

NEO-NAZIS, WHITE SUPREMACISTS, AND WHITE NATIONALISTS











Historical Background

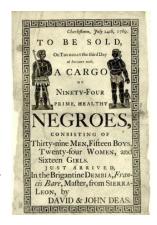
White supremacy claims the racial superiority of the "white race" over all other "races." It is rooted in 17th-century European racial theories and was used to justify discrimination, repression, enslavement, and genocide of peoples of color and Jews during Europe's colonial period (15th – 20th centuries). White supremacy is an all-encompassing worldview that incorporates racism, antisemitism, misogyny, Islamophobia, and homophobia.

The conquest and colonization of the Americas by various European powers beginning in the 16th century resulted in the near total destruction of the indigenous Native Americans, who were subjected to massacres, biological warfare, rape, military conquest, ethnic cleansing, and the suppression of their languages and religions.

L. Frank Baum, author of the American classic *The Wonderful Wizard* of Oz, rationalized the genocide of Native Americans in 1890:

The Whites, by law of conquest, by justice of civilization, are masters of the American continent, and the best safety of the frontier settlements will be secured by the total annihilation of the few remaining Indians.¹

White supremacy also justified the brutal enslavement of some four million Africans. The American Civil War (1861–65) was fought largely over the issue of slavery in the breakaway



southern states. Over 620,000 Americans on both sides died in that war, more than in World War II.²

The Ku Klux Klan "is the most prominent hate-based organization in American history. Founded in the aftermath of the Civil War as a social club, the Klan quickly transformed into a terrorist organization aimed at subjugating newly freed black people." The Klan was suppressed by legal and military action, and "by the 1870s it mostly disappeared." It was later revived and had as many as four million members nationwide by the 1920s. "Jim Crow" laws that legalized racial segregation in the South were enacted, and white supremacists used lynching to terrorize and control African Americans, murdering thousands. In the North, racial discrimination in housing, employment, and education was widespread and institutionalized. While Jim Crow laws were abolished during the civil rights movement of the 1960s, white supremacy persists.

The worst massacre of African Americans took place in Tulsa, Oklahoma, on June 1, 1921, when mobs of white Tulsans descended on the Greenwood neighborhood. Up to 300 African Americans were murdered, and their neighborhood was burned to the ground.⁵



Nazi Germany

One of the most destructive white supremacist movements in history was the Nazi Party, led by Adolf Hitler, which took over Germany in 1933. Nazi ideology sought to change Europe according to its belief in the hierarchy of "races," at the top of which was the "Aryan" race, meaning northern and western Europeans. Next on this racial pyramid were the "lesser" Aryans, meaning southern Europeans. The Slavic peoples, the Roma and Sinti (pejoratively called "Gypsies"), and all people of color were categorized as subhumans.

The Nazis also considered "the Jews" to be both subhuman inferiors and a mortal threat who had to be exterminated in order to save the world.

The Nazis sought to murder every Jew they could find and fought World War II as if they were engaged in two wars simultaneously:

Selection on the ramp at Auschwitz-Birkenau, 1944 (Photo courtesy of Auschwitz Album, Yad VaShem)

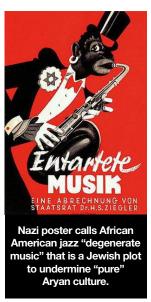
one against the Allied powers and another equally important one against "the Jews." The key difference: Germany confronted the powerful armies of the Allies, while it "fought" its anti-Jewish war against unarmed civilians, resulting in the genocide known as the Holocaust.

From Jim Crow to Nazi Germany

Yale legal scholar James Q. Whitman asks, "Did the American regime of racial oppression in any way inspire the Nazis?" In his book he offers a range of evidence to show the probability "that the Nuremberg [race] Laws themselves reflect direct American influence." Nazi lawyers studied American laws on Native Americans and citizenship for Puerto Ricans, Filipinos, and African Americans. Bans on miscegenation (intermarriage) in 30 states were also studied. In 1934 German lawyer Heinrich Krieger was an exchange student at the University of Arkansas School of Law. He produced a book, *Race Law in the United States*, which helped guide the development of Nazi racial laws against Jews and others. Whitman, however, is careful to point out that Nazi Germany's intense interest in American race laws should not be seen as the

only or primary influence on Nazi ideology, which developed entirely on European soil. There was some cross-pollination of racist ideas, such as those of American white supremacist and eugenicist Madison Grant, who wrote the book *The Passing of the Great Race: Or, The Racial Basis of European History*, which Hitler praised. However, Nazism emerged from a body of European intellectual doctrine that went back a century before Hitler rose to power.

