup>797</sup>

Darren, another former member recounts his struggles and victories after his own disengagement from the hategroup movement:

I’m driving down the road and I got some guy that obviously, I look at his truck and...that guy, number one, doesn’t have a license. Number two he’s illegal in general or whatever, then he cuts me off. Then the wheels start spinning. And I’ve got to catch myself, no. Let it go...maybe he’s just having a bad day behind the wheel...I constantly remind myself, you’re not that guy anymore, don’t do it.<sup>798</sup>

Darren, while admittedly still struggling, has found a method to sidetrack his anger, which would commonly lead him to dehumanization and hate in the past, and to instead empathize with the man who cut him off and to give him the benefit of the doubt.<sup>799</sup> Another former member, Teddy, explains how he has used religion to deal with his past:

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<sup>794</sup> Picciolini, xxii-xxiii.

<sup>795</sup> Picciolini, xxiii.

<sup>796</sup> Picciolini, xxiv.

<sup>797</sup> Picciolini, xxiv.

<sup>798</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch. “Addicted to Hate,” 1179.

<sup>799</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1180.



It's a struggle, you know...I just got to turn to Christ and if I get [hateful urges] I just drop on my knees and I just start praying...it works but, you know...you take a heroin addict for 30 years, he may be clean and sober 10 years but you dangle a bag of powder, you know, he's going to do that little mentality, so it's the same...I may not be a drug addict, but I was addicted to that.<sup>800</sup>

The study by Kathleen Blee, Pete Simi, Matthew DeMichele and Steven Windisch, which interviewed and tracked former hategroup members found many parallels between hategroup membership and drug addiction. Their subjects are occupied by pervasive thoughts of the past and some suffer relapses into the mindset they sought to and continue to seek to escape. One former, Bonnie, explained a mishap at a fast food restaurant which escalated to the point where she, upset that her son's order had been incorrect, yelled at the employee: "Fuck you, you fucking beaner, get the fuck out of my country...White Power!"<sup>801</sup> Bonnie remembers giving a sieg heil as she walked out, seeing red, a sign of rage, and as she concludes her story, the interviewers note that Bonnie felt intense guilt and remorse for her actions, yet performed in the way she had years ago regardless. "Unexpected situational cues may provoke anger and other negative emotions that coincide with previously held beliefs about the inferiority of various outgroups".<sup>802</sup> The study includes a humanistic approach that treats hategroup members like victims of their leaders and ideology. The group suggests: "effective interventions may require much greater attention to the enduring qualities of extremism in order to offset residual-related issues".<sup>803</sup> Thomas Englemann, a former Aryan Brotherhood member who now works for Life After Hate, explained: "I know [haterock] triggers a lot of the people coming out of the

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<sup>800</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1180.

<sup>801</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1178.

<sup>802</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1181.

<sup>803</sup> Simi, Blee, DeMichele & Windisch, 1181.

organizations. A lot of the skinheads listen to it. So now, whenever they hear a certain tune or something that's similar, it triggers a lot of those old thoughts and a lot of those thinking patterns. And they might even catch themselves thinking hateful thoughts. For a lot of people music is a huge trigger".<sup>804</sup> "It is a major factor when people are deradicalizing and disengaging".<sup>805</sup> Englemann continued to explain how online indoctrination has become "rampant" today, especially as the novel coronavirus pandemic unfolds. Hate groups use online radicalization to offers many different perspectives, or a "something for everybody...mentality" where participants "pick and choose their groups".<sup>806</sup>

The internet may provide answers in tracking and defeating hatespeech and hate crimes as it's a place where many who feel marginalized go "to find a voice" and to "giv[e] an account of oneself".<sup>807</sup> These areas allow the marginalized a place "to test and unmask their prejudices" with relatively little consequences.<sup>808</sup> Marginalized groups' "positive differences", that is, cultural and societal attributes which are perceived as contributory and helpful to American society, "can be foregrounded to counter the negative differences [marginalized groups] experience resulting from racialization".<sup>809</sup> And while the internet can provide havens for hate advocates, it can also provide "hush harbors" for threatened groups as well, providing them increased voice and agency.<sup>810</sup>

Another outlet in detecting and defeating racist groups has been hate crime legislation, enforcement and reporting. According to the SPLC, "Many hate crimes are committed by young males acting alone or in small groups, often for thrills. While these perpetrators may act

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<sup>804</sup> "Thomas Englemann Interview," 2:20-2:47.

<sup>805</sup> "Thomas Englemann Interview," 2:58-3:02.

<sup>806</sup> "Thomas Englemann Interview," 3:23-4:18.

<sup>807</sup> Leurs. *Voices from the margins*, 112.

<sup>808</sup> Leurs, 115.

<sup>809</sup> Leurs, 118.

<sup>810</sup> Leurs, 120.

independently, they are sometimes influenced by the dehumanizing rhetoric and propaganda of hate groups”.<sup>811</sup> Contrary to some popular opinion, “[h]ate crime laws punish violent acts, not beliefs or thoughts...Hate crime statutes do not punish, nor prohibit in any way, name-calling, verbal abuse or expressions of hatred toward any group even if such statements amount to hate speech. It is only when the perpetrator crosses the line from speech to criminal action, that hate crime laws might come into effect”.<sup>812</sup> Americans should speak out against hate speech and hate crimes, and should encourage victims to come forward and report their perpetrators.<sup>813</sup>

As with most statistical information, there has been valid criticism with hate crime statistics; one such being that the FBI-run *Uniform Crime Reporting* (UCR) only tracks crimes reported to local police, that it has limited response rate state-to-state, and that it lists Anti-Jewish crimes as purely religious in nature, ignoring the ethnic and ancestral component.<sup>814,815,816</sup> On the other hand, the National Crime Victimization Survey, which examines crimes reported directly from victims and which is compiled by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, states that between 2004 to 2015, “[t]he majority (99%) of victims cited offenders’ use of hate language as evidence of a hate crime”.<sup>817,818,819</sup> In fact, Tom Metzger has advised his followers in the past to say nothing while committing hate crimes.<sup>820</sup> This has suggested the relative ease in determining which crimes have been hate-related and which have not; the perpetrators literally announce their intentions to the victims. Danielle Keats Citron’s discussion on hate speech:

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<sup>811</sup> Marcovitz. *Hate Crimes*, 13.

