



UCLA Luskin Center for
History and Policy

ALL IS NOT WELL IN THE GOLDEN STATE

***THE SCOURGE OF
WHITE NATIONALISM
IN SOUTHERN
CALIFORNIA***

**All is Not Well in the Golden State:
The Scourge of White Nationalism in Southern California**

A Report by the UCLA Luskin Center for History and Policy

The research for this report was conducted by a team of undergraduate researchers of the UCLA Luskin Center for History and Policy. The team was divided into four pods. Research for the history section was conducted by Sareen Ishanyan, Gavin Quan, Noga Tour, and Jeremy Powell, for the ideology section by Grace Johnston-Glick and Mayumi Okazaki, for the internet section by James Nee, Rachel Sass, and Matt Ospina, and the mapping section by Lacy Green. The group's work was facilitated by UCLA Ph.D. candidate Sarah Johnson and Professor David N. Myers, Director of the Luskin Center for History and Policy.

Table of Contents

1. HISTORY	5
1.2. World War I and World War II.....	5
1.3. Post-War Period.....	10
1.4. 1970s-1990s.....	11
1.5. Modern Trends in White Nationalism	14
1.6. Conclusion	15
2. Ideological Pillars	15
2.1. Antisemitism.....	15
2.2. White Ethno-Nationalism	17
2.3. Anti-Immigrant Nativism.....	18
2.4. Hate Speech.....	19
3. Internet	21
3.1. Independent websites	22
3.2. Social Media	24
3.3. Conclusion.....	29
4. Mapping	29
5. Recommendations	34
6. Appendix	35

List of Figures

- Figure 1: Daily Stormer Banner – 22
- Figure 2: Online Recruitment – 23
- Figure 3: An 8chan-unfriendly post on Neinchan from July 17, 2019 – 28
- Figure 4: Anti-Defamation League H.E.A.T. map – 29
- Figure 5: White nationalist activity map of UCLA Luskin Center for History and Policy – 29
- Figure 6: Propaganda flyers by (from left to right) Identity Evropa, Patriot Front, and The Daily Stormer Book Club – 30
- Figure 7: Racist skinheads (above) and Identity Evropa at their first convention in March 2018 (below); this shows the character development of white nationalist culture, from rugged, tattooed gang members to clean-cut looking professionals – 31
- Figure 8: Stormfront – 33
- Figure 9: Twitter follows – 35
- Figure 10: Gab follows – 35-6
- Figure 11: Patriot Front posters – 36-7
- Figure 12: A thread about eggs on 4chan’s cooking (/ck/) board – 38
- Figure 13: Examples of language used – 38-9
- Figure 14: Thread example – 39

Introduction

The recent COVID-19 pandemic has posed an unprecedented threat to billions of people around the globe, as well as to public health systems, economies, and the very ideal of social interaction. But one group whom it seems not to have not deterred in the slightest is the global network of white nationalists. On the contrary, white nationalists have seized the moment and amplified their efforts at spreading hate, accusing frequent targets--most prominently, Jews and immigrants--of spreading the virus.¹ At the same time, the FBI warns that white nationalist extremists are just as willing to weaponize the virus as they are afraid of it being used against them. There are reports of white nationalists encouraging those within their organizations who contract COVID-19 to spread the virus to Jews and local police agencies via bodily fluids or personal contact.²

The threat that white nationalists pose is real and present. In recent years, law enforcement agencies in the United States have determined that one of the chief threats to the security of the country comes from “domestic terrorists,” defined as “individuals who commit violent criminal acts in furtherance of ideological goals stemming from domestic influences, such as racial bias and anti-government sentiment.”³ One need only recall the murderous attacks that have occurred in this country in Charlottesville, VA, Pittsburgh, PA, and Poway, CA since 2017 to register the scale of the threat. Common to all of these episodes are extremist white nationalists, intent on creating a whites-only America, emptied of Jews, Muslims, immigrants, and people of color, if need be through an all-out race war.

Scholars and other experts have pointed to a range of factors that have contributed to the sharp rise in hate crimes over the past several years,⁴ including rising economic disparity, deep racist resentment at an African-American president, the overall climate of political vilification in the Trump era, and, perhaps most importantly, the emergence of the internet as a uniquely effective disseminator of hate.⁵

But of course, white nationalism in the United States has a long history. This history has carved out pathways of memory along which the white nationalists of today travel. One of the most astute observers of the phenomenon, Eric Ward, argues that

¹ See “White Supremacist Groups are Recruiting with Help from Coronavirus--and a Popular Messaging App,” *Time*, April 8, 2020, accessed at <https://time.com/5817665/coronavirus-conspiracy-theories-white-supremacist-groups/>; as well as “Experts: Coronavirus Brings Spike in Anti-Semitic Sentiments,” *New York Times*, April 20, 2020, accessed at <https://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2020/04/20/world/middleeast/ap-ml-israel-world-anti-semitism.html>.

² Josh Margolin, “White supremacists encouraging their members to spread coronavirus to cops, Jews, FBI says,” *ABC News*, March 23, 2020, accessed at <https://abcnews.go.com/US/white-supremacists-encouraging-members-spread-coronavirus-cops-jews/story?id=69737522>.

³ Testimony by FBI assistant directors Michael McGarrity and Calvin Shivers before the U.S. House Oversight and Reform Committee, Subcommittee on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, June 4, 2019, accessed at <https://www.fbi.gov/news/testimony/confronting-white-supremacy>.

⁴ The leading organizations and agencies active in documenting and following white nationalist activity in Southern California are the FBI: <https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/civil-rights/hate-crimes>, the Anti-Defamation League: <https://www.adl.org/>, the Southern Poverty Law Center: <https://www.splcenter.org/>, the Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism at CSUSB: <https://www.csusb.edu/hate-and-extremism-center>, the state of California: <https://oag.ca.gov/hatecrimes>, and the LA County’s Commission on Human Relations: <https://hrc.lacounty.gov/>.

⁵ See, for example, Alexandra Minna Stern, *Proud Boys and the White Ethnostate: How the Alt-Right is Warping the American Imagination* (New York: Beacon, 2019); and Kathleen Belew, *Bringing the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 2018)

white nationalism emerged with new vigor in the wake of the 1960s “as a revolutionary social movement committed to a Whites-only nation.”⁶

This report excavates an even deeper history, one rooted in Southern California. This region was not the birthplace of white nationalism nor is it by any means the only center in the United States. Over the past century however, it has consistently hosted pockets of white nationalist activists who stand in sharp contrast and opposition to the region’s liberal and multicultural character. White nationalists continue to populate the landscape of Southern California, posing an ever more lethal danger. They communicate effortlessly with a wider racist cyber-world, sharing toxic ideas and plans online and in doing so raising serious questions for us about how to produce effective limits on the spread of white-nationalist hate.

The authors of this report, all students at UCLA, began to work on this project in the spring of 2019 under the auspices of the Luskin Center for History and Policy. They were organized into four research pods that reflect each of the four main sections of the report: History, Ideology, Internet, and Mapping. Consistent with the Luskin Center’s mission of bringing historical perspective to bear on contemporary issues of relevance, the report concludes with a recommendation for an early warning system to identify and protect against hate speech.

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⁶ Eric Ward, “Skin in the Game: How Antisemitism Animates White Nationalism,” *Political Research Associates*, June 29, 2017, <https://www.politicalresearch.org/2017/06/29/skin-in-the-game-how-antisemitism-animates-white-nationalism>.

1. History

1.1. Introduction

This section explores the history of white nationalism in Southern California. It begins with the period of time from World War I to World War II, with particular attention given to the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s following surges in immigration and the growth of antisemitism in the 1930s. It then considers the post-war period, during which the Cold War, the Civil Rights Movement, and another wave of immigration brought about a revival of white nationalism and, at the same time, also pushed white nationalist ideas and groups toward the fringes of society. This section concludes with a look at recent trends in white nationalism and the rise of anti-Islamic rhetoric, especially post 9/11.

1.2. World War I and World War II

The years between World War I and World War II (1918-1941) saw a rise in white nationalist sentiment and organization in Southern California, beginning with the growth of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). The Klan, which originated in the American South with the abolition of slavery and the end of the Civil War, experienced a so-called second coming that started in the late 1910s and peaked during the following decade. Unlike the original Klan, which was localized in the South, the second Klan, which was established in 1915, was popular in Northern states as well.⁷ Though likely an exaggeration, the second Klan claimed to have a nation-wide membership of around five million people. The mobilization of the second Klan has in part been attributed to the 1915 release of *The Birth of a Nation*, a popular film that chronicled the Civil War era while glorifying the Confederacy and the Klan.

In addition to this film, the arrival of new immigrants acted as an important catalyst for white nationalism in Southern California. A surge in immigration from 1880 to 1930 brought over 27 million immigrants to the United States.⁸ Many of these new arrivals were from Eastern and Southern Europe; among them were Slavs, Italians, Greeks, and Jews. Mexican immigration was also on the rise, and the Mexican population in California grew more than ten-fold –from approximately 8,000 in 1900 to around 88,000 by 1920.⁹ The influx of non-Protestant and non-white immigrants contributed to a fear that the so-called “authentic” white, Protestant America was under threat, reviving longstanding nativist sentiment in America.¹⁰ In Los Angeles in particular, international migration was coupled with the arrival of Midwesterners who left their

⁷ Linda Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK* (W.W. Norton & Company: New York, 2017), 11-12.

⁸ “Immigration Timeline,” The Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island Foundation, accessed August 20, 2019, <https://www.libertyellisfoundation.org/immigration-timeline#1880>; Mihaela Robila, “Characteristics of Eastern European Immigration in the United States,” *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 39, no. 4 (2008): 545-56. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41604245>.

⁹ Sacramento, California. California Office of Historic Preservation. *Latinos in Twentieth Century California: National Register of Historic Places Context Statement*. 2015, 3-5, http://www.ohp.parks.ca.gov/pages/1054/files/latinosmpdf_illustrated.pdf.

¹⁰ Linda Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK* (W.W. Norton & Company: New York, 2017), 3; Linda McGirr, *The War on Alcohol: Prohibition and the Rise of the American State* (W.W. Norton & Company: New York, 2016), 133.

homes following a major influx of European immigrants to the region. Given their vision of California as a new frontier for white settlement, these Midwesterners molded Los Angeles into a hotbed for nativism and conservatism.¹¹ In turn, white nationalism grew in the late 1910s and 1920s, and by the early 1920s, nativist activists across the nation helped push for the establishment of immigration quotas.¹²

As a result of the influx of new ethnic groups, the second Klan had a broader ideological agenda that went beyond targeting African Americans. While the original Klan in the South focused on suppressing newly freed blacks during Reconstruction, the second KKK found a broader base of targets with the arrival of immigrant populations from Southern and Eastern Europe, and Mexico starting in the 1910s.¹³ Local Klan organizations proliferated across the U.S. on the basis of anti-black, anti-Catholic, antisemitic, and anti-immigrant beliefs. The so-called science of racial hierarchy and the ideas of eugenicists like Madison Grant provided a further foundation for the Klan's white supremacist ideology.¹⁴ Still, it is important to note that in the 1920s, such ideas on race were hardly confined to the ranks of the Klan, but were widely accepted and even included in state eugenic laws in California and many other U.S. states as well. In addition, Protestant morality that called for a war on alcohol in particular was another important part of the Klan's ideology that closely fit with its nativism.¹⁵ Throughout the U.S., local Klan chapters often accused Catholics, Jews and other immigrants of driving bootlegging and other crimes. The Klan sought to restore so-called "authentic" Americanism by influencing members' beliefs about race and morality.

However, racism and nativism functioned in diverse ways across the various KKK chapters of the early 1900s. In San Diego and elsewhere in Southern California, some Irish Catholics supported the KKK because of a common desire to suppress Hispanic Catholics, who were seen as antithetical to traditional American ideals.¹⁶ Anti-Catholic sentiment was thus not uniform, but could instead be muted in some local settings – particularly when Catholics were mobilized to act against Hispanic populations. Meanwhile in Anaheim, nativist sentiment functioned in a somewhat different manner; KKK members did not focus on oppressing the (small) non-white minority within the city.¹⁷ Rather, they focused on an anti-Catholic agenda because they believed Catholic influence had corrupted local government.¹⁸ The efforts of the Anaheim Klan unfolded nonviolently and on a political level, with a special interest in Prohibition. Whereas the championing of law and order was a common rallying point among KKK chapters, in Anaheim these notions were particularly linked to fervent anti-Catholic sentiment.¹⁹ Here, so-called "true" Americanism was concerned chiefly not only with race, but with

¹¹ Laura B. Rosenzweig, *Hollywood's Spies: The Undercover Surveillance of Nazis in Los Angeles* (New York: NYU Press, 2017), 12-13; Robert M. Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1993), xxi, 63-80.

¹² California Office of Historic Preservation, *Latinos in Twentieth Century California*, 4-5.

¹³ McGirr, *The War on Alcohol*, 14-15, 26-27.

¹⁴ Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK*, 22-23.

¹⁵ McGirr, *The War on Alcohol*, 133-137.

¹⁶ Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK*, 147.

¹⁷ Christopher Nickolas Cocoltchos, "The Invisible Government and the Viable Community: The Klu Klux Klan in Orange County, California During the 1920's, Volume I," (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1979), 64-66.

¹⁸ Ibid, 432-435.

¹⁹ McGirr, *The War on Alcohol*, 133-135.

civic order as well. This resulted from the strong Protestant chauvinism of both the national and Anaheim-based KKK. In fact, the Anaheim Klan was founded by a Protestant minister.²⁰ Therefore, despite sharing racist beliefs, white nationalist organizations, or even different chapters within the same one, could differ in their agenda and their beliefs about the chief threat to “white America.”

A notable attribute of the KKK in this period was its mainstream character. While the Klan that formed during Reconstruction generally operated in secret, the second-wave Klan of the early 20th Century functioned more openly. The second Klan largely strayed away from acts of violence,²¹ and instead enacted its agenda through activities such as mass demonstrations. For example, about 20,000 supporters attended a KKK rally in Anaheim in July 1924 and elected officials often spoke at Klan demonstrations.²² Many politicians and police officers were also members of the Klan, and during a brief period in the early 1920s, the KKK electorally secured control of the Anaheim city council government.²³ Throughout the city, the local council placed signs that read “KIGY,” an acronym for “Klansmen, I greet you.”²⁴ This designation of Anaheim as a Klan-friendly city was part of a much broader pattern of the racial-coding of urban spaces. In Los Angeles, the newly incorporated Eagle Rock neighborhood was advertised in local newspapers as having residents “all of the White or Caucasian race.”²⁵ In such a multiracial city, real-estate developers conceived of upscale housing as a bastion of whiteness to be constructed and defended.

The Great Depression, which began with the stock market crash of October 29, 1929, further stoked white nationalist sentiment.²⁶ The high rate of unemployment throughout the nation led to a backlash against immigrants and foreign workers who were perceived as taking jobs away from so-called ‘real Americans.’ In turn, the ethnic diversity of Southern California and its large agricultural areas that employed Mexican immigrants provided a critical environment for the proliferation of such reactionary racism.²⁷ In addition, New Deal-era cuts to veteran benefits were of particular importance for Southern California, which was home to around one third of the disabled veterans from the First World War.²⁸

It was also in this context that racist ideology and organization began to develop around the idea of antisemitism based on economic grounds. Economic antisemitism had tremendous staying power and continues to be a guiding motif of contemporary

²⁰ Cocoltchos, “The Invisible Government and the Viable Community,” 163.

²¹ Ibid, 19-20.

²² Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK*, 2-3.

²³ Cocoltchos, “The Invisible Government and the Viable Community,” 353-354.

²⁴ Richard Melching, “The Activities of the Ku Klux Klan In Anaheim, California 1923-1925,” *Southern California Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (1974): 184, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41170523?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.

