

RISING NAZISM AND RACIAL INTOLERANCE IN THE UNITED STATES

A CONTEMPORARY ANALYSIS

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Combating glorification of Nazism, neo-Nazism and other practices that contribute
to fueling contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and
related intolerance.

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INTRODUCTION

The historical circumstances regarding the emergence of Germanic Nazism in the 1920s were, in many ways, a product of long-held racial beliefs and undercurrents in German society. However, as Hannah Arendt points out, “Hitlerism exercised its strong international and inter-European appeal during the thirties because racism, although a state doctrine only in Germany, had been a public trend in public opinion everywhere” (Arendt, 1966).

Fascism in Europe pre-dated Nazism. Mussolini’s Italy, Franco’s Spain, and other fascist states that emerged in Europe shared varying degrees of racial thinking; most placed less emphasis on theories of racial superiority in comparison to the Third Reich.

In America, the Friends of New Germany, and later the German American Bund, emerged as pro-Nazi movements very much in keeping with Nazi Party in Germany, but with American cultural signifiers. (The Bund identified George Washington as the first real fascist.) The Bund itself was broken up during WW II, but a distinct brand of American Nazism/white supremacy emerged in the post-years.

In 1959, the beginnings of a unique American culture of racism influenced by Nazism and fascism began to form. In that year, George Lincoln Rockwell inaugurated the American Nazi Party. A veteran with a commanding personality, Rockwell set down the principles that most modern neo-Nazi movements still follow: theories of racial purity that embrace essentially all European Americans; a virulent anti-Semitism in keeping with traditional Nazism; and a fixation on a white supremacist version of Christianity (Simonelli, 1999).

In the 1970s, neo-Nazi organizations began to meld with Ku Klux Klan groups. The Klan long represented America’s best-known homegrown hate group, but

with the rise of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and David Duke (himself a neo-Nazi), a new blended brand of hate organizing surfaced. In 1979, Klan groups and the American Nazi Party together murdered five anti-Klan activists in an event known as the “Greensboro Massacre.” Duke’s Klan elevated anti-Jewish conspiracies to the forefront in a way more in keeping with traditional Nazi/fascist organizations. Duke also helped usher in the era of the “sophisticated racist,” one who could appeal to individuals (often college educated) who would never attend a racist gathering, but who embrace white supremacist/racist beliefs (ADL, 2013). Modern day racist intellectuals such as Jared Taylor of *American Renaissance* and John Derbyshire (formerly of *National Review*) represent the fruition of Duke’s efforts to legitimize white supremacist thinking among the college educated.

Along with Duke, a former physicist named William Pierce sought to establish an American version of a Nazi racial state by appealing to racists from all walks of life. (Zeskind, 2009) While Pierce sought “elite” members for membership in his organization, the National Alliance, he also penned novels like *The Turner Diaries* (a bestseller) and *Hunter* which appealed to lone and organized racists who dreamed of carrying out violent acts against minorities and even overthrowing the U.S. government. The men who bombed the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in 1995, Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols, were both found with copies of Pierce’s novels.

The increasing melding of neo-Nazi, Ku Klux Klan, and other white supremacist groups also occurred in the prison system, influencing violent prison gangs like the Aryan Brotherhood. Neo-Nazis and other white supremacists have sought to join the U.S.

military in order to familiarize themselves with weapons, training, and tactics in hopes that they might be used back home in event of a future “race war” (Kennard, 2012). While perhaps, most importantly, former Klansman Don Black has used the power of the Internet and social media to create *Stormfront*, an online forum connecting racists from around the world.

Though long removed from its native Germany, Nazism has morphed and combined with American white supremacist culture and organizations like the Ku Klux Klan. The power of the prison networks, literature, and now the Internet, are spreading the message of white racial supremacy across America and beyond. Thus, the U.S. is one of the most important, perhaps *the* most important, battlefield in the fight against the spread of contemporary racism. The psychological causes of individual’s belief in racist, neo-Nazi, anti-Semitic, Islamophobic, and other hate-based ideologies are a complex question. Many factors contribute to bringing someone to adopt these outlooks, and then to join organized groups based around them. Perhaps the most significant factor, or set of factors, in helping to dispose persons to taking up such ideologies is economic disenfranchisement. There are many aspects to the experience of economic disenfranchisement, and each has specific kinds of consequences. In terms of predicting which individuals are most likely to join hate groups social scientists have routinely identified low-income as a main driver.

Low incomes drive a number of interrelated problems that can contribute to creating an environment which disposes persons, especially young persons, to joining hate groups. The despair born of poverty and economic exclusion has long been known to disproportionately incentivize persons to acts of crime. When faced with impoverished and degrading circumstances individuals often seek to rationalize this experience. Those with low incomes, who also tend to be disproportionately less well educated and have unequal access to social services and resources, are more susceptible to racist

ideologies, and their claims that other groups are to blame for the sufferings and privations experienced.

In a society of increasing inequality and decreasing social mobility, increasingly many working families are caught in a trap of having to work harder and harder only to continue to fall behind, just more or less slowly. The great furor unleashed in the U.S. upon the publication of Thomas Piketty’s book in 2014 testifies to the widespread perception that inequality is at a new zenith, while mobility a new nadir. The research results contained therein confirm the veracity of this perception. Competition for increasingly fewer jobs, especially well-paying jobs continues to lead, as it has in the past, to racial tensions. One recent research study in the U.S. from 2013 showed a clear link between incidence of hate-crimes and unemployment (Curthoys, 2013).

Unemployment is only one phenomena among a constellation of related economic tribulations faced by working class individuals and families in the United States. Many of the others also contribute to the hardship and exclusion that predispose persons to hate-based ideologies. Low wages, erratic schedules, few if any benefits, rising costs of living, all make distinct contributions to creating and incentivizing the familial and workplace experiences and conditions that facilitate adoption of hate-based ideologies. The social consequences of low wages and precarious employment situations are no less significant. Social exclusion and lack of opportunity, particularly in education, born from lack of adequate economic resources, also forces many to attempt to rationalize the suffering that they experience. This mixture of exclusion and privation, leading to the need for explanation, combined with few economic or educational opportunities produces fertile ground for bringing individuals to hate-filled worldviews.

NEOLIBERAL AUSTERITY AS A DRIVER

As has been shown in research studies time-and-time again in the social sciences, economic, political, and social exclusion predisposes many persons to adopting racist, neo-Nazi, Islamophobic, anti-Semitic, or other hate-based ideologies. Economic inequality is the main driver of many of the most salient forms of economic, social, and political exclusion. By contributing to the rise of inequality neo-liberal economic policies help to facilitate the hardship and privation that drive many to take up hate-based ideologies. Since the 1970s neo-liberal ideas have become the dominant ideology in economic circles both in the academy and among policy-makers. In the main, this is an ideology which favors upward redistribution of wealth. This supply-side bias diverts resources away from the working poor, and toward the already obscenely wealthy. These kinds of policies thus only further exacerbate natural tendencies within capitalist economies toward inequality and concentration of wealth.

For a particularly striking, as well as recent, example, one can look to the experience of Greece since the 2008 worldwide financial crisis, and ensuing Eurozone instability. After more than a half-decade of recession and troika-imposed austerity, the Greek far-right is clearly resurgent. The widespread social, and economic dislocation caused by the political reaction to economic crisis has clearly swelled the ranks of far-right and neo-Nazi groups in Greece. One need only look to the example of the Golden Dawn party in Greece. The recent electoral successes of this group show just how strong the appeal of such groups can be in times of desperation and hardship. The recent resurgence of far-right parties in countries like France and Britain, show that even in countries less severely affected by neoliberal austerity policies; hate-based ideologies and their narratives can be appealing to many.

In order to blunt, as much as possible, the appeal of racist, neo-Nazi, anti-Semitic, Islamophobic, and other

hate-based ideologies it will be necessary to work diligently to create a society that is as inclusive as possible, one that opens up opportunities for all regardless of the circumstances of their birth. In large measure this will mean undertaking a complete about-face with respect to the neoliberal economic policy prescriptions that dominate what, at present, is the current conventional wisdom. The most direct way to achieve this is to enact fiscal policies that invest in programs and institutions that create opportunities, and most especially employment opportunities. Only rising incomes, that is rising real-wages, and with that rising living standards can create the kinds of stable and prosperous communities that can provision opportunities for all, as well as the to live and work under healthy and dignified conditions.

