



American Stormtroopers

Inside the National Socialist Movement



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The National Socialist Movement

The United States is home to hundreds of organized hate groups, most of which remain shadowy and anonymous. Americans may see neo-Nazis or Klansmen staging rallies or marches, or may read in the newspaper about some hate crime or terrorist act members of such groups have attempted, but they don't get to see the composition or inner workings of hate groups. When journalists or others ask extremist groups about their membership, extremists typically refuse to answer or respond with grossly exaggerated numbers designed to inflate the group's importance.

Yet understanding the nature of such groups is crucial to combating their anti-Semitic and racist influences. To this end, the Anti-Defamation League launched an in-depth investigation into the membership of the National Socialist Movement (NSM) that resulted in the complete or partial identification of more than 300 of the group's approximately 500 members and close associates nationwide.

The data obtained from the investigation allowed ADL to penetrate the white supremacists' veil of secrecy to create the first statistical portrait of an American neo-Nazi group, including information about its make-up, geographic distribution, tactics and activities.

The group chosen for the investigation, the Detroit-headquartered National Socialist Movement, is a neo-Nazi group of long standing, created by remnants of the American Nazi Party in 1974. However, for decades it operated only on the fringes of the neo-Nazi movement, eclipsed by larger and more prominent groups such as Aryan Nations and especially the National Alliance, the latter of which eschewed the Nazi uniforms and paraphernalia beloved by NSM members.

During the 1990s, however, two factors allowed the NSM to expand. The first was the rise to power of a younger, more energetic "commander," Jeff Schoep; the second was the growth of the Internet, which allowed the NSM to spread its virulently anti-Semitic and racist message more broadly and easily. By the early 2000s, the NSM had numerous chapters and between 100 and 200 members.

This growth positioned the NSM well to take advantage of the collapse of its three major rivals (the National Alliance, Aryan Nations, and the World Church of the Creator) in 2002-2004 due to the deaths or imprisonment of their leaders. By default, the NSM had become the largest neo-Nazi group in the United States.



Key Developments: 2006-2007

The NSM grew fairly rapidly in the first half of 2006, but its development slowed considerably during the last six months of the year. The year 2007 saw only a slow, modest growth. Small pockets of localized expansion in states such as Wisconsin, Missouri, Arizona and Nevada led to increases in small-scale NSM activity, including both public rallies and private gatherings. However, factional fighting typical of neo-Nazi groups hit the NSM several times in 2006-2007, which resulted in the expulsion or defection of a number of key members. These defections neutralized many of the gains realized by the hate group.

KEY FACTORS AND DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING THE GROWTH OF NSM DURING 2007 INCLUDED:

- NSM purchased the New Saxon Web site, a white supremacist social networking Web site (billing itself as “an online community for whites by whites”), after its founder was arrested in Florida on fraud charges. New Saxon has become popular among white supremacists frustrated by the restrictions on hate speech at most mainstream social networking sites. Its purchase by NSM increased its visibility in the movement and gave it ready access to a significant recruiting pool.
- NSM released a new version of its white supremacist first-person shooter computer game, “ZOG’s Nightmare II,” designed as a propaganda and recruiting tool targeting young people. However, future games are questionable since Matthew Ramsey (who claims to have created ZOG’s Nightmare I and II) left the NSM in 2007.
- NSM continued its publicity-seeking “public image” projects by trying to join local community projects such as tornado disaster relief, donations to AMBER Alert, and highway cleanups.
- NSM bolstered recruitment by exploiting anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States by holding numerous anti-immigration rallies and events around the country.
- NSM suffered a loss in October 2007 when South Carolina NSM member (and presidential candidate on an NSM ticket) John Taylor Bowles left the group amid factional fighting to create a new neo-Nazi group, the National Socialist Order of America.
- Bowles follower Nick Chappell, who served as NSM treasurer, also left the NSM. Earlier this year Nick Chappell purchased the “Redneck Shop” in South Carolina. Ill will between Chappell and NSM leadership could prevent future NSM meetings from being held at the decade-old Klan museum and store.