²⁵ “Protect Your Family from the Despoliation of ‘Metropolitan Development.’ Move to Racially Restricted Hollywoodland!,” MichaelKohlHaas.org, April 26, 2015, <https://michaelkohlhaas.org/wp/2015/04/26/protect-your-family-from-the-despoliation-of-metropolitan-development-move-to-racially-restricted-hollywoodland/>.

²⁶ Steven J. Ross, *Hitler in Los Angeles: How Jews Foiled Nazi Plots Against Hollywood and America* (New York: Bloomsburg Publishing Plc, 2017), 11-12; Rosenzweig, *Hollywood’s Spies: The Undercover Surveillance of Nazis in Los Angeles*, 7.

²⁷ “Depression Era: 1930s: Repatriation for Mexican & Filipino Farm Workers,” Oakland Museum of California: Picture This: California Perspectives on American History, “Depression Era: 1930s: Repatriation for Mexican & Filipino Farm Workers,” <http://picturethis.museumca.org/timeline/depression-era-1930s/migrant-farm-workers/info>.

²⁸ Ross, *Hitler in Los Angeles: How Jews Foiled Nazi Plots Against Hollywood and America*, 16.

white nationalist expression. Aided in large part by the antisemitic themes promoted by Henry Ford in the *Dearborn Independent* and *The International Jew*, the Great Depression led to a broader national acceptance of antisemitic economic conspiracies among American nativists who blamed the Depression on the machinations of Jewish bankers and feared that the Jews in President Roosevelt's cabinet were secretly controlling the president and the U.S. government.

Moreover, in the 1930s, many nativists, goaded by the likes of Father Charles Coughlin in Detroit, looked to Germany with admiration as Hitler tried to "purify" Germany culturally and economically by seeking to remove non-Aryans from Germany. Antisemitism and support for fascism grew precipitously among Americans with nativist and racist sympathies in this decade. In Southern California, nativists formed Nazi-inspired groups in an effort to save and restore so-called "white America." Chief among these were the Silver Shirts and the German American Bund.

The Silver Shirts, sometimes known as the Silver Legion, was a nation-wide group led by William Dudley Pelley that was active in Southern California during the mid-1930s. Pelley greatly admired Adolf Hitler and modeled his Silver Shirts after Nazi stormtroopers. Coupling fascist ideology with strong religiosity, the Silver Shirts espoused a pro-fascist, pro-fundamentalist Christian, pro-isolationist, anti-communist, anti-democracy, anti-immigrant, and antisemitic ideology. Members of this organization were required to be of the "Aryan race," which meant that Jews, Catholics, and non-whites were not allowed to join. At the group's peak, the Silver Shirts had around 15,000 active members mostly concentrated on the Pacific Coast, with its membership growing fastest in Southern California.²⁹

An important site for the Silver Shirts was San Diego County. Throughout the 1930s, the various San Diego organizations that espoused white supremacist ideologies mixed and merged with each other.³⁰ Many members of the Silver Shirts were former Klan members. The Silver Shirts utilized tactics that included military training and stockpiling military-grade weaponry in preparation for what they viewed as an inevitable race war. The local Klan and Silver Shirts also continuously broke up union demonstrations, organizations, and strikes to prevent Mexicans and other immigrants from unionizing. Much like the San Diego Klan that developed in the 1920s, the San Diego Silver Shirts were violently opposed to the growing presence of Mexican immigrants. The Silver Shirts also planned an armed take-over of San Diego City Hall, though were ultimately unsuccessful in executing their plan.³¹

Another prominent Silver Shirt chapter was located in Los Angeles. Given the organization's plans to seize control of the national government and establish a Christian commonwealth, the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council viewed this group as the most politically threatening right-wing organization in the 1930s.³² The Silver Shirts operated their own newspaper, the *Silver Ranger*, which reprinted excerpts

²⁹ Suzanne G. Ledebor, "The Man Who Would Be Hitler: William Dudley Pelley and the Silver Legion," *California History* 65, no. 2 (1986): 130, doi:10.2307/25158370; Ross, *Hitler in Los Angeles: How Jews Foiled Nazi Plots Against Hollywood and America*, 79. 358n.

³⁰ Carlos M. Larralde and Richard Griswold del Castillo, "San Diego's Klu Klux Klan 1920-1980," *The Journal of San Diego History*, 46, no. 2-3 (2000), <https://sandiegohistory.org/journal/2000/april/klan/>.

³¹ Ledebor, "The Man Who Would Be Hitler: William Dudley Pelley and the Silver Legion," 132; Ross, *Hitler in Los Angeles: How Jews Foiled Nazi Plots Against Hollywood and America*, 79.

³² Rosenzweig, *Hollywood's Spies: The Undercover Surveillance of Nazis in Los Angeles*, 35.

from two key antisemitic texts: the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a fictional account of a cabal of Jewish bankers intent on world domination, and *The International Jew: The World's Problem*, which borrowed heavily from the *Protocols*.³³ The Silver Shirts and the German American Bund shared a close relationship, especially between 1936 and 1938.³⁴ High-ranking Silver Shirts visited the Bund's headquarters in Downtown Los Angeles daily to confer with Bund leaders on various collaborations. Collaborations included "snow-storms," which consisted of dropping thousands of pro-fascist and antisemitic pamphlets from rooftops onto popular intersections, along with more confrontational protests, like the 1938 picketing of the Ambassador Hotel during a meeting for West Coast Jewish community organizations.³⁵

Established officially in 1936, the German American Bund of Los Angeles was founded amid the growth of nativism, economic depression, and the ascendance of the Nazi regime. Previously known as the Friends of New Germany, which was founded earlier in the decade, the Bund, like its predecessor, fashioned itself outwardly as a patriotic community of German Americans celebrating Americanism. In reality, it was a fascist organization whose leaders had direct ties to Adolf Hitler and the head of the Nazi propaganda machine, Joseph Goebbels.

According to a conservative estimate, the Friends of New Germany had around 25,000 members nation-wide during its height in 1935, though estimates vary widely.³⁶ The key pillars of this pro-Nazi group were antisemitism and anti-Communism, two intersecting themes that fueled the still-popular belief in Jewish world domination. Much like the Silver Shirts, the Bund also had a secret paramilitary unit that sought to use violent means to establish a fascist state in the United States. Alongside antisemitism, the Bund also harbored prejudicial sentiments against African Americans and Catholics. During their initiation rituals, prospective members were required to swear an oath that they had neither Jewish nor "colored" blood in their veins.

As has often been the case with white-nationalist organizations, law enforcement allowed the Silver Shirts and the Bund to exist for years despite both groups' virulent racism. Authorities were much more concerned about the perceived threat of communism. In fact, in 1940, the San Diego Silver Shirts offered to support the House of Un-American Activities (HUAC) by passing out anti-communist propaganda.³⁷ Meanwhile, although the Federal Bureau of Investigation and HUAC launched several investigations of the Bund throughout the 1930s, the investigations were unsuccessful because local law enforcement members with racist sympathies warned Bund leaders of impending investigations, allowing them to cover up their hateful pro-Nazi rhetoric and treasonous plans.³⁸ As historians Steven Ross and Laura Rosenzweig demonstrate in their works on Nazism in Los Angeles during the 1930s, the persistent work of Jewish lawyer Leon Lewis and the spy ring he created earlier in the decade finally led to a robust investigation that publicly revealed racist and antisemitic mission of the of the

³³ Ledebor, "The Man Who Would Be Hitler: William Dudley Pelley and the Silver Legion," 133.

³⁴ Ross, *Hitler in Los Angeles: How Jews Foiled Nazi Plots Against Hollywood and America*, 90.

³⁵ Some of these pamphlets came directly from Germany. Rosenzweig, *Hollywood's Spies: The Undercover Surveillance of Nazis in Los Angeles*, 118.

³⁶ Ibid, 236.

³⁷ Carlos M. Larralde and Richard Griswold del Castillo, "San Diego's Klu Klux Klan 1920-1980," *The Journal of San Diego History*.

³⁸ Ross, *Hitler in Los Angeles: How Jews Foiled Nazi Plots Against Hollywood and America*, 62, 103.

Bund in the late 1930s.³⁹ By the end of the decade and the United States' subsequent entry into the Second World War, the Bund and the Silver Shirt organizations had largely fallen apart.

1.3. Post-War Period

While the fight against Nazism in Europe did curb the influence of some groups such as the Bund and the Silver Shirts, it did not eradicate white supremacist racism in Southern California or elsewhere in the nation. The polarizing Cold War atmosphere intensified white nationalists' fear of the "other," while also instilling a paranoid fear of America's downfall, which led to the establishment of the John Birch Society in 1958.⁴⁰ This far-right organization was founded on the basis of anti-communism and support for a small federal government, and became what one journalist called "a gateway drug into other forms of extremism."⁴¹ At its peak, the society boasted approximately 100,000 members across the United States and enjoyed particular support in Orange County, where it was founded. Its leaders organized political opposition to the Civil Rights Movement, and in doing so appealed to the racist sympathies of many Americans. According to the society, the Civil Rights Movement was a veiled Soviet plot seeking to establish a "Soviet-Negro Republic."⁴²

The Second Migration and the Civil Rights movement also influenced post-war white nationalist beliefs and organization. Into the 1950s and late 1960s, African Americans faced racial segregation in housing and zoning practices. Across the U.S., local realty boards shared an interest in maintaining segregated neighborhoods.⁴³ The development of the Civil Rights Movement also spurred anti-black racism. For example, a member of the Klan den at San Diego's Camp Pendleton military base complained that the Black Panthers were allowed to openly advocate their causes while they were not.⁴⁴

Another important development in the post-war era was a new wave of mass immigration into the United States. In this period, the majority of migrants arrived from Asia and Latin America, and Southern California white nationalists were especially concerned about the increase in immigrants from Mexico. Mexican immigration began to accelerate during World War II with the Bracero Program, a 1942 plan that recruited nearly 4.6 million Mexican men to the U.S. until the program's end in 1964 in order to

³⁹ Ibid. 271-322. Rosenzweig, *Hollywood's Spies: The Undercover Surveillance of Nazis in Los Angeles*.

⁴⁰ Charles J. Stewart, "The Master Conspiracy of the John Birch Society: From Communism to the New World Order," *Western Journal of Communication* (includes *Communication Reports*), 66:4, 424-428. doi: 10.1080/10570310209374748.

⁴¹ Jason Wilson, "'Senseless Hate': The Far Right's Deep Roots in Southern California," *The Guardian*, May 5, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/05/far-right-southern-california-history>.

⁴² Christopher Towler, "The John Birch Society is Still Influencing American Politics, 60 Years After its Founding," *The Conversation*, December 6, 2018, <https://theconversation.com/the-john-birch-society-is-still-influencing-american-politics-60-years-after-its-founding-107925>; Don Terry, "Bringing Back Birch," *Southern Poverty Law Center: Intelligence Report 2013 Spring Issue*, March 1, 2013, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2013/bringing-back-birch>.

⁴³ John Kent, "The Hidden History of Culver City Racism," *StreetsBlogLA*, April 5, 2019, <https://la.streetsblog.org/2019/04/05/the-hidden-history-of-culver-city-racism/>.

⁴⁴ Rough draft and briefing of newspaper coverage of Klan Activity from 1976-1979, Box 1, Folder 8, James Richardson papers, UCLA Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles; Robert Lindsey Special, "Uneasy Peace Seen in Marine Camp After Attack on Whites by Blacks," *The New York Times*, December 2, 1976, <https://www.nytimes.com/1976/12/02/archives/uneasy-peace-seen-in-marine-camp-after-attack-on-whites-by-blacks.html>.

compensate for the agricultural labor shortage during the war. A significant portion of these immigrants were directed to farms in California, as the state rose to become the country's leading agricultural producer by the 1950s.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, many contemporary white nationalists view the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 as a particularly "ominous" turning point in immigration history because they believed that its abolition of the national-origins quota system signaled a departure from an immigration policy previously "[designed] to keep the country white."⁴⁶

With the 1973 economic recession, racist theories increasingly linked the presence of Latinx immigrants to the unemployment epidemic. The archetype of the undocumented immigrant who agreed to starvation wages became a ubiquitous object of contempt in both mainstream and white nationalist discourses. Panic over this figure was easily converted into broad anti-Latinx racism in Southern California and across the United States.. Some white nationalist groups vowed to take direct action to alleviate this concern. One such incident occurred in San Diego on April 4, 1978 when four Klan members picked up California resident Juan Mendez Ruiz and handed him over to a border checkpoint after discarding his legal documents.⁴⁷

1.4. 1970s-1990s

In the wake of the 1973 recession, the Klan experienced a short-lived resurgence, though it lacked the political capital to translate this uptick into sustained influence. With the passage of major civil rights legislation and a legal end to segregation decades earlier, overt state-sponsored racism went by the wayside. Racism and antisemitism were no longer acceptable in polite political company, though more subtle forms of race and class discrimination did not disappear. With the election and wide popularity of Ronald Reagan in 1980, fringe racist groups experienced a further decline as their pool of recruits were instead attracted to a mainstream politics that promised reinvigorated social conservatism without tying itself to an unwinnable battle against integration. By 1987, the Anti-Defamation League put the number of Klan members nation-wide at between 4,500 and 5,500, the lowest since 1973.⁴⁸

For white nationalists, this tamer conservatism did not suffice. They became increasingly disillusioned with the political system as a whole, condemning both left and right as "two controlled arms on the same Frankenstein body."⁴⁹ White nationalist groups were forced to devise new strategies to keep their old beliefs relevant, if not popular. Southern California's two major white nationalist movements of the 1980s - Christian Identity and the new Klan - spurned the mainstream political arena to more raucously effect change with a small but dedicated core of followers.

The Christian Identity (CI) movement describes a wide-ranging set of religious beliefs derived from the nineteenth century British Israelism movement, which declared

⁴⁵ "Braceros: History, Compensation," *Rural Migration News* 12, no. 2, April 2006, <https://migration.ucdavis.edu/rmn/more.php?id=1112>.

⁴⁶ Jared Taylor, interviewed by Russel K. Nieli, December 21, 1999, in *Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America*, ed. Carol M. Swain et al. (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 100.

⁴⁷ Bill Ott, "2 Men Indicted on Charges of Violating Alien's Rights," *The San Diego Union*, November 4, 1978. Herman Baca Collection, MSS 649: "Subject Files", Box 25, Folder 13, Special Collections and Archives, UC San Diego, https://library.ucsd.edu/dc/object/bb0820409r/_1.pdf.

⁴⁸ Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith/Civil Rights Division, "The Hate Movement Today: A Chronicle of Violence and Disarray" (New York, 1987), 1.

⁴⁹ "W.A.R. Positions," *WAR*, February 1994.

“Anglos” to be descended from the Lost Tribes of Israel. The CI, which still persists today, is extremely decentralized, making generalizations of its members difficult. Its churches often have no more than two dozen congregants, though a few CI theologians have managed to gain wider influence through their pseudo-academic research. CI antisemitism was fanned by the alteration of British Israelist doctrine to assert that modern-day non-Anglo Jews are not authentic Jews because they “intermixed” with gentiles while the Lost Tribes isolated themselves in Europe. CI thereby interprets racial separatism as a means to retain their status as “God’s chosen people” and to avoid becoming the “false Jews” against whom they rail. Many of the most prominent CI actors of the 1980s were first initiated in this theology around the mid-century, when it was invoked in tax avoidance schemes to denounce secular law. It was not until the late 1970s, though, that this theology would attract followers from outside this niche. With *Roe v. Wade* and the subsequent build-up of the anti-abortion movement, CI churches found common cause with a sizable pool of committed activists. Abortion had long been a node of contention for CI, because they believed that it represented an existential threat to white progeny. CI churches targeted anti-abortion activists who were disillusioned by the legal system that produced *Roe v. Wade* and dissatisfied with the results of mild protests. This would lead its members to firebomb clinics and target doctors.