Combating social and economic exclusion means actively creating programs and institutions that facilitate social, political, and economic inclusion. Neoliberal austerity policies have been the predominant response by policy-making elites in governments across the world to the tumult of the 2008 financial crisis and its aftershocks. Whether these policies were imposed by domestic or foreign elites the main effects of these policies have been the same everywhere. They have increased inequality, decreased social mobility, and diminished opportunities. Austerity policies have put even more pressure on the working families and individuals, especially those at the lowest ends of the labor market. This is especially problematic given that low-wage employment is becoming an increasing share of the labor force in many countries, even the so-called “developed” ones. Reversing neoliberal austerity policies will thus, of necessity, have to be an integral component of any successful program to combat racism, neo-Nazism, Anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, and other hate-based ideologies in the United States, as well as elsewhere.

NAZISM AND WHITE SUPREMACY IN THE U.S. MILITARY

The neo-Nazi movement has had a long and tense relationship with the US military, documented for decades. Since its inception, the leaders of the white supremacist movement – which is as old as the country – have encouraged their members to enlist. They see it as a way for their followers to receive combat and weapons training, courtesy of the US government, and to bring what they learn home to then undertake a domestic race war (Kennard, p.16, 24).

The founder of the first American Nazi Party, George Lincoln Rockwell, was a WWII veteran from the US Navy. ([ANP, 2012](#)) Matthias Koehl, Jr., Rockwell's successor and the creator of the New Order Nazi Party, was a veteran of the US Marine Corps (Kaplan, 2000).

In 1986, after concerns of Army and Marine Corps participating in KKK activities surfaced, Secretary of Defense, Caspar Weinberger, issued a directive that “military personnel must reject participation in white supremacy, neo-Nazi, and other such groups which espouse or attempt to create overt discrimination” ([SPLC, 2009](#)).

After discoveries of neo-Nazi and white supremacist activity in 1997, US Army Lieutenant General, George Crocker, ordered the 19,000 soldiers under his command at Fort Lewis, Washington to strip down and undergo searches for extremist tattoos ([NY Times, 1997](#)).

A 2008 report released by the US Federal Bureau of Investigations, which is based on information gathered between 2001 and 2008, acknowledges that “military experience is found throughout the white supremacist extremist movement as the result of recruitment campaigns by extremist groups and self-recruitment by veterans sympathetic to white supremacist causes”; and “individuals with military backgrounds frequently occupy leadership roles within extremist groups and

their involvement has the potential to reinvigorate an extremist movement suffering from loss of leadership and in-fighting during the post- 9/11 period” ([FBI, 2008](#)).

The intensification of US war activity abroad over the past decade has led to a marked increase in right-wing extremist, neo-Nazi, and white supremacist activity domestically. A 2009 report released by the US Department of Homeland Security notes a replication of the 1990s, when small percentages of military personnel joined extremist groups “because they were disgruntled, disillusioned, or suffering from the psychological effects of war (Operation Desert Shield/Storm)” ([DHS/I&A, 2009](#)).

The DHS report cites a “resurgence of right-wing extremist recruitment and radicalization activity” as the result of “a prolonged economic downturn,” “the election of the first African American president,” and “proposed firearms restrictions.” The report specifically references “returning military war veterans facing significant challenges integrating into their communities” and their potential to join domestic “terrorist groups” or act as “lone wolf extremists capable of carrying out violent attacks.” It also recognizes a trend of military war veterans being recruited into the ranks of right-wing extremist groups, stating “returning veterans possess combat skills and experience that are attractive to rightwing extremists” and, because of this, “rightwing extremists will attempt to recruit and radicalize returning veterans in order to boost their violent capabilities” ([DHS/I&A, 2009](#)).

US Army Regulation 670-1 attempts to address the infiltration of white supremacist groups in the military by establishing restrictions on “extremist tattoos or brands affiliated with, depicting, or symbolizing extremist philosophies, organizations, or activities” and “racist tattoos or brands that advocate a

philosophy that degrades or demeans a person based on race, ethnicity, or national origin” ([US Army, 2015](#)).

The reports provided by the DHS, FBI and SPLC are supplemented by numerous accounts from active duty and veteran military personnel with ties to neo-Nazi and white supremacist groups, as well as incidents that have occurred on military installations:

- In 1976, a KKK chapter was discovered at Camp Pendleton in California, which led to the jailing or transfer of sixteen Klansmen (Kennard, p. 17).
- In 1995, after the murder of two African-American soldiers by a neo-Nazi paratrooper James Burmeister at Fort Bragg, NC, an army investigation uncovered a white supremacist group of at least twenty-two soldiers stationed at Fort Bragg (Kennard, p.18).
- Timothy McVeigh, the perpetrator of the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, was a military veteran who had ties to white-supremacist groups (Elohim City) and ideology (he was “an avid reader and enthusiastic promoter” of the Turner Diaries, a novel written by the former leader of the white nationalist organization, National Alliance) ([ADL, 1996](#)).
- At the height of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, Department of Defense investigator Scott Barfield reported that, “neo-Nazis stretch across all branches of service, they are linking up across the branches once they're inside, and they are hard-core, specifically cited the occurrence of” Aryan Nations graffiti in Baghdad,”([Holthouse, 2009](#)) and that military recruiters “are knowingly allowing neo-Nazis and white supremacists to join the armed forces, and commanders don’t remove them from the military even after we positively identify them as extremists” (Ryan, 2009).
- Between 2008-2009, a DOD investigation uncovered an “online network of neo-Nazis” who are “active duty Army and Marines personnel spread across five military installations in five States – Ft. Lewis, WA, Ft. Bragg, NC, Ft. Hood, TX, Ft. Stewart, GA, and Camp Pendleton, CA,” and identified “320 extremists” on Ft. Lewis alone ([Holthouse, 2009](#)).
- For a period of roughly two years, from 2001-2002, an active-duty Navy SEAL, Matt Buschbacher, served simultaneously in one of the US’ most elite military units and as leader in the neo-Nazi National Alliance, even attending national leadership conferences and writing propaganda pamphlets for the organization.
- US Army veteran, Forrest Fogarty, has provided personal accounts of his time as a neo-Nazi and member of the Hammerskin Nation serving as a military police officer in Iraq from 2004-2005. Fogarty recounted on how his recruiter was indifferent towards his neo-Nazi tattoos, how his chain of command “knew what I was about but let it go because I was a great soldier,” and how everyone in his unit knew about his white-supremacist leanings and “would always kid around with him” about it. Non-commissioned officers even joked about him being “that racist motherfucker” ([Kennard, 2012](#)).
- In 2012, a photo emerged of a 10-man US Marines sniper unit posing with a US flag stacked with a Nazi SS bolt flag in Sangin, Afghanistan ([Kennard, 2012](#)).
- Hunter Glass, a military veteran and current detective near Ft. Bragg, NC comments on how the pressures placed on recruiting and keeping bodies in the military during the “War on Terror” has created a culture of ignoring extremists in the ranks “until it becomes a problem.” Glass cites an occurrence when he identified a member of the Hammerskins white-

supremacist organization serving in the Army and commanding officers “ignored his recommendation to have the soldier discharged” (Kennard, 2009).

There is both a historical and ideological correlation between Nazi and neo-Nazi movements and state militaries. In the US, there is a documented trend of neo-Nazi and white supremacist groups encouraging their members to seek state-sponsored military

training for use in carrying out or participating in domestic terrorism or the prophesied “RaHoWa” (Racial Holy War), as well as a concerted effort on the part of white-supremacist and Nazi leaders to actively recruit within the ranks of the military, including specifically targeting veterans. This trend has intensified since the beginning of the US “War on Terror,” which has created a significantly large pool of embattled soldiers and veterans returning to a bleak economic landscape caused by a prolonged economic downturn.



US Marines sniper unit posing with a US flag stacked with a Nazi SS bolt flag in Sangin, Afghanistan. (2012)



Soldiers of Kilo Company, 3rd Battalion 6th Regiment, 2nd Marine Division, posing with a Confederate flag in southern Afghanistan.

NAZISM AND WHITE SUPREMACY

ONLINE

The old world of organizing for neo-Nazis and white supremacists groups revolved around recruiting events, marches, mailing lists, white power music concerts, and ‘zines.’ Today, the online world is bringing together racists from all across the country and the world. While direct recruiting might still be their most successful tool, the Internet allows for the most direct dissemination of propaganda, while providing a virtually anonymous social forum for today’s white supremacists.