<sup>812</sup> “Hate Crimes Data Collection and Prosecutions FAQ.” December 31, 2012. ><https://www.adl.org/news/article/hate-crimes-data-collection-and-prosecutions-faq#>>. February 29, 2020.

<sup>813</sup> “Hate Crimes Data Collection.”

<sup>814</sup> “Hate Crime Statistics.” 2019. ><https://www.fbi.gov/services/cjis/ucr/hate-crime>>, 1.

<sup>815</sup> “Special Feature: Hate Crime.” ><https://www.ncjrs.gov/hate-crime/index.html>>, 1.

<sup>816</sup> Williams. *Hate Groups*, 30.

<sup>817</sup> Langton. “Hate Crime Victimization,” 1.

<sup>818</sup> “Special Feature”, 1.

<sup>819</sup> Williams, *Hate Groups*, 29.

<sup>820</sup> Williams, 46.

[It's] speech that may cause violence toward someone...because of age, disability, gender, ethnicity, race, nationality, religion, or sexual orientation...Hate speech sets up conditions for violence against one or more people because they are a member of a protected group, in one of these ways: advocating violence (i.e. kill them); saying that violence would be acceptable (i.e. they ought to die); saying that violence is deserved (i.e. they had it coming); dehumanizing or degrading them, perhaps by characterizing them as guilty of a heinous crime, perversion, or illness, such that violence may seem allowable or inconsequential; making analogies or comparisons suggesting any of the above (i.e. they are like murderers).<sup>821</sup>

Having prominent community leaders denounce acts of violence seems an important component to drawing attention to acts fueled by bigotry and animosity towards an entire people. Joel Finkelstein encourages “top down signals” from trusted, non-violent leaders which help indicate to American society that hatespeech and incitement to violence will not be tolerated.<sup>822</sup> After the Tree of Life attack, the Governor of Pennsylvania Tom Wolf, issued a statement: “The shooting in Pittsburgh this morning is an absolute tragedy...These senseless acts of violence are not who we are as Americans...And in the aftermath of this tragedy, we must come together and take action to prevent these tragedies in the future. We cannot accept this violence as normal”.<sup>823</sup> Shortly after the Tree of Life attack in Pittsburgh, Mayor Bill Peduto made a statement condemning antisemitism and hatecrimes: “We will drive antisemitism and the hate of any people back to the Basement, on their computer and away from the open discussions and dialogues around this city, around this state and around this country”.<sup>824</sup> Rabbi Myers also spoke out to his congregation in the wake of the attack: “Words of hate are unwelcome here in

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<sup>821</sup> Danielle Keats Citron. *Hate Crimes in Cyberspace*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014, 231.

<sup>822</sup> Lord. “How Robert Bowers.”

<sup>823</sup> Sheehan & Schiller. “11 Dead.”

<sup>824</sup> Chavez, Grinberg & McLaughlin. “Pittsburgh synagogue gunman.”

Pittsburgh. It starts with everyone in this room, and I want to address for a moment some of our political leaders who are here. Ladies and gentlemen, it has to start with you as our leaders”.<sup>825</sup>

In response to the Hanukkah stabbings, Gov. Cuomo was quick to condemn the violence and he pointed to it as the latest in a string of thirteen antisemitic attacks in New York state since December 8, 2019. He called these attacks “an American cancer on the body politic”.<sup>826</sup> Senator Charles Schumer denounced the attacks:

The Monsey attack on the Jewish community was cowardly and callous...But what should alarm each and every American across this country is that the Hanukkah attack is part of a cascade of violence and intolerance as the state of hate in America has risen to a boiling point that demands a much stronger federal response, because we are in a crisis.<sup>827</sup>

New York City Mayor, Bill de Blasio announced increased police presence, “lighting towers and additional security cameras”, and he pressed for hate crime awareness curriculum in schools, and the need for “multi-ethnic, interfaith safety coalitions that would meet to strategize about disrupting potential hate crimes before they happen”.<sup>828</sup>

When New Orleans announced it would remove Confederate monument in the city, Mayor Mitchell Landrieu gave a stirring speech in which he encouraged the city and the country to accept the sins of the past: “To literally put the confederacy on a pedestal in our most prominent places of honor is an inaccurate recitation of our full past, it is an affront to our

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<sup>825</sup> Chavez, Grinberg & McLaughlin.

<sup>826</sup> “Federal hate crime charges filed against suspect in New York Hanukkah stabbings.” December 30, 2019. >abc7ny.com/hate-crime-charges-filed-against-suspect-in-ny-hanukkah-stabbings/5798255/>. January 29, 2020.

<sup>827</sup> “Federal hate crime charges.”

<sup>828</sup> “Federal hate crime charges.”

present, and it is a bad prescription for our future”.<sup>829</sup> He encouraged Americans to put themselves in the shoes of Black/African American parents explaining the monuments to their children.<sup>830</sup> In 2017, Apple’s CEO Tim Cook “publicly denounced bigotry and pledged money to anti-fascist causes”.<sup>831</sup>

Law enforcement and police organizations have historically stayed away from investigating and charging supremacist, neo-nazi, neo-confederate and separatist groups since 9/11. And while mental health is an important consideration, some find casting perpetrators like Grafton Thomas, Brenton Tarrant and Robert Bowers as victims of mental health issues just a continuation of the blame deflection and excuse-making which has enabled American hategroups.<sup>832</sup> Hategroup sympathizers have attempted to cast much of the recent hostility as simply two opposing political movements creating violence in protest settings. The public too, especially the right, has avoided labeling supremacist and neo-nationalist groups as dangerous threats or domestic terrorists despite the belief that these extremists have posed a greater threat to the country than radical Islamists.<sup>833</sup> John Horgan, an American journalist has said, “We have been so obsessed with Muslim-related terrorism that we have completely taken our eyes of the ball [of domestic threats]”.<sup>834</sup>

Michael German, former FBI agent who spent years infiltrating hategroups, expressed caution in viewing the current acts of violence too narrowly, “It is organized criminal activity”,

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<sup>829</sup> Mitchell J. Landrieu. “Truth: Remarks on the Removal of Confederate Monuments in New Orleans.” May 19, 2017. ><https://www.usmayors.org/2017/05/22/truth-remarks-on-the-removal-of-confederate-monuments-in-new-orleans/>>. January 29, 2020, 6.