At the same time, the Klan began to transform. In 1973, David Duke, a young LSU graduate kicked out of multiple Klan dens for his heterodoxies, formed his own group: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKKK). By the end of the decade, the KKKK had solidified itself in California under the controversial leadership of state chapter leader and San Diego resident, Tom Metzger. By then, another upstart Klan offshoot, the Invisible Empire, had also gained a foothold in the state. The Invisible Empire had broken off from the KKKK and was led by another Louisiana native, Bill Wilkinson. The two Klans dispensed with plans for the Klan as an expansive and above-board political force and increasingly turned to pot-stirring and subterfuge in lieu of traditional organization building. In the words of Metzger, “Influence is more important than numbers. . . . We’re more interested in trying to develop a more professional program—a program which we can influence other people who will probably never join the Klan, but who will think and vote in many of the same ways we believe.”⁵⁰

Central to these Klans’ tactics was representation within mainstream discourses. Members took on a deluge of media appearances, ranging from local talk radio shows to *The Jerry Springer Show*. Klanners were invariably treated with apprehension but also with a degree of morbid curiosity. They did little to mask their extremism. They did not aim to appear palatable to mainstream society, but rather they hoped to identify recruits looking for an ideological lodestar. “We used the press. We lied and did anything we could to make reporters happy,” admitted one former member of the Invisible Empire. “We intentionally staged things just to get coverage.”⁵¹ Duke employed this tactic in 1977 when he traveled to San Diego to inaugurate the KKKK’s border patrols. These patrols consisted of Klanners roving outside of San Diego looking to kidnap and turn over to authorities anyone they thought was undocumented. In terms of deterring immigration,

⁵⁰ Tom Metzger interview 13 February 1980, James Richardson papers, UCLA Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

⁵¹ Dean Calbreath, “Kovering the Klan,” *Columbia Journalism Review* (New York, 1981), 42.

the watches were a failure; the San Diego den complained that Duke sprung this idea on them without consultation and left them to organize it with no funding. But Duke succeeded in drawing a crowd of journalists that publicized and amplified the stunt and the KKKK.

By the early 1980s, Metzger had left the KKKK following an internal schism concerning misused funds, police collaboration, and drug dealing that led the KKKK's San Diego den to defect to the Invisible Empire.⁵² Despite this, Metzger continued the lessons he learned from Duke's flamboyant and unorthodox Klan organizing. In 1983, Metzger established the White Aryan Resistance (WAR) and loudly embraced a rumor that had floated around Klan circles for years: that he admired and took inspiration from the Nazis. Metzger, like Duke, was drawn to running for office -not in hopes of effecting legislative change, but as a means of bringing further attention to his crusade for white supremacy. His aping of Duke manifested in his revival of the ill-fated border patrols. WAR came to champion anti-Latinx racism heavily during this time, realizing its resonance in mainstream discourse surrounding undocumented immigration. A Metzger campaign booklet contains a cartoon of a hard-hatted worker paralyzed by stakes through his limbs. Alongside "Bureaucrats" and "Foreign trade war," two stakes are labeled "Mexican aliens" and "Aliens & Cubans." The opposite page reads, "America First For A Change."⁵³

Moreover, though WAR privately continued its anti-black rhetoric unabated, publicly the organization put up a peaceable front with regards to black Americans. Metzger went on stage at a Nation of Islam event to personally hand a donation to Louis Farrakhan. Officially, WAR extolled racial nationalism for all; according to his plan, black Americans would be allowed self-determination and a share of land in the Cotton Belt. But in the pages of their privately distributed newspaper, WAR members routinely inveighed against African and black American culture. What received coverage in the *New York Times*, however, was Metzger's consorting with Farrakhan.

In spite of their seeming ideological differences, both the Christian Identity movement and WAR found common cause in pioneering stochastic terrorism. Metzger termed it "lone wolf terrorism," with independently acting adherents committing terror inspired by a broader structure but not implicating it. Christian Identitarians, by turn, celebrated their "Phinehas priests," which were named after the biblical figure of Phinehas who murdered another Jew for sleeping with a gentile. This was a model of terror put to use when Buford Furrow, CI books in tow, drove from Washington to Los Angeles in 1999 with the self-appointed mission of killing Jews.⁵⁴

The 1980s also saw the rise of the Orange County-based pseudo-scholarly Institute for Historical Review (IHR) as a major organ of Holocaust denial. The IHR was emblematic of an international trend of antisemitism seeking to wrap itself in the cloak of academic legitimacy. Though disconnected from any established scholarly body, such institutions employed the language and, ostensibly, the rigor of academia to dress up

⁵² "Grievances presented to: Grand Dragon Tom Metzger by Titan George Willis and Members of the San Diego Den on August 8, 1978 at Fallbrook, Ca," James Richardson papers, UCLA Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

⁵³ "The Pocket Guide to Tom Metzger," Metzger for Congress Committee, James Richardson papers, UCLA Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

⁵⁴ Danny W. Davis, *The Phinehas Priesthood: Violent Vanguard of the Christian Identity Movement* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Praeger Security International, 2010), 62, 84.

much of the same rhetoric that could be found in Klan newspapers. That many of these institutions' members were professors at respected universities, albeit writing about topics far outside their field, added to their work's appearance of respectability. They were routinely censured by their employers and colleagues for their association with these antisemitic bodies. Among the authors published by IHR were the well-known denialists Arthur Butz, a professor of electrical engineering at Northwestern University, and Robert Faurisson, a French literary scholar. Another boon for academic antisemitism came in 1994 with the publication of Cal State Long Beach professor Kevin MacDonald's *Culture of Critique* series. Purportedly an objective evolutionary psychology analysis of Jewish culture, much of the work of these books is intellectualizing recycled conspiracies relating to Judeo-Bolshevism and the Frankfurt School. MacDonald revived these old myths by framing them as "group evolutionary strategy"; Jews support far-left revolutionary movements because it is in their interests to overturn the white-dominated hierarchies of power that exclude Jews and thereafter to create new institutions helmed by Jews. MacDonald's articulation of "Jewish hostility toward the European-derived people and culture of the United States" remains influential in white nationalist circles.⁵⁵

During this time, several white nationalist organizations began to recognize the potential of the internet as a propagandizing space. WAR, which already had its own public access television show and newspaper, acquired the resist.com domain, from which Metzger still publishes his jeremiads. In 1996, Don Black, the successor to David Duke as Grand Wizard of the KKKK, created Stormfront, which is still a popular message board for white supremacists.

1.5. Modern Trends in White Nationalism

Recent white nationalist activity has reinforced the importance of the internet in proselytizing. Unmoderated or poorly moderated sites have given white nationalists new freedoms in disseminating propaganda, which offers a violent and uncensored assertion of their power and intimidation. An extreme case occurred with the Christchurch mosque shooting, which was live-streamed by the perpetrating terrorist. On a smaller scale, street fighting groups like Proud Boys and the Rise Above Movement record their confrontations with protestors or leftist groups and upload them online to share their "successes" or to sic followers on a transgressor. The internet has also aided in bringing interest to previously fringe white nationalist sects and literature of today and of the past. Recent white nationalist terrorists have credited their indoctrination to sources as varied as fascist mystics and Odinism, the ancient Nordic religion. In turn, recent rhetoric has reinvigorated old prejudices such as belief in blood libel, which was based on the fallacious claim that Jews use the blood of Christians for ritual purposes. The perpetrator of the synagogue shooting in the San Diego suburb of Poway claimed to be avenging Simon of Trent, an alleged victim of sacrificial "Jewish bloodlust" from the fifteenth century. The internet's ability to disseminate both warmed-over antisemitic theories and illicit terror manuals has furthered lone wolf terrorism.

In the new millennium, Islamophobia has also become one of the foremost topics of import for white nationalists, and one closely linked to antisemitism. Islamophobia in

⁵⁵ Kevin MacDonald, "Stalin's Willing Executioners: Jews as a Hostile Elite in the USSR," *The Occidental Quarterly* 5, no. 3 (2005): 96.

general has been amplified since the September 11, 2001 attacks, but, more recently, the Syrian refugee crisis reinvigorated notions of the “great replacement,” which is a conspiracy theory with a long history, but was most famously articulated by the 1973 French novel *The Camp of the Saints*. In the 1990s, it gained further currency among American white nationalist groups in reaction to post-apartheid South Africa. The core of the conspiracy theory is that non-Jewish whites are being killed off by way of race-mixing and violence. Its current form is a convenient marriage of antisemitism and Islamophobia, which alleges that Jews are responsible for a plot that will see the global white population replaced by brown and black immigrants, and white society usurped by Sharia law. Perhaps its most infamous appearance was at the 2017 white nationalist march in Charlottesville, VA, when marchers chanted repeatedly “Jews will not replace us.”

1.6. Conclusion

This section reveals a wide variety of groups and actors operating under the banner of white nationalism in Southern California. And yet, for all the different religious or political shades that have differentiated these movements, they have far more in common with each other than their posturing would suggest. Common to all is the overriding desire to create or maintain a hierarchy of power with non-Jewish whites at the top; almost as frequent is a belief that Jews are intent on toppling this power hierarchy. Though these motives are found in white supremacist movements the world over, they have found special resonance among Southern California’s white nationalists. A combination of racial diversity and lasting notions of California as an untamed frontier has given the region a fixed place in the white supremacist imagination as a site to be violently cultivated and remade to their liking. While white nationalist groups and ideologies have increasingly moved toward the fringes of polite society and politics, these ideas and organizations remain a significant threat to a democratic and pluralistic society.

2. Ideological Pillars

According to Eric K. Ward, the key components of white nationalist ideology are the ideas that people of different races are intrinsically different from each other and that whites are superior to others.⁵⁶ The ideology pod further broke down white nationalist ideology into four pillars, or basic tenets, for more focused study: 1) the prevalence of antisemitism, 2) the perceived need for a white ethnostate, 3) the fear of immigration, and 4) hate speech. These four pillars provide the main framework for other ideological concepts within white nationalism.

2.1. Antisemitism

This condensed section of racial history, while by no means entirely comprehensive, provides context for the ways in which non-Jews have used fluctuation of racial identity as a way to paint Jews as threats to and distinct from the white race.

⁵⁶ Eric K. Ward, “Skin in the Game: How Antisemitism Animates White Nationalism,” Political Research Associates, June 29, 2017, <https://www.politicalresearch.org/2017/06/29/skin-in-the-game-how-antisemitism-animates-white-nationalism>.

This is not a new idea, but rather an anchor of white nationalist thought. As mentioned in the previous section on the history of white nationalism, a massive wave of Eastern European Jewish immigration between 1880 and 1920 escalated tensions between Jews and non-Jews in America.⁵⁷ From the 1920s to the 1940s, the idea that Jews presented a collective problem to the rest of the society gained traction in public and political discourse.⁵⁸ Catholic radio preacher Father Charles Coughlin accused Jews of orchestrating a global Jewish conspiracy throughout the 1930s.⁵⁹ A Nazi rally was held on February 20, 1939 at Madison Square Garden.⁶⁰ This racial targeting did not simply disappear into the past; contemporary white nationalists consider Jews not only to be non-white, but as the absolute antithesis of whiteness.⁶¹ Per The New Order, a Neo-Nazi organization previously known as the National Socialist White People's Party (NWSPP),⁶² the Jews are an Asiatic race eternally locked in battle with the Aryan race - a battle that will end only when one of the two groups is made extinct.⁶³ Before the organization was known as the NSWPP, it was known as the American Nazi Party.⁶⁴ Founded in 1958 by George Lincoln Rockwell to honor the legacy of Hitler and Nazi Germany, the American Nazi Party had only a few hundred members.⁶⁵ Since restructuring efforts in 1983 resulted in another change to The New Order, the organization has grown to be one of the strongest and most stable Nazi organizations in America.⁶⁶ In a similar tone of racial superiority, the white nationalist group Identity Evropa identifies itself through its website as a fraternity that limits membership to those who can prove non-Semitic European heritage.⁶⁷ The group aims to recruit college students.⁶⁸

The Protocols of the Elders of Zion provides fodder for present conspiracy theories leveled at the Jewish people. The *Protocols* were a set of fictitious transcripts written in the early twentieth century alleging to report on a meeting of Jewish leaders who were discussing plans to overthrow the world order through both communist and capitalist strategies. The *Protocols* eventually became one of the most widely

⁵⁷ Jeffrey Israel, "Jewishness, Race, and Political Emotions," in *Living with Hate in American Politics and Religion: How Popular Culture Can Defuse Intractable Differences*, 27-73. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), 42,

https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7312/israel9016.6?refreqid=excelsior%3A2090213c81ffffad1ede3b19fa5a160a&seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.

⁵⁸ Israel, "Jewishness, Race, and Political Emotions," 43.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Dianne Bernard, "The night thousands of Nazis packed Madison Square Garden for a rally — and violence erupted," *Washington Post*, (Washington, D.C.: WP Company LLC), December 9, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2018/12/09/night-thousands-nazis-packed-madison-square-garden-rally-violence-erupted/>.

⁶¹ Abby L. Ferber, *White Man Falling: Race, Gender, and White Supremacy* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), 2.

⁶² Ibid., 51.

⁶³ Ibid., 126.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 51.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Tovia Smith, "As White Supremacists Push Onto Campuses, Schools Wrestle With Response," All Things Considered, *NPR*, March 12, 2017, <https://www.npr.org/2017/05/12/527985172/as-white-supremacists-push-onto-campuses-schools-wrestle-with-response>.

⁶⁸ Smith, "As White Supremacists Push Onto Campuses," March 12, 2017.

disseminated pieces of antisemitic literature, with millions of copies distributed all over the world.⁶⁹ The notion that Jewish people hungered for world domination, as presented in the *Protocols*, had a large influence on American industrialist Henry Ford. He made the above conspiracy theory into one of the cornerstones of the *Dearborn Independent*, a newspaper he published between 1919 and 1927.⁷⁰ Although the era of Coughlin and Ford marked a high point of antisemitic expression, the threat of Jewish world conspiracy is still trumpeted to this day. In a recent primary election, a series of antisemitic robocalls were sent out across California attacking Senator Dianne Feinstein in favor of her neo-Nazi electoral opponent Patrick Little.⁷¹ The messages called Feinstein's loyalty to the U.S. into question by accusing her of being an Israeli citizen, while reminding listeners that Little planned to "rid America of the traitorous Jews."⁷² The idea that Jews infiltrate societies in order to overthrow dominant social orders has not died out over time and continues to haunt antisemitic discourse.

2.2. White Ethno-Nationalism

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center's (SPLC) Hate Map, there are five white nationalist organizations currently active in Southern California, and twelve total in the state of California.⁷³ These organizations clearly display their underlying beliefs concerning race relations through their activities. One of these institutions is the *Occidental Observer*, a far-right online magazine based in Laguna Hills.⁷⁴ Kevin MacDonald, the author of the previously mentioned antisemitic book series *Culture of Critique*, serves as its editor.⁷⁵ In the *Occidental Observer*'s mission statement, MacDonald argues that white-dominated cultures, founded and expanded by European settlers and their descendants, are under threat of extinction due to acceptance of the "moral imperative" of multiculturalism.⁷⁶ According to MacDonald, the spread of multiculturalism and the fact that white people are at risk of becoming racial minorities within nations goes against natural social order.⁷⁷ Essentially, MacDonald implies that white people need some ability to regulate immigration and national borders to ensure that they do not become minorities in the nations in which they live.

White nationalists also reason that white people must once again fully embrace their white culture. Some individuals and organizations believe that achieving this goal requires adopting physical or violent tactics. One high-profile organization that operates in this manner is the Rise Above Movement (RAM), based in Huntington Beach.⁷⁸

⁶⁹ David N. Myers, *Jewish History: A very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 108.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 109.

⁷¹ Joe Garfoli, "Robocall attacks Dianne Feinstein with anti-semitic slurs," *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, CA), May 14, 2018, <https://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/article/Robocall-attacks-Dianne-Feinstein-with-12914413.php>.

