



Funding Hate: How Online Merchants and Payment Processors Help White Nationalists Raise Money

By Alex Kotch, Investigative Reporter
April 24, 2020

EXP**SED** by **CMD**
THE CENTER FOR MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY

Executive Summary

A Center for Media and Democracy (CMD) investigation has found that dozens of white nationalist hate groups are able to accept donations and sell products online with the help of mainstream online merchants and payment processors like Amazon, DonorBox, and Stripe.

CMD's findings come as hate crimes, and the number of white nationalist hate groups, are on the rise in the United States. The movement has been empowered in the Trump era and is motivated by a conspiratorial fear of demographic change that white nationalists often characterize as "the great replacement" or "white genocide." This fear links the white nationalist, neo-Nazi, and neo-Confederate groups that are still able to use online fundraising platforms.

Using the Southern Poverty Law Center's 2019 list of hate groups, CMD determined that at least 24 white nationalist, neo-Nazi, and neo-Confederate groups use one or more online fundraising services. These groups include white nationalist organizations such as the Council of Conservative Citizens, which inspired Dylann Roof to murder nine African American churchgoers, the H.L. Mencken Club, Peter Brimelow's VDARE Foundation, and the media operation Red Ice. Four neo-Nazi groups and one neo-Confederate store use online payment services.

- Nine groups use payment processor Stripe.
- Three use the donation platform DonorBox.
- Amazon sells books from white nationalist publishers, including Radix Journal and Arktos Media, which are both tied to "alt-right" leader Richard Spencer.
- One group uses GoDaddy's online store product.
- One group uses a Squarespace payment module.
- One group uses crowdfunding platform Patreon.

Still more, including neo-Nazi hate groups that sell Third Reich literature and reproduced items, use lesser-known services such as GiveForms, Ecwid, eProcessing Network, Nuvei, and ProPay.

CMD's inquiries for this report led companies to block a number of white nationalist groups from using their services. Until CMD's request for comment, payment processor Square serviced one such group, and two more used the company's CashApp. DonorBox canceled the accounts of two white nationalist groups, but since then, the groups created a new, shared account that was active when this report was finalized. PayPal cut off its service to all four white nationalist groups identified by CMD, although the company said the groups had already been under review. Payment processor Wave canceled a white nationalist clothing store's account.

Still, web and fintech companies need to do far more to combat online fundraising by white nationalist hate groups. In some cases, these groups have slipped through the cracks of company policies; in others, the policies are not strict enough to ban certain white nationalist groups.

Some institutions, such as Color of Change, the Council on American-Islamic Relations, and the Change the Terms coalition, have mobilized to pressure companies to ban hate groups from their services, with some success. But the need for all companies to take white nationalism seriously is urgent.

"The rage will continue" this year, states the Southern Poverty Law Center's report on hate groups active in 2019. "As the 2020 election approaches, many white supremacists see Trump's re-election as a last stand to stop the impending erosion of a white majority."

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Introduction

In response to public pressure, online sales and payment platforms have cracked down on white nationalist groups that used their services in recent years.

But a Center for Media and Democracy (CMD) investigation has found that dozens of white nationalist, neo-Confederate, and neo-Nazi hate groups are still able to accept donations and sell products with the help of mainstream companies such as Amazon, DonorBox, and Stripe.

The Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), a white nationalist hate group that is the modern incarnation of the mid-20th century White Citizens Councils, considers black people to be "[a retrograde species of humanity](#)." Its website helped [radicalize the young Dylann Roof](#), who read about alleged "black-on-white crime" online and then gunned down nine African American churchgoers in Charleston, S.C.

A "Donate" button on the CCC website previously triggered a Wordpress widget created by [DonorBox](#) that allowed users to contribute to an allied white nationalist hate group, the **American Freedom Party (AFP)**, via credit card, facilitated by payment processor [Stripe](#). The DonorBox plugin is free, but if an organization takes in \$1,000 or more per month, DonorBox charges a 1.5 percent platform fee. Stripe charges recipients a 2.9 percent fee plus 30 cents per card transaction.

AFP leases the domain for its own website, which also offered this donation option, from the popular domain and hosting company GoDaddy.