<sup>830</sup> Landrieu, 5.

<sup>831</sup> Hall. “How Britain's Nazi.”.

<sup>832</sup> “Federal hate crime charges.”

<sup>833</sup> Lincoln Anthony Blades. “Here's Why Hugging White Supremacists Is Counterproductive to Justice.”

><https://www.teenvogue.com/story/heres-why-hugging-white-supremacists-is-counterproductive-to-justice>>, 2.

<sup>834</sup> Lord. “How Robert Bowers.”

not just spontaneous political action.<sup>835</sup> German went on to say, “There are certainly people exercising First Amendment rights at these demonstrations. However, these people are in the middle of brawls and open about it—they’re posting images of violence and communicating their intent to commit violence. It’s very different than someone exercising their right to stand on a stage and preach their ideology”.<sup>836</sup> White supremacists and neo-nationalist representatives often invoke their freedom of speech; calling for the complete destruction and/or subjugation of a group of people has no use in public discourse.<sup>837,838</sup> German firmly sought to portray white supremacists accurately in the film *Imperium*, as he thought the best way to combat terrorism it to be able to consider their perspective and motivations:

They are prolific writers. They had all kinds of philosophy and theology manuals on how to engage in acts of violence. [T]errorism isn’t nihilistic violence. [T]errorists hope to...provoke the government to take actions that are against its interests. Part of the reason terrorists have these manifestos and literature that names names is so government will know who to take repressive action against. Once that happens, the terrorists can build a legitimate grievance with the government and expand the divisions that already exist.<sup>839</sup>

Ariel Koch discussed the idea of escalation, in that, once one group becomes prominent and public, smaller groups with identical values and norms also surface and grow. Once larger groups fall apart, they often splinter into smaller groups, sometimes joining other smaller groups, oftentimes vying for clout and turf.<sup>840</sup> Tracking the growth, escalation, fall, and fracturing of

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<sup>835</sup> Thompson. “Racist, Violent, Unpunished,” 3-4.

<sup>836</sup> Thompson, 11.

<sup>837</sup> Blades. “Here’s Why Hugging White Supremacists,” 1.

<sup>838</sup> Thomson. “‘No Fascist USA!’,” 2.

<sup>839</sup> Johnny Brayson. “Daniel Radcliffe’s ‘Imperium’ Character Isn’t A Real Person, But His Inspiration Is.” August 18, 2016.

><https://www.bustle.com/articles/179020-daniel-radcliffes-imperium-character-isnt-a-real-person-but-his-inspiration-is>>. February 1, 2020.

<sup>840</sup> Koch. “The New Crusaders,” 15.

these groups could provide insight into using law enforcement, criminal justice and other tools to combat hatecrimes and hate groups. Creating protocols to evaluate the security and safety of vulnerable parts of the community, including synagogues, mosques, churches, and schools, much like the current process the FBI already uses, and then implementing legal measures to protect those areas could also help combat hatecrimes, hategroups and violence.<sup>841</sup>

Since 1980, there has been a steady movement among American states to criminalize, recriminalize and increase punishments for intentionally injurious behaviors that are motivated by certain types of prejudice and hate. Most of these targeted behaviors are already covered by ‘generic’ crime categories, but the new hate crime genre splinters, or perhaps ‘deconstructs’ generic crime categories, creating a new family of specialized hate crimes. In effect, American criminal jurisprudence is experiencing the kind of legal transformation that has already place during the past several decades in other areas of law, especially civil rights and employment.<sup>842</sup>

While supremacist, white-power, separatist/confederate, and racially-based groups have waxed and waned, similar in many ways to the history of the Ku Klux Klan, it has become evident that the problems these groups cause have not gone away. In fact, the trend has been that upon disintegration of the larger groups like the National Alliance and the Hammerskin Nation, members gravitate to other, usually smaller hate-groups and pursue criminal activities. The fact that these activities are less organized than within the larger groups cannot be necessarily viewed as progress either, as less-disciplined groups have been more prone to spontaneous violence and acting out against minority groups. Also, as both the Hammerskins and the modern alt-right movement have proven, when supremacist, racist groups do reemerge from the underground,

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<sup>841</sup> Sheehan & Schiller. “11 Dead.”

<sup>842</sup> Robert J. Kelly & Jess Maghan, ed. *Hate Crime: The Global Politics of Polarization*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998, 150.



they tend to be more sophisticated. Use of the internet to perpetuate racism, to recruit young people, and to harass minorities has become a common tool for these groups, as has the use of hate-rock. One big lesson the Hammerskins taught other movements was how effective white-power music can be in the hands of people who understand the music industry. Concerts and festivals spread the groups' hate speech, reinforce a sense of community and help leaders and members of different groups connect.

According to Steve Killelea, who discussed hategroups and their connection to terrorist activities, a “constructive dialogue” with participants from all targeted groups is necessary to fight the trend of white supremacist expansion and terrorism, to understand their goals and motivations, and to combat antisemitism and other bigotry.<sup>843</sup> “[T]he vast majority of terrorism takes place during ongoing conflicts or in nations where governments are practicing state-sponsored terrorism against their own citizens...[W]orld leaders must try to avoid new conflicts and curtail government abuses”.<sup>844</sup> Joel Finkelstein stated, “We do need to make this a bigger, broader debate, and fast. We’re talking about school teachers, religious figures, community activists. We all have to get on board”.<sup>845</sup>

Researchers, Rachel Durso and David Jacobs found a link between murder rates and hate groups: “[A]dditional hate groups can be expected soon after a growth in the murder rates partly since these crimes receive so much attention in the media”.<sup>846</sup> As street and/or gang-related crime expands, hate groups are likely to increase and expand.<sup>847</sup> Durso and Jacobs found an interesting link between historical lynching sites and modern hate crimes, and they considered

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<sup>843</sup> Brennan. “Far Right Terrorism.”

