Music and Friends:
Right-Wing Domestic Terrorism and its Culture and Influence

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Research Question

The purpose of this analysis is to find an answer as to why some people behave the way that they do. The question this paper will attempt to answer is “How much music plays a role in the lives of domestic terror actors?” Music plays a big role as to what we are and eventually who we become. In our adolescent youth, the kind of music we listen to many times will play a role into how we dress, how we talk to other people, including parents and authority figures and with whom we associate. It is important to know all facets of the threat of Domestic Terrorism and the culture of it plays a big role. While it may seem foolish to bring up films such as Academia as well as the movie American History X, they are a shining example of how important culture is for groups involved with White Supremacy. The heart of the matter is that nearly all confrontations are a clash of cultures. This explains the ongoing war between the US and Islamic terror organizations and within the US there is a struggle between the extremists groups who are resisting the social changes in America. For nationalists, it is the political clash between parties, Republicans and Democrats. Inherent in both these cultures is music. Music is a part of our everyday lives. We are in certain moods to listen to certain music at very specific times. We turn to music to brighten our day and sometimes we turn to music for answers.

Introduction

One of the most frustrating elements of security is identifying where the weaknesses of your defenses lie. A financial institution is protected with armed guards, video surveillance, hidden alarm triggers, services and tracking devices concealed in cash. Its employees must pass background checks and screening levels to ensure people they can trust are handling its assets. There is some question and intrigue as to why some cameras monitor their employees when there was an indication of trust considering they were offered a position of responsibility following all of the security selections. This is because a financial institution has more to lose from a dishonest employee than a thief or robber. They know someone they mistakenly trusted can use their position and take much more, with much less effort and danger involved if planned properly. In much the same way, this is the same problem when dealing with National Security. Of course, it is a hundred million times more complicated given its numerous vulnerable assets multiplied by the sheer size of the population endangering those assets. Unlike a financial institution, it cannot cover every square inch of property whether by armed guard or video surveillance. Armed Border Patrol Agents take the responsibility of guarding the United States borders, but only local police departments and average citizens stand in the way of those who already reside inside the borders. This is the reality of Domestic Terrorism.

Unlike a bank, the United States of America has no control over who resides, works and plots inside its borders. The stereotypical face of terrorism is that of a dark skinned, bearded man speaking a language that does not sound like English. This is of course because most Americans are unable to decipher many languages that are not English or Spanish. People will naturally fear those things they do not understand,
especially when someone who resembles this image boards a plane with them. People will feel slight uneasiness than if they had not seen such a person. This is the fear and realized goal of International Terrorism. Still, a financial institution will probably intercept a suspicious person at the door either physically stopping them or keeping a closer eye on them all the while missing the bank teller getting ready to pocket the money in their own register and small stacks of unmarked and un-sequential bills in the vault. The face of domestic terrorism is not a conspicuous one in many regards. The faces of domestic terrorism look like the average American teenager, father, brother, cousin and son because in all cases, they were.

What then separates those who want to do no harm and want nothing but to live a long and successful life with friends and family from those who topple over the edge and engage in acts of terror? In many cases, these terrorist actors grew up in similar circumstances as thousands of others and were allotted the same opportunities if not more than the average American. This analysis will attempt to identify some of these issues plaguing the domestic terror actors and the lead up to their climactic acts. Whenever one of “Americas Children” commits one of these heinous acts, many perspectives are sought after to try to find what the profile is. Some of the characteristics they look at are the way they were brought up in their childhood. The socio-economic status is looked at, both in upbringing and in the final act. Common understanding indicates influences in their life have a lot to do with the acts of terrorism in their lives. This is not as far-fetched as one would think.

International terrorists are influenced in large part through religion. Regional political conflict and tension has a lot to do with motivators but as of late, religion has been the biggest and greatest influence for those engaging in terrorism. By this very same token, domestic terrorist have struck for a variety of beliefs the average person might think are not that important because that particular influence is unimportant to the larger population. Many people will praise the power of music. For several, music can alter the mood of the day. It becomes something much more than auditory noise, it becomes a feeling. The major difference between people is not that some like music and some do not, most will say they enjoy music in some form or another. It is the type of music that separates different sects of people. Herein, the different styles and genres of music lies great disparity among cultures and subcultures within those cultures and here begins to grow a feeling for those things we do not like, we do not understand and we begin to fear.

Before moving further along, key terms will be defined, including terrorism, domestic terrorism and hate crime. A literature review on the subject of the link between music and terror actors and organizations will be given. A brief overview of right wing terrorists and terror groups will be identified. Specific terrorist actors and their actions will be isolated and as each one is recognized, the background of each actor will be examined including their link to their preferred music genre. Identifiers will then be linked among the examined terrorist actors leading to form an overall profile, if possible. Data will be examined as to why or why not a profile was possible. Finally, an explanation as to why this analysis was necessary and how it can be used to aid in domestic terrorism defense will be explained.
It is important to note this paper is not an attack on a specific political ideology. The term “right-wing” is linked to be a conservative, Republican, political affiliation which is the perceived stance for many of the groups and actors in this study however it is not a reflection of the overall party affiliation nor will that connection attempt to be made in this analysis. Similarly, music will be a key component of this analysis and will be linked to terror actors. This is not an attempt to be an attack on the genre of music to be presented nor there be any discussion of censoring any music throughout this analysis. This paper is written to act as a guide for attempting to identify potential terrorist actors given multiple variables for the purposes of interference before acts take place. This paper concedes there are people who do great harm and commit overt acts of violence on both sides of the political aisle and who listen to every genre of music. This is an examination of facts and the circumstances involved among a very small group of extremists who are part of a larger collection.

Types of Groups to be Studied

For the purposes of this paper, two large groups will be analyzed for their participation in domestic terrorism. The first is White Supremacists and the second is Sovereign Citizens. White Supremacists believe the White race is the master race and all others are inferior to them. They believe the government has shunned them in favor of others and firmly hold it is their god-given right to wield power over others. One important thing to realize about this group is they do not think they are being racist, they simply think they are correct. The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) is the oldest and is still one of the largest White Supremacist organizations, characterized by their signature white hoods. The Aryan Nation is also a large one, made up of dozens and dozens of smaller factions within it. Many White Supremacist gangs are immediately noticeable by their swastika tattoos and bald heads which they are referred to as ‘skinheads’.