⁷² Oren Segal, "Anti-Semitic Robocalls Supporting Patrick Little Proliferate in California," May 18, 2018, <https://www.adl.org/blog/anti-semitic-robocalls-supporting-patrick-little-proliferate-in-california>.

⁷³ "Hate Map | Southern Poverty Law Center," Southern Poverty Law Center, <https://www.splcenter.org/hate-map?state=CA&ideology=white-nationalist>.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Kevin MacDonald, "Mission Statement - The Occidental Observer," The Occidental Observer, <https://www.theoccidentalobserver.net/mission/>.

⁷⁶ MacDonald, "Mission Statement," The Occidental Observer.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ "Hate Map," Southern Poverty Law Center.

According to a September 2018 article in *The Guardian*, the group “boasts over 50 members and fashions itself as a fight club. Its members train in various combat sports such as MMA and boxing, which they later apply during street fights and protests.”⁷⁹ The Anti-Defamation League’s page about RAM states that the group’s “ostensible goal is to restore European-American (i.e., white) culture to America” in backlash against the perceived massive shifts in Christian culture in the U.S., which members believe non-white immigrants precipitated.⁸⁰ These activities and beliefs reflect RAM’s aims towards turning the United States into an isolationist nation with a purely European-influenced culture. To this end, RAM members were involved in protests in 2017 and 2018 in San Bernardino, Huntington Beach and Berkeley, California and also in Charlottesville, Virginia.⁸¹

The manifesto uploaded online by John T. Earnest, the nineteen-year-old shooter who attacked Jewish congregants at a synagogue in Poway, CA in April 2019, demonstrates how white nationalism in Southern California can escalate into acts of murder. Earnest called his “magnificent bloodline,” which he traces back to English settlers of Roanoke Island, a gift from God.⁸² Earnest also demonstrated belief in medieval blood libel stories accusing Jews of harming European children.⁸³ By urging readers to remember the Pittsburgh, PA and Christchurch, New Zealand shooters respectively, Earnest implicitly approved of the recent attacks on Jews and Muslims.⁸⁴ While Jews stood at the top of his hierarchy of hate, he also hated Latinx and black people, calling them “useful puppets for the Jews in terms of replacing Whites.”⁸⁵ Of non-whites living peaceably with whites, he said, “I do not hate them, but they aren’t staying.”⁸⁶ With this quote, Earnest gave voice to the sentiment that non-whites and whites cannot coexist within the same nation, suggesting the need for a white ethnostate.

2.3. Anti-Immigrant Nativism

Ideas about immigration are intertwined with the ideology that calls for a white ethnostate. While white nationalists have discussed their beliefs on immigration in texts such as those mentioned in the previous section, they have also recently expanded on them in other ways. One such example is in the Poway shooter’s online manifesto, where he claimed that he is “not a terrorist” because, among other things, his skin is not brown, he does not shout Arabic words or stink, and his nose is not ugly, drawing on stereotypes that imagine all terrorists to be Arab Muslims and that depict Arabs and Muslims as dirty, unattractive barbarians.⁸⁷ Similarly, images collected by the Anti-Defamation League about the Rise Above Movement show members at protests holding

⁷⁹ Karim Zidan, “Fascist fight clubs: how white nationalists use MMA as a recruiting tool,” *The Guardian*, September 11, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2018/sep/11/far-right-fight-clubs-mma-white-nationalists>.

⁸⁰ “Rise Above Movement (R. A. M.),” Anti-Defamation League, <https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/rise-above-movement-ram>.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² John T. Earnest, “An open letter. My name is John Earnest and I am a man of European ancestry.,” Pastebin.com, April 27, 2019, via Archive.today, <https://archive.fo/mhFD2#selection-813.1331-813.1598>.

⁸³ Ibid

⁸⁴ Ibid

⁸⁵ Ibid

⁸⁶ Ibid

⁸⁷ Earnest, “An open letter,” Pastebin.com.

banners with anti-immigrant slogans such as “Defend America: Islamists out!” and “Rapefugees not welcome!”⁸⁸ These images suggest that white nationalists oppose Muslim and Middle Eastern immigration to the United States, or even those who, in their minds, threaten the whiteness of the United States by aiding immigrants.

White nationalists with ties to California have expressed hatred towards the Latinx community as well. In its profile of Identity Evropa, a white nationalist group founded by San Jose-raised Iraq War veteran Nathan Damigo, the Southern Poverty Law Center documents the racism of its members.⁸⁹ According to the SPLC, Identity Evropa’s successor group, the American Identity Movement (AIM), founded by San Diego State University alumnus Patrick Casey,⁹⁰ has tried to distance itself from its forerunner because of negative attention garnered by its role in organizing the violent 2017 “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, Virginia.⁹¹ The Anti-Defamation League’s H.E.A.T Map records that on June 4, 2019, approximately six members of the American Identity Movement held an unannounced demonstration at Cal Poly in San Luis Obispo where they raised a banner that said, “Close the border build the wall.”⁹² This protest demonstrates a certain level of similarity with certain mainstream conservative anti-immigration rhetoric in recent years, mainly the belief that Latinx migrants from Mexico and other countries in Latin America are dangerous for the United States’ culture and must be prevented from living in the country.⁹³ This is not to suggest that all current mainstream conservatives are automatically white nationalists, but rather that this strain of rhetoric has struck a chord with present white nationalist movements.

2.4. Hate Speech

One of the most important changes in recent years concerning how white nationalists spread and communicate their ideology is the fact that there has been a shift in the way hate speech is moderated online. Multiple companies that provide online services have gotten involved with legislative debates surrounding the regulation of hate

⁸⁸ “Rise Above Movement,” Anti-Defamation League.

⁸⁹ “Identity Evropa | Southern Poverty Law Center,” Southern Poverty Law Center, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/identity-evropa>. As a guest on a March 2017 episode of the *War Room* podcast, while describing his answer to someone on Tinder who asked if he considered himself attractive, former Identity Evropa leader Eli Mosley said that the children of the black and Latinx people he had fired at his place of work were “mud children.” Sacco and Vanzetti Vandal, “Episode 29: THOT Swirly,” March 20, 2017, in *The War Room*, produced by Vandal Void Radio, podcast, MP3 audio, 1:52:16, <https://panoptikum.io/episodes/273515>, via the Internet Archive Wayback Machine, <https://web.archive.org/web/20170719211018/http://cdn.zencast.fm/download/media/1414/f51eb688-51f5-499e-a45b-1a62333f01a0.mp3>.

⁹⁰ Kristina Davis, “Which ‘hate’ groups are operating in San Diego?”, *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 26, 2019, <https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/news/public-safety/story/2019-05-25/hate-groups-operating-in-san-diego>.

⁹¹ Hatewatch Staff, “White Nationalist Group Identity Evropa Rebrands Following Private Chat Leaks, Launches ‘American Identity Movement’ | Southern Poverty Law Center,” Southern Poverty Law Center, March 12, 2019, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2019/03/12/white-nationalist-group-identity-evropa-rebrands-following-private-chat-leaks-launches>.

⁹² “ADL H.E.A.T Map,” Anti-Defamation League, <https://www.adl.org/education-and-resources/resource-knowledge-base/adl-heat-map?s=eyJhcmVhIjp7InN0YXRlIjoieQ0EiLCJ0eXBIIjoic3RhdGUifSwiaWRlb2xvZ2llcyI6WyJSaWdodCBXaW5nIChXaGl0ZSBTdXBvZW1hY2lzdCkiXSwiaW5jaWRlbnRzIjpbIldoaXRlIFN1cHJlbWFjaXN0IEV2ZW50IiwV2hp dGUgU3VwcmVtYWNPc3QgUHJvcGFnYW5kYSJdLCJ5ZWZyIjpbMjAxNywyMDE5XX0%253D>.

⁹³ Hatewatch Staff, “White Nationalist Group Identity Evropa Rebrands,” Southern Poverty Law Center

speech, but Facebook is a good primary case study for examining how tech companies are responding to such debates. Both Facebook and Google were involved in debates with the Federal Communications Commission over net neutrality in 2015 and 2017.⁹⁴ Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg was interrogated by the Senate in 2018 regarding his company's role in downplaying Russian involvement in the 2016 election via Facebook.⁹⁵ In 2018 the Federal Trade Commission also opened an investigation of Facebook to determine whether the company violated a consent decree from 2011, which required the company to update users on changes to their privacy settings.⁹⁶ Facebook and Google were called before Congress to address white nationalism in online spheres in April of 2019.⁹⁷ Facebook issued a press release in March 2019 that it would start banning posts, photos, and other content that make specific reference to white nationalism and white separatism.⁹⁸

American tech companies have been moderating online content in alignment with the 1996 Communications Decency Act (CDA).⁹⁹ Section 230 of the CDA protects online service companies from being held legally culpable for the majority of the content that is shared over their networks.¹⁰⁰ The Section states that “no provider or user of an interactive computer service shall be treated as the publisher or speaker of any information provided by another information content provider.”¹⁰¹ However, Section 230 does not apply in instances where more severe, federal crimes take place.¹⁰² This section has come under fire during Congressional hearings in recent months. Frank Pallone Jr., the Chairman of the Committee on Energy and Commerce, which holds primary jurisdiction over the section, stated that the hearings are aimed at exploring whether or not online companies have helped to foster a healthier internet using the tools at their disposal including the CDA.¹⁰³ To date, the only amendment made to Section 230 was made in early 2018, when an exception was added that made it easier to

⁹⁴ David Chavern, “Google and Facebook Oppose Managing the Internet. Except when they'Re Doing it.: Net Neutrality is Up Next for Debate. how Will Online Companies Spin it?,” *Washington Post*, (Washington, D.C.: WP Company LLC), April 14, 2017,

<https://search.proquest.com/washingtonpost/docview/1888153769/B2E2B2A4A9834F7CPQ/1?accountid=14512>.

⁹⁵ Evan Halper, David Pierson and Tracey Lien, “Senators Vented at Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg - but may leave it at that,” *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles: Tribune Interactive, LLC.), April 10 2018, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/2024034447?accountid=14512&pq-origsite=summon>.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Tony Romm, “Facebook, Google to testify before Congress about spread of white nationalism,” *Washington Post*, (Washington, D. C.: WP Company LLC), April 3, 2019,

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2019/04/03/house-lawmakers-question-facebook-google-spread-white-nationalism-online/>.

⁹⁸ Tony Romm and Elizabeth Dwoskin, “Facebook says it will now block white-nationalist, white-separatist posts,” *Washington Post* (Washington, D.C.), March 27, 2019,

https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2019/04/03/house-lawmakers-question-facebook-google-spread-white-nationalism-online/?utm_term=.209344729c51.

⁹⁹ Steven Overly and Ashley Gold, “Tech firms’ fight against hate could haunt them,” *Politico* (Arlington County, VI), August 19, 2017, <https://www.politico.com/story/2017/08/19/tech-firms-fight-hate-backlash-241807>.

¹⁰⁰ Overly and Gold, “Tech firms’ fight against hate could haunt them,” August 19, 2017.

¹⁰¹ U. S. Congress, *Communications Decency Act*, 47 U.S.C. §230, June 15, 1995, <http://www.columbia.edu/~mr2651/ecommerce3/2nd/statutes/CommunicationsDecencyAct.pdf>.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Emily Birnbaum, “Reddit, Google to testify before House panel on tech’s legal protections,” *The Hill* (Washington, D. C.), October 11, 2019, <https://thehill.com/policy/technology/465430-reddit-google-to-testify-before-key-house-panel-on-techs-legal-protections>.

prosecute individuals who run websites that support sex trafficking.¹⁰⁴ Section 230 essentially dictates that tech companies have no legal obligation to moderate potentially radical, damaging online content.¹⁰⁵ In other words, under Section 230 internet companies remove content on a voluntary basis.

One of the most interesting cases regarding public awareness of white nationalism in the U.S. is the removal of *The Daily Stormer* from easy internet access. The Southern Poverty Law Center previously labeled *The Daily Stormer* as the top hate website in the United States since it hosts content that targets Jews, Muslims, people of color, and women.¹⁰⁶ While the internet domain registrar GoDaddy had argued previously that the Daily Stormer's content was protected under the First Amendment and did not violate the company's terms of service, it shifted positions after the Charlottesville protest and the death of Heather Heyer in 2017.¹⁰⁷ Andrew Anglin, the *Daily Stormer* founder, wrote a post attacking Heyer, who was killed while protesting a neo-Nazi rally in Charlottesville, Virginia. In the post Anglin argued that many individuals were glad Heyer was dead.¹⁰⁸ This post was used as evidence to successfully bar the website from using GoDaddy as a host, and when the site tried to find a new home at Google, it was again rebuffed.¹⁰⁹ *The Daily Stormer* again tried to regain its ability to reach a mainstream audience through the use of a content delivery network called BitMitigate, but BitMitigate revoked its services after Anglin failed to adequately pay Epik.com, which manages BitMitigate.¹¹⁰ The moderation and legislation surrounding hate speech in online spaces should be closely monitored, as it will have a considerable impact on how white nationalist ideology is spread.

3. Internet

The internet is an integral tool for contemporary white nationalists. White nationalists use the internet to build community, disseminate information, hold discussions, harass people, and, for larger groups, organize action in meatspace.¹¹¹ Such uses of the internet have attracted media attention. Most notoriously, three alleged white nationalist mass shooters—Brenton Tarrant, John Earnest, and Patrick Crusius—all frequented the website 8chan's "politically incorrect (/pol/)" imageboard and posted their manifestos there.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Overly and Gold, "Tech firms' fight against hate could haunt them," August 19, 2017.

¹⁰⁶ Katie Mettler and Avi Selk, "GoDaddy - Then Google - ban neo-Nazi site Daily Stormer for disparaging Charlottesville Victim," *Washington Post* (Washington, D. C.), August 14, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2017/08/14/godaddy-bans-neo-nazi-site-daily-stormer-for-disparaging-woman-killed-at-charlottesville-rally/?utm_term=.e5fb0f1759f9.

¹⁰⁷ Mettler and Selk, "GoDaddy - Then Google - ban neo-Nazi site Daily Stormer," August 14, 2017.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Hatewatch Staff, "Daily Stormer Website Goes Dark Amid Chaos," *Southern Poverty Law Center*, September 18, 2019, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2019/09/18/daily-stormer-website-goes-dark-amid-chaos>.

¹¹¹ Chris Schiano and Unicorn Riot, "Slouching Towards the Ethnostate: Inside the American Identity Movement," *Unicorn Riot*, July 4, 2019, <https://unicornriot.ninja/2019/slouching-towards-the-ethnostate-inside-the-american-identity-movement/>; "Meatspace" being the opposite of "cyberspace"—"meatspace" is used in lieu of "real life" due to the fact that the Internet has become deeply integrated into everyday life and has tangible effects on meatspace.

White nationalists have gathered on a large variety of sites, including 8chan, since the mid-1990s. According to its founder, Don Black, Stormfront was “the first pro-White website” on the internet, established as a public Bulletin Board System (BBS) in 1994 and website proper in 1995.¹¹² Other white nationalist groups like the World Church of the Creator, the KKK, and WAR popped up online later in the 1990s and 2000s.¹¹³ While independent websites like these continue to hold importance for white nationalists, social media websites—ranging from obscure platforms like Gab to heavyweights like Twitter—have also attracted white nationalists.

This section of the report surveys online white nationalist entities, trends, and events of note. It is broken into three parts, “independent websites,” “mainstream social media,” and “fringe social media,” but these three categories are deeply interconnected. Thus, while each category has its own section, numerous instances of crossover are noted and explained.