Whitman turns the mirror onto American society when he writes, "What the history presented in this book demands that we confront are questions not about the genesis of Nazism, but about the character of America."



American Antisemitism

Antisemitism in America is not new. It existed long before the founding of the United States, waxing and waning depending on a variety of political, social, economic, and cultural factors. While antisemitism never rose to the genocidal levels of Europe, systematic discrimination in housing, employment, and education was rampant in the U.S. in the 20th century. It began subsiding only in the 1950s.



Political cartoon, 1896: "This is the U.S. in the Hands of the Jews," portraying Uncle Sam being crucified, like Jesus, by "the Jews."

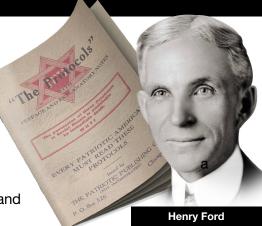
After the First World War,

which ended in 1918, the United States returned to being deeply isolationist. During this period, particularly with the onset of the Great Depression (1929–1933) and the rise of Nazi Germany (1933), antisemitism in the U.S. peaked to an unprecedented level. The flames of anti-Jewish hate were fanned by Henry Ford, Father Charles Coughlin, the pro-Nazi German American Bund, and Charles Lindbergh's "America First" movement.

"By 1939, the antisemites had two causes: keeping America out of the European war, and keeping European Jews out of America." 7

Henry Ford Introduces The Protocols of the Elders of Zion to America

The Protocols of the Elders of Zion is a fabricated antisemitic document created in 1903 by the Russian secret police. It purports to be notes taken at secret meeting of "Jewish elders" conspiring to take over the world and enslave humanity.



It was translated into multiple languages and is still shared widely today on the internet. In 2003, Syrian TV created a 29-part series based on *The Protocols* that was also shown in Lebanon, Jordan, and Iran. Henry Ford, founder of the Ford Motor Company, held strong antisemitic views. He also published the *Dearborn Independent*, which in 1920 distributed a translated copy of *The Protocols*.

Quotas in Education and Professions

The 1920s also saw the introduction of quotas limiting the number of Jews allowed at universities and in various professions. This practice spread to other colleges and universities across the country, including medical, dental, and law schools. Jews also hit glass ceilings in various professions, including insurance, public utilities, banking, medicine, major law firms, and academia. These quotas lasted into the 1960s, and Yale only dropped its Jewish quota in the 1970s.

1930s: Antisemitism Peaks in America

Polls taken in the U.S. in the 1930s showed strong antisemitic sentiments, such as believing Jews were too powerful, greedy, and dishonest and that they should be restricted or even deported. Ford's antisemitic campaign was a major contributing factor, but there were others.

Father Charles Coughlin

Reaching a radio audience of up to 12 million in the 1930s, Father Charles Coughlin—a Catholic priest—was the most notorious antisemitic voice of this period. He also published a newspaper, Social Justice, which reprinted *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

He attacked Jews and offered support to European fascist parties, including the Nazis. He viewed Wall Street and Soviet communism as twin faces of a secular Satan, which he identified as "the Jews." He believed that Jewish bankers financed the Bolshevik Revolution, a false claim that still circulates today.

When a major New York radio station canceled his program, it was met by months of street protests with placards reading, "Send Jews back where they came from in leaky boats!" and "Wait until Hitler comes over here!" After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and Hitler's declaration of war on the United States three days later, the government shut down his radio broadcasts.





Official flag of the German American Bund

The German American Bund

The German American Bund was a pro-Nazi group of German Americans. Its membership was 25,000, including 8,000 uniformed "storm troopers." 8

The Bund established training camps in New York, New Jersey, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania. It held rallies and parades, with the largest at Madison Square Garden on February 20, 1939, attended by 20,000 people. The rally's main message "sought to proclaim the rights of white gentiles and true patriots." ⁹

The Bund allied with the "Christian Front" of Father Charles Coughlin (see above).¹⁰

The Bund's pro-Nazi activities were the catalyst for Congress passing the Foreign Agents Registration Act in 1938, which "requires certain agents of foreign principals who are engaged in political activities or other activities" to register as foreign agents.¹¹

With the outbreak of World War II, the U.S. government outlawed the Bund.