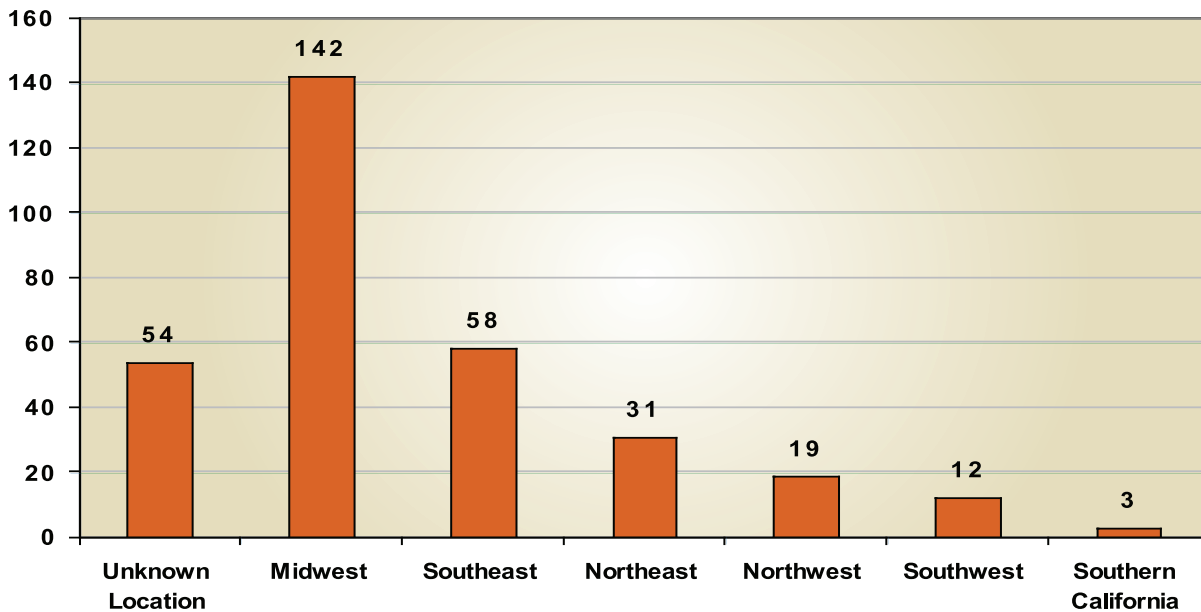


Membership Demographics

Though the NSM movement has chapters and members in every region of the United States, its true strength is in the Midwest. Of the more than 300 NSM members and close associates identified by ADL, almost half of them are known to live in the Midwest.

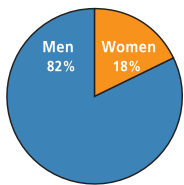
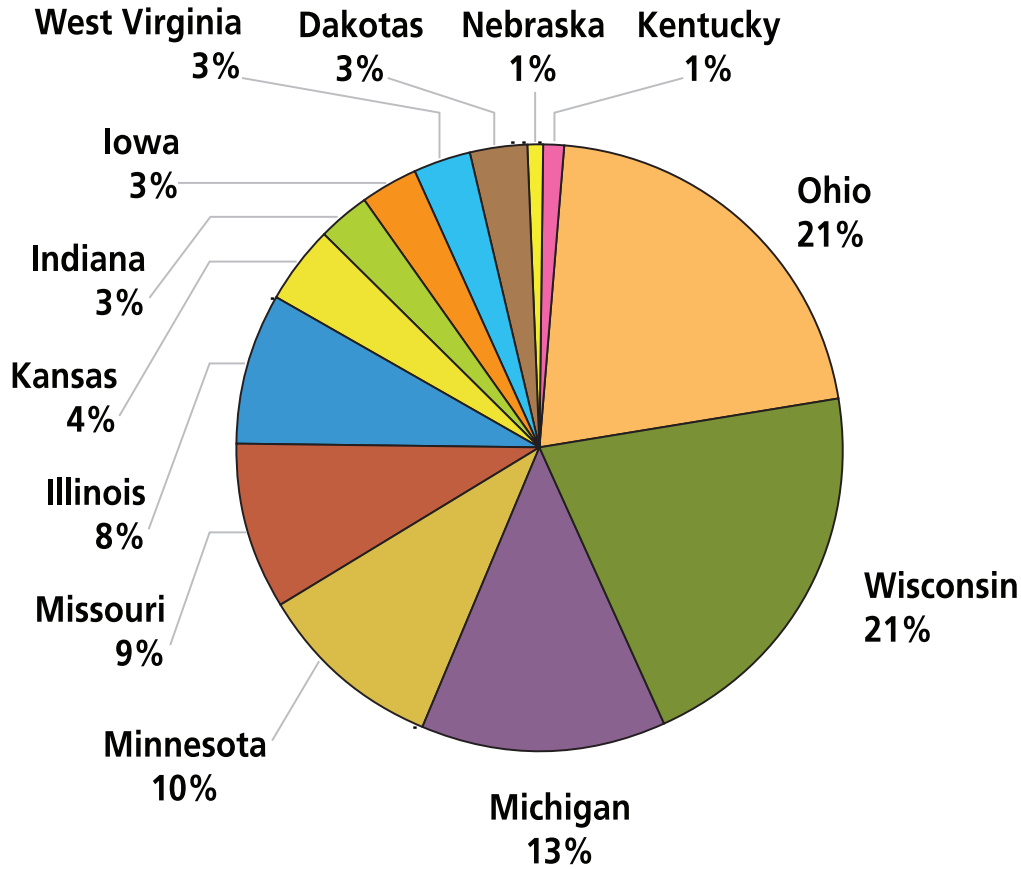
The bulk of the Midwest membership comes from Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota. However, Missouri and Illinois have seen growth this year and NSM Ohio has lost members to the Ohio State Hooligans, a newly formed racist skinhead group.