In forming the hypothesis, a few things were brought into play, and others were attempted to be eliminated. Not all white supremacists or nationalists have committed terroristic acts. In fact, within their groups, which are a minority, there are even more extreme, extremists that exist within this extremist minority. However, as in the case of White Supremacist, they can be easily lumped into a ‘general hate group’. The reason that they are not here is because their ideals are inherent transnationally in Europe and elsewhere in the world. This makes this a worldwide organization which has committed terror acts. The reason they will be considered Domestic Terrorists here is that there attempts and philosophies are to create policy change within US borders, not somewhere overseas.

Sovereign Citizens have been around for some time but they have come to the forefront recently as their organization gains steam and increase their membership numbers. Sovereign Citizens do not believe the federal government has any kind of authority over them. To them, the highest form of true authority is the sheriff. This group does not pay taxes and fears the government has grown too much and is now causing more harm than good. They are made up of mostly older people in the rural South. The most
famous member is thought to be Terry Nichols who was convicted along with Timothy McVeigh for the Murrah Federal building bombing. They do not have central leadership but are instead made up of a common philosophy and meet mostly on local levels with a few mass gatherings at times to try and gain more attention and recruit new members to the following. This group tends to be armed with weapons and is of particular danger, mostly to law enforcement rather than private citizens due to their defiance of the government, not necessarily a particular group. Sovereign Citizens are nevertheless dangerous and a threat.

**Key Terms**

As explained earlier there is a general consensus that there are three general different kinds of terrorist genres, Left-wing, Right-wing and anarchic. This study will focus on right-wing but will occasionally mention the other types. There is still great debate around the world as what is the true definition of terrorism. One nation’s freedom-fighter is another nation’s terrorist, to further accentuate this great problem, the largest international organization countries, the United Nations (UN), does not have a consensus as the definition of terrorism. In order to be clear, the definition of a terrorist will be that which the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) follows, Title 22 of the US Code, Section 2656f(d), “terrorism” means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents. To be more specific Domestic Terrorism will be defined using the latest definition in the Patriot Act.

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(5) the term 'domestic terrorism' means activities that—
   (A) involve acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal
       laws of the United States or of any State;
   (B) appear to be intended—
       (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population;
       (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or
           coercion; or
       (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction,
           assassination, or kidnapping; and
   (C) occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States.'
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Most of this analysis will be focusing on domestic terrorism. Although there are American-born citizens who commit terror acts within American borders, they do so under the affiliation of larger international groups. While these actors could be considered

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domestic terrorists, they will not be included because of their international affiliation and their attempted influence goes beyond the borders. More often, domestic terrorism is a mistake for hate crime than it is international terrorism. Local departments are asked to report incidents of hate crime to the FBI for record keeping and tracking. The FBI defines hate crime as “a traditional offense like murder, arson, or vandalism with an added element of bias. Congress has defined a hate crime as a ‘criminal offense against a person or property motivated in whole or in part by an offender's bias against a race, religion, disability, ethnic origin or sexual orientation.’”

The major distinction this paper will make is that hate crime is aimed at an individual, domestic terrorism is an act to influence a change in policy or a change in perception for society. Both hate crime and domestic terrorism are linked in many instances for the personal motivation of the attack, but the attacks influence is what differs. Domestic terror acts have higher levels of violence and usually result in greater levels of casualties. Although domestic terrorist acts can be considered hate crimes as well, they will not be categorized as such because of their political motivators and heightened degree of planning and execution. Armed with these three definitions it is now possible to proceed and view some of the research already done on finding a link between music and terrorism.

**Previous Research**

The role of music as it relates to the growth and development of the adolescent youth is not a new idea. In his article, “The role of music in adolescent development”, Dave Miranda analyzes and elaborates on music and how it can have major effects on three levels, biological, psychological, and social. One of the most important theories Miranda points out is that music aids young people to help develop their identity. Adolescence is generally considered to be between the ages of 13 and 19. Music can be utilized by youth to help model themselves in a certain manner. During this period, they are looking for places to fit in. In doing so, they will music use to fall into a certain social class or social group. To put it simply, music is a way people make friends. Friends tend to have similar music tastes and tend to do so in many ways as a revolt against parents. However in some cases, teenagers will identify with the music of their parents as well. With this information in hand, it is impossible to ignore how much of an effect music had on people, especially those who so desperately want to be a part of a certain social group, or those who want to be part of any social group. It would make sense then for those who might be desperate or pressured to fit in would be inclined to begin listening to certain

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songs or bands which would be considered taboo because in essence, it would comply with a couple of the social effects that adolescents look for in music which is to fit in with a certain group, and to rebel against parents thereby propelling their image among their peers. On the other hand, if parents listen to certain songs, which tend to be taboo in nature and influence their children with the same thought pattern then the cycle would continue.

Miranda suggests adolescents become torn during this process where on one hand they really need to be accepted among their inner group of friends but want to be recognized and acknowledged by their parent as well. The lessons learned from the Miranda study and others like it help to understand why the phenomenon of terrorism among young people exists. The idea that the people who commit these heinous acts are different from the general population is false and is a gross misconception of the reality. Those who commit domestic terrorism in America, are Americans and they live among all of us, and although Californians and Floridians might have different points of view, they are not that much different from each other. Miranda leads us to believe we all go through much of the same growth and development. Sometimes we just tend to be nudged in different directions. This different direction will be the subject matter of this analysis.