The first primitive bulletin boards for white supremacists began in the 1980s under the auspices of men like Tom Metzger, a former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. But it wasn’t until the 1990s that white power activists fully tapped the power of the Internet. In 1995, a former Klansman named Don Black began the website *Stormfront*. Like Metzger and David Duke—a close ally of his—Black began his career in the Klan. In 1981, Black and several other former Klan members were arrested for plotting to overthrow the government of Dominica. While in prison, Black started taking computer programming and coding classes. With the creation of www.stormfront.org in the 1990s, he ushered in a new era of white supremacist/neo-Nazi organizing.

Stormfront is a multifaceted website consisting of forums covering everything from politics to dating. It also provides resources for downloading neo-Nazi graphics and propaganda for personal or public use. Stormfront has a forum for women only, and in 2001 they even opened a webpage for children (Stormfront.org, 2015). Black has also created www.martinlutherking.org, a web page designed to defame Martin Luther King and influence perceptions of his life work. Stormfront was down for several days due to increased traffic after the election of Barack Obama in 2008. Since then the organization has

recorded up to 40,000 unique visits in a given day (Saslow, 2008).

One of the most important and dangerous elements of Stormfront is its creation of a “translocal notion of race,” which unites white supremacists regardless of geographic location. Black uses the slogan “WHITE PRIDE WORLD WIDE” to describe the phenomenon (Ware & Back, 2002). Stormfront has forums in a variety of European languages, and there is a clear effort to break down barriers between different “white” European ethnicities.

Stormfront also appears to be a very dangerous influence on the ground, especially in the U.S. Nearly 100 people died at the hands of registered Stormfront users in bias-related killings between 2009 and 2014 (SPLC, 2014). Nor is Stormfront alone. The Internet has helped facilitate the spread of neo-Nazi hate music, which is best symbolized by Resistance Records. Started in 1994, the label refers to itself as “The Soundtrack for White Revolution.” The label’s logo is the ‘death’s head’ collar insignia formerly worn by SS units who policed concentration camps in Europe. Resistance also publishes a magazine, and it was long connected, before his death, to William Pierce’s National Alliance. With the coming of ecommerce, Resistance has been able to further offerings to a whole new audience on the web.

The problem of neo-Nazism in cyberspace is particularly acute in the U.S. According to long-time expert Jesse Daniels, the majority of white supremacist websites are based in America. She also singles out the U.S. as the central axis of the new online movement of neo-Nazism and white supremacy: “The emergence of the United States as a haven for global white supremacy online makes critical the discussion of whether America was built with white supremacy as a central guiding principle

and whether equality is available to all citizens, regardless of race” (Daniels, 2009).

In sharp contrast to the pre-Internet era, the online world makes disseminating and publishing white supremacist works easier than ever. It also greatly lengthens the reach of neo-Nazi and other racist

organizations, while simultaneously cloaking their core membership in anonymity. Perhaps most frightening, it has reached the dangerous world of “lone wolf racists,” many of whom have proved themselves more than willing to carry out violent acts in the name of white supremacy.

NAZISM AND WHITE SUPREMACY ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES

In the U.S., right-wing extremism - which includes all forms of Nazism, neo-Nazism and white supremacy - has intensified over the past decade due to factors related to:

- (1) neoliberal austerity,
- (2) a prolonged economic downturn,
- (3) the election of the first African-American president in the U.S.,
- (4) the rise of Islamophobia stemming from post-9/11 politics,
- (5) increased militarization of domestic police forces,
- (6) a crisis regarding immigration and refugees from Mexico and Latin America, and
- (7) unprecedented escalation of U.S. wars abroad.

Right-wing extremists have rallied around what they refer to as “cultural Marxism.” Far from the historical meaning of cultural Marxism, as established by the Frankfurt School, this rallying cry is centered within a reactionary and conspiratorial perception of social justice movements, which are viewed as attempts “to destroy traditional Christian values and overthrow free enterprise” and include “feminism, multiculturalism, gay rights and atheism” (Wilson, 2015). In 2011, right-wing terrorist Anders Behring Breivik killed eight people by setting off a bomb in a government building in Oslo, Norway, before shooting and killing 69 participants at a Worker’s Youth League summer camp. A central theme in his [manifesto](#) was the “dangers of cultural Marxism” and “Muslims” (Breivik, 2011).

This emerging theme of “fighting cultural Marxism” is constructed on a preservation of white privilege. White-supremacist groups in the US have adopted Breivik’s ideas to battle what they view as an “attack on whiteness” and tradition. This has led to “a

rise in verbal abuse and violence directed at people of color, lesbians and gay men, and other historically persecuted groups has plagued the United States” (ACLU, 2015).

Youth extensions of these groups have begun surfacing on college campuses. These college organizations include Youth for Western Civilization (YWC), the Traditionalist Youth Network (TYN) and the National Youth Front (NYF). The NYF is the “newly formed youth wing of the white nationalist American Freedom Party (SPLC, 2015). The YWC has expanded to “13 chapters, and TYN was making regular headlines for its racist activism at Towson and Indiana University” (SPLC, 2015). Both groups have ties to the white nationalist group, American Renaissance.

The National Youth Front (NYF) has become the most aggressive of the organizations and has openly expressed this approach. Former chairman, Caleb Shumaker, referred to the movement as “a declaration of war” against “those who have weaponized our institutions against us” and those who have invaded “our nations.” The movement is also seeking “to stop the ongoing defamation of our people” and “to eliminate the endless ideological subversion of our nation’s most precious gift - Its youth” (SPLC, 2015). There has been a concerted effort on the part of these groups to infiltrate college campuses and recruit young leaders.

In Spring of 2014, an Arizona State University professor, Lee Bebout, received personal threats from neo-Nazis and white supremacist groups that viewed one of his courses called, “U.S. Race Theory and the Problem of Whiteness” as “racist” and an attack on the “oppressed majority” (Thompson, 2015). NYF chairperson, Angelo John Gage, a military veteran, has led the way on this attack against the professor, stating he is part of “an agenda to beat down the white

population of this country,” which is “an oppressed majority, but we're becoming a minority, and that's the concern I have with the future” (Thompson, 2015).

White supremacist websites such as ‘The Daily Stormer’ and ‘Stormfront.org’ have posted a photo of Bebout's mixed-race family, which was taken from Bebout's personal Facebook page (Lemons, 2015). On February 3, The Daily Stormer posted a NYF video about Bebout, calling the professor “a fat beta faggot” who wants to “destroy the white race” (Lemons, 2015). The posts have been inundated with wishes of Bebout's death. Local neo-Nazis have offered their “manpower” and support in this fight against what they refer to as the “militant Left.” Neo-Nazi debaters on campus have cited “The Bell Curve,” a 1994 book premised on centuries-old and disproved theories of scientific racism, suggesting people with African descent are genetically inclined to be less intelligent than European counterparts.

In defense of Bebout's course, ASU doctoral student, Robert Poe facilitated a teach-in on campus. Poe immediately received similar threats online. One of the most blatant was posted to a conservative website, conservative-headlines.com, which read: “Step One: enroll at ASU; step two: enroll in one of poe's classes; step three: attend class with a pen sharpened like a shiv; step four: lodge the fucking pen in this cunts throat and let the blood funnel out on the floor; step five: carve a fucking swastika in his chest as he lays dying on the floor in a growing pool of his own blood; step six: toss body out of the window as

campus security arrives; step seven: plead insanity. (Lemons, 2015).

Neo-Nazi and white supremacist groups are looking to build on traditions of privilege, misogyny and racism within historical fraternities like Sigma Alpha Epsilon (SAE). In early March of 2015, a video surfaced showing a few dozen members of the college fraternity, SAE's Oklahoma University chapter singing a racist chant in unison. The video shows the students pumping their fists in joy as they sang, “There will never be a nigger in SAE. You can hang him from a tree, but he can never sign with me!” The students were celebrating the fraternity's “Founder's Day” as they traveled to a formal event.

The incident was a product of cultural norms established in fraternity life. After an investigation, Oklahoma University administration concluded that it was “not an anomaly” and that “members first learned it at a gathering of the national fraternity four years ago.” “It was learned by chapter members on a national leadership cruise sponsored by the national organization of Sigma Alpha Epsilon,” the university said in a brief report on the results of its inquiry into the episode. “Over time, the chant was formalized in the local S.A.E. chapter and was taught to pledges as part of the formal and informal pledgship process” (McLaughlin, 2015). The national fraternity even confirmed the chant was “likely learned while attending a national Leadership School about four years ago” (Stipek & Perez-Pena, 2015).

RACIST POLICING AND MASS- INCARCERATION IN THE U.S.