Members per Region





Midwest Members by State



Women vs Men

The Southeast region has the second largest membership, comprising about 18% of NSM members. The remaining NSM membership is scattered around the rest of the country. Moreover, outside the core areas of NSM support, membership is less stable and there is more turnover.

NSM membership is dominated by men. Although female white supremacists are common in the United States (most estimates put them at around one-third of the movement as a whole), they are not common in the NSM. Of those members whose gender is known, an overwhelming percentage, 82%, are male. Factors affecting female membership could include the group's emphasis on Nazi uniforms and paraphernalia, as well as internal attitudes about the role of women, though the group does include a "Women's Affairs" section. However, it should be noted

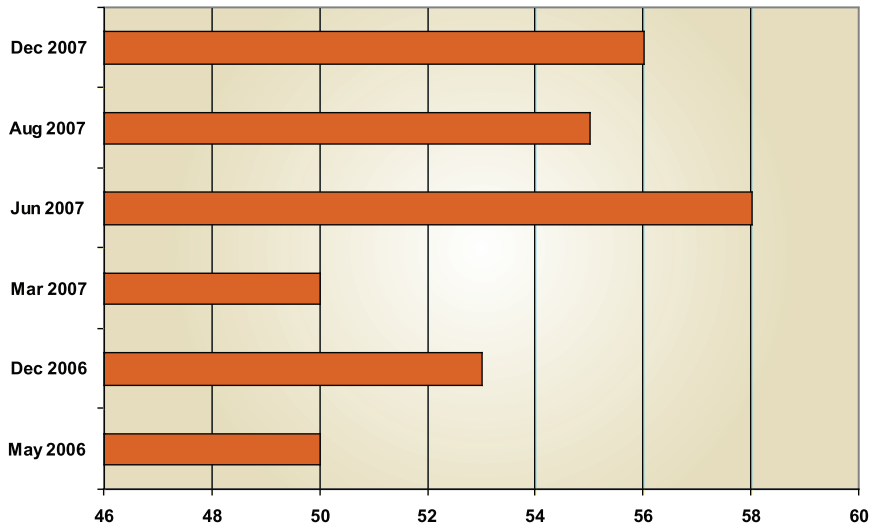
that several key leaders in NSM are women, including Jennifer Harris and Christina Drake, the latter of whom is now the "Viking Youth Corps" leader.

NSM membership is also relatively young. Of 81 NSM members whose date of birth (or, in some cases, claimed date of birth) is known, the average age is 31 (NSM leaders tend to be about five years older). The oldest known NSM member is a 61-year-old "sergeant" from Ohio.