Karl Spracklen explored how the far right has used music in order to further their cause by the use of propaganda and as a means of recruitment in his article titled *Nazi punks folk off: leisure, nationalism, cultural identity and the consumption of metal and folk music.* It began in the 1980’s in the UK when activists began to infiltrate popular music within the punk scene at the time with some success. Ultimately, the music began to die off from the general music scene but bands such as ‘Screwdriver’ had success pushing their White Supremacist message. More recently, Spracklen explains how since the 1990’s, the far-right have gone off into two different directions which are Black Metal and English Folk. Black Metal is considered a type of heavy metal which Spracklen describes as “evil sounds and elitist ideologies”. English Folk on the hand is heavily influenced by National Music for England. Therefore, the two types would appeal to people with the same ideology but may happen to be in different age groups and have different tastes in music. The messages in the music are typically the same. Fans of black metal would generally consider themselves to be more open neo-Nazi, fascist extremists while those who listen to more English Folk would share the same thoughts but would be less open about their beliefs. In his conclusions, Black Metal is characterized by much more than music itself, the symbols that come with black metal are much more important but are typically downplayed among its fans, its symbols include spikes, snow, forests, corpse-paint, heteronormativity, Satanism and Satanic Symbols, misanthropy, heathenism and nationalism. When it comes to music, heavy rock is the most popular among the white movement followers, and Screwdriver is to White Power Rock as The Beatles was to mainstream rock a few decades before. They have been among the most influential bands for everyone else who has followed since their emergence in the UK in the late 70’s.

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Spracklen states that in the two music scenes there is a boundary of work between them that define both the belonging an exclusion of the individuals who appreciate them. Nevertheless, there does tend to be a mixture of people between them as Black Metal has been influenced by English Folk and as in any music scene, there is bleed over on both sides. Looking from the outside, one of the most fascinating notes is that one white supremacist group will look down on another and there is an ongoing argument as to which one is more elitist than the other. Even with a common enemy, being all other races, there is confrontation as to which is more pure in nature. There is no question as to the aggressiveness of Black Metal, its message is not typically subtle and there is no way for fans of it to hide it when they play it out loud. Although this paper is not meant to be a lesson in psychology, it is imperative that it is understood that this would appeal to anyone who feels the need to rebel against the common mainstream as it plays two roles. This allows for an individual to feel like a real individual and be empowered all the while being accepted into a group of friends who share the same taste in music.

To further emphasize the point that these individuals who commit these acts are not that much unlike the general population it is possible to look briefly into the work done by Marc Sageman in his book, *Understanding Terror Networks*.

In his book he talks about international terrorists and the process they go through from recruitment to the point where they take action. Through his research, he finds that most terrorists join a network with a group of friends. The most important note he makes is that it is not so much the religion that brings them to make the leap, it is the strong social bonds that they have with each other. Terror networks do not have to recruit as aggressively as one might think, they have the worldwide stature to sit back and wait for someone to come to them. The point of bringing up Sagemans work is not to relate domestic terrorists to international terrorists. It is to show how recruitment is not necessarily a process of pushing ideals on to an individual but more of a group of friends coming together on common ground. It is only the communication of its message onto the larger populace that differentiates a group of animal right or tea-party activists from white supremacists and other right wing terror groups.

Claire Kreger’s *White Supremacy Groups* is an excellent culmination of short articles one of which is authored by Adam Cohen titled, “White Power Music is an Effective Recruiting Tool”. Cohen interviewed William Pierce, the head of the National Alliance. Pierce stated that music has been highly important in the recruitment of the white supremacy movement. Pierce says “people turn music on not because they are interested in the message, but because they like the sound”. Resistance Records, which Pierce bought out from a Canadian skinhead now is valued as making 1.5 million dollars a year. The largest markets for the company exist in Germany, Poland, France and Greece. Although the bands Resistance mostly sponsors are rock, it has branched out into ‘hate

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folk’ and ‘hate country’ music in an attempt to lure in as many prospective listeners as possible. Resistance Records is among the primary sources of funding for the National Alliance.

Also in *White Supremacy Groups* is “The Making of a White Supremacist” where *Intelligence Report* interviews T.J. Leyden, a former neo-Nazi skinhead and eventual Skinhead recruiter and trainer. Leyden explains that he first joined the skinhead movement during the 80’s when he was involved in the punk-rock scene, going to shows and slam dancing. During this period, his parents were going through a divorce and he took out his anger on the streets where he got into fights with other kids. When asked why he joined a skinhead gang he stated “we were middle-class to rich, bored white kids… ‘Every kid wants a sense of belonging.’ And what easier group to fit in with than Skinheads?”. When asked how important rock music is for recruitment, Leyden states that if he filled a room with 1,000 neo-Nazi skinheads and asked what was the most important influence for them to join the group, he said 900 of them would say it was the music. Leydens statements fall in line with the notion that music as whole is what brings people together and gives them a sense of belonging. Leydens story is simply one story and does not explain why thousands of other kids have joined the Aryan movement and become violent, but all too much Leydens story is repeated across Suburban households from the East Coast to West and in Mid-America. Divorce is not a rarity in this country anymore and whatever a person wished to put the blame on is not important, but what is more important to note is that a child wishes for a sense of belonging, somehow, someway, he is going to find it and it might be in the form of a terror organization.

**Right Wing Influences**

*Common Beliefs*

There are basically three philosophies or beliefs that bring together most right wing terror groups. One of the biggest ideologies that bring together almost all of the right wing terror groups is the fear of losing the Second Amendment. The right to bear arms is a freedom and a right which conservatives feel extremely adamant about. In general, there is thought that the government can be too large and can be invasive to their freedoms and if the government were to someday become overly intrusive it is the right of the citizen to rebel against the government to keep those freedoms. The form of rebellion is where extreme right-wing thinkers and common conservatives will differ. The extremists believe the rebellion will be violent and bloody and hold firm that their weapons will serve them in the final stand, this is why the government cannot be the only parties who are armed. This fear has spawned the militia groups throughout the country including the David Koresh and his group.

The second common trait is that most are Christian fundamentalist. A lot of groups claim to be devout believers but many splinter off of their original church to form their

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own line of followers. This is the place where they garner followers and recruit members of the group. Usually it begins with men joining the group as men are generally considered higher in the hierarchy and come before women. Some have called this extremism, “Christian Jihad” and although there is nothing at all wrong with being deeply religious, this thought pattern and mode of control over people mirrors greatly the actions of international terrorists who use religion as their moniker and calling for violence across the globe. Religion makes the violence done excusable and it pins one group of people against the larger set and creates an enemy because their religion or beliefs is different and therefore blasphemous. In an article discussing the new threats emerging in a Post-Cold War era, Bruce Hoffman states,

“The religious terrorist moreover sees himself as an outsider from the society that he both abhors and rejects and this sense of alienation enables him to contemplate - and undertake - far more destructive and bloodier types of terrorist operations than his secular counterpart.”