After CMD contacted DonorBox with questions, a company spokesperson said that CCC and AFP violate its Terms of Service. DonorBox had previously banned the groups, but "they have resorted to using fraudulent names and email addresses to sign up again. Their account is banned again." Since then, AFP was able to create yet another DonorBox account. As of April 25, AFP's site had an active DonorBox donation option despite CMD having notified the company.

While AFP's DonorBox account was shut down, it was still able to receive money through Stripe. On the morning of April 6, a new "Donate" button appeared on the group's website, which linked to a [GiveForms](#) web form that facilitates donations, processed by Stripe, to "AFP National," or the American Freedom Party. GiveForms confirmed that AFP has an account with the company. As of April 6, the "Donate" button on CCC's website, which had previously linked to a DonorBox payment page, also triggered the AFP GiveForms web form. As of April 25, both groups' sites had active GiveForms donation options.

GiveForms, a paid plugin, explicitly [bans](#) “the promotion of hate, violence, harassment, discrimination, terrorism, or intolerance of any kind.” Founder Philip Lester told CMD that SPLC’s hate group designation alone was not enough to ban AFP from GiveForms. “Unfortunately a third party’s accusation of someone being racist or a hate group doesn’t violate our terms. There needs to be concrete evidence of this from their own communications” on the group’s site, social media, or other public platforms.

Founded in 2009 by southern California racist skinheads as [American Third Position](#), AFP advocates the deportation of all non-white U.S. citizens and undocumented immigrants. The group believes that “whites deserve a nation of their own,” and “non-whites endanger white culture and society,” according to the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). AFP leaders have engaged in antisemitism and associated with Holocaust deniers, and AFP President [William Johnson](#) has publicly evoked Adolf Hitler’s “14 Words.”

AFP’s current [mission statement](#) reads, “The American Freedom Party is a party that represents the interests and issues of White Americans and all Americans who support our mission.”

After calling this emphasis on white Americans “concerning,” Lester corresponded with the administrator of the AFP site. “He makes a point,” said Lester of their exchange. “If other cultures are encouraged to promote their culture, why is it racist for white/European people to promote theirs? As long as they are doing it without demeaning or denigrating other races, it is a clear double standard to label them racist. I still do not see any empirical evidence of racism, hatred or bigotry being promoted by this organization. As such they are not in violation of our terms.”

“Philip Lester’s statements betray a categorical misunderstanding of the history of racism in the United States and its central role in upholding white supremacy,” Howard Graves, senior research analyst at SPLC, told CMD. “It is patently ridiculous to describe [AFP], a white supremacist organization, as an organization that simply ‘promotes white/European heritage.’”

“While the group might moderate some of its views in more public forums—such as its website—its leadership and ranks include notable white nationalists and anti-Semites, often operating behind the thin veneer of advocating for ‘white civil rights,’” Graves said.

[Jamie Kelso](#), a white nationalist organizer and former member of the neo-Nazi **National Alliance**, joined AFP as an officer in 2013 and described both himself and the group as a “bridge” between the white supremacist movement and more mainstream conservative groups.

The Political Cesspool, a podcast created by CCC members and advertised on the CCC website, uses Stripe to process credit card donations on its site. SPLC considers the podcast a white nationalist hate group as well.

A director of AFP, [James Edwards](#), is also a board member of CCC and co-hosts The Political Cesspool.

“The Rage Will Continue”

Since the deadly “Unite the Right” events of August 2017 in Charlottesville, Virginia, many tech companies have banned various white nationalist hate groups and individuals from using their services. Payment processors such as PayPal and Stripe, web hosting companies including GoDaddy and Squarespace, and video services like YouTube have blocked certain users from their platforms. But these same companies have let many more white nationalist hate groups use their services, sometimes in clear violation of their own stated policies, even as white nationalist violence is on the rise.

SPLC recently released its [2019 report](#) on active hate groups and accompanying [Hate Map](#). Last year, there were 940 active hate groups in the U.S. This total includes new white nationalist groups, which increased in number by 55 percent since 2017, as President Donald Trump has energized such groups. White nationalists have contributed to a rise in hate crimes, including terrorist attacks on synagogues, mosques, and a Walmart in a heavily Latino area of El Paso, Texas.