The age of the average NSM member is older than that of some other white supremacist groups, particularly racist skinhead groups, because the NSM prohibits official membership to people under 18. Though children aged 14-18 can theoretically join the "Viking Youth Corps," the requirement for parental permission limits its membership severely. However, it is important to note that — through its Web presence, hate music distribution, and computer video games — the NSM's ability to reach young people extends well beyond formal membership in the NSM or its subsidiaries.

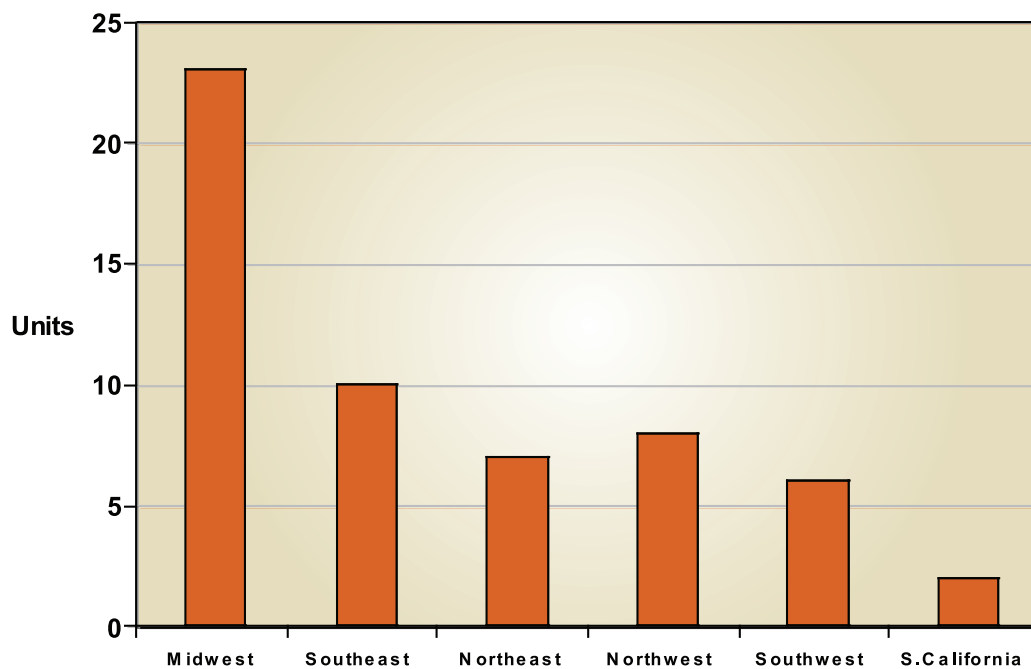


Number of Units



Group Organization: Slight Rise in 2007

Units per Region December 2007



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The most notable growth in units in 2007 occurred in the Southwest, where new units formed in Arizona, Colorado, and Nevada. The Southwest started 2007 with two units, but had six by the end of the year.

Though there are individual members of NSM, as well as subgroups such as “Stormtroopers” and the “Viking Youth,” the NSM is primarily organized into regional “units.” Most units are small (the NSM has about a 1:10 groups-to-members ratio) and many, especially those away from the NSM’s areas of geographic strength, tend to be short-lived. Many factors, ranging from factional fighting, to loss of interest on the part of key figures, to arrests can potentially affect the health of an NSM unit.