This research makes three major conclusions. The first is that there appears to be a process wherein an individual is first radicalized by mainstream social media, and then has their views reinforced by fringe social media. For individuals who follow this path, independent websites are the primary source for opportunities to participate in meatspatial white nationalist activity. The second conclusion is that there are vast amounts of cross-pollination between communities. Content created on 4chan appears on Reddit; *Daily Stormer* content is shared on Gab; and so on. Lastly, many white nationalists have been repeatedly de-platformed, leading to a trend of pessimism among a substantial number, though not all, of white nationalists.¹¹⁴

3.1. Independent websites

The independent websites of white nationalist and related organizations primarily serve one of two purposes: to proliferate ideology and propaganda and/or to recruit official members. The most prominent hub of white nationalist propaganda, *The Daily Stormer*—which has an active “book club” of supporters operating in Southern California—received 2.85 million visits in the month of July and is currently the 8,131st most visited website in America.¹¹⁵ Even *The Daily Stormer*’s darknet site has about 360 daily visitors and 2,990 daily page views, suggesting a small but dedicated dark web readerbase. Moreover, while the discussion board feature of the website is no longer accessible on the clearnet version, the site does have an active discussion board on the website Discourse, accessed via the browser Tor. *The Daily Stormer* capitalizes on a similar culture of irony and trolling that is common across the various internet media sources utilized by white nationalists, and until recently, the homepage of the site featured a picture of 2017 Charlottesville car attack with the caption “Thanks for the Memories” (Figure 1).¹¹⁶ But unlike the anonymous and largely unregulated nature of social media sites like 4chan, the content of *The Daily Stormer* is curated by the site’s creator, Andrew Anglin. Although Anglin has attempted to defend the violent content of

¹¹² See Appendix A.

¹¹³ Jessie Daniels, *Cyber Racism: White Supremacy Online and the New Attack on Civil Rights* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009), 94; 99; 101.

¹¹⁴ Though just beyond the purview of this report, there has also been considerable media attention given to the use of chat services like Discord and Telegram by white nationalists.

¹¹⁵ <https://www.similarweb.com/website/dailystormer.name>

¹¹⁶ <https://dailystormer.name/>

his website in the past as purely ironic, *The Daily Stormer* was dropped by a number of domain registrars like GoDaddy, Zoho, and Sendgrid in the aftermath of Charlottesville in 2017.¹¹⁷ While Anglin struggled to get his site up and running again with a foreign domain registrar, the reach and momentum of his movement was significantly stunted. But the sheer volume of traffic that *The Daily Stormer* continues to receive is a testament to Anglin's sustained influence among online white nationalists. Additionally, although he is not in Southern California, Andrew Anglin is by far the most popular account on Gab among Southern Californian white nationalist entities.¹¹⁸

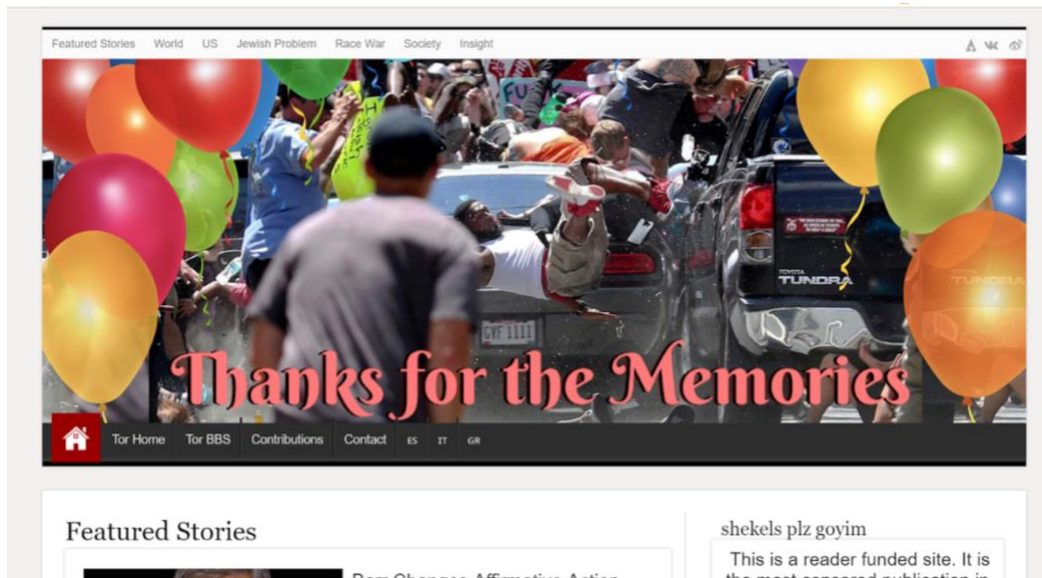


Figure 1: Daily Stormer Banner

Some other white nationalist leaders and groups based in Southern California also use independent websites to distribute propaganda. John Friend, who is based in Long Beach, uses his website, *The Realist Report*, to make frequent blog posts focused on Holocaust denial and other conspiracies involving the Jewish community.¹¹⁹ Former Klansman and Skinhead leader Tom Metzger, who lives in San Jacinto, posts video and audio clips on his site *White Aryan Resistance*, which he describes as “an educational repository on the benefits of racial separation, highlighting the dangers of multiculturalism and promoting racial identity and a territorial imperative.”¹²⁰ Both Friend and Metzger are active on social media. While Metzger does not appear to network with other Southern Californian white nationalists of note, Friend follows many fellow Southern Californian white nationalists on Twitter.¹²¹

As for recruitment, two national organizations have membership application pages on their websites: the American Identity Movement (AIM) and Patriot Front.

¹¹⁷ Luke O'Brien, “The Making of an American Nazi,” *The Atlantic*, December 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/12/the-making-of-an-american-nazi/544119/>.

¹¹⁸ See Appendix B1.

¹¹⁹ Realist Report, “The “Holocaust” As Tool To Flood America With Third Worlders,” *The Realist Report*, July 27, 2019, <https://therealistreport.com/the-holocaust-as-tool-to-flood-america-with-third-worlders/>.

¹²⁰ <https://www.resist.com/>, at the bottom of the homepage.

¹²¹ See Appendix B1; out of a pool of five accounts in total.

Both groups emerged from the hectic aftermath of the August 2017 “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville. The American Identity Movement is a rebranded version of Identity Evropa, and Patriot Front split off from Vanguard America after the rally.¹²² The screenshot below (Figure 2) depicts part of the Patriot Front’s online recruitment process. After submitting a brief initial application, applicants receive an email inviting them to participate in an online interview via the web chat server Rocket.Chat. On Twitter, both the American Identity Movement and Patriot Front were extremely active, posting frequently from Southern California and connecting with other Southern Californian white nationalist groups. However, sometime between September 19th and October 17th 2019, both groups’ Twitter pages were suspended—an interesting turn of events, given that AIM had thousands of followers and Patriot Front’s follower count had been steadily rising. Likely for the sake of optics, the American Identity Movement does not have a Gab account. Patriot Front does, however, and continues to regularly post content, including content reflecting a presence in Southern California.¹²³ (Examples of this are found in the cited Appendix B2.)

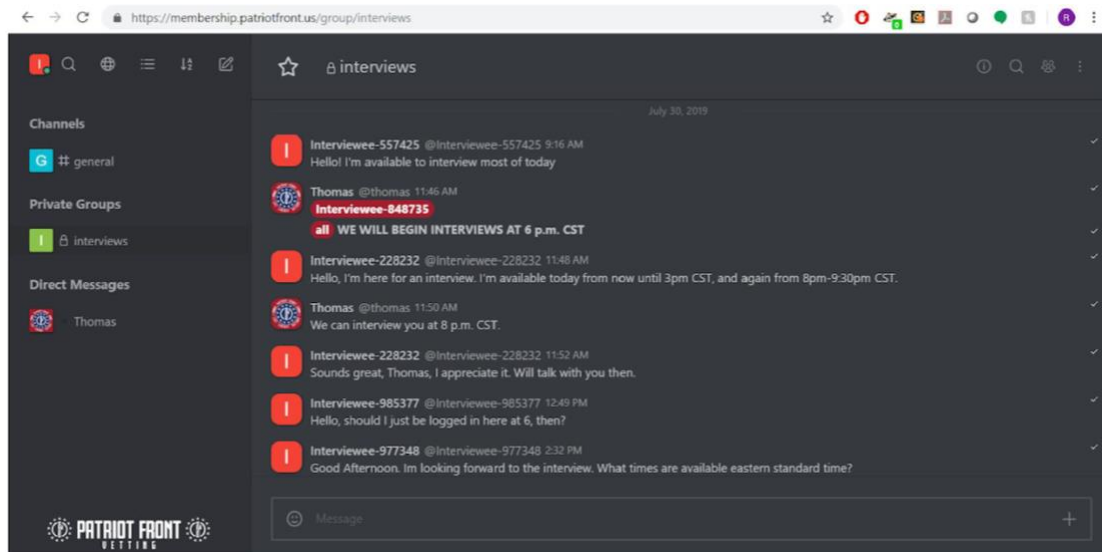


Figure 2: Online Recruitment

3.2. Social Media

Anders Breivik, an infamous Norwegian white nationalist and mass murderer, said in his influential 2011 manifesto:¹²⁴ “If you are a European patriot and you are not on Facebook you need to shape up and adapt. . . . Online social networking sites will be

¹²² Anti-Defamation League, “Patriot Front,” adl.org, <https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/patriot-front> (last accessed October 15, 2019).

¹²³ See Appendix B2.

¹²⁴ Jacob Aasland Ravndal, “The Dark Web Enabled the Christchurch Killer,” *Foreign Policy*, March 16, 2019, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/03/16/the-dark-web-enabled-the-christchurch-killer-extreme-right-terrorism-white-nationalism-anders-breivik/>.

essential in the decades to come for consolidation/recruitment purposes.”¹²⁵ On this point, Breivik was largely correct, although his focus on Facebook is retrospectively too narrow, as much online white nationalist activity now takes place on other social media sites. The most used mainstream social media platforms for white nationalists in Southern California are YouTube and Twitter, while the most used fringe social media platforms are 4chan/8chan/Neinchan and Gab. More mainstream sites often serve to generate interest in the ideology, whereas fringe sites serve to reinforce the ideology. Cyberspatial strains of white nationalism generally have a great degree of continuity with pre-internet white nationalism: they admire the Nazi regime; they read “classic” white nationalist and adjacent texts; they hold antisemitic and racist views; and so on.¹²⁶ On the other hand, the internet has brought a greater embrace of lone wolf tactics, an integration of internet meme culture into white nationalism, and the use of the internet to meet and coordinate with fellow white nationalists. Ideologically, online white nationalism is not monolithic per se, but it is more or less united by the aforementioned pillars of white nationalist ideology—antisemitism, white ethnonationalism, anti-immigrant nativism, and recruitment.

3.2.1. Mainstream social media

YouTube is unequivocally the central platform used to disseminate white nationalist ideology on the internet. As one of the most visited sites on the internet,¹²⁷ YouTube receives billions of visits each month, and more than 500 hours of content are uploaded to the site every minute.¹²⁸ Given the scale of Youtube’s influence, it is not surprising that white nationalist individuals and organizations have utilized it as a tool to communicate with and indoctrinate supporters. Along with sympathizers who go to YouTube actively seeking out racist content, journalists have stated that white nationalism gains supporters through the site’s algorithm of suggested videos, which drives 70% of the site’s traffic.¹²⁹ Anthime “Baked Alaska” Gionet, a former alt-righter, described his experience on the website. He began by viewing moderate content but then entered a “rabbit hole” of increasingly fringe rhetoric and conspiracy theories.¹³⁰ Given the highly fluid and decentralized nature of the white nationalist ideological landscape on YouTube, it is difficult to pin down the exact order of suggested videos that might lead a viewer to alt-right content. In the course of writing this report, many videos and channels were removed either by the creators themselves or by YouTube for violating its hate speech code. Despite these difficulties in tracking content, we encountered numerous anecdotal instances of YouTube-facilitated radicalization, and a

¹²⁵ Anders Breivik, “2083: A European Declaration of Independence” (2011), §3.117.

<https://info.publicintelligence.net/AndersBehringBreivikManifesto.pdf>

¹²⁶ Such as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and Ragnar Redbeard’s *Might Is Right*.

¹²⁷ Daniyal Malik, “Google, YouTube, Facebook: The World’s Most Popular Websites in 2019,” *Digital Information World*, April 8, 2019, <https://www.digitalinformationworld.com/2019/04/domains-with-the-most-visits-in-2019.html>.

¹²⁸ Ames Loke Hale, “More Than 500 Hours Of Content Are Now Being Uploaded To YouTube Every Minute,” *tubefilter*, May 7, 2019.

<https://www.tubefilter.com/2019/05/07/number-hours-video-uploaded-to-youtube-per-minute/>

¹²⁹ Kevin Roose, “The Making of a YouTube Radical,” *The New York Times*, June 8, 2019

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/06/08/technology/youtube-radical.html>.

¹³⁰ Ignacio Martinez, “The atonement of an alt-right troll,” *The Daily Dot*, last updated July 22, 2019, <https://www.dailydot.com/layer8/baked-alaska-atonement-alt-right-deplatforming/>.

study conducted by Monoel Horta Ribeiro and others empirically traced certain lines of radicalization on YouTube; algorithmically generated channel recommendations in particular have been shown to lead users from moderate channels to white nationalist channels.¹³¹

Algorithms, of course, do not always work alone, and sometimes it is the combination of a human agent alongside an algorithm that helps radicalize users. One example of this is Dave Rubin’s interview of the alt-right figure Stefan Molyneux on *The Rubin Report* in late 2017. Rubin, himself a politically moderate individual and self-described classical liberal,¹³² not only let Molyneux promote scientific racism uncontested on *The Rubin Report* but more worryingly provided links to resources on scientific racism “provided by Stefan’s team,” shared Molyneux’s Twitter account, and advertised Molyneux’s then-new book.¹³³ Although Rubin allowed Molyneux to be a guest on his show in the name of unconditional free speech, Rebecca Lewis, a researcher at the think tank Data & Society, explained in a September 2018 report why Rubin’s effort to encourage viewers to “do more research on your own” has insidious—even if unintentional—implications. According to the report,

Google returns radically different results based on small differences in search queries for controversial topics—a process which often reaffirms the bias of the searcher. This is precisely the experience that political influencers support with the search engine optimization techniques described above. For example, at the time of writing, searching for the term “IQ” on Google returns videos featuring Stefan Molyneux on the first page.... Similarly, the first result for “race realism” in YouTube search results is from the white nationalist publication American Renaissance. Therefore, those doing their own research on the terms and topics introduced by Molyneux are likely to discover content supporting the same racist arguments.¹³⁴

Extending this logic, Molyneux’s other interactions with figures more moderate than he also shape a curious user’s search algorithms. Intelligence Quotient (IQ) science, as suggested above, is a major thematic pattern connecting mainstream and fringe figures on YouTube. University of Toronto professor Jordan Peterson, who has gained a significant following on YouTube sometimes speaks about IQ differences between individuals and populations, which has brought him into contact with figures who skirt along the edges of the white nationalist movement—chief among them being Stefan Molyneux. Here is an excerpt of a conversation the two individuals had, from a 2017 video titled “The IQ Problem:”

¹³¹ Manoel Horta Ribeiro et al., “Auditing Radicalization Pathways on YouTube,” arXiv:1908.08313v2 [cs.CY], last revised September 3, 2019, page 10, <https://arxiv.org/pdf/1908.08313v2.pdf>.

¹³² “Why I Left the Left,” YouTube video, 4:22, “PragerU,” February 6, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hiVQ8vrGA_8.

¹³³ “Stefan Molyneux on Abusive Relationships, Atheism (Full Interview),” YouTube video, 1:02:07, “The Rubin Report,” November 10, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2-IN-KTpK_s.

¹³⁴ Rebecca Lewis, “Alternative Influence: Broadcasting the Reactionary Right on YouTube,” Data & Society Research Institute, September 2018, https://datasociety.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/DS_Alternative_Influence.pdf.

Peterson: “There are profound and virtually irremediable differences in people’s cognitive performance, and those differences have a very solid biological and heritable basis. People don’t want to hear that. . . .”

Molyneux: “And even worse they don’t want to hear that it differs between genders and ethnicities. . . . It is one of the great heartbreaks when it comes to the dream of pure egalitarianism.”