<sup>844</sup> Brennan.

<sup>845</sup> Lord. “How Robert Bowers.”

<sup>846</sup> Durso & Jacobs. “The Determinants of the Number,” 129.

<sup>847</sup> Durso & Jacobs, 138.

the importance of local legislative, law enforcement and judicial efforts to shield marginalized people from hate crimes.<sup>848,849</sup> They also looked at assimilation and how it can gradually gain new acceptance for minority groups.<sup>850</sup> In their conclusion, Durso and Jacobs suggested “focus[ing] more attention on how issues such as race and crime have been used to divide progressive coalitions”.<sup>851</sup> In addition, they pointed to using violent events from the past to predict modern hate group actions.<sup>852</sup>

And these groups continually add to their list of victims; not only Jewish communities and black communities have been targets of white supremacist, neo-nationalist groups, but also Hispanic, homosexual, Muslim, disabled, Asian, women and transgender populations in America have been targeted. Another issue that compounds the problem of hate-groups in America has been that they have increased backing of political allies; this support has come both in the form of tacit approval and lack of condemnation and online reposting and spreading of hateful images, graphics, and anecdotes, as well as in the form of direct monetary and ideological support. And even if these various influences, political, online, and musical, only reach and indoctrinate a few young people, as domestic terrorists like John T. Earnest, Robert Bowers, Timothy McVeigh and Wade Michael Page have shown, it only takes one person to incur terrible trauma and suffering. That hate groups are uncommon, a social aberration, does not do much to ease the pain of these groups’ victims.<sup>853</sup>

Mary Beth Altier has cautioned against completely closing online platforms which foster bigotry and extremism as this can cause extremists to become more solidified and pursue more

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<sup>848</sup> Durso & Jacobs, 136.

<sup>849</sup> Durso & Jacobs, 131.

<sup>850</sup> Durso & Jacobs, 132.

<sup>851</sup> Durso & Jacobs, 141-2.

<sup>852</sup> Durso & Jacobs, 142.

<sup>853</sup> Durso & Jacobs, 135.

violent options. She also encourages those who might be privy to intimations of the perpetrators' intentions to take action and to report their fears. "Don't focus so much on the ideas... You need to focus on the behaviors".<sup>854</sup> Joel Finkelstein has proposed the formation of "a politically neutral entity that could 'audit' online communications, and let the social media platforms know when they're hosting speech that advocates violence", as well as a legislative plan to hold these internet outlets responsible if they refuse to act and do nothing about speech that encourages violence.<sup>855</sup>

Durso and Jacobs cited a 1989 study showing greater inclusionary tendencies in citizens with college education, and so in areas with lower educational completion, an increase in hate groups exists.<sup>856</sup> Hate groups, since the 1920's Klan on, have exploited economic pressures and crises, often focusing on unemployment and competition from immigrant workers. Blazak claims, "[S]kinheads are often recruited at factories during recessions by blaming minorities for white joblessness".<sup>857</sup> Lhotzky also encouraged efforts at unemployment reduction, renewed educational programs, conflict management seminars, and cross-field collaboration: "Educators and social workers must learn to cooperate with political scientists, and historians will need to acquire the skills to collaborate with economists and child development professionals... specialization without broader perspectives must be abandoned".<sup>858</sup>

Fighting prejudice, especially commonplace forms, is another preventative measure towards fighting bigotry, intolerance, and ultimately violence towards others. According to David Light Shields, professor at St. Louis Community College: "Everyday prejudice[s] may

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<sup>854</sup> Lord. "How Robert Bowers."

<sup>855</sup> Lord.

<sup>856</sup> Durso & Jacobs. "The Determinants of the Number," 133.

<sup>857</sup> Durso & Jacobs, 133.

<sup>858</sup> Williams. *Hate Groups*, 94.

seem harmless”, yet these “seemingly innocuous comments...form the foundation upon which more extreme acts of prejudice build”.<sup>859</sup> Addressing these “errors in judgement that can have tragic consequences” in educational settings is increasingly pertinent in America.<sup>860</sup>

Emile Durkheim, French Sociologist pointed to “social facts” and rituals which “continue to exist merely through force of habit”, leading to hatred being taught one generation to the next.<sup>861</sup> Shields discusses prejudices as “prejudgments that rely on stereotypes...assumptions made about people based on their association with certain groups. Prejudices arise and persist because they serve important social and psychological functions”.<sup>862</sup> Shields continues, claiming that generalizations and oversimplifications are necessary for humans to make sense of the world around them: “necessary for mental efficiency and ease”.<sup>863</sup> Still, he admits this process sacrifices truth and impartiality, while satisfying human need to feel good about themselves and the groups they associate with. Ultimately, this leads to comparison of “ourselves to others we perceive as inferior” and this fuels prejudice.<sup>864</sup> Shields also stresses that “[b]laming the victim is a resilient form of subtle prejudice; it takes a hundred forms, and it benefits the privileged in a thousand ways”.<sup>865</sup> Prejudicial discrimination is accepted and sometimes encouraged in the guidelines and procedures of organizations.<sup>866</sup> Shields discusses prejudice and racism, defining the latter: “A statement is racist when the prejudice it expresses reinforces the prevailing racial division of power and privilege”.<sup>867</sup> “[C]ertain prejudices and practices perpetuate and fortify

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<sup>859</sup> David Light Shields. “Deconstructing the Pyramid of Prejudice.” *The Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 95, No. 6, March 2014, 20.

<sup>860</sup> Shields, 20.

<sup>861</sup> Durso & Jacobs. “The Determinants of the Number,” 130.

<sup>862</sup> Shields. “Deconstructing the Pyramid of Prejudice,” 21.

<sup>863</sup> Shields, 21.

<sup>864</sup> Shields, 21.

<sup>865</sup> Shields, 21.

<sup>866</sup> Shields, 21.