The recent #BlackLivesMatter movement, has perhaps become one of the most visibly recognized protest movements in the last decade. Its founders define it as an “ideological and political intervention in a world where Black lives are systematically and intentionally targeted for demise. It is an affirmation of Black folks’ contributions to this society, our humanity, and our resilience in the face of deadly oppression” (Black Lives Matter, 2015, para 4). The group was created in 2012 after the acquittal of George Zimmerman in the murder of unarmed teenager, Trayvon Martin. The importance of this movement is that in its visibility, it has illuminated for many both nationally and internationally, “deadly oppression” not only in individual acts of police brutality and excessive force, but state-sponsored violence. This section looks briefly at the shortcomings of the United States’ current criminal justice system. While legal enforcement does not exist in parallel to white supremacist organizations, it has arguably been built upon white supremacist ideologies, which contribute to the proliferation of racism in the United States.

The historical context of racism as a pervasive structural element within policing, reaches back into the 1700s (Walker, 1980). Slave catchers served as the first publicly funded police agencies in the antebellum south. Their duties were to apprehend runaways, patrol areas to prevent assembly of Black people, to search slave quarters, and to monitor and control the movement of Black bodies. They were often armed, could use violence at their own discretion, and were treated with impunity. The current public protests against police use of excessive and deadly force against Black individuals directly challenges the preservation of historically similar white supremacist ideologies embedded in the criminal justice system. The disproportionate targeting

of African-Americans appears in the form of systematic civil rights abuses, such as harassment of racial minorities, false arrests, excessive use of force and often death. The result is a disproportionate maiming or loss of Black life.

The two following action terms engaged in “while black” are commonly used terms for categories of racial profiling. Racial profiling “refers to the discriminatory practice by law enforcement officials of targeting individuals for suspicion of crime based on the individual's race, ethnicity, religion or national origin” and exist as means of state-sponsored social control which values certain lives over others (ACLU, 2015, para 1). The following consist of a few examples:

Walking While Black (Stop and Frisk)

- According to their own self-reported data, in 2013 police stopped New Yorkers 169,252 were totally innocent (88 percent). 104,958 were black (56 percent). 55,191 were Latino (29 percent). 20,877 were white (11 percent).
- According to their own self-reported data, in 2014 police stopped New Yorkers 46,235 times. 38,051 were totally innocent (82 percent). 24,777 were black (55 percent). 12,662 were Latino (29 percent). 5,536 were white (12 percent) (NYCLU, 2015).

The drastic decline in the number of individuals subjected to “stop-and-frisk” has declined due to an August 2013 ruling that the practice was unconstitutional; however, the overrepresentation of African-Americans has not changed.

Driving While Black and Brown (DWB)

- Relatively more black drivers (13%) than white (10%) and Hispanic (10%) drivers were pulled over in a traffic stop during their most recent contact with police. There were no statistical differences in the race or Hispanic origin of persons involved in street stops (BJS, 2013)

There exists a severe paucity of national statistics, which may accurately assess the number of African-Americans who have been unlawfully killed at the hands of state law enforcement agencies. This is because the Department of Justice (DOJ) permits law enforcement agencies to self-report to the FBI's annual data on "justifiable homicides" where there has been officer involvement. Yet even the FBI's lowest estimates maintain that at least two times a week in the United States, a white police officer killed a black person between 2007 and 2012 and with respect to murder victims for whom race was known, 51.7 percent of "justifiable-homicides" were Black individuals (FBI, 2013).

There is no incentive for law enforcement to admit wrong-doing, especially at the risk of punitive consequences. The DOJ kept statistics on "arrest-related" deaths until 2009, after which point they discontinued the practice due to unreliability of data (BJS, 2015). What is available are statistics kept by civil-society organizations, news agencies, non-profit organizations and grass-roots organizations. Because they were recorded, and thus ignited and fanned the flames of protest, the most well known victims of police shootings in 2014 were Eric Garner and Michael Brown Jr. Yet, in 2014, as many as 100 unarmed Black individuals died in arrest-related deaths under dubious circumstances involving manslaughter, homicide, in police custody, or upon release as a result of injuries sustained while in police custody (Mapping Police Violence, 2015). Four of these cases include the following individuals:

- 32 year old veteran and father of two, Tommy Yancy was pulled over in Imperial, CA for

driving without a front license plate. Police claimed Yancy resisted arrest, however eyewitness testimony differs. Yancy was attacked with a K-9 unit, tasered and beaten, losing consciousness and dying on the way to the hospital.

- 31 year-old Dontre Hamilton: In Milwaukee, IL, Hamilton, mentally ill and homeless was sleeping in the park, when ordered to move by police. After an exchange, Hamilton grabbed officer Manney's baton and hit him. Officer Manney responded by shooting Hamilton 14 times.
- 22 year-old John H. Crawford III was shot and killed by police in a Beavercreek, OH Walmart, while carrying a BB gun from the store.
- 14 year-old honor student and athlete, Cameron Tillman was shot 4 times by police who responded to a call about individuals in an abandoned house, which was known as teen hang-out, okayed by the owner. There was a BB gun on the table. Tillman died after 45 minutes and the police offered no medical assistance.

State-sponsored police violence then becomes legitimized within the criminal justice system's failure to indict police who have killed unarmed Black individuals. Police are rarely criminally charged criminally with on-duty killings. Examples include but are not limited to failure to prosecute the following individuals:

- NYPD officer Daniel Pantaleo who used an illegal choke-hold to kill Eric Garner (Dec 2014, Eversley & James)
- Chicago Police Officer Dante Servin who fired five bullets into a crowd from an unregistered handgun killing Rekia Boyd (Apr 2015, AP)

- Ferguson officer Darren Wilson for killing unarmed Michael Brown (Nov 2014, McClam,)

Militarization

According to Steinweis & Rogers (2003), “the ‘militarization’ of the police constituted a central objective of the Uniformed Police leadership from the initial National Socialist ‘seizure of power’ until the ultimate collapse of Hitler’s Thousand-Year Reich” (p.131). Militarization of the police in the United States has too proven a concern for the public for reasons pertaining to breeches of civil liberties and excessive use of force among others. Those provided by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU, 2014) compose of the following:

1. “Policing—particularly through the use of paramilitary teams has become excessively militarized, mainly through federal programs that create incentives for state and local police to use unnecessarily aggressive weapons and tactics designed for the battlefield. The ACLU... estimated that 500 law enforcement agencies have received Mine Resistant Ambush Protected (MRAP) vehicles built to withstand armor- piercing roadside bombs through the Department of Defense 1033 Program” (p.5).
2. Police militarization has occurred with almost no public oversight. No law enforcement agency provided sufficient information to the ACLU to engage in their thorough examination. There are almost no agencies monitoring and providing oversight of militarization (p.5).
3. “SWAT teams were often deployed—unnecessarily and aggressively—to execute search warrants in low-level drug investigations...79% of SWAT deployments the ACLU studied were for the purpose of

executing a search warrant, most commonly in drug investigations” (p.5).

4. “The use of paramilitary weapons and tactics primarily impacted people of color; when paramilitary tactics were used in drug searches, the primary targets were people of color, whereas when paramilitary tactics were used in hostage or barricade scenarios, the primary targets were white. Overall, 42 percent of people impacted by a SWAT deployment to execute a search warrant were Black and 12 percent were Latino...[There were] stark, often extreme, racial disparities in the use of SWAT locally, especially in cases involving search warrants” (p.5-6).
5. SWAT deployments often and unnecessarily entailed the use of violent tactics and equipment, including armored personnel carriers; use of violent tactics and equipment was shown to increase the risk of bodily harm and property damage. In some instances, the use of violent tactics and equipment caused property damage, injury, and/or death (p.6).

Police militarization also finds itself in relationship to the perpetuation of racism. The extremely militarized response to protests over racial injustice, was arguably used disproportionately against protestors in Ferguson, Missouri. Rubber bullets, smoke bombs, tanks, high pitched sirens, riot gear were some of the military tactical equipment used.

Mass Incarceration

Particular practices of the criminal justice system further contribute to the fueling of racism and racial discrimination through legal measures, which target people of color for incarceration, and legally restrict the rights to equal employment, jury service, voting, housing, and public benefits of those released. Lawyer and scholar Michelle Alexander (2012) refers to this system as “The New Jim Crow” due to its “well-disguised system of racialized social control” (p.4)

Below are several examples of racial disparities within the criminal justice system:

- African Americans now constitute nearly 1 million of the total 2.3 million incarcerated population (NAACP, 2009-2015).
- African Americans are incarcerated at nearly six times the rate of whites (NAACP, 2009-2015).
- Together, African American and Hispanics comprised 58% of all prisoners in 2008, even though African Americans and Hispanics make up approximately one quarter of the US population (NAACP, 2009-2015).
- 5 times as many Whites are using drugs as African Americans, yet African Americans are sent to prison for drug offenses at 10 times the rate of Whites (NAACP, 2009-2015).
- African Americans represent 12% of the total population of drug users, but 38% of those arrested for drug offenses, and 59% of those in state prison for a drug offense (NAACP, 2015).
- African Americans serve virtually as much time in prison for a drug offense (58.7

months) as whites do for a violent offense (61.7 months). (BJS, 2004, p.112).