A false conspiracy theory, which is promoted by many of the white nationalist hate groups that use online fundraising services, is driving these acts of violence.

“The most powerful force animating today’s radical right—and stoking the violent backlash—is a deep fear of demographic change,” reads the SPLC report. “This fear is encapsulated in the conspiratorial notion that a purposeful ‘white genocide’ is underway and that it’s driving ‘the great replacement’ of white people in their ‘home’ countries by foreign, non-white populations. Antisemitism adds fuel to this fire; some white supremacists claim that Jews—as well as progressive politicians—are helping to facilitate this demographic change.”

This fear of demographic change links the white nationalist, neo-Nazi, and neo-Confederate groups that are still able to use online fundraising platforms. At least nine organizations that the SPLC considers white nationalist or neo-Confederate hate groups use Stripe to raise money. Four more use DonorBox to facilitate online donations. Additional groups use Amazon to sell their merchandise and accept donations and payments through Patreon and lesser-known services such as Ecwid, eProcessing

Network, Nuvei, and ProPay. Until CMD inquired for this report, four white nationalist groups used PayPal, and three white nationalist groups used Cash App or its owner, Square, to accept funds.

“The rage will continue” this year, states SPLC’s report. “As the 2020 election approaches, many white supremacists see Trump’s re-election as a last stand to stop the impending erosion of a white majority.”

By allowing dangerous white nationalist groups—which spread the false “white genocide” theory and sell goods promoting racist hate—to use their services to raise money, mainstream tech companies are increasing the likelihood that more hate crimes, inspired by these ideas, will occur.

“It’s incredibly important that companies not play handmaiden to extremist groups and the violence that is fundamental to hateful ideologies,” said SPLC’s Graves. “We can’t speculate on why some companies have taken longer than others to remove bad actors from their platforms, but it seems certain that companies that give hate free reign on their platforms will come under increasing public pressure and scrutiny for their role in allowing these groups to organize and fundraise.”

This report focuses on white nationalist, neo-Nazi, and neo-Confederate groups, but they are by no means the only type of hate groups that use Amazon, PayPal, Stripe, and other well-known companies to raise money. Anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant, and anti-LGBTQ hate groups, for example, are subject to less public scrutiny than white nationalist organizations and have a much wider fundraising reach.

In many cases, CMD examined the source code of hate groups’ websites to determine which plugins and payment processors the sites use. CMD used fake identities to solicit emails with payment links from certain sites in order to determine how the sites’ owners receive money.

“As the 2020 election approaches, many white supremacists see Trump’s re-election as a last stand to stop the impending erosion of a white majority.”

Stripe

Stripe, a private fintech startup that has been valued in the tens of billions, [says](#) it will not work with “any business or organization that a. engages in, encourages, promotes or celebrates unlawful violence or physical harm to persons or property, or b. engages in, encourages, promotes or celebrates unlawful violence toward any group based on race, religion, disability, gender, sexual orientation, national origin, or any other immutable characteristic.” By basing its terms on the promotion of violence, rather than hateful ideology that could lead people to violence, the company allows itself to earn money from clients that are hate groups but may not explicitly encourage physical harm.

For example, hate groups associated with “alt-right” leader Richard Spencer might not publicly call for racist violence, but the groups “have been involved in the promotion of real-world events that resulted in violence,” SPLC’s Graves pointed out. On the other hand, Neo-Nazi [Billy Roper](#), who sells his books on Amazon, “frequently advocates for violent conflict through the various platforms afforded to him by companies like Amazon,” Graves said.

"We carefully wrote the definition of hateful activity to cover types of speech that courts have said are not protected as free speech: incitement, violence, intimidation, harassment, threats, and defamation."

“Let’s be clear: public speech promoting ideologies of hate always complements and correlates with violent actions,” Brandi Collins-Dexter, senior campaign director of media, democracy and economic justice at racial justice nonprofit Color of Change, told CMD. “White nationalist groups like [Spencer’s] National Policy Institute, VDARE Foundation, and [the anti-Muslim] ACT for America wrap themselves in a veneer of social legitimacy, by pushing harmful narratives that fall just under the line of explicit calls to violence. But in their online expression, they are spreading violence offline.”