<sup>867</sup> Shields, 21.

unequal access to the good of society” and “gender prejudice buttresses [these] unequal power hierarchies”.<sup>868</sup>

These routine forms of prejudice make up the Base of what Shields calls the ‘Pyramid of Prejudice’:

Comprehending the pyramid principle of prejudice and its profound educational implications is the first step towards reducing the violence, discrimination, hatred and bigotry that spread like wildfires in the dry climate created by everyday prejudice...Gross acts of violence [would not] be possible without the ‘minor’ violence of widespread and largely inconspicuous prejudice.<sup>869</sup>

Whether its laughter at racist jokes, acceptance of stereotypes, or use of derogatory slurs, confrontation of these forms of hatred and misconceptions is one of the most important parts in the fight against greater intolerance. Both personal and collective responsibility to address and arrest the normalization of prejudice are key. “The higher you go in the pyramid [towards greater violence] the more the legal system is the appropriate remedy; the lower you go, the more it is the educational system that needs to take responsibility”.<sup>870</sup> It’s of my opinion that this emphasis on education also suggests a very active role for parents as well. Shields continues:

Unfortunately, educators [and others] who desire to tackle the Base of the prejudice pyramid may be silenced by the retort, ‘You’re just being PC.’ Many individuals are so fearful of being accused of political correctness that so-called minor injustices are readily tolerated...Yet these minor expressions of prejudice are important. Every act at the bottom of the pyramid is shouldering part of the responsibility for those acts residing above.<sup>871</sup>

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<sup>868</sup> Shields, 21.

<sup>869</sup> Shields, 21-2.

<sup>870</sup> Shields, 22-3.

<sup>871</sup> Shields, 23.

The first step is self-reflection and consideration of one's own possible prejudices. "What are the 'us/them' divisions in our own thinking? We will never eliminate them completely, but we can make progress".<sup>872</sup> Secondly, Shields recommends speaking up:

I'm not suggesting that each expression of everyday prejudice needs to be met with a protracted debate. But silence should not be our default option. Silence endorses. Silence leaves harmful patterns uninterrupted. Speak with humility and grace, but speak up when everyday prejudices are expressed or exhibited. Hopefully, speaking up can lead to...dialogue. Spotting prejudices in others is easier than seeing them in ourselves, and an open, honest discussion can be helpful.<sup>873</sup>

Sarah Fiarman, lecturer at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, also pointed to unconscious and commonplace prejudices: "Deep-rooted biases hinder our best intentions".<sup>874</sup> She realized a trend, including in herself, of taking notice and punishing more frequently the behavior of black/African-American students. She detailed implicit bias, that which is acted out "involuntarily and usually without any awareness of it".<sup>875</sup> Fiarman also concludes what Shields has: that people want to perceive themselves and the groups they associate with a positive light. She also asserts that even a proportion of the marginalized groups show bias towards the "culturally valued group".<sup>876</sup> According to American psychologists, Jason Okonofua and Jennifer Eberhardt, "teachers were more likely to assign a harsh punishment for repeated misbehavior to a student they thought was black than to a student they thought was white...Teachers' perceptions

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<sup>872</sup> Shields, 23-4.

<sup>873</sup> Shields, 24.

<sup>874</sup> Sarah E Fiarman. "Unconscious Bias: When Good Intentions Aren't Enough." *Educational Leadership: Disrupting Inequity*. Vol. 74: No. 3, 2016, 10.

<sup>875</sup> Fiarman, 10.

<sup>876</sup> Fiarman, 10.

of student's racial identity influenced how they chose to respond to a student behavior".<sup>877</sup> Most people condemn explicit forms of bigotry, "But this doesn't mean racism has been eliminated; it has just gone underground. This isn't news for people of color who experience the consequences, but many white people struggle to recognize that they're biased"; "These biases influence us even when they are in direct opposition to our espoused belief".<sup>878</sup>

According to Beverly Tatum, American psychologist and educator: "Parents of color are often reassured when a white educator names race or bias—not because it means the person is free from bias, but because it indicates that the person may be aware of [their] own prejudices...when a person in authority acknowledges a problem that so many families of color face".<sup>879</sup> Fiarman also encourages "replac[ing] negative associations with positive ones...Deliberately consuming counter narratives can help break down that automatic reflex".<sup>880</sup> She also encouraged "a simple 'get to know you'" cross-culture, empathetic strategy.<sup>881</sup> And finally, like Shields, she stressed personal accountability to one's own prejudices and bias.<sup>882</sup>

American scholars David L Bender and Bruno Leone, have stressed the importance of civil debate and scholarly research in understanding and tackling the world's dilemmas. Being challenged can help to reverse strongly held beliefs and worldviews as well as foster new-found respect for others' perspectives. "The more inundated we become with differing opinions and claims, the more essential it is to hone critical reading and thinking skills to evaluate these ideas".<sup>883</sup> Leone and Bender also encourage acknowledging bias as well as striving towards

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<sup>877</sup> Fiarman, 10.

<sup>878</sup> Fiarman, 10.

<sup>879</sup> Fiarman, 12.

<sup>880</sup> Fiarman, 12.

<sup>881</sup> Fiarman, 12.

<sup>882</sup> Fiarman, 12.

<sup>883</sup> Williams. *Hate Groups*, 7-8.

objectivity, awareness, and competence. “Those with whom one disagrees should not be regarded as enemies but rather as people whose views deserve careful examination and may shed light on one’s own views”.<sup>884</sup>

The SPLC has called for a “national movement against hate violence in America [to defend] inclusive democracy”.<sup>885</sup> This movement could look like the Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment, a multistate alliance which also worked with federal authorities to combat and “reduce hate crimes and violence in the Pacific Northwest and Mountain states region” during the late 80s and 90s.<sup>886</sup> The Montreal Institute For Genocide and Human Rights Studies encourages its readers to actively stand up to human atrocity; their statement is directed specifically at fighting genocide, however their statement can easily apply to combating hategroups as well. The institute espouses a “responsibility to protect” the marginalized people of the world, encourages “the production of school curriculum materials, programs for television, radio, film, theatre, museum exhibits, and cultural center programs” and finding other ways to “mobilize the domestic political will to intervene”.<sup>887</sup> Peter Singer, Australian philosopher has found that “those seeking to reshape society must understand the tendencies inherent in human beings, and modify their abstract ideals in order to suit them.”<sup>888</sup> James Waller suggested “a redefinition of national interests to include a moral responsibility that transforms will into duty—a reminder that we are, indeed, our ‘brother’s keeper,’ particularly when innocent lives are

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<sup>884</sup> Williams, 8.