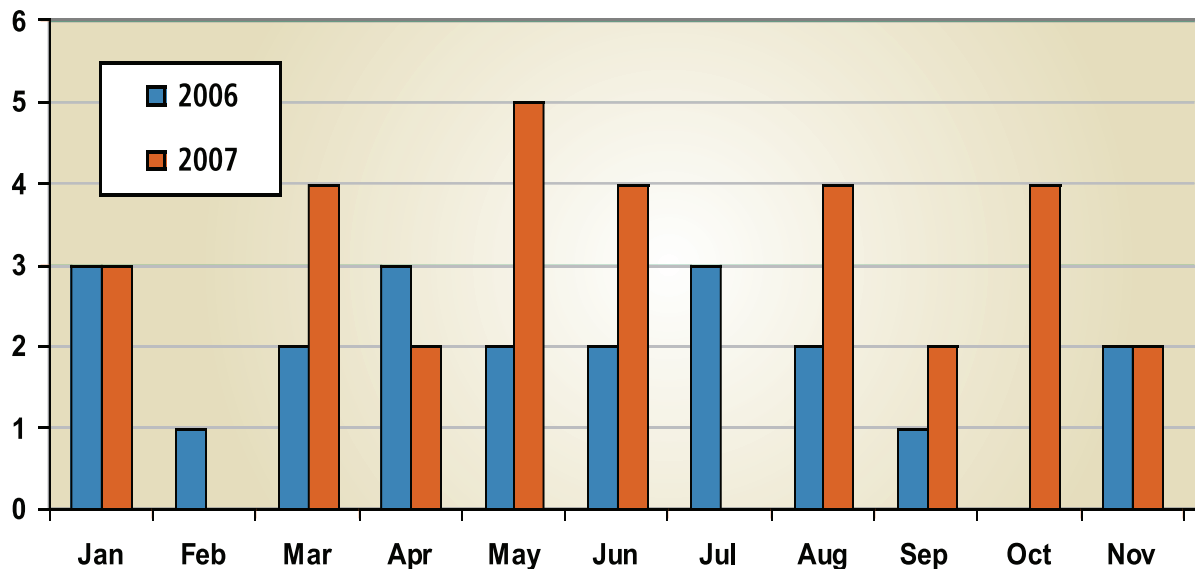
As a result, there is constant flux in the precise number and locations of NSM units around the country. Ohio, for example, has had multiple NSM units since the 1990s, but the location of those units has changed considerably over time as some units fall apart while new ones are created.

During 2007, the number of units claimed by NSM surged during the summer, then fell slightly in the fall. Florida, Oregon, and South Carolina each dropped a unit in recent months (the latter representing the defection of John Bowles and Nick Chappell), while Texas, Colorado, and Nevada gained units. However, a slight increase at the end of the year brought the national unit total to 56 — lower than the 58 units the group boasted in June, but still higher than the year before.

The defections of NSM members in mid-to-late 2007 rattled the group’s leadership, causing leader Jeff Schoep publicly to urge NSM members to honor their membership oath in order to “stand against the Zionist hordes, and their beloved illegal slave laborers.”

NSM Activities and Events

NSM Events in 2006 vs 2007



For a list of events with date and location see Tables 1 and 2 located at the end of this report.

Like many other white supremacist groups, the NSM expends much of its energy in organizing or participating in racist and anti-Semitic events around the country. NSM members both organize their own events as well as take part in racist events hosted by other white supremacist groups.

In 2006 the NSM hosted or participated in 22 known extremist events. In 2007, the NSM hosted or participated in 30 known events, a 36% increase in the group's activity.

Most NSM events occur in the Midwest, its core area of support. Of the NSM's 2007 events, approximately 70% occurred in the Midwest region. The Southeast and Southwest regions held four events each, but their timing illustrates the defections in the former and recent growth in the latter. No activity has taken place in the Southeast since NSM members participated in a June rally

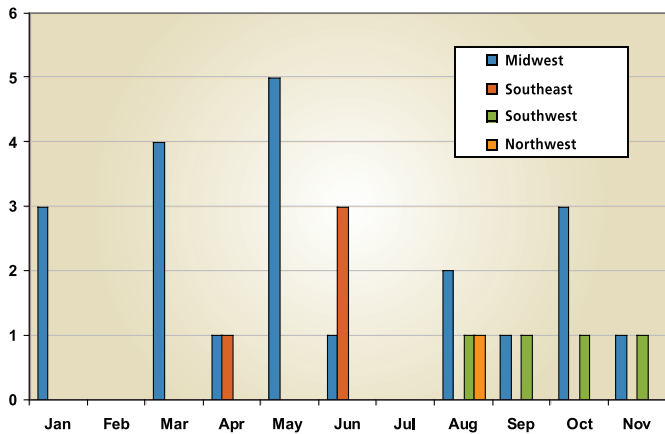
in Knoxville, Tennessee, while all four of the Southwest events occurred since August 18. It is also noteworthy that only one event was held in 2007 in the once active Northwest region.