Change the Terms—a coalition of organizations, including the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), Color of Change, and SPLC, formed to reduce hate online—[defines hateful activity](#) as “activities that incite or engage in violence, intimidation, harassment, threats, or defamation targeting an

individual or group based on their actual or perceived race, color, religion, national origin, ethnicity, immigration status, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, or disability.” Companies that might use

this definition to determine which clients to ban would not be threatening free speech, as the First Amendment does not apply to private companies' policies, Change the Terms points out.

"But even if it did apply," writes Change the Terms, "the First Amendment does not protect all speech. We carefully wrote the definition of hateful activity to cover types of speech that courts have said are not protected as free speech: incitement, violence, intimidation, harassment, threats, and defamation."

Stripe has done very little to kick bad actors off of its services. As of August 2018, Stripe had reportedly had "major internal discussions over how best to handle sites like [neo-Confederate hate group] League of the South," according to [Right Wing Watch](#), yet it still serviced the group. League of the South's website does not currently have an online payment option.

Stripe continues to service numerous hate groups, including at least eight white nationalist organizations and one neo-Confederate group. The company did not respond to CMD's request for comment.

In addition to AFP and The Political Cesspool, the following white nationalist groups use Stripe:

The screenshot shows the checkout page of 'DIXIE REPUBLIC TRAVELERS REST - SOUTH CAROLINA'. The page is titled 'SHOPPING CART > CHECKOUT DETAILS > ORDER COMPLETE'. It includes a login link for returning customers, a coupon code field, and a 'BILLING DETAILS' section with fields for first and last name, company name, country (set to United States), and street address. The 'YOUR ORDER' section shows a 'Confederate Battle Flag - 3' x 5', Sewn Cotton x 1' for \$42.95, with a subtotal of \$42.95, shipping of \$7.05, and a total of \$50.00. Payment options include credit cards (Visa, Mastercard, Discover) and Stripe. The Chrome DevTools console is open on the right, showing the 'Elements' panel with the 'stripe' element selected, and the 'Styles' panel showing the 'margin' property set to '2px'.

South Carolina-based neo-Confederate hate group **Dixie Republic** sells clothing, flags, stickers, and other racist paraphernalia on its website, which is registered with domain registrar Namecheap. Interested parties can purchase items using a webform, processed by Stripe.

Dixie Republic made SPLC's hate group list not because it sells Confederate memorabilia generally, but because of its owner's [affiliation with white nationalist hate group League of the South](#) and because it sells clothing made by another neo-Confederate hate group, [Identity Dixie](#), which grew out of the white nationalist podcast network The Right Stuff. (See below for more on The Right Stuff.)

The **Fitzgerald Griffin Foundation**, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit, operates FGF Books and sells books by white nationalists Joseph Sobran, a [Holocaust denier](#), and [Samuel T. Francis](#). Visitors to the site can purchase books and e-books via [Amazon](#), [Barnes and Noble](#), or [Apple Books](#), and can donate to the foundation via DonorBox and Stripe. In 2017, Apple Pay [cut off](#) some white nationalist sellers, but Apple Books still sells white nationalist literature.

From 1999 until his death in 2005, Francis was the top editor of CCC's *Citizens Informer*. He had held positions at mainstream conservative organizations the Heritage Foundation (1977-81) and the Washington Times (1986-95), but was fired from the latter as his white nationalist views became more public. Sobran also ran in mainstream conservative media circles, having written for National Review.

An influential white nationalist, Francis feared a demographic threat posed by "immigration, nonwhite fertility and whites' own infertility" and called for ending immigration, deploying armed forces at U.S. borders, and deporting all undocumented immigrants. These are common views among contemporary white nationalists, including terrorists such as Roof and the suspected gunman who killed 51 people in New Zealand last year, who have murdered African Americans, Latinos, Jews, and Muslims because of alleged "white genocide."

The Fitzgerald Griffin Foundation also sponsors lectures and conferences. It made \$2,520 from the sale of books and CDs in its most recent tax year, and accepted roughly \$9,100 in donations, per a tax [filing](#).