<sup>885</sup> Wilson. “White nationalist hate groups.”.

<sup>886</sup> Ward. “Skin in the Game,” 2

<sup>887</sup> Frank Chalk, et al. *Mobilizing the Will to Intervene: Leadership to Prevent Mass Atrocities*. Montreal: McGill–Queen’s University Press, 2014, 190.

<sup>888</sup> Waller. *Becoming Evil*, 287.



falling prey to unchecked collective violence”.<sup>889</sup> Waller also focused on the promotion of stable democracy as well as the use of conflict resolution.<sup>890</sup>

The issue of American hategroups, the continuation and resurgence of antisemitism, the myriad of other hatreds and xenophobic sentiment harbored and propagated by hate advocates, the increasing multitude of tools and platforms the groups use, the both separate and yet connectedness of the groups: considerable information to be processed. On top of that, there are several issues that I have somewhat ignored, as they were outside of my initial purview. One such issue is the influence of the Nation of Islam on black/African Americans and how it has led followers of this synthesized form of Islam to follow nativist trends, to condemn Israel and to spread antisemitic and bigoted rhetoric. These groups present a serious problem in modern America, especially because they defy the normalized conception of American hategroups.<sup>891</sup>

The spread of the on-going novel coronavirus has led to new issues as well, as reports by the FBI detail hategroups encouraging their followers to spread the disease to law enforcement and Jewish Americans. The New York office of the FBI announced that: “[M]embers of extremist groups are encouraging one another to spread the virus, if contracted, through bodily fluids and personal interactions”.<sup>892</sup> The groups are specifically directing their acolytes to travel to “any place they may be congregated to include markets, political offices, businesses and places of worship”.<sup>893</sup> They also instructed their followers to use spray bottles to infect law

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<sup>889</sup> Waller, 282.

<sup>890</sup> Waller, 283-4.

<sup>891</sup> Gustavo Perednik. “Judeophobia - History and analysis of Antisemitism, Jew-Hate and anti-‘Zionism.’” 2005. ><http://www.zionism-israel.com/his/judeophobia11.htm>>. February 4, 2020, 3.

<sup>892</sup> Margolin, Josh. “White supremacists encouraging their members to spread coronavirus to cops, Jews, FBI says.” March 23, 2020. >[https://abcnews.go.com/US/white-supremacists-encouraging-members-spread-coronavirus-cops-jews/story?id=69737522&utm\\_source=American+Jewish+Congress&utm\\_campaign=c000c24615-EMAIL\\_CAMPAIGN\\_2020\\_02\\_12\\_09\\_48\\_COPY\\_01&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=0\\_50422fbff1-c000c24615-337761045](https://abcnews.go.com/US/white-supremacists-encouraging-members-spread-coronavirus-cops-jews/story?id=69737522&utm_source=American+Jewish+Congress&utm_campaign=c000c24615-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2020_02_12_09_48_COPY_01&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_50422fbff1-c000c24615-337761045)>. March 23, 2020.

<sup>893</sup> Margolin.

enforcement officers on the street. Don Mihalek, executive vice president of the Federal Law Enforcement Officers Association Foundation, said, “Anti-government folks in America love to target law enforcement as a symbol of America’s authority. It’s just sad that that’s their focus at a time of crisis in the nation”.<sup>894</sup> Antisemites have also accused American Jews of themselves spreading the virus intentionally. According to Evan Bernstein, vice president of the northeast division of the ADL, “We’re definitely seeing, especially online, a rhetoric on Facebook, on Twitter. We’re starting to see little pockets of this stuff happening”.<sup>895</sup> Bernstein describes the alleged conspiracy: “Israel knew about it and controlled it and now is making the vaccine... These are the moments when some people are going to start spewing their hate and people are going to hold on to it, especially now when everyone is sequestered in their homes and are online more than ever before”.<sup>896</sup> Chaskal Bennett, who helped found the Flatbush Jewish Community Coalition, commented: “Social media is full of the most vile and hateful invective aimed at religious Jews”.<sup>897</sup>

Gender also proved to be such a pertinent component of the issue, even though initially I hadn’t planned on writing too much about it. Racist and neo-nationalist groups have attempted to be more inviting to those of different genders, especially cis-women. Their inclusion adds to the groups’ legitimacy and makes them appear more family-friendly and thus more mainstream. This has not been the easiest venture, as a Salon article from 2017 reported alt-right women complaining about the misogynistic and terrible treatment they received from alt-right men.<sup>898</sup>

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<sup>894</sup> Margolin.

<sup>895</sup> Danielle Ziri. “With Coronavirus Shuttering Shuls, NY Jews Fear Another Threat: Antisemitism.” March 23, 2020. ><https://www.haaretz.com/us-news/.premium-with-virus-shuttering-shuls-n-y-jews-fear-another-threat-anti-semitism-1.8701346>>. March 23, 2020.

<sup>896</sup> Ziri.

<sup>897</sup> Ziri.

<sup>898</sup> Rachel Leah. ““Alt-right” women are upset that “alt-right” men are treating them terribly.” December 4, 2017. ><https://www.salon.com/2017/12/04/alt-right-women-are-upset-that-alt-right-men-are-treating-them-terribly/>>. April 27, 2020.