Peterson: “. . . The Ashkenazi Jews, for example, have on average a 15 point advantage over the rest of the Caucasian population which is sufficient to account for their radical overrepresentation in positions of authority and influence and productivity . . . and just so I’m clear, I’m not saying that’s a bad thing.”¹³⁵

In this excerpt, Peterson explicitly distances himself from those who might use his words to support racial separatism or antisemitism, and yet simply in amicably engaging Molyneux, any Peterson fan looking further into race “science” and IQ would, again, have their search results influenced by Molyneux. Jordan Peterson is not a white nationalist and has personally spoken against the alt-right. However, Ribeiro et al.’s study demonstrates that a significant amount of YouTube users who watch “Intellectual Dark Web” figures¹³⁶ are algorithmically moved toward “alt-lite,”¹³⁷ and sometimes even alt-right content. Additionally, Lewis’ study shows that YouTube content makes the results an internet user receives from search engines biased toward the content they had been watching. Thus, although a figure like Jordan Peterson is indeed not a white nationalist, the way networks function on the internet means that his collaboration with Molyneux lays the foundation for viewers to move further to the right. In short, moderate personalities cannot be considered wholly separate from less moderate ones.

While Molyneux does not appear to be an extremist, his comparatively “edgier” status means that he, and others like him, serve as an important link bridging the gap between conservatives and fascists. A few years ago, for instance, Molyneux interviewed and interacted with Jared Taylor, founder of the white supremacist magazine *American Renaissance*.¹³⁸ The ability to jump from the ‘alt-lite’ to the ‘alt-right’ is also expressed in the following post from Neinchan’s /pol/ board:

¹³⁵ “The IQ Problem | Jordan Peterson & Stefan Molyneux,” YouTube video, 6:15, “Geordi Corgione,” August 15, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iF8F7tjmy_U.

¹³⁶ From Ribeiro et al., page 2: “The Intellectual Dark Web (I.D.W.) is a term coined by Eric Ross Weinstein to refer to a particular group of academics and podcast hosts. The neologism was later popularized in a New York Times opinion article, where it is employed to describe [a]: ‘collection of iconoclastic thinkers, academic renegades and media personalities who are having a rolling conversation about all sorts of subjects, (...) touching on controversial issues such as abortion, biological differences between men and women, identity politics, religion, immigration, etc’. The group described in the NYT piece includes Sam Harris, Jordan Peterson, Ben Shapiro, Dave Rubin and Joe Rogan.”

¹³⁷ From Ribeiro et al., page 2: “The term Alt-lite was created to differentiate right-wing activists who deny to embracing white supremacist ideology.... Alt-right writer and white supremacist Greg Johnson describes the difference between Alt-right and Alt-lite by the origin of its nationalism: ‘The Alt-lite is defined by civic nationalism as opposed to racial nationalism, which is a defining characteristic of the Alt-right.’... [I]t is important to point out that the line between the Alt-right and the Alt-lite is blurry, as many Alt-lites are accused of dog-whistling: attenuating their real beliefs to appeal to a more general public and to prevent getting banned [from social media].”

¹³⁸ “An Honest Conversation About Race,” Bitchute video, 1:18:32, “Stefan Molyneux,” July 14, 2019 (recording originally released July 8, 2016), <https://www.bitchute.com/video/YSB8xFt19JSL/>.

Just a few years ago I was anti-racist and wouldn't have given NatSoc ideas the time of day. . . . Now I unironically think the only thing Hitler did wrong was not gassing the kikes. My point being, I got here eventually. . . . We also need some people hiding their power levels and selling a more-normie friendly message to pull people in our direction. Even the alt-lite fucks are somewhat useful in that regard. Sargon [of Akkad, an “anti-SJW” YouTuber] was part of my redpill journey and I find the guy laughable now.¹³⁹

While it is not a given that one will transition from “Intellectual Dark Web” types to the “alt-lite,” nor from the “alt-lite” to the alt-right, if someone does make that full transition, he or she often finds themselves on sites like 8chan, Neinchan, and Gab.¹⁴⁰

3.2.2. Fringe social media

Due to its association with the shootings in Christchurch, El Paso, Dayton, at Chabad of Poway, and at Gilroy Garlic Festival shootings, 8chan has been a lightning rod for controversy. In order to understand 8chan, it is first necessary to examine 4chan. Launched in 2003, 4chan is arguably the preeminent English-language imageboard site. Imageboard sites are divided into many different “boards”—sections of the site devoted to a variety of topics and interests. By uploading an image to a board, participants can start a discussion thread, akin to threads on more conventional internet forums.¹⁴¹ A major difference between 4chan and a conventional forum, however, is that there is no user registration, meaning that users post anonymously. 4chan has long had a reputation for being edgy, crude, and controversial. One board on 4chan, entitled “/pol/ (‘Politically Incorrect’),” gained particular notoriety during the 2016 presidential campaign for combining virulently racist content with general support for candidate Donald Trump. 8chan was established in October 2013, years before 4chan received widespread media attention in the 2016 presidential election. Its founder, Fredrick “Hotwheels” Brennan, created the site as a response to what he saw as 4chan’s then-increasing “authoritarianism” and restrictions on free speech.¹⁴² 8chan differed from 4chan in two major ways: users could create their own boards, and content moderation was even more laissez-faire. The website was controversial from its inception, but this controversy reached a fever pitch as direct ties between 8chan and white nationalist violence were made apparent in early 2019. All of the aforementioned shooters actively browsed 8chan, and three of them posted their manifestos to the site.

As much as reactionary politics had a home on 4chan’s /pol/, 8chan’s /pol/ was yet more unrestrained. Much praise, for example, was given on the site to Samuel Woodward, a member of Atomwaffen Division who murdered Blaze Bernstein last year in Orange County, CA. After the Chabad of Poway shooting, however, a federal search warrant was issued against 8chan, causing suspicion among some users. For the next few months, multiple threads discussed the need to “migrate” to the dark web or

¹³⁹ <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1R297gBdGNiRw84VrIcH8swqxrvk7mOY0/view?usp=sharing>, page 4.

¹⁴⁰ A list of white nationalist entities on Twitter and Gab, their followings, and their interconnections have been outlined and charted in Appendix B1.

¹⁴¹ An example of a 4chan thread is seen in Appendix C.

¹⁴² Patrick Howell O'Neill, “8chan, the central hive of Gamergate, is also an active pedophile network,” *The Daily Dot*, last updated March 30, 2017, <https://www.dailydot.com/layer8/8chan-pedophiles-child-porn-gamergate/>.

bemoaned the alleged presence of federal agents on the site. Amidst this growing discontent, a new imageboard site, Neinchan, was founded later in 2019. While not as popular as 8chan, Neinchan's discussions are more brazen, some too controversial even for 8chan (see below). There is a particular focus on militancy. For a while, one of the pinned threads was centered around James Mason's *Siege*, a radical white supremacist text advocating decentralized, anti-societal terror. As of October 15, 2019, the two most popular threads, with hundreds of comments each, are dedicated to Brenton Tarrant, the Christchurch shooter. More users moved to Neinchan after the El Paso shooting. Cloudflare withdrew from providing infrastructure and security for 8chan and the site has been inaccessible since August 4, 2019. No direct connections between post-8chan communities and Southern Californian meatspace have been made as of November 15, 2019.

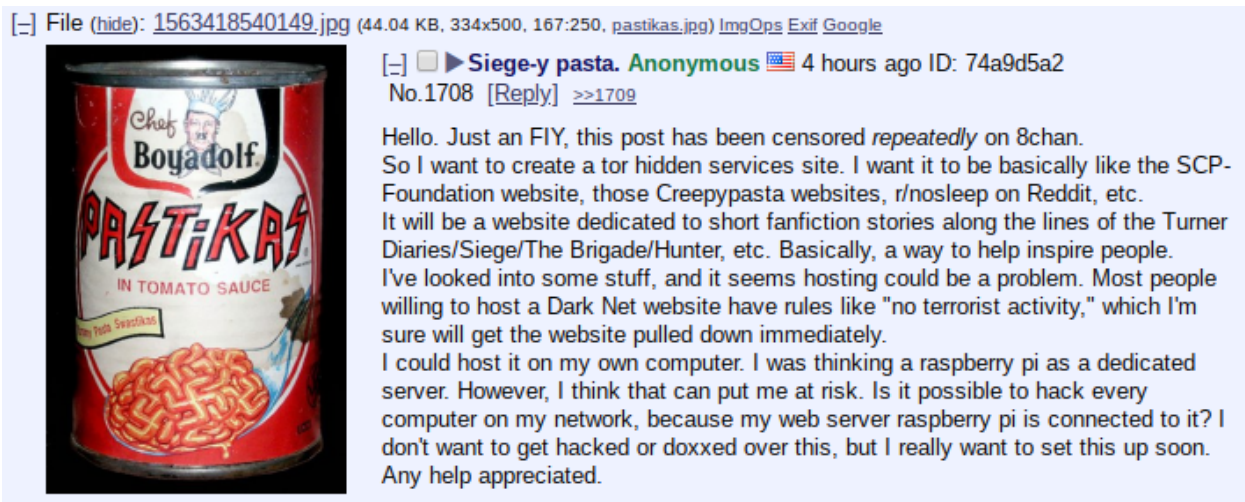


Figure 3: An 8chan-unfriendly post on Neinchan from July 17, 2019

3.3. Conclusion

This report demonstrates the deep level of interconnectedness that exists between the peripheries and the cores of cyberspace. Independent websites, mainstream social media websites, and fringe social media websites all feed into each other. YouTube radicalizes people, sites like Neinchan cement this radicalism, and sites like patriotfront.us give white nationalists the opportunity to learn more about their ideology and put it into meatspatial practice. Per Appendix B1, as the rudimentary network analysis shows, there are direct connections between aggressively, unabashedly hateful figures such as Andrew Anglin and those who try to pursue clean optics such as Patrick Casey.

4. Mapping

According to the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), from 2016 to 2019, the state of California experienced 1,114 incidents of white nationalism: 293 propaganda incidents, 20 white supremacist events, 7 extremist murders, 1 shootout, 3 terrorist plots and

attacks, and 820 antisemitic incidents.¹⁴³ UCLA Luskin Center for History and Policy constructed a map, using Google Maps, that pinpoints every incident of white nationalism that has occurred in Southern California from 2016-2019. In constructing our map, we observed the past three years of white nationalist activity in Southern California. The ADL H.E.A.T. map was our main source of data for tracking white nationalist activity in Southern California during that time.¹⁴⁴

While the ADL H.E.A.T. map highlights the different types of incidents that have occurred, our map highlights the most active groups responsible for these incidents. For example, the ADL categorizes each white nationalist incident into the following categories: a) Extremist Murders, b) Terrorists Plots and Attacks, c) Extremist/Police Shootouts, d) White Supremacist Events, e) White Supremacist Propaganda, and f) Antisemitic Incidents. In contrast, our map categorizes each incident according to the group that committed it. For example, alt-right groups such as Identity Evropa, American Identity Movement, Patriot Front and the Daily Stormer Book Club were all main actors in white supremacist propaganda and white supremacist events throughout Southern California. Our map pinpoints the location and type of incident, categorized according to the groups that have committed them.

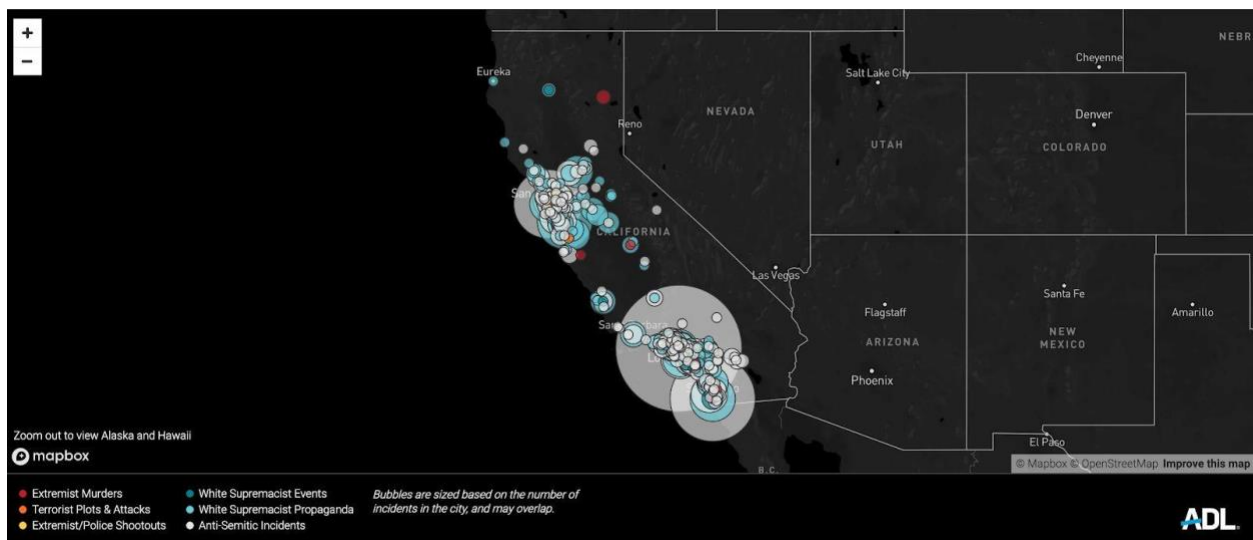


Figure 4: Anti-Defamation League H.E.A.T. map

¹⁴³ “Anti-Defamation League.” *Anti-Defamation League*, www.adl.org/.

¹⁴⁴ H.E.A.T stands for *Hate, Extremism, Anti-Semitism and Terrorism*.

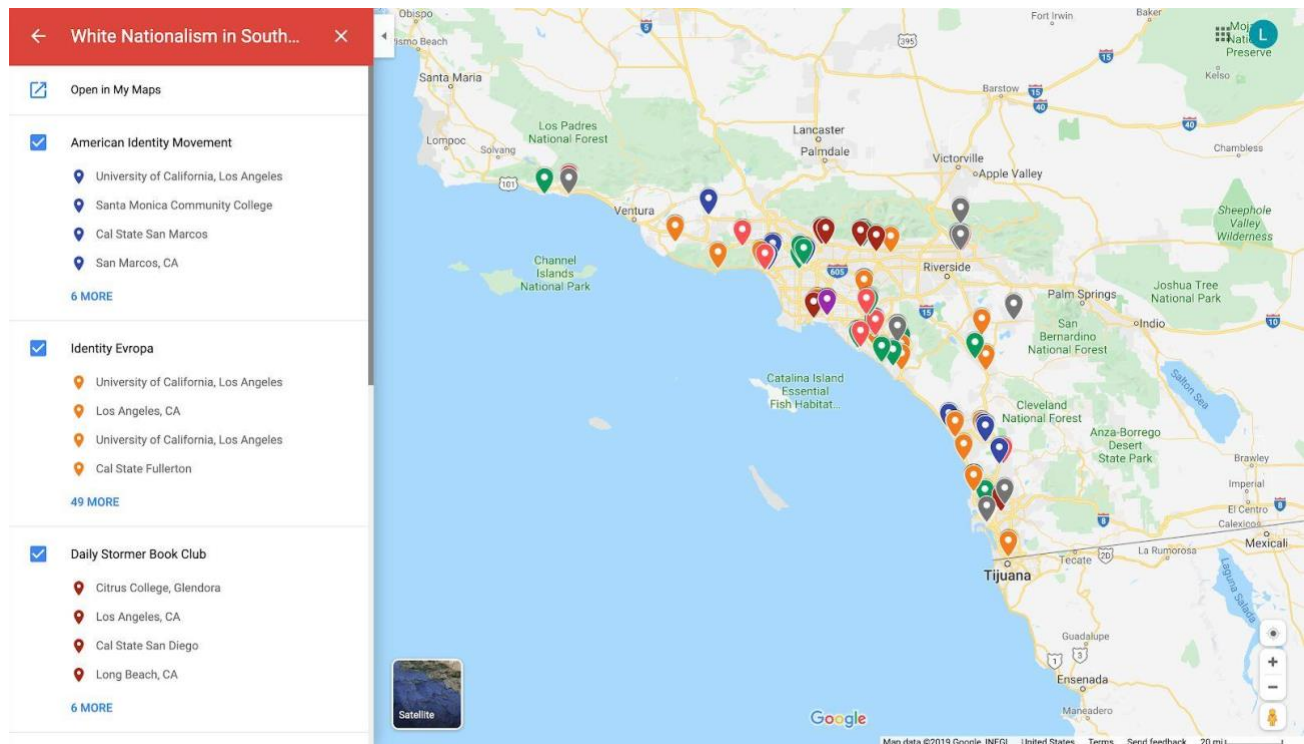


Figure 5: White nationalist activity map of UCLA Luskin Center for History and Policy

We categorized our map in this way in order to show who is most responsible for spreading white nationalist hate and propaganda in Southern California. We found that Identity Evropa (recently renamed American Identity Movement) was responsible for 59 out of 127 white nationalist incidents that have occurred in the past three years. Patriot Front, another alt-right group active in California, was responsible for 27 incidents in total. Further, The Daily Stormer Book Clubs were responsible for 10 incidents, and the Aryan Underground was responsible for three. All of these groups have worked to spread their message of hate by posting propaganda flyers and banners throughout Southern California.