Online media operation **Red Ice**, "one of the most prominent video news outlets for white nationalists," according to [SPLC](#), accepts donations via [DonorBox](#), processed by Stripe, as well as through cryptocurrency. Users can also pay for Red Ice membership with a credit card through a [payment system](#) using Stripe on its website.

The propaganda outlet traffics in white nationalism, antisemitism, Holocaust denial, and the white genocide myth. YouTube has [banned](#) two Red Ice channels, the first of which had 335,000 subscribers, for racist content.

White nationalist media group **Renaissance Horizon** raises money in several ways, including via its website with payments facilitated by Stripe.

Renaissance Horizon, which is based in South Carolina, has YouTube (over 31,000 subscribers) and BitChute channels and also raises money through crowdfunding site SubscribeStar, which [PayPal banned](#) from its services because a number of far-right extremists use the platform. BitChute is a video site popular among white nationalists and other extremists.

The Right Stuff is a white nationalist network with a website that features a blog and podcasts hosted by network leader Mike Peinovich, who is “[among the most influential and significant figures of the contemporary racist right](#),” according to SPLC. The site publishes several podcasts including The Daily Shoah and Fash the Nation.

Users can purchase memberships, which grant them access to paywalled content, by paying by credit card via Stripe. The Right Stuff network has several local chapters, and local leaders have scored on-the-ground recruits by using a members-only forum on the site.

The **VDARE Foundation** is a Virginia-based 501(c)(3) nonprofit that runs an anti-immigrant hate website that regularly publishes the writings of prominent white nationalists, race scientists and antisemites, including Sam Francis and white nationalist [Kevin MacDonald](#), known for his extreme antisemitism. It is led by British-American white nationalist [Peter Brimelow](#).

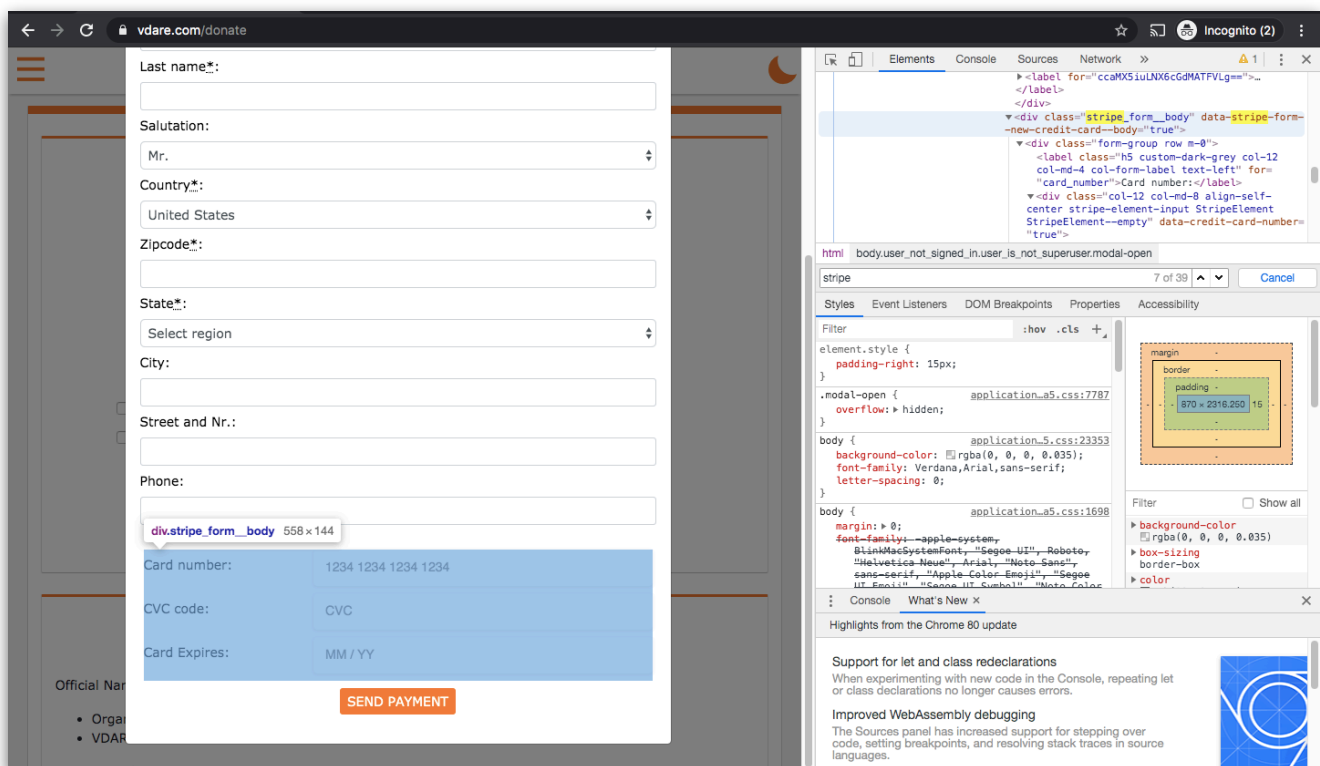
“There's ethnic specialization in crime,” [said](#) Brimelow at the 2017 American Renaissance conference, referencing Trump’s hateful statements on Mexican immigrants. “And Hispanics do specialize in rape, particularly of children. They're very prone to it, compared to other groups.”