While event activity increased in 2007, it is important to note that most NSM events remain small and localized, with fewer than a dozen NSM members participating.

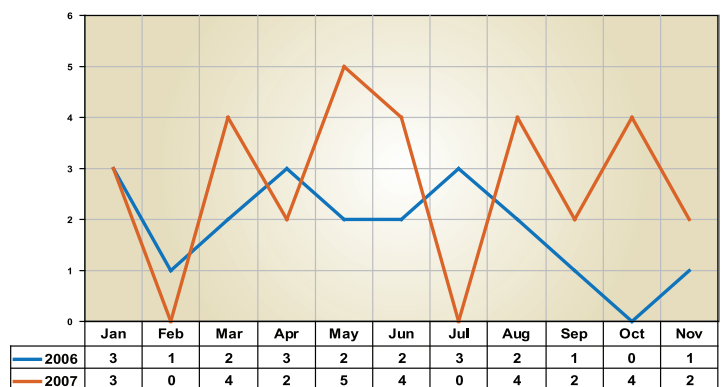
The year's largest event was the group's April 2007 national meeting in South Carolina, which drew approximately 80 members and supporters. The second largest event occurred in Omaha, Nebraska, on Labor Day, when approximately 65 members and supporters staged an anti-immigration rally in front of the Mexican Consulate. The third largest occurred in St. Paul, Minnesota, in January 2007, when about 60 NSM members and supporters took part in an NSM-organized book burning.



Number of Events Held by Region



Activity Trend Analysis





Leadership

While NSM membership has grown into the hundreds, leadership remains in the hands of several dozen dedicated members. These leaders keep the racist group going with a variety of strategies that include activities such as organizing events and meetings, recruiting, publishing newsletters and maintaining dedicated Web sites.

The number of leaders is proportionate to membership numbers in a given region. For example, the Midwest has the most members and also has the strongest leadership with 15 to 20 active leaders. The southeast with the second most members has fewer than 10 active leaders. The remaining regions have few leaders.

Core NSM leaders typically attend the majority of large public events, such as rallies at state capitols, often traveling long distances to do so, but are less likely to travel to attend small local events such as flier distributions or protests of public speakers.

However, Midwest leaders, who form the backbone of the NSM, are more likely to travel outside their region. For example, Wichita, Kansas, NSM leader Charles Wilson attends most NSM events, frequently traveling outside the Midwest to attend events in other regions. Examples include an Austin, Texas, rally in 2006 and the South Carolina conference in 2007. He also attended a Madison, Wisconsin, rally in August 2006 and he participated in an NSM march in Columbia, Missouri, in March 2007.

Wilson also organized his own activities and events in 2007, including collecting money for the tornado-stricken city of Greensburg, Kansas. Wilson subsequently posted to the NSM Web site a "thank you" note from the Red Cross to the neo-Nazi group. A photograph of Wilson handing the donation to a Red Cross official was also posted on the site. Wilson also organized an anti-immigration rally at the Mexican Consulate in Omaha, Nebraska, during Labor Day weekend.

Another Midwesterner is Jennifer Harris of Naperville, Illinois, one of a few dedicated female leaders in the NSM. Jennifer proved her devotion to the NSM by traveling to recent racist and anti-Semitic rallies in Texas and South Carolina. She spoke at the August 2006 rally in Madison, Wisconsin, and the September 2006 rally in Columbus, Ohio. She also marched in Columbia, Missouri, and attended the August anti-immigration rally in Omaha. Most recently she traveled to Wisconsin for an event at the Oak Creek library.

A third Midwestern traveler is Dan Hill, from Cadillac, Michigan, who climbed the NSM ladder while delivering pizzas for a living. Hill started as a Michigan unit leader but now carries the title of "Northern States Director." Hill, who also refers to himself as an "SS Man," attends all major NSM events and acts as a bodyguard for group leader Jeff Schoep. In the past, Hill has destroyed Israeli flags during NSM rallies. In August 2007, at a white supremacist event in Kalamazoo, Michigan, Hill told a reporter that he runs the Midwest for the NSM.