- Between 1994 and 2003, the average time served by African Americans for a drug offense increased by 77%, compared to an increase of 28% for white drug offenders (USSC, 2002, p.103).
- African American drug offenders have a 20% greater chance of being sentenced to prison than white drug offenders (USSC, 2004, p.122).

Thus while the criminal justice system exists to protect U.S. citizens, it still continues to reflect foundational racism evident in its policing, militarization and incarceration. Protest movements globally, and those which have drawn more international attention such as those in Ferguson, MI and Baltimore, MD which decry racist policing, surveillance, militarization and mass incarceration, continue due to the frustration, fatigue and pain of communities who would like to urgently see an end to the flagrant breaches of human rights by law enforcement, and the larger white supremacist ideology upon which the criminal justice system as whole has been founded and continues to operate.

NAZISM PROTECTED BY THE STATE

In Toledo, Ohio, neo-Nazis have successfully utilized the state security apparatus to protect and shield themselves from mass popular resentment. One of the tactics Nazis employ is to invoke first amendment rights in order to acquire police protection.

In 2005 a small group of neo-Nazis from outside of Toledo came to ostensibly protest “crime” in Toledo. Hundreds of antiracists forced the city to cancel the attempted march by the neo-Nazi group, called the “National Socialist Movement,” through a mostly black neighborhood in North Toledo. Instead, hundreds of residents faced off with 15 Nazis standing in “formation” on the lawn of Woodward High School. After escorting the neo-Nazis away from the anti-racist demonstration, riot police clashed with local residents angry over the neo-Nazi presence and the police protection provided by the city of Toledo. These clashes made national headlines. The city spent over \$100,000 protecting the Nazis in 2005. As one local community activist, Washington Muhammad, explained at the time: “Everybody else does without a police escort. The Nazis should have had a banner behind them that said, ‘Sponsored by the City of Toledo’ (Read & Dyer, 2005). Anger spilled over into a small uprising, with some shops and local establishments being broken into and looted. Many of the black youth who clashed with police were arrested and sentenced, some for prison terms. In all some 114 protesters were arrested, with charges ranging from “assault, vandalism, failure to obey police, failure to disperse and overnight curfew violations” (Associated Press, 2005). The neo-Nazis were not only protected

by the city of Toledo, they were successful in using the repressive apparatus of the state to arrest and then imprison black youth.

A decade later, on the tenth anniversary of their original visit, the same neo-Nazi organization, this time with a few more members, decided to attempt the same routine as before. This time, however, the city of Toledo confined them to a small section of downtown Toledo, and all of the surrounding blocks were shut down. Hundreds of on-duty, over-time, and volunteer police officers protected the small group of neo-Nazis. A highly militarized riot squad had dozens of police, some armed with assault rifles, and was paired with regular police officers. Armored vehicles were present, as well as an elaborate identification system that required facial photographs of any individual entering the area near the neo-Nazis. Although no clashes took place this time, largely due to the efforts of local organizers who held a well-attended Black Lives Matter Day in a separate location, the city of Toledo spent over \$76,000 in overtime pay to protect the Nazis (Bade, 2015).

Thus, the tactics from Toledo suggest that these small extremist organizations make full use of the resources of the repressive state apparatus. The tentacles of the state not only shield the racists from popular anger, they are also used, as in 2005, to assault targeted populations and further the goals of the neo-Nazis. Thus, as one local organizer proclaimed after the 2015 visit, there were around 300 fascists in Toledo that day; only 25 of them were neo-Nazis.

RISING FASCISM IN AMERICAN POLITICS: EXAMINING TEA PARTY “POPULISM”

The Tea Party is a proto-fascist political movement in the US that began during the 2008 Presidential race. As a reactionary political movement, which mobilizes supporters via issues of class, race, religion, gender, and conformity/tradition, the Tea Party has attempted to capitalize on elements of Nazism and white supremacy. Fears of “cultural Marxism,” “multiculturalism” or “political correctness,” a main theme of white supremacist movements worldwide, have overlapped with Tea Party politics, which thrive from an underlying assumption that “whiteness” is being attacked.

There is a fundamentally racial element to the rise of the Tea Party. As a movement that is predominantly “white, middle-aged, middle-class, and male” – all demographics that are consistent with right-wing extremism – the election of Obama, the first African-American president with a “Muslim-sounding name,” represents an attack on “their” country (Parker & Barreto, 2013).

The Tea Party has been compared to the Klu Klux Klan in both their reactionary ideology, which seeks to “look backwards to a time when their power and cultural hegemony was unquestioned,” and tactics. In keeping in line with the white-supremacist conspiratorial claims of “cultural Marxism,” “they will do anything they can to protest social change of any kind, up to and including breaking the law.” In comparison, “that’s what the Klan did; that’s what the Tea Party has done on a couple of occasions with their violence. It’s not as much violence as you saw with the Klan in the 1920s, but you do see some of the ways in which they break law and order (Isquith, 2014).

(Parker, 2014) illustrates that Tea Party demographics are very consistent with those of “the Birchers, the 1920s Ku Klux Klan, and the Know-Nothing Party in the 1850s” (Isquith, 2014).

In 2010, Mark Williams, a California radio host and leader of the Tea Party Express, California’s state movement, took the lead in opposing plans for a Mosque to be constructed in Lower Manhattan, NYC, referring to Muhammad as “the terrorists’ monkey-god.” Williams also published a satirical letter that mocking “the colored people” for demanding welfare and refusing to be “productive members of society” (AATTP, 2012). Williams also referred to Barack Obama as an “Indonesian Muslim turned welfare thug” (Kennedy, 2010).

In May of 2010, Tea Party protestors standing outside the US Capitol spat on Emanuel Cleaver, an African-American politician, and called James Clyburn, also African-American, and a veteran of the Civil Rights movement, a “nigger” (Stein, 2010). In 2008, Iowa Representative, Steve King, a member of the Tea Party Caucus, said an Obama victory would lead “radical Islamists, the al-Qaida, the radical Islamists and their supporters... dancing in the streets in greater numbers than they did on September 11 because they will declare victory in this War on Terror,” while specifically pointing to Obama’s middle name of “Hussein” as the cause (Mitchell, 2008).

The Tea Party’s role as a proto-fascist element is confirmed by how they are viewed by white nationalists, many of whom view the party as an inroad to mainstream politics. Ongoing debates regarding this strategy occur on major white nationalist websites like stormfront.org, which celebrates “White Pride, World Wide.” On one particular post, one member views the Tea Party as a “golden opportunity to begin a direction that White Nationalism has never enjoyed ever before at any time” and that “it should be the job of each REAL White Nationalist to become a working, functioning member of every T Party in America;” another

member identifies himself as a member of the Tea Party; a third member verifies that many Tea Party members are also white nationalists; and a fourth member commends the Tea Party on their apparent belief “that blacks are more prone to be criminals, less intelligent” (Stormfront.org, 2006).

In 2013, during a visit to Florida, President Obama was the target of overtly racist verbal attacks from Tea Party protesters, as they shouted “Kenyan Go Home.” Other examples include regular Tea Party chants of “Bye Bye, Blackbird,” and Tea Party posters saying “Obama’s Plan: White Slavery,” “Imam Obama Wants to Ban Pork” and “The Zoo Has An African Lion, and the White House Has a Lyin’ African,” as well as a picture that was widely circulated through Tea Party crowds online depicting Obama as “an African witch doctor with bananas in his hair” (Lavender, 2013).

In a 2010 multi-State survey, 73 percent of Tea Party members strongly agreed that “Blacks would do just as well as whites if they just tried harder” (WISER, 2010). The survey found that “people who are Tea Party supporters have a higher probability—25 percent, to be exact—of being racially resentful than those who are not Tea Party supporters” (Campo-Flores, 2010).

When considering the association between racism and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), and support for the Tea Party, it seems that “whether or not one supports the Tea Party is also associated with racial intolerance and a desire for group-based inequality” (Parker & Barreto, 2014).