Many right wing terror groups participate in militias and some refer to themselves as ‘Gods Soldiers’ or some form of this, For example, the Crusaders for Yahweh who operate in Texas.

To go along with the idea of elitism, the last major belief system among right-wing terror groups is that of white supremacy. It is here then it seems the greatest danger lies. Most people who consider themselves “right-wing” when it comes to politics tend to be Christian and do hold firm their second amendment but they do not consider themselves to be White Supremacists. The United States has come a long way since the abolition of slavery and the Civil Rights movements of the 1960’s but there still exists a large amount of prejudice and it is not only in the rural towns and cities, it still exists in large urban populations as well. Much like religion, the idea of white supremacy pins one group of people against another and allows for other to join the movement. The downside here of course is that it minimizes the potential member population but the upside is that it provides a great deal of empowerment to those who believe in the movement.

The most important thing to remember when it comes to White Supremacy is that this is often in conjunction with historical symbols, whether they are true or not is irrelevant, it is not uncommon for people to find clues and relate it to their life on a personal level even though it would otherwise be impossible for that to happen. An example of this would be to believe a song was played at the exact time you are feeling sorrow and believe it happened due to fate, it is a simple example but it nevertheless relates due to the fact that White Supremacists will get historical facts and twist them to fit their ideology, the biggest source they turn to was the prior belief, religion. For white supremacists, the biggest fear they have is that the White race will cease to exist, but they do not characterize other ethnicities such as Hispanics as whites for example, they believe

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a true white is of a specific European descent and has not mixed with people from other parts of the world. White supremacists believe they are alienated and ignored in society. White Supremacy is the largest factor when it comes to turning an extremist believer into a terrorist due the violent history associated between whites and blacks. Due to the history of violence, it is very easy for someone to rationalize the violence today, because for the past 100 years, it has existed, it is not a new event.

**Significant Moments**

The following are the most talked about and often described as the most important momentous events in right-wing history. The Waco incident, the Ruby Ridge shootout capped by the Oklahoma City bombing are the most significant moments because they garnered world-wide attention to the movement. The first two events actually played out perfectly to the right wing movement due to the fact that it displayed the groups as the victims of wrongdoing on the part of the federal government. The Oklahoma City Bombing was the joyous revenge for the right-wing groups and the subsequent death of Timothy McVeigh made him a martyr.

David Koresh and his group, the Branch Davidians, did not carry out any specific terror attack, but their actions, which began on February 28, 1993 with defiance against the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) agents who had information Koresh had built up an arsenal in the Mount Carmel Compound. The agents were not wrong but they did not know that it would all end in a blazing fire fifty-one days later on April 19th. The Davidians believed they would have to defend against the enemy with gunfire and they did. It remains controversy as to who fired the first shots which forced the issue to end in a fire but what is most certain is that this was not the ATF’s or FBI’s finest hour and since then, they have paid for the events of that standoff by creating a series of militias in response. These militias believe the agencies set fire purposely to end the standoff and see the Davidians as victims of murder. Whether or not they are correct in their opinion is not the purpose of bringing up the Waco Siege, it is important to take away that the government must know they may have removed the threat of David Koresh but they did so by making him a martyr for many others. The following year, the government would make more enemies in Idaho.

On August 21, 1992, US Marshals entered Randy Weavers property in Ruby Ridge, Idaho. Marshals after a year and a half of surveillance. During the surveillance, ATF agents were trying to recruit Weaver as an informant against the Aryan Nations as he was not a member, but had attended meetings and knew people in the group. They tried to use charges against him for selling sawed off shotguns to an ATF agent in order to pressure him into complying but had no success. On August 21st, Marshals entered Weavers property when Weaver failed to appear in court to answer to those charges even though the Magistrate had put the erroneous date on the letter sent to Weaver and never had corrected it. Not much is known definitively about that day but a few things are

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certain, Marshal Roederick shot the Weavers dog after it began chasing him, Kevin Harris, a friend who was staying at the Weavers house killed Marshal Degan and Marshal Cooper shot 14 year old Sammy Weaver in the back. After the death of the Marshal, the FBI took over the incident. The next day, FBI sniper Horiuchi fired two shots at Randy Weaver, hitting him in the arm, as Randy and his wife Vicki ran back to the cabin with Harris, Horiuchi shooting again aiming at Harris but missing and hitting Vicki in the face who was standing behind a door. It was yet, another disaster for federal agents. Weaver would later be acquitted of charges pending against him and receive a financial settlement for the reckless deaths of his family. 13 Randy Weaver moved to Idaho, away from civilization because he believed there was a New World Order coming and freedoms were going to be stripped. He believed he was being spied on and monitored because of who he was, not necessarily because of who he associated with. After these events, he believed he was proven correct and this incident also spurned even more believers who thought the government was becoming too controlling for its own good. Although it is true he was being monitored, it is irresponsible to think it was done so in an effort to establish this New World Order, which had garnered much attention prior to Ruby Ridge, and grew greater afterwards.

Before the tragedy of 9/11, the single most deadly attack on US soil was that of Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols on April 15, 1995. The bomb set off in the Federal Alfred Murrah Building killed 168 people, which included nineteen children.14 McVeigh later claimed the terrorists act were in response to the siege in 1993 at Waco, Texas and in 1992 at Ruby Ridge, Idaho. Neither McVeigh nor Nichols claimed allegiance to a specific terror or extremists militia organization15 but their actions have created the formation of many, many small factions who believe the actions of McVeigh are heroic and praiseworthy actions against the tyranny of the United States government. In 2008, according to the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), there were forty-two militia groups active and since President Obama has taken office that number has tripled to 127. However, many believe it is not the actions or thoughts of the groups which are to be feared but it is actually the rogue Lone Wolf. Nevertheless, the extreme actions of these individuals were spurred on by a larger groupthink. Timothy McVeigh may be dead, but he remains a figure for both law enforcement and terror groups to look at, reflect and draw experience from. Both McVeigh and Nichols accomplished and came through with plans that other white supremacist groups only talked about accomplishing before.