Three States to Watch

Although NSM chapters rise and fall with rapidity, several states have experienced a level of growth and activity recently that bears watching.

NSM WISCONSIN

The NSM is relatively new to Wisconsin. According to an Internet posting, its State leader actually moved to Wisconsin last year for the specific purpose of creating a NSM unit. Now Wisconsin has two units, the North Woods unit and the Skinhead Division out of Madison. NSM Wisconsin also has a dedicated Web site, a somewhat sporadic newsletter, and has steadily increased its membership numbers. Additionally, these devoted members are willing to travel to attend national events. For example, a number of them attended rallies in Missouri, South Carolina, and Nebraska in 2007.

NSM Wisconsin hosted one of the NSM's last events in 2007 on November 10 in Oak Creek, Wisconsin. Approximately 30 NSM members and supporters from Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, and Minnesota attended the "town hall meeting" held at a Wisconsin library. Former German Waffen-SS veteran Theodore Junker was a speaker at the meeting. Junker, who built a Hitler museum at his home in Walworth County, is popular among NSM members. The public meeting was followed by a gathering at a local park for pizza and birthday cake for their leader, Jeff Schoep.

NSM MISSOURI

Steven Boswell, leader of NSM Missouri, has been a devoted member for some time. He spoke at Nordic Fest (a large annual white power music festival that takes place in Kentucky, hosted by the Imperial Klans of America) in 2006 on behalf of the NSM, where he was later assaulted by skinheads from the Vinlanders Social Club after they took offense to comments he made on stage. Boswell also spoke at the Columbus, Ohio, rally in September 2006, and he himself organized an event in Columbia, Missouri, in March 2007. He and two dozen NSM members and supporters marched along a parade route near the Columbia campus of the University of Missouri to protest "Marxism" at the university. In April 2007, Boswell traveled out of the Midwest to attend the national conference in South Carolina, where he and his wife were married at a wedding ceremony at the Redneck Shop. In October, several dozen NSM members attended a private ceremony organized by Boswell in Jefferson City, Missouri. During the event new recruits were sworn in and a large swastika, cross, and life rune were burned.

NSM ARIZONA

In the late summer of 2007, former members of the neo-Nazi groups National Alliance and National Vanguard broke away from their old organizations and started a new NSM unit in Phoenix, Arizona. They soon boasted of a group of members in Tombstone and many new members in the Phoenix area, and began to hold monthly meetings. In September, members from the Phoenix area participated in the anti-immigration rally held in Omaha, Nebraska.

Members in the Phoenix area include a number of hardcore white supremacists, some of whom have had a history of criminal activity. In January 2007, one member, David Drake, was convicted of manslaughter in the 2006 killing of a young Hispanic male at a party Drake had appeared at wearing his NSM uniform. A fight ensued when the victim made fun of Drake. During the fight, the victim stepped on Drake's Nazi armband; Drake pulled out a knife and stabbed the victim to death. He was sentenced to nine years in prison.

For a complete history and description of the National Socialist Movement, visit ADL's Extremism in America Web site at http://www.adl.org/learn/ext_us/The_National_Socialist_Movement.asp.

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TABLE 1: Events 2007

JANUARY

Jan 15 NSM distributed anti-immigration fliers in Ballville and Fremont, Ohio
Jan 15 NSM protested Martin Luther King, Jr., Day in Troy, Ohio
Jan 27 NSM held book burning in St Paul, Minnesota

MARCH

Mar 10 NSM band staged white power music concert in Ithica, Michigan
Mar 10 NSM protested "Marxism" at the University of Missouri at Columbia
Mar 14 NSM protested in Cincinnati, Ohio, at event where Morris Dees of the Southern Poverty Law Center was a guest speaker
Mar 18 NSM protested at Xavier University in Cincinnati, Ohio, where Deborah Lipstadt, the Dorot Professor of Modern Jewish and Holocaust Studies at Emory University, was speaking

APRIL

Apr 2 NSM leader Jeff Schoep lectured at St Cloud University, Minnesota
Apr 21 NSM held national rally and meeting in Columbia, South Carolina