Tea Party rhetoric mirrors that of Nazi parties of old. The Tea Party regularly speaks to “real

Americans” as Nazis in 1930s Germany called on “real Germans”; the Tea Party regularly singles out “Muslims” as “enemies of the state” just as German Nazis had singled out “Jews”; the Tea Party expresses anti-gay sentiments, even using Christianity as justification for this, while German Nazis expressed open hatred of homosexuals (Haraldsson, 2013).

Tea Party ideology is an extension of paleoconservatism, which has a history of flirting with proto-fascist elements under the guise of “right-wing populism.” (Berlet & Lyons, 2000) tell us “the concept of ‘populism’ was promoted by the Liberty Lobby from 1980 onward as a code word for fascist and quasi-fascist politics, and at the same time was sanitized and appropriated by New Right leader Richard Viguerie.” In 1991, paleoconservatives like Samuel Francis celebrated David Duke’s strong showing in Louisiana’s gubernatorial race as “a turning point in American history” (Berlet & Lyons, 2000). Motivated by the rise of “quasi-fascist European right-wing populists such as Jean Marie Le Pen and Jorg Haider,” paleoconservatives viewed Duke’s success as an opportunity to “reassert their own version of cultural nationalism,” with some promoting the “concept of ethnic separatism in the claim that democracy works only in ethnically homogeneous cultures” (Berlet & Lyons, 2000). When considering this historical connection, and the similarities that exist between paleoconservative ideology and white supremacist and nationalist ideology, the potential of the Tea Party as a fascist inroad becomes clear.

CASE STUDY: Racial Intolerance, Xenophobia, and neo-Nazi activity in the State of California

The state of California is the third largest in terms of geographic size; however it is the most populous state (US Census, 2014) within the United States. It is also one of the most racially and ethnically diverse states, and has actually become a “Minority Majority” state, where racial and ethnic “minorities” now surpass the White, non-Hispanic Caucasian population. (Johnson, 2014). However, despite this diversity and reputation for being a politically liberal and progressive region, California, particularly areas in the southern part of the State, has the highest amount of neo-Nazi organizations and activities in the United States (Potok, 2011; Williams, 2011). According to the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) 2010 Report, *The Year in Hate & Extremism*, California has 68 active hate groups. Following California are: Texas (59), Florida (48), New Jersey (47), Mississippi (40), Georgia (39), Pennsylvania (36), Michigan and Tennessee (35), Alabama (33), Ohio (32), New York (31) and South Carolina (30). (Potok, 2011). What is notable about this list is that it includes other states that are considered liberal and/or having large ethnic and racial minority populations.

The rise in the number of these groups has been attributed to historic demographic shifts within California. At the turn of the 20th Century, the state was still underpopulated for the most part, and had a majority White, non-Hispanic Caucasian population. Following the Great Migration of African Americans from southern states such as Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas, and the influx of Asian and Pacific Islanders following the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, along with subsequent waves of migration from Mexico and other parts of Central America, intensifying in the 1970s (Kate et al , 2011); the population became far more diverse. People of color- a term used primarily in the United States to describe those who are not Caucasian non-Hispanic --

began to move into the urban centers and rural areas, which led to white flight to the suburbs, and further out to the high desert areas in the southern part of the State.

Thus, it is in the areas on the outskirts – high desert, inland valleys – that have seen the flourishing of neo Nazi and white supremacist groups. These activities have also corresponded with the xenophobic backlash to the election of President Barack Obama, the nation’s first African American president, which again signals a shift in demographic and political voting blocs within the United States; where the once marginalized majorities—people of color—are rapidly becoming the majority. Still, white supremacist activities do not account for the highest rates of hate crimes in Los Angeles County currently. Another demographic shift, that has seen Latinos moving into traditionally predominantly African American neighborhoods (the Eastside, South Central, Watts, Compton, etc.) along with African American migration to the Inland Empire, Nevada, Arizona, and other states, has resulted in an increase in hate crimes against African Americans. In fact, The Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations has reported that most hate crimes against African Americans are committed by Latino suspects and vice versa (Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations, 2013). The presence of gangs is a noted driver in Latino-on-Black hate crimes.

Hate Crime Reporting

- The National Crime Victim Survey by the U.S. Justice Department found that hate crimes occurred 24 to 28 times more than the number reported by police to the FBI, with this being due to victims not reporting hate crimes to police, as well as a failure of law

enforcement to classify hate crimes and report them to federal authorities. (page 4) (Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations, 2013).

- For reasons, such as those mentioned above, it is reasonable to conclude that reported hate crimes, are only a fraction of those that are actually committed.

Los Angeles County

- 2013, saw a 17% decrease in the number of reported hate crimes from the previous year; the lowest in 24 years (Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations, 2013, p.8).
- 2013 Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations, 2013 Hate Crime Report found that on average more than one hate crime still occurs each day.
- Sexual orientation crimes comprised 25% of hate crimes.
- Crimes motivated by race continued to be by far the largest group, comprising 56% of all hate crimes.
- African Americans were targeted in 64% of hate crimes motivated by race, although blacks comprise less than 9% of county residents.
- 16% of all hate crimes showed evidence of white supremacist ideology.
- Religious crimes represented 15% of the total. 74% of these crimes were anti-Jewish.
- The largest number occurred in the San Fernando Valley, followed by the Metro region. However, if one accounts for population, the highest rate was in the

Antelope Valley, followed by the Metro region.

Antelope Valley – Northern Los Angeles County

The Antelope Valley is situated in Northern Los Angeles County, 70 miles north of downtown Los Angeles. In the 1940s, following World War II, predominantly white middle-class moved into this high desert area, having been drawn by jobs in aerospace, notably the Edwards Air Force Base. A major shift in demographics occurred in the 1990s when African American and Latino families, many who were low income, began to arrive from the South Los Angeles area. By 2010 whites became the majority in the neighborhoods of Lancaster and Palmdale (Boyarsky, 2013). The number of African American renters on Section 9, a United States government low-income housing program, doubled from 510 in 2000 to 1,119 in 2004, and rose to 1,530 in 2008 (Boyarsky, 2013).

- 1995, Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors directs the county's Human Relations Commission to study skinhead activity in the Antelope Valley. the commission's report said there were 40 to 100 skinheads in the Antelope Valley and that they were loosely organized. ``Although acts of racial violence were isolated, there is a growing fear in the community, especially among African-Americans, that hate incidents-crimes and skinhead activities seem to be on the rise," the report said (Skeen, 1996).
- 1996, The city of Palmdale enacts a Hate crime hotline, 94-PRIDE or 947-7433, which could be used by city residents to leave messages regarding hate-related crimes (Skeen, 1996).
- 1997, Infamous trial of three white youths who allegedly murdered an African American

man in Palmdale, so that one of the youths could earn a white supremacist tattoo. Two Black men were allegedly stabbed by a white mayoral candidate's son—who was reciting “white power” slogans. Two homes in Palmdale were vandalized with racially offensive words and a swastika.

- 2010, the Antelope Valley had the highest rate of hate crimes of any region in Los Angeles (U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, 2013).
- 2010, A predominantly African American church in Palmdale was firebombed.
- 2010, The U.S. Justice Department found that the Antelope Valley had the highest rate of hate crimes of any region in Los Angeles County (Boyarsky, 2013).
- 2013, when accounting for population, the Antelope Valley tied with the Metro Region at 8.3 reported hate crimes per 100,000 residents, the highest rate of hate crimes (Enrique, 2013).
- 2013, Conclusion of U.S. Justice Department two-years investigation of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department. Findings revealed the following (U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, 2013).
- Blacks, and to a lesser extent Latinos, were more likely than whites to be stopped and searched by deputies, even when controlling for factors other than race. Investigators concluded that deputies made stops "that appear motivated by racial bias."
- Deputies commonly and improperly detained people in the back seat of their patrol cars — a tactic that must have a clear justification or else violates the Constitution and sheriff's policy. This kind of treatment was reserved

not only for suspects, investigators said. Federal authorities found one instance in which two deputies handcuffed and detained in the back of their patrol car a woman who was the victim of domestic violence. They said there was "no articulated reason" for the treatment.

- The department showed a pattern of unreasonable force, even against people who were handcuffed.
- Supervisors failed to intervene when deputies were involved in unconstitutional policing. The investigators said the department had good policies against misconduct but found they were not often followed.
- Discrimination against Antelope Valley residents on the basis of race by making housing unavailable, altering the terms and conditions of housing, and coercing, intimidating, and interfering with their housing rights, in violation of the Fair Housing Act (FHA).