America First Committee

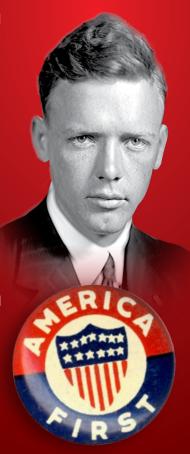
On September 1, 1939, Nazi Germany invaded Poland, setting off the war. The Nazis immediately began ethnic cleansing of Jews and Poles in western Poland, massacring thousands.

The America First Committee (AFC) was founded in September 1940 as an isolationist movement that sought to keep the U.S. out of the war. Its membership was one million.

Its main spokesman was aviator and white supremacist¹² Charles Lindbergh, who blamed three groups for leading the "effort to force the United States into the conflict": the Roosevelt Administration, the British government, and "the Jews." In this manner he equated Jews with two world powers.¹³

While not condoning Germany's persecution of Jews, Lindbergh nonetheless bluntly repeated a central motif of Nazi ideology: "Their greatest danger to this country lies in their large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio and our government." He warned that Jewish "passions and prejudices" would "lead our country to destruction."

On December 7, 1941, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor. Several days later, Nazi Germany declared war on the United States, and, the next day, the America First Committee disbanded.





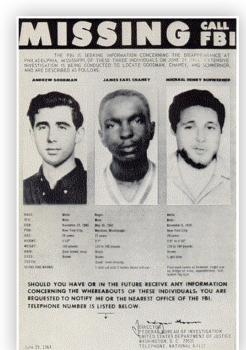
1950s-60s: The Civil Rights Movement Challenges White Supremacy

The African American civil rights movement was "the largest social movement of the 20th century in the United States." ¹⁴ Its aim was to secure for African Americans equal access to

and opportunities for the "basic privileges and rights of U.S. citizenship." ¹⁵

It involved decades of grassroots struggles and mass protests resulting in legal remedies such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

While these were major first steps, white supremacy was not eliminated. One of the movement's primary leaders, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated by a white supremacist in 1968.



American Jewish Allies in the Civil Rights Movement

American Jews played a significant role in the civil rights movement and were subjected to white supremacist violence as a result, including the KKK's 1958 bombing of a major Atlanta synagogue whose rabbi was a strong supporter of the civil rights movement. Many of the most important civil rights organizations, including the NAACP, were co-founded by and received major funding from American Jews.

Jewish activists were disproportionately represented in the movement. Though Jews were only 2.5 percent of the American population, they nonetheless made up half of the young white people who participated in the Mississippi Freedom Summer in 1964. The KKK murdered three young civil rights activists—an African American and two Jews—that summer: James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner.

Rabbis were arrested with Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel marched arm in arm with Dr. King in his 1965 march on Selma. Heschel later wrote, "When I marched in Selma, my feet were praying."

White supremacists took note of the overrepresentation of Jews in the civil rights movement and imagined a Jewish conspiracy to "destroy" white America. That belief fuels white supremacist antisemitism today.



White Supremacy Today: "White Nationalists," "White Separatists," "Race Realists"

In the United States today there are over "100 active white nationalist and 99 active neo-Nazi groups." ¹⁶ Furthermore, white supremacists "typically no longer use the term 'white supremacy,' as they once proudly did, but tend instead to prefer various euphemisms, ranging from 'white nationalist' to 'white separatist' to 'race realist' or 'identitarian.'" ¹⁷

"More than 70 years after the defeat of Nazi Germany, ethno-nationalist and white supremacist movements in Europe continue to thrive. They include far-right political parties, neo-Nazi movements, and apolitical protest groups. Some groups openly espouse violent white supremacy, while others have propagated their radical stances under the guise of populism." 18

Ethno-nationalist movements and parties have grown in popularity in Europe, many of which openly promote antisemitic and racist ideas. These parties exploit voters' frustration "with the political establishment [and] concerns about globalization, immigration, a dilution of national identity and the European Union." ¹⁹

"Far-right political parties like Germany's Alternative für Deutschland and Italy's Lega Nord have been able to generate substantial popular support by promising to defend their respective countries against the cultural attacks of immigrants and foreign influences, and have consequently made gains in domestic parliamentary elections." ²⁰

On June 3, 2020, U.S. Representative Steve King of Iowa lost the Republican primary after 17 years in Congress. He had a history of racist comments, including endorsements of the racist and antisemitic "great replacement" and "white













genocide" conspiracy theories.²¹ These beliefs hold that Jews are manipulating immigrants and people of color to bring about the downfall of the white race. The white supremacist terrorist who murdered eleven Jews at the Pittsburgh Tree of Life synagogue in October 2018 was motivated by these hateful ideas.