MAY

May 6 NSM Southwest Ohio unit held meeting
May 13 & 19-20 NSM Kansas traveled to Greensburg, Kansas, to deliver aid following a tornado
May 19-20 NSM distributed fliers in Chaska, Minnesota
May 26-27 NSM members attended Holocaust denial conference in Hillsboro, West Virginia
May 28 NSM distributed fliers in Fremont, Ohio

JUNE

Jun 1 NSM distributed fliers in Lubbock, Texas
Jun 7 NSM held meeting at public library in Troy, Ohio
Jun 16 NSM members attended "anti-black crime rally" in Knoxville, Tennessee
Jun 28-30 NSM members participated in "Operation Throw Back the Wetback" on the U.S./Mexico border

AUGUST

Aug 4 NSM members attended "anti-black crime rally" in Kalamazoo, Michigan
Aug 4 NSM held White Unity Picnic in Cadillac, Michigan
Aug 5 NSM had picnic and barbecue in Portland, Oregon
Aug 18 NSM Nevada staged burning of Mexican flag

SEPTEMBER

Sep 1 NSM held anti-immigration rally at Mexican Consulate in Omaha, Nebraska
Sep 29 Phoenix NSM unit held private meeting

OCTOBER

Oct 7 Ohio NSM held private meeting
Oct 13 Missouri NSM unit held gathering and swearing in of new members
Oct 27 Ohio NSM held cookout in Covington, Ohio
Oct 28 Phoenix NSM unit held private meeting

NOVEMBER

Nov 10 NSM Wisconsin organized "town hall meeting" at a library in Oak Creek
Nov 10 Phoenix NSM unit held private meeting

TABLE 2: Events 2006

JANUARY

Jan 16 NSM staged a Martin Luther King, Jr., Day protest in Troy, Ohio
Jan 22 NSM rallied in Seattle, Washington
Jan 26 NSM protested “white genocide through multiculturalism” in Olympia, Washington

FEBRUARY

Feb 27 NSM rallied in Orlando, Florida

MARCH

Mar 25 Michigan NSM held state-wide meeting
Mar 26 NSM members crashed Holocaust conference at Bowling Green State University in Bowling Green, Ohio

APRIL

Apr 2 NSM gathering held in Puget Sound, Washington
Apr 12 NSM demonstrated on Central Michigan University campus
Apr 22 NSM held rally at the Capitol in Lansing, Michigan

MAY

May 1 NSM protested immigration rights march in Dayton, Ohio
May 19-21 NSM members attended “Viking Fest” in Poulsbo, Washington

JUNE

Jun 10 NSM members joined anti-immigration rally in Omaha, Nebraska
Jun 18 NSM held White Nationalist Father’s Day party in Paisley, Florida

JULY

Jul 2-3 NSM held rally and campout in Olympia, Washington
Jul 11 NSM rallied in Sharpsburg, Maryland
Jul 22 NSM held White Unity barbecue in Cadillac, Michigan

AUGUST

Aug 5 NSM helped organize Unity Rally in Fairdale, Kentucky
Aug 26 NSM rallied at the Capitol in Madison, Wisconsin.

SEPTEMBER

Sep 23 NSM rallied in downtown Columbus, Ohio

NOVEMBER

Nov 11 NSM rallied in Austin, Texas
Nov 18 NSM held Northwest Regional Gathering in Federal Way, Washington

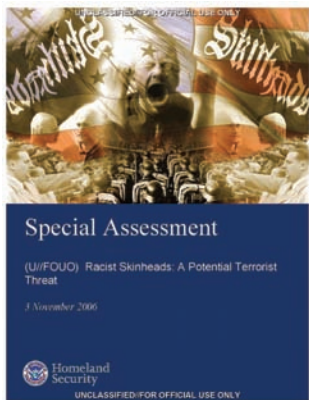
DECEMBER

Dec 9 NSM held gathering in Laurens, South Carolina

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ADL's team of investigators, legal experts and specialists constantly develop new tools to fight hate and extremism. As extremists develop new tactics, ADL is there to expose them and help law enforcement combat them.

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Before the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) published its *Special Assessment on Racist Skinheads: A Potential Terrorist Threat*, DHS turned to ADL for expert research.



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