In order to be considered a right-wing terror group, more than likely, a group will follow one of the three major influences. Whether it is being overly adamant about their second amendment rights, have deeply rooted Christian fundamentalist beliefs or have an elitist white supremacist, it need not be all three. A group will normally be passionate about all three but it only needs to be serious about one in order to bring it from activist to terror groups. Almost all will have a moniker towards one of the major three events, Waco, Ruby Ridge or the Oklahoma City bombing. As those moments become more and more distant, it will can make recruiting more difficult due to the fact that the younger generations did not see the events unfold on TV for themselves and were not part of the surging movement in the period that followed, especially when it came to Waco and Ruby Ridge because the government can be seen as a very clear enemy depending on the point of view of the situation. Since recruiting can be seen as slow, this makes avenues such as the internet and the White Power Movement (WPM) through the music scene as that much more important to the survival of these groups as they need more members to make more money.

White Supremacy and Music

When it comes to studying the linkage of White Supremacy groups and the music they are influenced by what was done, it can be tricky because you have to come face to face with a member and sometimes you cannot take what they say at face value. They call themselves movements and activists but they are criminal organizations. As discussed earlier, these groups can easily be identified as ‘hate groups’ or generalized as a criminal gang rather than terror groups, but for the purposes of this analysis they will be considered terror groups for their overarching theme of white supremacy and because they branch out into smaller networks. Nevertheless, Futrell, Simi and Gottschalk did one of the best works on this topic. In their study, they looked at the Aryan Nations and local branches of Aryan Nations, Southwest Aryan Separatists (SWAS), National Alliance White Aryan Resistance, Hammerskins, National Alliance, Ku Klux Klan (KKK), and various smaller skinhead groups (County Skins Aryan Front, Bayside Skins, Orange County Skins, and Independent Skins, L.A.). These groups use all the time as effectively as possible as they cannot be shy about communicating and do so as often as they can.

Small bar get-togethers were primary places where the groups intertwined with each other, putting on display a few bands and having someone talk between sets to not let precious minutes go wasted. In the Futrell et al. study they observed scenes such as this in bars throughout southern California. They observed anywhere between 50-100 people in the audience and among them were members from the National Alliance, the Aryan Front, KKK, the Aryan Nations, their sub-groups and others. These are clubs and bars where people will generally already know each other. In larger events however, the dynamic is much greater. Bands will travel on tour and bring with them members from groups outside

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the area. Around 150-200 people will show up to these events as they are much less frequent and feature more prominent bands with a large following. These concerts bring in many locals at once but also people from outside the area. This is prime hunting grounds for recruiters as they will bring in many more first timers to the event and allow recruiters to let the conversation flow freely as it can easily go from discussing music to finding out the background of the potential member for quick screening and finally allowing the proposition of a second meeting later on that night or another time at a smaller event.

At even larger events, such as festivals, crowds numbering from 300-600 can show up at any given event. This allows for people to come in and out of the festival as they wish but more importantly, these huge concerts draw in people from further out, across the country and around the world. At these festivals, and at smaller one they allow a venue for people who might otherwise be concerned with who they talk to, to speak freely their racist thoughts and controversial viewpoints they would be nervous talking openly about back home. Furthermore, this allows for groups to link up together, making themselves more powerful in numbers and potentially in resources for later operations. The two largest festivals in America are Hammerfest and Nordic Fest.

Within these concerts the members become revitalized and any doubt they had about the movement slowly begin to fade away again if only for the time they are there because all around them are people who share the same beliefs. Here, they are not outcasts, they feel belonging because their ideas brought them together in a place where they would otherwise not feel comfortable being at. They look around the large festival, held in a remote place, on private grounds to ensure as much privacy as possible and marvel at their success. They discuss ideas about how they wish the entire world would be like this scene and it would be a triumph. At home, they listen to the music alone many times because they feel like outcasts, but at these festivals the actual band is playing and the speakers are on as loud as they can get them to saturate the air with their message of elitism. When they listen to White Power music they feel much like how almost all people feel, a sense of joy and uplifting moments. Moreover, those who have families who are also a part of the movement bring them along and expose them to others who have the same ideals.

As stated earlier, this is not a psychology or sociology paper but one would have to be remiss as to not see what these events provide, which is that sense of belonging. In the larger society, those who share the same thoughts are the minority but here, everyone is like them. They see people from other places in the country, people from nations such as the UK, Norway, Sweden, Canada, Germany and they must feel all at once completely reassured that they cannot be wrong about their beliefs if other people from really far away who they did not know at all before also believes them too. Later on, they can reconnect on the internet on White Power websites and talk about their show experiences, new bands, and go on talking freely through forums where other people will cheer them on and continue celebrating their ideas without having to feel ostracized from the social norm.
White Power Music and the Internet

Music

It does not take very long to find what you are looking for on the Internet if you know what you are looking for. A few keystrokes on Google searching for “White power Music” will take you to ‘aryanradio.com’. On this website which pops up a radio window will begin playing immediately and bring you artist from Micetrap Records, based out of Maple Shade, New Jersey. On the radio you will hear songs by Race War titled Blood and Honour, Bound for Glory and others. The music is mostly very heavy rock and metal. The music is not subtle. Through the player you can post what you are listening to Facebook, Twitter or you can e-mail tracks and link to a friend.

Another hit on Google landed on to a direct link through last.fm radio on to the Aryan Power tag. Here, videos play to the sound of music in the background. Still black and white images of men wearing black suits and black ties and at one point a man appears first wearing a necklace with a cross, then a suit, then an image of him in a demon like state with flesh exposed shows up. All to the sounds of Eftos on a song titled Childbed Depression. The music mostly consists of industrial sounds with a faint opera playing in the background. The videos on this website are very image heavy and consist mostly of stills to the background music which varies from trance-like music, to rock. There is a great deal of variety and the site allows you to fast forward if a song plays you happen to not like.

When skinhead is typed into Google, it can take you many places, one is hammerskins.net. The Hammerskins and other groups who claim to fall under the guise of ‘skinhead’ are heavily mixed into music. When clicking on the forum tab, the influence of music is immediately apparent. The very first thread on the page deals with Concerts and more than 50% of the conversation that takes place is talking about meeting up at concerts and events to have a drink and enjoy music. Oddly enough, there is international interest as conversations take place between Americans from all placed in the US and foreigners from Australia, South Africa and Germany. You must register and become a member in order to view the content. The message on the home page and the common theme among many of the visited websites concerning White Supremacy is that they do not claim to have any hatred to any one group, it is the constant survival of the “White man” and the prevention of “White Genocide”.