The traditionalist gender roles that hategroups espouse are a central aspect of their worldview. Their views on sexuality, gender norms, dominance/submission, purity of blood/race, and intermarriage drive them. Globalism, multiculturalism, inclusivity and diversity threaten their place in the world and in their minds this competition is leading to ‘the great replacement’ or ‘white genocide’. These endgame results mean them losing their edge in the ‘natural’ hierarchy of the world, especially when it comes to sex, procreation, finding a mate, promoting and extending the white race.<sup>899</sup>

In my opinion, antisemitism stands alone as the monolithic hatred that motivates and connects American hategroups. Hategroup conspiracies, seemingly without an exception, lead eventually to anti-Jewish sentiment and antisemitic rhetoric. Regardless of the problem, and even when other marginalized groups are readily available for scapegoating, the Jews are revealed to be the ultimate villain, influencing pluralistic society, anticipating and manipulating social issues, creating new sources of cultural and social tension, and influencing other social groups, seemingly pulling their puppet strings. However, I do believe gender issues, homophobia and transphobia included, but especially misogyny, has become a rapidly important component to these groups. And I think it is an especially sore spot for them as well: having any reliance on women, who they view as inferior. The Alt Right embraces misogyny and expects women to fill gender norms archaic and unrealistic.<sup>900</sup> Its only because their belief system is so heavily anchored in reactionism and emotionality that they are able to complete the mental gymnastics needed to connect disparate puzzle pieces into their web of conspiracies that. Troubling too is the increased tendency of these groups to hold a zero-sum attitude about the world; Atomwaffen

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<sup>899</sup> Hayden. “White Nationalist State Department Official.”

<sup>900</sup> Stern. *Proud Boys*, 16-9.

Division seems the epitome of this nihilist attitude. These individuals truly believe it's better for the world to burn, rather than anything but their idea of utopia existing on the face of it. And while I accept the need for law enforcement, and laud the efforts of Michael German, Ron Stallworth and Matt Browning, who all risked their lives to stop violent crime, I don't think a hardline approach actually goes far in solving the problem. I also don't claim to have all the answers, as it is a multi-faceted and highly nuanced issue, with historical, sociological, psychological, cultural, economic, and political ramifications. I do think education holds a lot of promise, while also incorporating therapeutic, psychological care as well. The idea that membership in a hategroup, or even hatred itself, has parallels to drug addiction, demands a reevaluation of the phenomenon. Mental health should never be used as an excuse, as, unless complete amnesiac states occur, a level of personal responsibility always remains. Mental health, however is an important mitigating factor. As is how abysmal the mental health infrastructure and bureaucracy tends to be. One might make the case that sufferers of extreme mental health issues are one of the most disenfranchised and marginalized people on the planet. Also its important to note how underfunded and unappreciated educators are as well. This combination leads me to believe dismantling the systems that lead to the continuance of these groups will be a long and arduous task. Experts in numerous fields across the globe will have to engage themselves in life-long studies and projects towards reconditioning existing hategroup members, increased education initiatives aimed at a wide variety of curricula, cross-cultural initiatives, bias-mitigation training, etc. I find art, music, literature might be a useful tool. Art and even pop culture has appeal across different ethnic, cultural, gender and age groups.

Another issue which has frightening consequences, yet one which I was not able to spend as much time on as I wanted, is that of veterans joining American hategroups. Hategroup

membership tends to rise after soldiers return from global conflict. These men who are experienced in military operations and tactics, are seen as valuable by the hategroups. More and more often it appears that hategroup members have past military records and their position in the groups often involves leadership and the training of paramilitary forces.

Christian Picciolini stressed throughout his memoirs the importance of coming together and of not demonizing the average hategroup member.

All human beings have a need for compassion and possess the ability to give it, but...empathy—putting yourself in someone else’s shoes to allow yourself to understand the pain they are feeling—is the most important thing we can do... We are bound together by the fact that we are human beings. What becomes of the human race is everyone’s responsibility and when one of us fails, we all do. When one of us refused to be part of what is wrong with the world, the world becomes brighter for all of us.<sup>901</sup>

I wish I could end on that sentiment. Unfortunately, the question still remains: are hategroups genocidal? Do they wish to destroy a victim group? If we take the ideals hategroups promote, the posts online, the pamphlets and promo videos, it seems clear that, if given the opportunity, they would commit atrocity upon their “others.” Their rhetoric and propaganda is filled with eliminationist sentiment, whether it’s gassing, shooting, hanging, throwing from helicopters, etc. The violence they advocate seems like their sincere wish. They certainly seem to me to express explicit intent to commit genocide; they simply lack the agency to do so. And the probability of genocide does correlate with the presence of hategroups, especially when the movement begins to gain more widespread acceptance. As the terrorist acts and hatecrimes escalate, and as the groups are viewed in a more accepting light by the populace, the likelihood a genocide could occur, with popular and governmental sanction increases.

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<sup>901</sup> Picciolini. *White American Youth*, 266.

Especially as terrorist acts, increasingly brutal in action in America, the likelihood of greater human atrocity seems evident. Modern scholars have considered the idea of “genocidal massacres” or “partial genocide”, wherein incited mobs commit atrocities on large groups of marginalized minorities.<sup>902</sup> Leo Kuper, South African sociologist points to the United Nations 1948 Convention on Genocide which defined genocidal acts “committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group”.<sup>903</sup> The convention also considers “mental harm to members of the group” and “forcibly transferring children” and preventing a people from procreating.<sup>904</sup> Kuper also discussed how perpetrators of genocidal actions have myriad motivations including ideology, but also opportunism, status-seeking, greed through plundering and looting, and those who enjoy torture and killing. Still, Kuper suggests the importance of inspiring the masses towards genocide. “At least when operating collectively, they need an ideology to legitimate their behavior, for without it they would have to see themselves and one another as what they really are—common thieves and murderers. And that apparently is something which even they cannot bear”.<sup>905</sup> “The most widely held theory is that these ideologies act by shaping a dehumanized image of the victims in the minds of their persecutors”.<sup>906</sup> Kuper also considered the coordination of some genocidal actions versus the spontaneity of others.<sup>907</sup> One consistent example discussed was the Armenian Genocide which involved both state-organized actions as well as plundering bands of Circassians and Kurds often driven by religious zealotry, but also by opportunistic plundering.<sup>908</sup>

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<sup>902</sup> Robert Melson. *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992, 2-3.

<sup>903</sup> Robert Melson. “Reviewed Work: Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century by Leo Kuper.” *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 77, No. 1, March 1983, 243.

<sup>904</sup> Melson. Reviewed Work,” 243.

<sup>905</sup> Leo Kuper. *Genocide: its political use in the twentieth century*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981, 84.

<sup>906</sup> Kuper, 85.

<sup>907</sup> Kuper, 102.

<sup>908</sup> Kuper, 116.