Marjorie Taylor Greene, a Republican member of Congress elected in 2020, was widely condemned for making racist and antisemitic comments and posing with a former KKK member.²² Greene has also promoted QAnon, a frequently antisemitic conspiracy theory. Supporters of QAnon and neo-Nazi leaders were among the rioters who stormed the U.S. Capitol building on January 6, 2021.²³

In 2020, the tragic police killings of George Floyd, Ahmaud Arbery, Breonna Taylor, and Rayshard Brooks once again ripped open deep wounds in American society, particularly for the Black community.

Various extremists from the far right to the far left have exploited these painful events and the mass protests that followed for their own political agendas.

Among the groups increasing racial tensions were white supremacists, who have used cases of street violence as recruiting tools.²⁴ Armed extremists showed up at numerous

protests hoping to spark a race war. Neo-Nazi "accelerationists" have openly called for terror attacks.²⁵ In one incident, a white supremacist brought bombs to a protest in Minneapolis.²⁶ In another, self-titled "Boogaloo Bois" ambushed and killed two law enforcement officers in California. White supremacists also drove their cars into a number of protesters, injuring many.²⁷



Antisemitism and White Supremacy

White supremacy in the U.S. is mostly associated with the oppression of people of color. Antisemitism, however, also sits at white supremacy's core, though many don't understand why. This leads to misdiagnosing white supremacist ideology and how best to counter it.

The successes of the 1960s civil rights movement put American white supremacists on the defensive, which led to a change in their ideology. Eric K. Ward, executive director of the Western States Center, which is dedicated to achieving racial, gender, and economic justice, writes,

White supremacism through the collapse of Jim Crow was a conservative movement centered on a state-sanctioned anti-Blackness that sought to maintain a racist status quo. The White nationalist movement that evolved from it in the 1970s was a revolutionary movement that ... positions Jews as the absolute other, the driving force of white dispossession—which means the other channels of its hatred cannot be intercepted without directly taking on antisemitism.²⁸

Ward describes the antisemitic engine powering modern "white nationalism." ²⁹ The collapse of Jim Crow, he writes, "created a terrible problem" for white supremacists, who could not grasp how the civil rights movement, which from their racist perspective, was led by a "race of inferiors," could have "unseated this [white] power structure through organizing alone." Their answer, "the Jews." ³⁰ Antisemitism was central to Nazism, which viewed human existence as a perpetual life-and-death conflict between races, particularly between the white "Master Race" (Aryans) and "the Jews."

Redemptive Antisemitism

Holocaust historian Saul Friedländer calls this "redemptive antisemitism," in which Hitler cast himself as the white race's "savior." In his racist manifesto, *Mein Kampf (My Struggle)*, he declared, "Hence today I believe that I am acting in accordance with the will of the Almighty Creator: *by defending myself against the Jew, I am fighting for the work of the Lord.*" ³¹ (The emphasis is Hitler's.)



Today's neo-Nazis promote this image of Hitler. The example above, depicting an angelic Hitler battling Satan, is from the "Politically Incorrect" board on the Endchan website.³² This and other similar "chan" sites have "become a gathering place for white supremacists and right-wing nationalists who take advantage of the freewheeling and anonymous nature of the boards." ³³

These sites are where white supremacist mass shooters have live-streamed video footage of their murderous rampages. That was the case in the Yom Kippur attack on a synagogue in Halle, Germany, on October 9, 2019, where the gunman live-streamed his murder of two people as if it were a video game. He also published a manifesto, headlined "KILL ALL THE JEWS!"





Charlottesville 2017: "The Jews will not replace us!"