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The most famous and oldest White Power Movement group, the KKK has their website online at kkkknights.com. The website is very obviously professionally done compared to other sites. The front page displays Swastikas and other Nazi symbols but more importantly, it has a very obvious and deep Christian connection. It takes a little bit longer, but the site does have a music section but the music here does not play as loud as on other sites. The lyrics are much easier to understand and follow and as clear as it is, is exactly how clear the message of the music is. During this website visit, A song titled “Welfare Reform” played. The band was not listed but a few of the lyrics said...

“The politicians gave our country away,  
they pushed us down and turned whites into slaves…  
Even dirty immigrants can get welfare,  
They’re illegal in this country but no one seems to care,  
Fill out a form, stand in line to get a check,  
why you working in the hot sun breaking your back?…  
Stop them now! Stop them now! Living off our funds…”

The message is not too much of constant hate as people would first think, is one of finding a possible solution to a problem. The rationalization of the prejudice is the most coherent here. The music is complimentary to the presentation because it is very different from the much more common heavy metal put on display across the other sites. Even the hatred in the music is explained through its message. On another song titled, “Follow Me” there is no cursing throughout the song which is very rare, and the message to this song puts on display the followers of the movement as warriors and encourages the listener to join them and to be ready for their destiny, to follow their call. This track is the most like other rock songs in mainstream, the fact that there is no direction mention of hatred toward any particular group or obvious political message could be a song that pulls in strangers to with power music. Other songs, like “Pull the Trigger” are much less subtle in their message and their intentions which promote action on its audience.

On Aryan-nation.org, another very large Aryan and white supremacist groups, does not have a direct or obvious link to music, but there is one. This link takes you to a free radio station similar to that of Micetrap. Here, on Aryan Nation the first thing you see when coming to the page is a link you must click on to enter, and that link is titled, ‘Church of Jesus Christ: Christian Aryan Nations’.  

Stormfront.org is a forum based website for white supremacists. Conversation there ranges from music to politics. Some of it could be conversation that takes place on any regular forum that involves music and movies. There is even mundane conversation

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dealing with vehicle repair. Here, in large, music dominates a large part of the conversation. The second major topics would be television and film. The top three threads (conversations) deal with music. On a thread labeled “What are you listening to now? 2012” consists of 560 pages of conversation, much of it filled with music videos. However, in order to view some pictures and videos, as well as post to the website, you need to be a member. Once a member you can post to an existing thread or start your own. One of the sponsors on the page is a link to whiterabbitradio.net. There is also an entire thread which never leaves the front page concerning “important music sites”. Among those sites considered important is Resistance Records, which so happens to be the top link.

Conversation on the forum is somewhat tame compared to what you would expect to see. About half the topics you would expect to see on a regular forum. The back and forth talk is not as aggressive as one would expect, even considering the video they just posted has graphic images almost always displaying a Celtic cross at some point and making a reference to Hitler and the German Nazis. Even the avatars, the images used when they post something, to make them easily distinctive and personalized is all mostly regular things such as cartoon characters or even cats. They congratulate each other on job well done for posting songs and video montages with smiley faces and kudos. This is certain, forums are where people can be whatever they want to be. People like Wade Michael Page, responsible for the massacre at the Sikh Temple, can be applauded for performing the music he likes to play and engage in conversation with friends. People on the outside will think he is quiet and shy because he does not want to talk to people who thinks will not understand him. But on forums, he is the most talkative of the group. Here, he matters, here, he can be important. The music brings them together.

Terror Actors

Timothy McVeigh

It is nearly impossible to begin mentioning domestic terrorism without first bringing up Timothy McVeigh. His arrest brought up many issues he had been struggling before his eventual act of terrorism that brought him international attention, stardom, and made him a hero to right-wing extremists. During the investigation, it came to light that McVeigh was very highly influenced by the Turner Diaries, a piece of white supremacist literature about a future race war. The book discusses the need to blow up the FBI headquarters in Washington in order to spur more action in the movement and gain attention. The target may have been the FBI specifically due to their role in investigating hate crime and domestic terrorism in general. In his getaway car, along with the above passage ripped out from the book was also a copy of the Declaration of Independence
handwritten by him. Only taking into account we know for nearly for certain two things about McVeigh, he was a White Supremacist and a firm believer in nationality.

McVeigh grew up in a middle class family, during his last interview he stated he did not lay any blame on his parents for his actions. Although he can’t admit to truly loving his family, he does not blame them for anything. The New York Times did an article in 1995 on McVeigh where they described McVeigh as a man who liked to “wear camouflage Army fatigue pants tucked into black combat boots, drink beer, play acid-rock music real loud and drive fast. But above all, he liked to shoot guns”. There are not many people in this world who will understand why McVeigh did what he did and know for sure what triggered him to make the leap to mass murder and terrorism, but in simply analyzing that quote from the New York Times, assuming it is true, you can learn a lot about him. Being ex-military, he still considered himself a soldier but was without an army to fight for, he was aggressive, and violent. Acid rock is electric rock and is most often linked to very few lyrics but very long instrumental solos. The music itself was incredibly popular in the mainstream and among all people. The music was not so much a factor for McVeigh, instead he enjoyed reading and gained a lot of interest to conspiracy theories and had a lot of anger towards the government. McVeigh may have had white supremacy ideals but was more so a nationalist revolutionist. He was the very definition of a lone wolf because even the small group he assembled had pulled out and he was forced to carry on the mission alone.

The Kanes

Besides Nichols, who was thought to be a member of the Sovereign Citizens, among the most famous members of the group was Jerry and his 16 year old son, Joseph Kane. In 2010, they were stopped and began to be questioned for counterfeit documents they had presented to the police. As the two officers were questioning Jerry Kane, Joseph exited the passenger side door with an AK-47, shot and killed both officers. As they drove off, he kept firing at an officer that had slid down the side of the highway. A few hours later, they were found in the parking lot of a small shopping center and again engaged the officers who had confronted them. After a small shootout and confrontation in the parking lot, the Kanes were shot and killed with no further fatalities to law enforcement. Since 2010, six police officers are said to be the victims of the sovereign citizen movement, the Kanes’ actions have not been single acts, but have been among the most publicized.