Figure 6: Propaganda flyers by (from left to right) Identity Evropa, Patriot Front, and The Daily Stormer Book Club

It's important to note that Identity Evropa, Patriot Front and the Daily Stormer Book Club are the most consistently active alt-right groups. However, our map also shows other less consistent groups that have committed white nationalist incidents, murders, and attacks in the past three years. For instance, in 2018, Samuel Woodward, age twenty and a member of the white supremacist group Atomwaffen, was imprisoned for stabbing his former high school classmate Blaze Bernstein to death.¹⁴⁵ Bernstein was gay and Jewish, two qualities that led Woodward to target him. Further, some individuals unaffiliated with any specific group have also contributed to the total count of incidents. White supremacist John T. Earnest, who was responsible for the Poway synagogue shooting in April 2019, did not affiliate with any specific group. Instead, Earnest was said to have been inspired by Brenton Tarrant's killing spree in New Zealand in March 2019.¹⁴⁶

In revealing who the most active groups are, we then looked to distinguish the patterns of group activity. First, almost all of the incidents took place around large metropolitan areas, particularly in areas with large Jewish communities such as Los Angeles, Orange County, and San Diego. There were little to no occurrences of activity in

¹⁴⁵ Greenblatt, Jonathan. "Was Blaze Bernstein's Murder a Hate Crime? We Need to Know." *Anti-Defamation League*, 5 Feb. 2018, www.adl.org/news/op-ed/was-blaze-bernsteins-murder-a-hate-crime-we-need-to-know.

¹⁴⁶ "Deadly Shooting at California Chabad Highlights Threat to Jewish Houses of Worship." *Anti-Defamation League*, 27 Apr. 2019, www.adl.org/blog/deadly-shooting-at-california-chabad-highlights-threat-to-jewish-houses-of-worship.

more remote regions outside of these areas. Second, almost all of the propaganda flyers and banner postings were distributed on college campuses throughout Southern California. From this, we concluded that white nationalist groups are looking to recruit young, white, educated men and sometimes women.¹⁴⁷

We conclude that the most active groups currently working to spread their white nationalist message are Identity Evropa (recently renamed as American Identity Movement), Patriot Front, and the Daily Stormer Book Clubs. These groups do not aim to spread their message through the use of violence because they want to avoid drawing too much attention to themselves. As a matter of fact, two of these groups in particular have previously denounced, or were founded on principles that denounce, their involvement in violent rallies or events. In 2018, Andrew Anglin, the founder of the Daily Stormer Book Club, denounced his group's involvement with white supremacist events and said that "[Instead of violent rallies and protests] flyering, banner drops and flash mobs have been successful, are very low risk and [actually] contribute to the goal of spreading the message." Further, on AIM's website they specifically state that "American Identity Movement believes in effecting change peacefully and lawfully, and rejects political violence, extremism, and supremacism in all of its forms."¹⁴⁸

In other words, these alt-right groups are intellectualizing the manner in which they spread their message; they are opting to reject political violence, extremism, and supremacism in favor of visual demonstration and "peaceful" activism filled with hateful rhetoric. This is a more sustainable way for them to gain more followers and grow.



Figure 7: Racist skinheads (above) and Identity Evropa at their first convention in March 2018 (below); this shows the character development of white nationalist culture, from rugged, tattooed gang members to clean-cut looking professionals.

¹⁴⁷ Upon further investigation, we found that most groups, such as the Daily Stormer Book Clubs, do not accept women. However, American Identity Movement (formerly known as Identity Evropa) does encourage women to join.

¹⁴⁸ "About AIM." *American Identity Movement*, www.americanidentitymovement.com/about/.

These groups showcase a more non-violent nature; they work by strategically spreading their hateful message through distributing propaganda flyers and banners. They mostly target college campuses, heeding the notion that they are looking to recruit a certain type of individual: young, white and educated. The most prominent group, recently renamed American Identity Movement, consists solely of members that are college-aged men and women and working professionals. Contemporary white supremacist groups are focused on intellectualizing white supremacist ideology; they have foregone Skinhead culture for a more conservative and professional style. Taking note of this, communities need to look into how to protect young people in their educational environments.

5. Recommendations

Research into the history, ideology, internet presence, and geographic activity of white nationalists in Southern California led the team to focus on strategies to prevent the spread of white nationalism. Of particular concern is the possible seepage of white nationalist ideology into the minds of young people in insidious fashion, and often through social media.

A key first line of defense must be increased training for teachers and students for students in schools. Children can easily and unwittingly absorb negative stereotypes and misinformation through social media, confusing malign and veiled racist language with popular memes and lingo. Teachers in schools can and should play an active role in identifying and challenging the facile absorption of dangerous language and ideas, but they need to be afforded the opportunity, training, and resources to do so.¹⁴⁹

A closely related goal is enhanced media literacy for teachers, students, and parents. The ubiquity of the internet and the constant use of social media by kids enable white nationalists to prey on unsuspecting victims. The current moment demands that teachers, media experts, and scholars of white nationalism join together to develop best practices to prevent exposure to white nationalist propaganda and phishing attempts.

This leads to the Luskin Center research team's proposal of an early warning system to identify escalating steps of toxic white nationalist language. We understand how easily and innocently people, especially children at an impressionable age, can fall prey to the dark world of racist white nationalists. The scale below is intended as a tool for teachers, parents, and others to identify stages in the absorption of white nationalist ideas:

1. **Accidental Absorption:** A young internet user finds amusing and passes on a meme of Pepe the Frog standing outside of a gas chamber without any knowledge of the Holocaust.
2. **Edgy Transgression:** A high schooler hears and then repeats a joke about the Holocaust as a form of shock humor, but without any connection to a white

¹⁴⁹ Among the best resources for teachers is the excellent toolkit of the Western States Center, "Confronting White Nationalism in the Classroom"

(<https://www.pps.net/cms/lib/OR01913224/Centricity/Domain/4/ConfrontingWhiteNationalismInSchoolsToolkit.pdf>). See also the materials of the Anti-Defamation League, <https://www.adl.org/education/resources/tools-and-strategies/after-charlottesville-teaching-about-racism-antisemitism> and Facing History and Ourselves, <https://www.facinghistory.org/educator-resources/current-events/explainer/white-nationalism>.

- nationalist group or cause.
3. **Political Provocation:** This category includes those who regularly listen to professional provocateurs such as white nationalist Richard Spencer, who advocates for the creation of white ethnostate, but denies any affiliation with violent white nationalist action. Other examples include prominent voices in more mainstream media outlets (such as Tucker Carlson of Fox News), who use a similar language of resentment against non-white immigrant populations as the far right.¹⁵⁰
 4. **Overt Hate:** A clear example of this would be readers of Andrew Anglin, the far-right agitator who celebrated the death of Heather Heyer, the victim of the Charlottesville attack in 2017, on his website, *The Daily Stormer*. Those who regularly read Anglin's site have moved from edgy transgression and political provocation to overt hate.
 5. **Physical Violence:** This category includes those who read and admire the deeds and writings of Robert Bowers, the alleged murderer of the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh or John T. Earnest, the alleged murderer shooter who targeted the Chabad of Poway Synagogue.

While the boundaries between each are fluid, these five categories reflect an increase in severity and forms of expression of white nationalist activity. Each category is also intended to provide a means for detection and, in concert with media literacy training and increased education in schools, to prevent or halt such future occurrences.

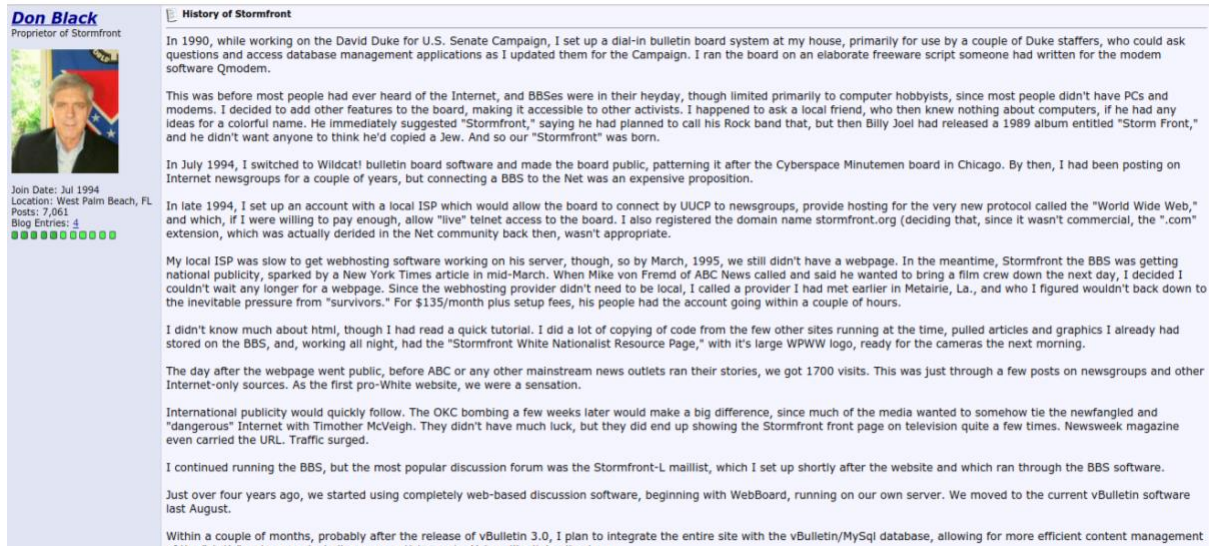
6. Appendix

A - Don Black explains the origins of Stormfront

Stormfront could not be archived using archive.org because the site does not allow crawlers. Instead, we have provided a screenshot as evidence of the site's content.

¹⁵⁰ Eliza Relman, "Tucker Carlson says immigrants have 'plundered' the US and want to steal Americans' Wealth," *Business Insider*, May 22, 2019, accessed at <https://www.businessinsider.com/tucker-carlson-says-immigrants-have-plundered-the-us-2019-5>.

Figure 8: Stormfront



B - Southern Californian white nationalist entities

1. Social Media Presences of Southern Californian white nationalist entities

During the research process, it became clear that Andrew Anglin, the founder and editor of The Daily Stormer, is a prominent figure followed by multiple Southern Californian entities of interest. Thus, while he is almost certainly not in Southern California (his exact whereabouts are unknown), he is included in this report because of his influence on Southern Californian white nationalists.

First is a list of all relevant entities. Second is a table charting who follows whom on Twitter. Third is a table charting who follows whom on Gab.

1. Social Media Presence of Individuals and Groups

- **AA: Andrew Anglin** — 14,164 followers on Gab on July 8, 2019 | 14,400 on August 15, 2019 | 14,477 on September 19, 2019
Founder and editor for the Daily Stormer, a neo-Nazi news and meme site. The steady increase of followers on Gab, along with his level of connectedness to Southern Californian entities, is cause for sustained interest.
- **AIM: American Identity Movement** — 6,058 followers on Twitter on July 8, 2019 | 6,132 on August 15, 2019 | 6,486 on September 19, 2019 | **ACCOUNT SUSPENDED AS OF AT LEAST OCTOBER 17, 2019**
A white nationalist movement that leans heavily on respectability political rhetoric, a racist phoenix which rose from the ashes of Identity Evropa. It has been active in Newport, Pasadena, and San Diego, among other places in SoCal.
- **AFP: American Freedom Party** —
 - 2,347 followers on Twitter on July 8, 2019 | 2,365 on August 15, 2019 | 2,370 on September 19, 2019
 - 167 followers on Gab on July 8, 2019 | 176 on August 15, 2019 | 188 on September 19, 2019

- A white nationalist party in California based out of Los Angeles.

 - **ANP: American Nazi Party** — 1,152 followers on Gab on July 8, 2019 | 1,183 on August 15, 2019
The American Nazi Party is what it says on the tin. It has historically had a presence in California.
 - **IE: Identity Evropa** — 6,196 followers on Gab [defunct]
A forerunning “white identitarian” organization, IE had a notable presence on Southern Californian campuses. It tried to craft a cool, modern image for white nationalism, attempting to make it associated with hip fashion and eye-catching logos rather than skinheads and Adolf Hitler. In California, it has been rebranded as AIM since 2019.
 - **KM: Kevin MacDonald** —
 - 29,939 followers on Twitter on July 8, 2019 | 29,993 on August 15, 2019 | 29,886 on September 19, 2019
 - 1,328 followers on Gab on July 8, 2019 [defunct]

Infamous “academic face” of antisemitism and former professor at CSULB.
 - **PC: Patrick Casey** —
 - 14,597 followers on Twitter on July 8, 2019 | **Account suspended as of August 1, 2019**
 - 230 followers on Gab [defunct]

Former member of IE and founder of AIM. His ban from Twitter on August 1, 2019 was a surprising development, given his commitment to a rhetoric of respectability politics.
 - **PF: Patriot Front** —
 - 130 followers on Twitter on July 8, 2019 | 607 on August 15, 2019 | 720 on September 19, 2019 | **ACCOUNT SUSPENDED AS OF AT LEAST OCTOBER 17, 2019**
 - 2,546 followers on Gab on July 8, 2019 | 2,691 followers on August 15, 2019 | 2,760 on September 19, 2019

White nationalist and neo-fascist group in California. Though a statewide organization, it is known to have a presence in Southern California.
 - **RAM: Rise Above Movement** — Gab: 809 followers on July 8, 2019 | 858 followers on August 15, 2019 | 885 followers on September 19, 2019
White supremacist fitness club and militia (of sorts), known for fighting progressives and leftists at various protests and rallies. Based out of Huntington Beach.
 - **RR: Realist Report** —
 - 3,354 followers on Twitter on July 8, 2019 | 3,344 on August 15, 2019 | 3,343 on September 19, 2019
 - 208 followers on Gab on July 8, 2019 | 205 on August 15, 2019 | 207 on September 19, 2019

Based out of Poway.
 - **TOQ: The Occidental Quarterly** — 106 followers on Twitter [defunct]
A white supremacist and racialist magazine with an academic veneer; companion to The Occidental Observer, which is based out of Laguna Hills.
 - **WAR: White Aryan Resistance** —

- 673 followers on Twitter on July 8, 2019 | 678 on August 15, 2019 | 677 on September 19, 2019
- 317 followers on Gab on July 8, 2019 | 335 on August 15, 2019 | 341 on September 19, 2019

Brainchild of Tom Metzger, a Southern Californian white supremacist who influentially advocated for lone wolf strategies of action. Based out of San Jacinto.