On August 8, 2017, hundreds of white supremacists gathered in Charlottesville, Virginia, at a Unite the Right! rally, at which a white supremacist drove his car into a crowd of counter-protesters, killing Heather Heyer and injuring dozens more.

The night before, white supremacists marched through the University of Virginia campus carrying torches (reminiscent of the torch light parades held in Nazi Germany) while chanting, "Jews will not replace us!" This slogan refers to the Great Replacement, a white supremacist conspiracy theory that "the Jews" are the masterminds of a plot to "replace" white people with people of color through mass immigration. This paranoid

and utterly false conspiracy theory has taken hold among white supremacists worldwide.

This Great Replacement ideology has inspired terrorism against Jews, Muslims, and people of color globally. In the last eight years, more than 175 people have been murdered worldwide by white supremacists. "The targets of deadly attacks have included Muslim worshipers at mosques in Canada, Britain and New Zealand; black



Americans in church; ... Jewish Americans in synagogues across the United States; and leftwing politicians and activists in the U.S., UK, Greece and Norway."34

The roots of this Great Replacement conspiracy theory lie in 20th-century Nazism. Nearly a century ago, Hitler wrote in Mein Kampf:

nkamp It was and it is Jews who bring the Negroes into the Rhineland, always with the same secret thought and clear aim of ruining the hated white race by the necessarily resulting bastardization, throwing it down from its cultural and political height, and himself rising to be its master.35

After Charlottesville: White Nationalists Retrenching, Going "Lone Wolf"

After the violence at the Charlottesville Unite the Right rally generated enormous media attention and a strong public backlash, "white nationalist hate groups have largely retreated from public activism." 36

Yet, the online hate continues, causing isolated young people to self-radicalize. Some have gone on to commit grave acts of mass violence. "2018 was the year white nationalists drew blood. From the Parkland, Florida, shooting of 17 students in February, to the massacre of 11 at a Pittsburgh synagogue in October, white nationalists or those inspired by white nationalism have committed violence at an alarming rate."37

The White Supremacist Internationale

The internet has allowed white supremacy to spread across international borders, radicalizing individuals. We've already seen how this radicalization works with the spread of radical Islamist ideologies and terrorism.

In testimony before the U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Christian Picciolini, founder of the Free Radicals Project, said,

When we think of terrorism by the so-called Islamic State, we acknowledge the international dimensionality and the foreign special interests that allow it to exist and grow. We must do the same when it comes to white-nationalist terrorism as a matter of national security.38

Recent White Supremacist Attacks Worldwide

February 19, 2020

Shooting at two hookah bars, Hanau, Germany

11 dead (including the shooter and his mother), 6 injured The shooter was motivated by white supremacist ideology. He said he wished to exterminate people from Asia, North Africa, and Israel. Nine of the dead and six of the wounded were at hookah bars frequented by Kurdish immigrants.

October 9, 2019

Shooting at synagogue, Halle, Germany

2 dead, 2 wounded

The shooter, a neo-Nazi, live-streamed the attack on social media. The attack occurred on Yom Kippur, the holiest day in the Jewish calendar. The synagogue was heavily fortified, and the shooter failed to gain entry. Nonetheless, he randomly shot and killed a passerby, drove to a nearby Turkish kebab shop, where he killed a patron, and randomly fired at a couple, wounding them.

August 3, 2019

Shooting at Walmart store, El Paso, Texas

22 dead, 24 wounded

Before the shooting, the gunman posted a manifesto on social media, citing the Great Replacement conspiracy theory and railed against "cultural and ethnic replacement" and a Hispanic "invasion." The shooter confessed that he deliberately targeted Mexicans.

April 27, 2019

Shooting at Congregation Chabad synagogue, San Diego

1 dead, 3 wounded

Before the shooting, the gunman posted an "open letter" on social media, blaming "the Jews" for carrying out a "meticulously planned genocide of the European race." He cited the shooters of the Pittsburgh synagogue and Christchurch mosque massacres as his inspiration.

March 15, 2019

Al Noor and Linwood Islamic Center mosque massacres, Christchurch, New Zealand

51 dead, 49 wounded

Minutes before the attack, the shooter posted a manifesto on social media, titled "The Great Replacement." In it he called for all non-European immigrants to be deported, used hate speech, and described how the attack had been two years in the planning.