The Sovereign Citizen network has gained a lot of steam lately as a result of the real political debate going on between the Left Democratic party and the Right

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Conservatism. The culture of this movement is mostly White, southern, rural American men. They hold close to them their second amendment rights and many times is the only amendment the ever wish to protect. The music in this culture will vary greatly; there is a great amount of overlap between the ages of the participants in this movement as the case of the Jerry and Joseph Kane show. The culture is usually a militant one as the group like to stockpile as much ammunition as possible. There really is no genre of music specifically catered to nationalist movements, old patriotic songs will be played at meetings, along with classic country. Newer members will listen to rock, and there are a number of people who are nationalists and white supremacists and they will listen to more white power music and follow that scene as well.

**John Lucas Helder**

Helder, more famously known as the pipe bomber sending eighteen pipe bombs in five days. He did so in an effort to create a smiley face on the map of the United States if someone were to put a pin on a map when marking the locations of the bombings. He was regarded as a very smart and very respectful young man. In 2002, he was just 21 years old when he decided to take on this challenge to himself. The motivations for his actions he claims and were investigated to be to bring attention to the theory of Astral Projection. The theory states that when the body dies, it does not mean it is the end of existence. It can be likened as to the Christian theory of heaven. He also claimed the government had far too much control over the daily lives of its citizenry and the government should make marijuana illegal.²⁵

The influence of music on Helder was apparent and noted. He was an active member of a band called Apathy and was a big fan of the late Nirvana frontman, Kurt Cobain. Helder was wearing a shirt with the face of Cobain on the front. Cobain killed himself with a shotgun in 1994 and it was Helder's wish to die. He sent out letters explaining how he felt it was his duty to die in order to reach people with his message. Helder was not necessarily an active member of a terrorist group and acted on his own. He did not hide his intentions as he had sent out letters admitting his guilt but more so explaining his intentions. When he finally did meet authorities, he did not offer any resistance and was in fact very respectful despite his apparent defiance against the government. If his favorite band was Nirvana, then Helder held music high in regard to the fact that he wanted death, or at the very least had no fear of it, much like his idol, Cobain. He was not a white supremacist, and at worst was a nationalist but was not linked to any particular group.

**Others**

Among others who are considered to be domestic terrorists is Ted Kaczynski, the Unabomber. When it comes down to attempting to classify Kaczynski, it can get difficult. His actions don’t fall in line with regular left-ist actions as some claim he was, but that is

not to say there is no way he is, because there is no proof that he was the opposite. He believed essentially in spreading the word of global warming but it might be more inner turmoil from his past that spurred him to turn to terrorism. His isolation becomes the opposite of what the other terrorists in this study were like.

James Wenneker von Brunn shot and killed a man as he was entering a Holocaust Museum in June of 2009. He was quickly subdued when security returned fire on him, he did not die. He was a well-known white supremacist who did not believe the Holocaust ever happened. Although he would write freely on Anti-Semitic websites frequently, during his actions, he acted alone. Before that incident, he had also tried to hold hostage people in a bank for having high interest rates, he never killed anyone on that day. Von Brunn is not alone in his ideals, there are many more who think just like him. He was 88 years old when he killed Stephen T. Jones, a black security guard at the museum in 2009 and might have been slowed by his age, had he not, more people could have died.²⁶

One of the most intriguing and saddening moments in the past year has been the act of James Eagan Holmes. On July 20, 2012, Holmes entered a movie theater with dyed red hair, full body Kevlar, thousands of rounds in ammunition, a semi-automatic rifle, shotgun, two handguns and opened fire on an unsuspecting crowd inside the showing of The Dark Knight Rises. He killed twelve people in total and injured another 58 were injured as a result of bullets or trampling. Holmes was considered a very bright man who was in school getting his PhD but also had a fascination with guns. It was later discovered that he had attempted to get into a gun club but was denied entry. He began purchasing all of his weapons, legally, in stores and his ammunition online, in May.²⁷ While much is still unknown about the 24 year old Holmes, one of the most popular theories is that there was simply too much pressure on him to succeed and when he began to fail, something he had never really experienced, he turned to violence. Not many people can talk about the personal life of Holmes because by many, he was considered to be more of an introvert, with not much social success, a lone wolf.

Wade Michael Page

Finally, the last act of true terror to happen in the United States as due to Wade Michael Page, on August 5, 2012, he entered a Sikh temple, shot and killed six people before a police officer shot and killed him. Page was forty years old at the time of the mass shootings. The gun that he used was bought at a local gun store after successfully passing a background check. Since then, investigations have linked Page to hate groups, including white supremacist organizations. It was his first interest in music that led him to


be associated with groups. He played in bands like Radikal, Intimidation One, Celtic Warrior, Blue Eyed Devils, Aggressive Force and Max Resist. All had a hate message. The people who did know Page thought of him as a quiet guy until he started talking about black, Latinos and Jews. He seemed to find a good home for himself among like-minded people and would travel the circuit. He had saved his money and attended Hammerfest, a white supremacist festival where stabbings are thought to be common. Page, seemed to find great pride and great reward in being part of the group and spreading the white supremacists message to others, but when he tried to get his own record contract, he was turned down. More is still being investigated, but because of his death, there are sure to be many more questions, including his motive and what sent him ‘over the edge,’ left unanswered.

The Terrorist Profile

It is both impossible and irresponsible to develop a single personality profile for terrorists. Every situation is unique in its form. However, give the few case studies observed in this analysis of right-wing terrorist actors and groups; it is possible to find common links. First, there has to be the motivation to see destruction or violence, if this was non-existent, a person would not make the leap to terrorism, and they would find it morally repugnant. This trait was existent in every actor in this study, the few who died as a result of the event would of course be known whether they regretted their actions or not as it is impossible to ask at this point. The actors, including McVeigh showed no signs of remorse or regret for their actions.