In other cases, as for example the obliteration of a village or villages by the French in Algeria after the riots in Setif in 1945, or the slaughter of fifty French hostages, the martyrs of Chateaubriant, or the destruction of Lidice and Lezaky as reprisals for the assassination of German officials in the Second World War, I will use the term ‘genocidal massacre’.<sup>909</sup>

Robert Melson, professor of political science and former President of the International Association of Genocide Scholars, also has written about the gap between pogroms and genocide. In reviewing Kuper’s book Melson said:

[Kuper] shows that, as defined, genocide is most likely to occur in culturally plural societies, and that it is almost invariably preceded by a ‘warrant for genocide,’ that is by an ideological and psychological preparation wherein the perpetrators attempt to dehumanize the intended victims and try to find justification for their killing.<sup>910</sup>

While Melson disputes some of Kuper’s argument, he overall seems to agree that the idea of “genocide-in-part” compared to “genocide-in-whole” deserves equal deliberation.<sup>911</sup> These “communal massacres like that of the Ibos in Northern Nigeria, the Hutu in Burundi, the Muslims and Hindus in India, or the Palestinians and Christians in Lebanon”, all terrorized and slaughtered by ideology-fed squads of murderers.<sup>912</sup> Melson included an early definition formulated by Raphael Lemkin: “a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of the national groups, with the aim at annihilating the groups themselves”.<sup>913</sup> Lemkin believed the “social, economic, cultural and political” destruction of a people were part of genocide as well.<sup>914</sup>

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<sup>909</sup> Kuper, 32.

<sup>910</sup> Melson. “Reviewed Work,” 243.

<sup>911</sup> Melson. *Revolution and Genocide*, 2.

<sup>912</sup> Melson, 3

<sup>913</sup> Melson, 22.

<sup>914</sup> Melson, 22.

Melson ultimately finds the “[U.N definition] too broad in that it fails to make a sharp distinction between what it calls ‘genocide-in-part’ and ‘genocide-in-whole and it is too narrow because it limits the victims of genocide to communal groups and by implication excludes other collectives such as social classes...The UN definition does not discriminate sharply enough among a pogrom, or the massacre of part of a group, a policy of state-sponsored killing whose aim is the repression of a group, and the extermination or total destruction of a collectivity”.<sup>915</sup> Instances of total genocides do seem markedly different than other genocidal actions like the gassing of Kurds in Iraq, massacres in Sri Lanka and the atrocities in Uganda.

One hesitates to equate these actions with the Armenian Genocide, the Holocaust, and the ‘autogenocide’ of Cambodia. These latter cases...were instances of planned and total destruction of a collectivity by the state. Indeed, as has already been suggested, their origins can be found in revolutions that differ in significant ways from the causes of massacres, atrocities and partial genocides”.<sup>916</sup>

Genocidal actors choose their victims “principally because of their membership in a social collectivity or category”.<sup>917</sup> Melson then provides his own definitions of “massacre and pogrom”, “partial genocide” and “total genocide”, all of which have genocidal implications.<sup>918</sup>

[Partial genocide] stops short of intending the total extermination of the members of the group, and though it may affect the identity of a group in some dimensions, it does not attempt to destroy completely its cultural and social identity in all of its aspects. Partial genocide means to use mass murder in order to coerce and to alter the identity or the politics of a group, not to destroy it.<sup>919</sup>

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<sup>915</sup> Melson, 23.

<sup>916</sup> Melson, 23.

<sup>917</sup> Melson, 25.

<sup>918</sup> Melson, 26.

<sup>919</sup> Melson, 28.



Melson continued:

The attempted total genocides...were not mass murders designed to terrorize a civilian population, or to turn it into a mass of helots, or to intimidate an upwardly mobile or recalcitrant ethnic group, or to repress a political movement. These were instances of revolutionary violence meant to transform the social structure by physically and socially eliminating a communal group or class from society. This is why we wish to discriminate [total genocides] from massacre and partial genocide.<sup>920</sup>

These genocidal or communal massacres, acts of partial genocide, would likely be the form of repression American hategroups escalate towards. They already commit acts of barbarity on groups of people based on their cultural, ethnic, religious or social identity. And their language and rhetoric detail the lengths they would go to achieve their prized ethnostate and white supremacy. While complete eradication, or total genocide, of any of their target groups seems beyond their capabilities, as their agency increases and as they continue to proliferate and escalate, violent communal genocide seems highly probable.

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<sup>920</sup> Melson, 28.

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## Thomas Englemann Interview Questions:

### **March 26, 2020**

- Did you feel a sense of alienation before you joined the Brotherhood? Please explain more?
- In the video you sent me, you mentioned a few times that a sense of family and community was your primary motivation for joining the Aryan Brotherhood and not bigotry or racism. While in prison, would other Brotherhood members say racist stuff around you? How would you react?
- You joined the Aryan Brotherhood in prison: in your experience is that common for other former members?
- Was the idea of “white genocide” part of the message of the Brotherhood? Please explain more?
- Were there many women in the Aryan Brotherhood?
- Was the importance of “white women” and “white families” important to the Brotherhood?
- At the peak of your involvement did your whole life revolve around the movement?
- You hoped to leave the Brotherhood once you got out of prison? Where you approached about continued involvement?
- Did it feel like your life was out of your control?
- Do you still find it hard at times dealing with the past? Do you think about it often?
- Do you ever find yourself thinking about things or people like you used to?
- I saw from the video you sent me that you were shot by the Aryan Brotherhood, do you still fear reprisals?
- Do you communicate at all with anyone from your past?
- Was it hard for you to get out of the Brotherhood? What was one of the hardest parts?
- Has working with Life After Hate been fulfilling for you? Has it helped you?
- In your experience, can you tell me about a particularly difficult case as far as someone wanting to leave a group?
- Do you have any advice for people out there in a hate group but considering leaving?

- You've had 56 tattoos removed and/or covered up? All swastikas? Does that bring you a sense of relief?
- In reaching out to the community, have you ever had an experience where someone gets angry, doesn't want to talk to you, etc?
- What else has helped you? Religion? Education? Etc?

Find the whole interview at:

<https://drive.google.com/open?id=1Y1BUyIhQC15fC7YDburZSOqALI5venOj>