The Inland Empire - San Bernardino and Riverside Counties

A demographic shift, notably increasing in the late 1990s, also led to the rise in hate crimes and interracial strife in Southern California's Inland Empire, the 14th largest metro area in the United States, which includes San Bernardino and Riverside County. Prior to migration from Los Angeles county and other areas, the Inland Empire was an area that was sparsely populated, rural-- with a number of ranches, vineyards, and farms. Non-Hispanic Caucasians was also the clear and dominant majority in the area. The migration of mostly African Americans, Latinos, and Asians to the Inland Empire has been driven by the lower cost of real estate and expansive homes in suburban communities. Between 1990 and 2000, the Inland Empire's white population increased only 7%, while the number of blacks grew

61%, Asians 62% and Latinos 82% (Holthouse, 2005). This area was also one of the hardest hit by the current housing based economic recession.

- 2002, Riverside County Assistant District Attorney, John Ruiz, successfully prosecutes a number of high-profile hate crimes, including one in 2002 when he sent five members of the neo-Nazi Western Hammerskins to prison for stomping a black man with combat boots and cutting him with razor blades; leading the Hammerskins to leave the area, and move its base to Mesa, Arizona (Holthouse, 2005).
- 2003 November, The Federal Bureau of Investigation formed a task force with the Riverside and San Bernardino County sheriff's departments that was designed to crack down on neo-Nazi Skinhead and other white power gangs in the Inland Empire, including the High Desert Freak Boys and the Angry Nazi Soldiers (Holthouse, 2005).
- 2005, a high profile incident in Chino Hills, involving an attack by Skinheads on a Black male and foster children from a group home. The primary suspect was arrested on attempted murder charges (Holthouse, 2005).
- 2005 July, Skinheads with "White Power" tattoos and swastika patches repeatedly drove past a Hispanic family's home in Hemet, shouting slurs and threats while brandishing knives. They were arrested for making terrorist threats and with a hate crime. The Skinheads reported to officers that "they were just proud about being members of the Aryan race" (Holthouse, 2005).
- 2005 September, Two African American female students at a Norco High School were attacked for sitting at a "Whites Only" table. A few days later on the same campus -- a

group of white students beat another black student unconscious (Holthouse, 2005).

- 2005, Joseph Turner, founder of racist hate group Save Our State, runs for the school board and county clerk for the County of San Bernardino (Levin, 2010). The Save Our State website featured derogatory caricatures of minorities, having many references to Latinos as "wetbacks"; and his many rallies were promoted on websites such as *Stormfront*. In explaining his position, Turner released the following statement: "I can make the argument that just because one believes in white separatism that that does not make them a racist... I can make the argument that someone who proclaims to be a white nationalist isn't necessarily a white supremacist. I don't think that standing up for your 'kind' or 'your race' makes you a bad person" (Levin, 2010). Despite these racist and problematic views, Turner was hired on as a political strategist for the San Bernardino City police union, and was later appointed by Neil Derry, San Bernardino County Supervisor, as a Special Projects Coordinator.
- 2010- Dan Schruender, a retired teacher and open member and spokesman of the Aryan Nation runs for a position on the Rialto School Board, in an attempt to represent a district that is 75% Latino and 15% African American. His campaign includes handing out fliers explaining how "the white race is not going to go out with a whimper" (Chen, 2010).
- 2010, Jeff Hall, the Southwest Regional Director of the Neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement campaigns for a position on the Riverside Water Board; a powerful government agency in the high desert area (Chen, 2010). Hall released the following message to voters: "I have been a leader and organizer on the job and within the NSM for

years. My work experience, life experience and love for my community are all I have to offer as my credentials, however, as a community organizer I'm qualified to be the Commander and Chief of these United States by the standard set by our liberal media and individuals which serve as representatives of the far left. We must not forget Obama's candidacy platform and declaration of qualifications for Presidency based on being a community organizer. I am also able to formulate a complete sentence with great ease which has been the bane of Jerry Brown and George Bush's political careers... A vote for a representative of the NSM is a vote for America and White civil rights" (Levin, 2010).

- 2014, Richard Bunck, runs as a candidate for the Apple Valley Town Council. His campaign involved an attempt to distance himself from what he claimed was a "past affiliation" with a Neo-Nazi party (Juarez, 2014).
- 2015, "Peculiar" Neo-Nazi Skinhead, Ryan Zietlow-Brown, whose mother is Jewish and of African American descent, was sentenced for 22 years and 4 months in prison for the stabbing of an African American man; for which he initially stated that he carried out the offense for the benefit of, at the direction of, and in association with" Neo-Nazi Skinheads, a white supremacist gang (Flaherty, 2015).

Orange County

Orange County California is the 6th largest county in the United States, and third largest in the state of California. It has historically been a predominantly White and affluent area; having the highest median home values and lowest unemployment rates in Southern California (Martinez, 2012). The region,

once referred to as "Nixon County" or "The Place where Republicans go to die," continues to be a Conservative Republican stronghold in Southern California; although the numbers are starting to slightly decrease.

- 2012, a familiar story of racism in the Orange County when an African American family who moved to the predominantly white city of Yorba Linda were force to flee their home after their home and vehicles were subjected to vandalism, and their children were bullied, taunted, and called racial slurs. This prompted the Orange County Human Relations Commission to enact "listening sessions" with African Americans; who only account for 2% of the population (Miles, 2012).
- 2014, Orange County Human Relations Commission Report found that the overall number of hate crimes (which includes vandalism) fell in 2013; however crimes against individuals increased (OC Human Relations Commission, 2014).
- More than 20% of the reported hate crimes targeted African Americans who only make up 2% of the county's population. African Americans have been the most frequent targets of hate crimes for 22 consecutive years.
- Crimes targeting Muslims and Arabs also rose, reversing a three-year downward trend.
- Crimes targeting Latinos, Jews, and members of LGBT community decreased.
- 2015, A brawl erupts between Neo-Nazis and concert-goers at a Street Dogs St. Patrick's Day show in the City of Anaheim, home to Disneyland. The Nazis were reported to throwing up sieg heil salutes in the air, and using other tactics to intimidate fans. Mike McColgan, a member of the Street Dogs, released the following statement: "In closing

we submit this: no neo-Nazis are allowed at our shows. We have always believed in equality and that all people are created equal. We will not suffer or tolerate bigotry in any manifestation. PERIOD!!!!" (San Roman, 2015).

San Diego County

San Diego County directly borders the country of Mexico, and thus has a large Latino population. The county is also home to a number of military bases. Amongst this setting is what has been referred to as a

growth in the "Patriot" movement, which consists of armed militias and other conspiracy-minded organizations that see the federal government as their primary enemy; and who are also often White supremacists (Rubio-Sheffrey, 2012).

Growth in these groups increased by 55 percent, from 824 in 2010 to 1,274 in 2011. (Rubio-Sheffrey, 2012). In September, the FBI issued a special bulletin to law enforcement officials, describing these groups as "domestic terrorist." A 2013 FBI report found that hate crimes in the county had risen by 26% since 2012 (Foxworth, 2013).

COMPARATIVE STUDY: Neo-Nazism in Australia

There is little doubt that following the Invasion of Australia by the British in 1788, white supremacy began in earnest. Perhaps the real start of this concept was contextualised with the introduction of the Assimilation Policy. In 1937 the Commonwealth Government convened a conference with the States where it was agreed that the aim for those Indigenous people not of “full blood” should be their ultimate absorption in the wider population, with some form of protection for the ‘semi-civilised’ people of the north and centre of Australia. Two recommendations were tabled at the conference.

1. The destiny of the native of Aboriginal origin but not the full-blood lies in their ultimate absorption by the people of the Commonwealth, and ... all efforts should be directed to that end.
2. Efforts by all state authorities should be directed towards the education of children of mixed blood at white standards, and their subsequent employment under the same conditions as whites with a view to taking their place in the white community on an equal footing with whites (Bell, 1959).

In 1951 this policy was extended and included all Aboriginal people. This human experiment remains today. White supremacy has infiltrated most if not all colonised countries. Although it might not be the only component in neo-Nazism, it has proved, however, to be one of the most destructive. It is interesting to note that this philosophy (white supremacy) started much before Nazism, but still is a driving philosophy behind neo-Nazi groups in Australia. These groups are growing at an alarming rate and are getting harder to police as public social media tools enable such voices to manifest. There have also been political parties here that align to neo-Nazi philosophies.

The two principal neo-Nazi organisations in Australia are Blood & Honour (B&H) and the Southern Cross Hammerskins (SCHS). Based in the skinhead milieu, where they are typically referred to as “boneheads” (so as to distinguish them from non- and anti-racist skins), B&H and SCHS are joined by other groups such as Combat 18 (C18), Nationalist Alternative, Volksfront, Women for Aryan Unity, members of the Creativity Movement (who espouse a white supremacist religious ideology) and a small number of other, even more obscure formations, including the New Right, National Anarchists and elements of the KKK.