Secondly, white supremacist thoughts combined with nationalist ideals made for the most deadly combinations. Usually, the two were seen as one and the same but they are separate philosophies that need to be made in order to identified, one philosophy is deadly but is usually not enough to push someone over the edge as noted in most terror actors. The Kanes’ killed two police officers in cold blood, had time passed there is a good chance the young Joseph Kane might have done more destructive damage.

Finally, it needs to be emphasized much more that the music that many of the white supremacist actors listen to, does not make them commit these acts. The music is filled with anti-government and very harsh hate lyrics, but it is not the music itself that has inspired crime. Except for McVeigh who was directly inspired by the Turner Diaries, no other actor claimed inspiration or has been linked to inspiration from a specific band or song. They have however, found motivation from the groups involved in the music scene. White Separatists members as well as nationalists have found friends and common ground. The music is the initial draw; it is the common ground the youth especially, find that makes them friends and brings the members together. These actors first had trouble finding and making friends, they became drawn to music they felt they connected with. Upon further information concerning the scene following the music, they became

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enlightened by it, and made the message of the music stronger. However, the social bonds are much stronger than originally thought. Lone wolves exist, but sharing common ideas and philosophies together, in groups, first drive them. Those ideas are then radicalized and brought to fruition on an independent actor-to-actor basis.

Therefore, what is the profile? It is motivation for violence, enhanced by idealist philosophies and further pushed by the social bonds they have and become associated with. The profile is dangerous to make and follow if done so specifically, but they have common ground. McVeigh was inspired by other incidents and other events, Waco and Ruby Ridge. Whenever an event like that happened, it garnered greater movements. McVeigh believed the rules had been broken in Waco when Federal authorities were thought to have started the fire that killed women and children. True or not that led him to break his supposed rules and bring violence back.

**Fixing the Problem**

The first amendment gives all Americans the freedom of free speech, even when that speech or protest commonly brings about needless violence. The According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, “Hate groups in recent years have risen to more than 1,000, and the number of antigovernment “Patriot” groups has shot up from just 149 in 2008 to 1,274”. The SPLC states this number could have risen due to the current political climate that is controlled by a Democratic President and Congress. Anti-defamation organizations such as the SPLC and others claim the best way to combat this rise is to keep people informed about the hypocritical nature of being an extremist. Of course this quote comes directly as an attack of the far-right, but the same could be said for those on the far-left who are now engaging in more and more violent measures to gain attention. According to the interview done by The intelligence Report, the Nazi Skinhead who was interviewed states that it was realization of the hate and how it was going to be a never-ending process that led him out of the cycle of hate. This analysis is not to say that anti-hate groups should take a cue from the hate groups themselves and put out “anti-hate music” which would most certainly fall on deaf ears, but perhaps tell more stories and spread more literature themselves about the reciprocations of hate.

Law enforcement spend a lot of time and a lot of effort following and tracking gangs associated in narcotics and other crime but will often leave hate groups left unnoticed, only simply recognized. While these groups will go from protest/hate to terror extremism in a short amount of time as the gain strength and increase in radicalism the current perceived major threat that remains is from international terrorism. There is a growing threat that lies within the homeland that does not come from Islamic Jihadists. It is coming from Christian Fundamentalists and Patriotic, Nationalistic Movements. Domestic extremism is growing in numbers and while the vast majority of them will

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http://www.splcenter.org/blog/2012/11/07/for-the-radical-right-obama-victory-brings-fury-and-fear/.
probably never engage in any terror acts other than breaking a few municipal codes and local laws, the push is there for greater actions, meaning more violent acts. More attention needs to be paid to these relatively small underground movements with radical ideologies, because it is that thinking that inspires destruction and violence. They can not go ignored much longer, the Internet, including several White Supremacist, especially Nationalist forums have instructions on how to build weapons and bombs. McVeigh largely learned to do everything from his experience in the Military, while he has been the most precise in his measurements, at the time he was one of a much smaller number of people who knew how to put together a bomb. Today, that information is available as simply as filling out a membership form on a hate group and asking about it on a forum.

It all begins with the music for the youth as their introduction to the radical white supremacist ideologies. Their fascination with hate rock for its defiance is what draws them to look up more songs by the artists. This leads to finding like-minded people who are the true minority among the larger population but through the Internet they can link up and talk about their ideologies. They will meet at the rock concerts or festivals and talk some more about “what needs to be done”. As they become more and more disenchanted with ideas that are not as radical, they will become consumed with the idea of violence. The music only truly as a catalyst, heir minds become made up, music becomes background noise at that point. The FBI, local law enforcement should not dismiss a person who is involved in hate crime or in a group involved in right-wing terrorism, the recognition of this person could mean stopping the next McVeigh who has the potential to kill thousands.

Conclusion

Music plays a large part of our daily lives. It becomes the sound that often defines a generation. Studies show that music plays a particular important part in adolescents because it helps to assimilate individuals into groups. This analysis began as one that attempted to explain how music is involved in the culture of right-wing terrorism. In doing so, the major influences and events of right wing terrorism were presented. Individual terror actors were briefly investigated in an effort to find a similar pattern socially, and in doing so, find a particular taste in music. Music plays the largest roles among the youth who decide to join white supremacist groups. Among the white supremacist groups who were analyzed, their individual websites all promoted music propaganda for their cause. Sovereign Citizen groups did not. There was an intermixing between the white supremacist and nationalist ideologies, and a lot of the music that was brought up also had a very strong political message to go along with a lyrical attack towards a particular ethnic group, most commonly, African-Americans, Latinos and Jews. In the end, the music acted as one of the main forms of recruitment for these White Supremacist groups but it was the individuals desire to be part of a group, which accepted them, that made them ultimately become a member. Being able to voice their opinion to anybody who was willing to listen, agree and engage in a dialogue was what encouraged them to fill out membership forms online, write in forums and finally meet up at concerts and rallies. The recent rash of violence by right wing extremists has to have cause for concern.
The common way these analyses end are to state, it is only a matter of time before something even more catastrophic will happen. International terrorism is still a threat, without question, but domestic terrorists already reside here, within the checkpoints of border patrol agents. The truth is, the voice and beat of the radical right is growing, as their volume grows high, their nature and cause for violence will grow with it. Every time an act of domestic terror happens people say they never saw it coming. Perhaps if we listen for it in the music, we might next time.
Bibliography