2. Twitter Follows

Across: accounts white supremacist organizations and individuals follow; Down: accounts that follow them

Twitter	AIM	AFP	KM	[PC]	PF	RR	TOQ	WAR
AIM	x							
AFP		x						
KM			x					
[PC]				x				
PF					x			
RR						x		
TOQ							x	
WAR								x

Figure 9: Twitter follows

The Realist Report has the most outgoing connections (3). Kevin MacDonald and AFM have the most incoming connections (2). The American Freedom Party has the most mutual connections (2).

3. Gab Follows

Gab	AA	AFP	ANP	IE	KM	PC	PF	RAM	RR	WAR
AA	x									
AFP		x								
ANP			x							
IE				x						
KM					x					

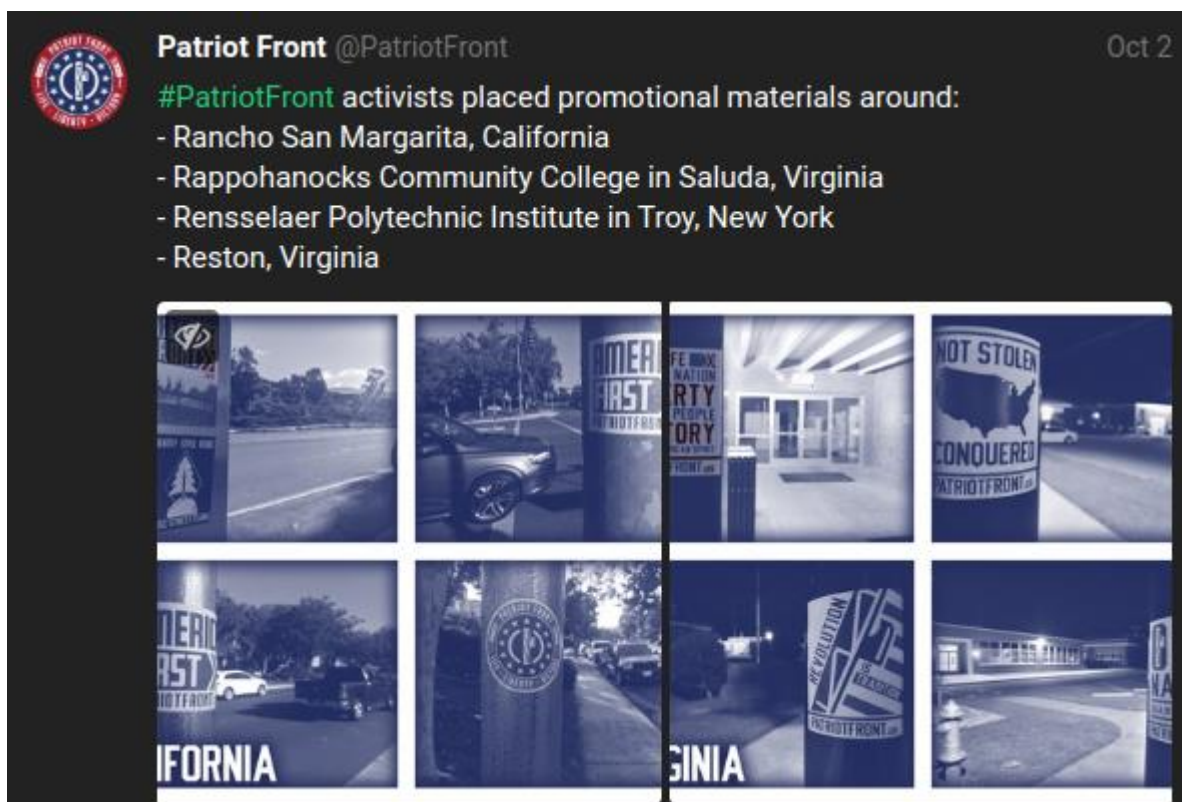
PC	*					X				
PF							X			
RAM								X		
RR									X	
WAR										X

Figure 10: Gab follows

* Andrew Anglin is Patrick Casey's one and only follow on Gab.

Patriot Front has the most outgoing connections (3). Andrew Anglin has the most incoming connections (4). There are no mutual connections between Southern Californian actors of interest on Gab.

2. Southern California-related posts of Southern Californian white nationalist entities



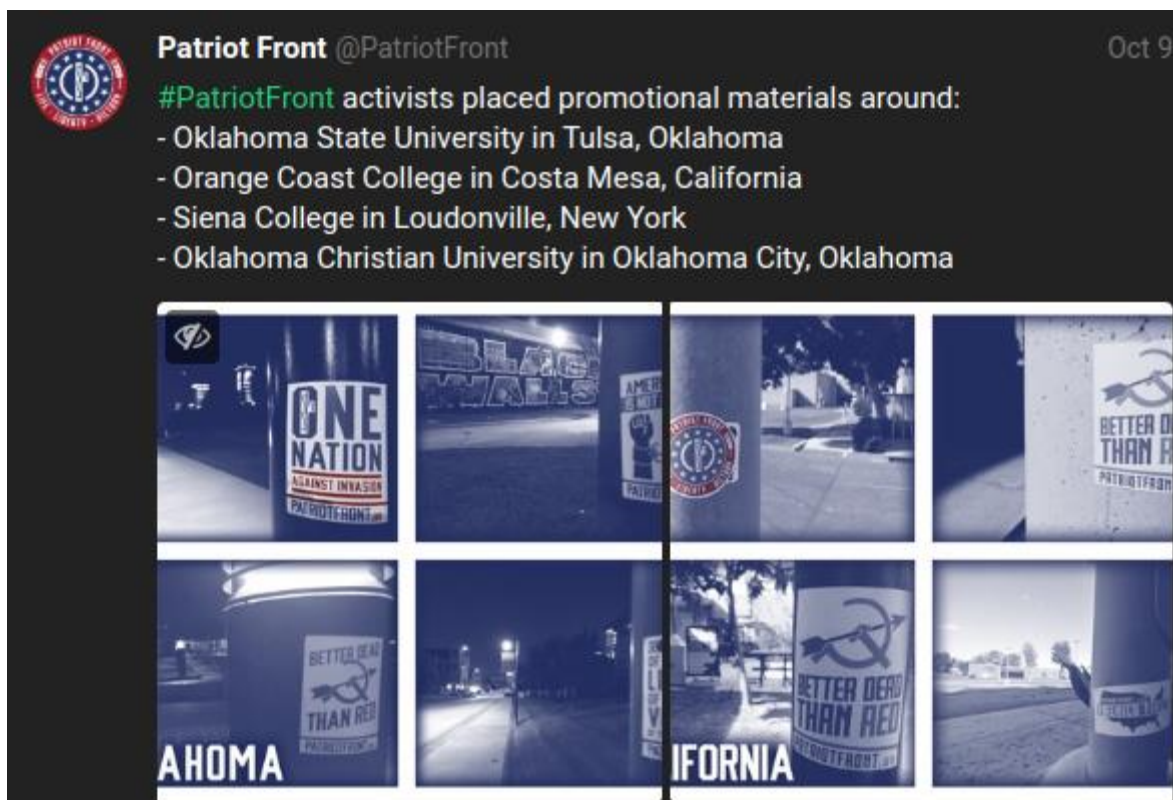
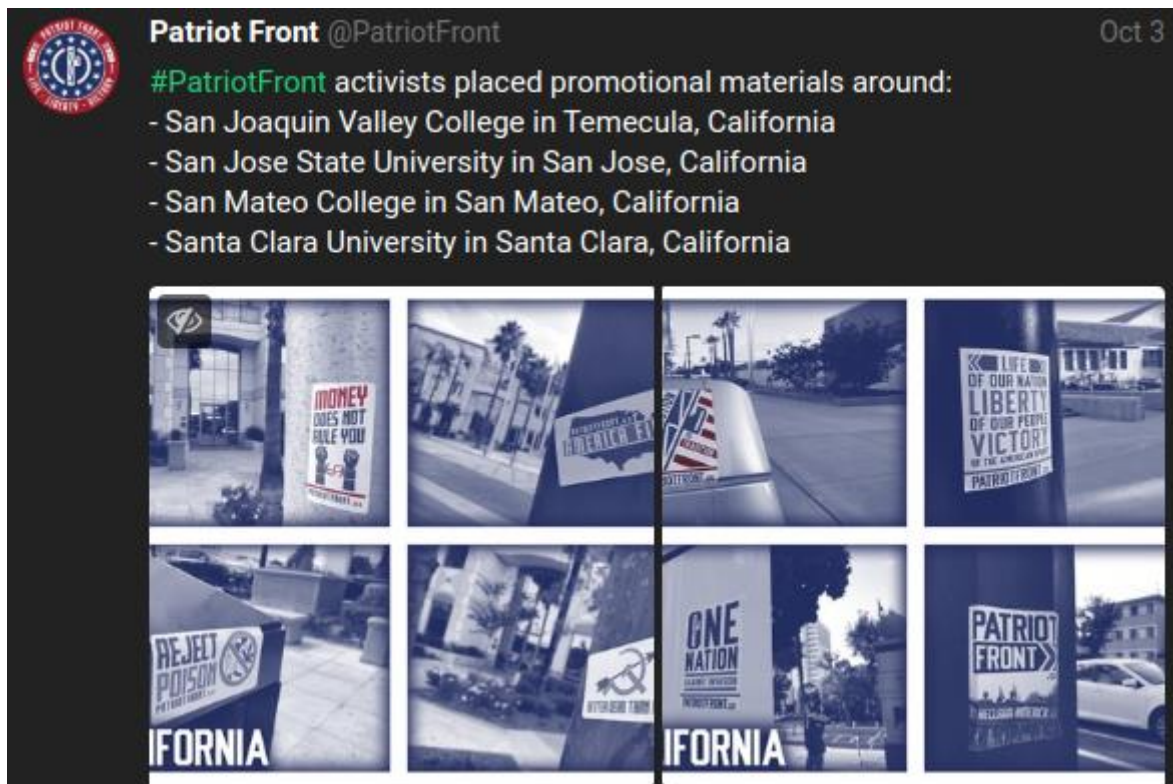


Figure 11: Patriot Front posters

C - An example of an imageboard thread

File: [How-to-Scramble-Eggs.jpg](#) (32 KB, 740x555)



☐ Anonymous 10/09/19(Wed)09:56:10 No.13038709 ▶ [>>13038715](#) [>>13038718](#)
[>>13038719](#) [>>13038779](#) [>>13038787](#) [>>13040919](#) [>>13040939](#) [>>13040969](#) [>>13040972](#) [>>13040984](#)
[>>13041009](#) [>>13041034](#) [>>13041596](#) [>>13041619](#) [>>13041632](#) [>>13041818](#) [>>13041840](#) [>>13041843](#)
[>>13041864](#) [>>13041869](#)

How do you like your eggs in the morning? Do you add any other vegetables in it to improve it?

>> ☐ Anonymous 10/09/19(Wed)09:56:48 No.13038715 ▶ [>>13041826](#)
[>>13038709 \(OP\)](#)
either soft scrambled or over easy with a bit of salt, and a ton of fresh black pepper

>> ☐ Anonymous 10/09/19(Wed)09:57:53 No.13038718 ▶
[>>13038709 \(OP\)](#)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s10etP1p2bU> [Embed]

>> ☐ Anonymous 10/09/19(Wed)09:58:00 No.13038719 ▶
[>>13038709 \(OP\)](#)
Diced tomatoes, peppers and onions if I didn't decide to wake up at the last possible minute.

Figure 12: A thread about eggs on 4chan's cooking (/ck/) board

D - White nationalists on Neinchan and suspicion

- Here below (Figure 9), a user asserts that federal agents (aka “glowniggers” or “glowies”) have infiltrated Neinchan. This term comes from Terry A. Davis, a programmer known for creating the operating system TempleOS and for his erratic behavior and comments. He said, “CIA niggers glow in the dark, you can see them if you're driving, you just run them over. That's what you do.” Certain users on the “chans” conceptualized “glowing in the dark” as “being conspicuous”, then combined “glow” with the racial slur to refer to supposed law enforcement agents posting on the boards. From this, language such as “you’re glowing” would mean, “you’re clearly an interloper,” and are law enforcement.
- Below is a user’s response to a thread titled “What are /pol/’s thoughts on the El Paso shooter?” This response that he “glows” means that the user believes that the El Paso shooting was some sort of false flag or that Patrick Crusius was somehow part of or manipulated by law enforcement.

☐ ▶ Anonymous 08/25/2019 (Sun) 17:17:51 Id: [7771c4](#) No. 2358

>>2296
glowies are here.
any thread with "i hate niggers" and "muh nazism" with no other substance or point of discussion, is likely a glownigger.

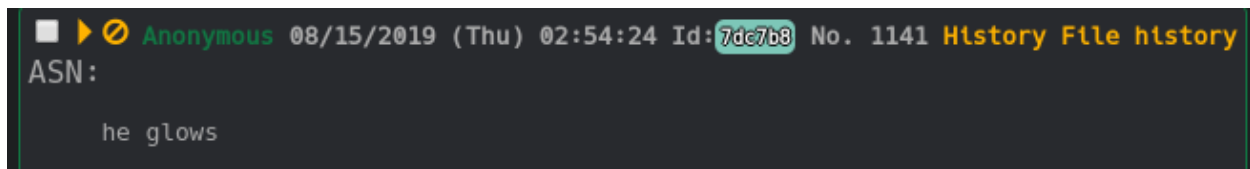


Figure 13: Examples of language used

- Below (Figure 14), a user asserts that “blackpill threads” (that is, threads embracing pessimism) are a conscious, concerted, and outside effort to demoralize Neinchan. The user also claims that Neinchan is a website meant to attract a certain user base for the sake of observing and surveilling it.

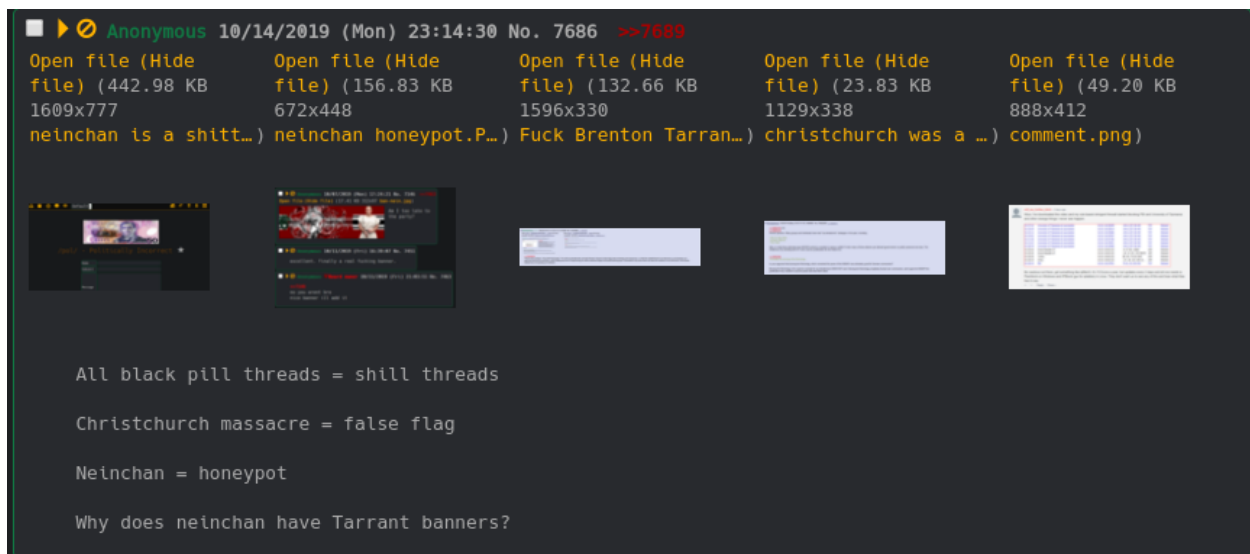


Figure 14: Thread example