B&H and the SCHS were born overseas, in the UK and US, in the early 1990s. The Australian franchises of both groups were the first to be established outside of these countries. They are thus the most successful and longest-lived of the organisations formed in order to promote neo-Nazism among white youth. Apart from distributing neo-Nazi propaganda, their main, semi-public activity is to organise a gathering in Melbourne each year to commemorate the death of B&H founder, Ian Stuart Donaldson, who died in a car accident in 1993.

Since 2010 the group has also begun holding regular gigs on the Gold Coast to celebrate Adolf Hitler’s birthday. Other events are held irregularly in Sydney, Adelaide and other states and territories. An attempt to stage a gig in 2009 in WA proved to be abortive. This was partly a legacy of the violent, racist campaign conducted by Jack Van Tongeren’s Australian Nationalists Movement in the 1980s: laws regarding the propagation of racial hatred are stronger and more strictly enforced in WA. Currently, five men are facing court in Perth accused of distributing racist stickers promoting C18 in that city. In August 2010, several C18 members were convicted of discharging a firearm at a Perth mosque. B&H and SCHS have a

policy of non-engagement with the media but have featured sporadically, typically in relation to some public outcry over the staging of such events.

The SCHS also briefly came to the media's attention in March 2012, when one of its members, Kenneth Stewart, was revealed to be employed by an Australian company as a mercenary in Afghanistan. In April 2009, Nicole Hanley, a B&H organiser, was reported as working for Thales, a French military exporter. Less well-reported was the fact that Wade Michael Page, the man responsible for shooting dead six Sikhs in Wisconsin in August 2012, was a Hammerskin. Page was also a musician, members of his groups have performed in Australia, and a number of his recordings are available for purchase locally

through 9% Productions, the online merchandising arm of B&H/SCHS (Newmatilda.com, 2014).

It is not hard to understand why Australia was selected by these groups given the racial history upon foundation. When a country is built on white supremacy, it is no wonder that Australia may be seen to be an easy target to recruit for this philosophy. Neo-Nazi groups are on the increase in Australia and it is not known just how many exist due to undercover groups. What we do know is that many of our youth are being inducted to these groups at an alarming rate. There is also a new dimension of Islamaphobia that has almost overtaken white supremacy, which seems to attract many, creating a further racial war in Australia.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Dealing with neo-Nazism/ fascism in America requires a multi-pronged strategy involving education, outreach, and the targeting of organizations and entities involved in trafficking hate. Strategies and tactics will differ depending on the venue, but the overall effort should encompass everything from think tanks and organizations that track hate groups, to community organizations working to combat hate groups in an individual city or town.

On the national level, non-profits like the Southern Poverty Law Center track neo-Nazi/fascist groups and report on the actions of their leadership. This is an incredibly effective tool when it comes to shining a spotlight on the words and deeds of such organizations; however, many of the more dangerous people who hold these views do not belong to formal organizations or attend marches/rallies. Friends, family members, and even online acquaintances have an obligation to report possibly dangerous white supremacist threats or writings that might pose a danger. This might seem like a fine line, but many of the more notorious individuals who engaged in racially motivated crime have also, in some way, announced their intentions to people around them.

The world of the Internet poses the greatest of dangers. Websites like Stormfront, while acting as a venue for fascist and neo-Nazi propaganda, also attempt to, ironically, cloak themselves in the language of diversity and multiculturalism. Terms like “White Pride,” “White Heritage,” “White History”, etc., often are used in an effort to cloak hate speech using the language and iconography of multiculturalism. And special attention should be paid to the misinformation and outright lies put out by organizations like Stormfront and other neo-Nazi sites.

Attempting to legitimize or intellectualize white supremacy by often well-dressed and credentialed intellectuals also need to be addressed by mainstream institutions. Publications like American Renaissance

and even more “center-right” publications like National Review attempt to use a more “scholarly” approach to the popularization of white supremacist thinking. Watch groups, journalists, think tanks, and everyday citizens need to be ready to counter efforts to mainstream white supremacist ideology in the public sphere, be it in the real or online world.

Teaching Racial Tolerance

A critical cause of racial intolerance between groups of people is a lack of understanding of historical events and interactions that led to present-day realities. Thus, every effort should be made to support Ethnic Studies programs, curriculum, and books not only at the collegiate level, but also in primary and secondary schools. Elevating the voices of minority sub-groups can help to safeguard against Revisionist history, which often leads to blaming marginalized populations for their current social ills; which often stem from a history of discriminatory practices and racial prejudice. This support must include prioritizing funding for Ethnic Studies departments, purchasing books and materials for school and university libraries, and modifying existing curriculum and graduation requirements.

Civilian Review Boards

Independent Civilian Review Boards should be established and supported. They should serve as independent civilian oversight agencies that provide oversight of the local police department. Thus, they should have mechanisms in place that allow them to receive and investigate individual citizen complaints against the police, recommend additional training of officers; as well as call for disciplinary action against an officer. They should ultimately advocate for fair and human policing of a city, as well recommend changes in existing policy. The membership of the Civilian Review Boards should reflect the demographics served within a particular police

jurisdiction; which will ensure that the views and decisions of those on the Boards reflect those of community members.

Police Brutality

- 1) Federal Funding towards civilian complaint review boards for police with subpoena power.
- 2) Federal review of police departments' data collection practices and capabilities. U.S. Department of Justice Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) to create a data collection tool for law-enforcement agencies to report all “arrest-related” deaths, demographics and circumstances in conjunction with representatives of local law enforcement and the Civilian Complaint Review Board.
- 3) Comprehensive federal review and reporting of all police killings and racially disproportionate policing accompanied by immediate action to address the unjustified use of lethal and excessive force by police officers in jurisdictions throughout this country against unarmed people of color (ACLU, 2015).
- 4) Required racial bias training and guidance against the use of force for state and local law enforcement that receive grants (ACLU, 2015).
- 5) The required use of dash cameras and police officer Body-Worn Cameras (BWC) to record every police-civilian encounter in accordance with and policy requiring civilian notification and applicable laws, including during SWAT deployments, along with **rigorous standards regarding the retention, use, access, and disclosure**

of data captured by such systems (ACLU, 2015).

- 6) The establishment of a law enforcement commission to review policing tactics that would include in its composition leaders/experts from civil rights advocacy groups who represent the most impacted communities (ACLU, 2015).
- 7) Prohibit profiling in the context of law enforcement surveillance activities, which include enforceable accountability mechanisms.

Militarization

- 1) Moratorium on the DOD 1033 program.
- 2) Tactical deployments should be limited to scenarios in which there is likelihood that the situation for which the SWAT team is being deployed presents an imminent threat to the lives of civilians and/or police personnel (ACLU, 2014).
- 3) States should enact laws requiring transparency and oversight of state and local law enforcement use of SWAT teams (ACLU, 2014).
- 4) States should require local law enforcement agencies that maintain a SWAT team to use a standardized form to record specific data related to SWAT deployments. These forms should be used to generate quarterly reports inclusive of demographics (specifically race-related data) (ACLU, 2014).

Mass Incarceration

- 1) Reprioritize funding to focus on education. Reduce the school to prison pipeline. Encouragement of states to spend funds on improving low-performing schools often located in communities of color, as opposed to spending money on incarceration.
- 2) Eliminate mandatory minimum sentences, which have a racially discriminatory impact and send thousands of non-violent offenders to prison yearly with sentences that are not proportional to the crimes committed.
- 3) Eliminate revocations to prison for violations of probation and parole conditions.
- 4) Increase eligibility for earned discharge from probation and parole,

as well as work and education release (Sentencing Project, 2013).

Economic Policy

In order to blunt, as much as possible, the appeal of racist, neo-Nazi, anti-Semitic, Islamophobic, and other hate-based ideologies it will be necessary to work diligently to create a society that is as inclusive as possible; one that opens up opportunities for all, regardless of the circumstances of their birth. In large measure this will mean undertaking a complete about-face with respect to the neoliberal economic policy prescriptions that dominate what, at present, is the current conventional wisdom. The most direct way to achieve this is to enact fiscal policies that invest in programs and institutions that create opportunities, and most especially employment opportunities. Only rising incomes, that is rising real-wages, and with that rising living standards can create the kinds of stable and prosperous communities that can provision opportunities for all, as well as the to live and work under healthy and dignified conditions.

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