October 27, 2018

Tree of Life synagogue massacre, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

11 dead, 7 wounded

Prior to the killings, the shooter posted, "HIAS 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." The shooter was referring to the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society that provides humanitarian aid and assistance to refugees.

October 24, 2018

Shooting at supermarket, Jeffersontown, Kentucky

2 dead

A white gunman attempted but failed to enter the First Baptist Church of Jeffersontown, a predominantly black church. Instead, he went to a nearby Kroger supermarket, where he randomly shot and killed two African Americans.

February 14, 2018

Shooting at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School, Parkland, Florida

17 dead, 17 wounded

The 19-year-old gunman reportedly suffered from "emotional problems." ³⁹ He was also radicalized online. In a private Instagram group chat, he "repeatedly espoused racist, homophobic and antisemitic views and displayed an obsession with violence and guns." ⁴⁰ The shooter had carved swastikas into ammunition magazines and also drew a swastika and wrote "I hate N*****s" on his backpack. ⁴¹

June 17, 2015

Shooting at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church, Charleston, South Carolina

9 dead, 3 wounded

The shooter was a white supremacist who entered the church during prayer service. Before the shooting he posted a manifesto containing his racist views on "Blacks," "Jews," "Hispanics," and "East Asians." 42 The shooter was "self-radicalized" online. 43

Main Features of White Supremacist Ideology

- Belief in the supremacy of the white "race" over all other "races" in the human family
- Antisemitism is central, viewing "the Jews" as an all-powerful people seeking to destroy "whiteness" and to dominate the world.
- Extremely patriarchal, misogynistic, and anti-feminist
- Extremely homophobic and anti-Muslim
- Belief that white "identity" should be the organizing principle
 of European countries and their "offspring" (the United States,
 Canada, Australia, New Zealand, etc.); white nationalist rhetoric
 against Jews is genocidal.
- Belief that these countries should stop all non-white immigration to prevent the "genocide" of the white race
- Contention that the mass immigration of non-white immigrants is the product of a Jewish "master plan" to destroy the white race

White Nationalism

- White nationalists in the U.S. seek to overturn two key pieces of legislation: the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act.
- White nationalists seek to form a white ethnostate. In the U.S., this is called the "Northwest Territorial Imperative" and would include Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and western Montana. The white ethnostate concept is derived from Nazi Germany, which strove to create a whites-only Aryan empire.
- The "alt-right" movement is also a white nationalist movement seeking to "soften" the image of white nationalism.



Take Action!

Whether on campus, in the community, at work, in school, or on social media, you are not helpless in the face of antisemitism. Here is a list of some actions you may wish to consider:

- 1. If it sounds antisemitic, it probably is. So, call it out, whether on social media, at the "water cooler," or wherever. That said, don't assume everyone is a malicious antisemite. Many people are simply ignorant and can change if you engage them constructively about antisemitism and educate them.
- Antisemitism exists not only among our political rivals but even in our own political circles. It comes from all sides. Call it out when you hear it.
- **3.** Report incidents of antisemitism to the proper agencies and institutions (law enforcement, campus administration, StandWithUs, etc.).
- **4.** If it is clear you are confronting a malicious antisemite, arguing is a waste of time. They are baiting you, claiming a right to interrogate you. *Don't fall into that trap*. If someone calls you a pig, don't waste your time arguing that you are not a pig. But DO educate yourself on the contemporary manifestations of antisemitism.
- **5.** We are not alone. We have allies in all faith and ethnic communities. Develop relationships with members of these communities.
- **6.** A rising tide raises all boats. All forms of bigotry should be of deep concern to us. Just as we expect our fellow citizens to stand with us against antisemitism, we need to stand with them when they are threatened.
- **7.** Support Israel. Did you know that Israel's 6.7 million Jews make up almost half of the world's Jewish population?

Supporting Israel can mean many things.

- Support it when it is in danger, particularly if there is a war.
- Support its people even if you disagree with some of its government's policies.

- Visit Israel, and meet its diverse population of Jews, Muslims, Christians, Druze, and Baha'is.
- Read Israeli online newspapers in English, and learn about its politics, dilemmas, challenges, achievements.
- Support groups like StandWithUs so we can continue telling Israel's amazing story and fighting antisemitism.

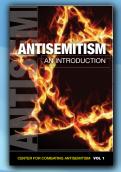
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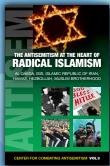
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