In its most recently available [tax form](#), covering 2017, VDARE Foundation claimed that Brimelow worked 90 hours per week. He made \$148,300 from the foundation that year and another \$148,300 through his company, Happy Penguins LLC, which “leased” Brimelow to the foundation.

Users can donate to the foundation through a web form on the VDARE.com site, facilitated by Stripe.

The white nationalist **H.L. Mencken Club** is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit founded by Paul Gottfried and “alt-right” leader Richard Spencer with funding from William Regnery, who is also the founder of two other

white nationalist hate groups run by Spencer, the National Policy Institute, and the Charles Martel Society. The H.L. Mencken Club hosts annual conferences that have featured leading white nationalists including VDARE leader Brimelow, who gave a talk titled [“The Festering Immigration Problem”](#) in 2017. Another speaker that year was Richard Pollock, a journalist who was at the time working for the right-wing, Koch-funded Daily Caller News Foundation. The following year, after a SPLC inquiry into Pollack's scheduled conference appearance, the co-founder of the Daily Caller, which relies heavily on Daily Caller News Foundation content, said that Pollock [would not be attending](#). Pollock is now a [senior watchdog reporter](#) at the conservative Washington Examiner.



H.L. Mencken Club donors can click a “Donate” button on the group’s website to access a Squarespace checkout module and make a tax-deductible donation by credit card via Stripe, according to the page’s source code. The H.L. Mencken Club takes in less than \$50,000 of revenue per year, which means it is not required to file public 990 tax forms.

Squarespace

Squarespace's current [Acceptable Use Policy](#) prohibits content that incites violence or condones or promotes "violence against any person or group based on race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, gender, gender identity, sexual preference, age or disability."

Previously, the company did not allow users to "advocate bigotry or hatred against any person or group based on their race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, gender, gender identity, sexual preference, age or disability," according to an [archived version](#) of the policy from October 2017. Under that policy, it took down several white nationalist sites, including at least one associated with Richard Spencer.

But Squarespace currently helps the Spencer-connected H.L. Mencken Club raise money. The site is designed in Squarespace and uses a Squarespace payment module to solicit donations that are processed by Stripe. Squarespace does not offer free plans, so the H.L. Mencken Club is paying for its site, which may be hosted by Squarespace as well.

Squarespace did not return CMD's request for comment.

DonorBox

As with Stripe, DonorBox's [Terms of Service](#) prohibit groups that promote physical violence from using its service. The terms prohibit actors who raise money for campaigns "engaging in, encouraging, promoting, or celebrating unlawful violence toward any group based on race, religion, disability, gender, sexual orientation, national origin, or any other immutable characteristic."

Because of CMD's inquiry, DonorBox again banned AFP and CCC from its platform, and the company initiated investigations into the Fitzgerald Griffin Foundation and Red Ice.

"Donorbox carries out an investigation whenever we are alerted of any possible contraventions to our Terms of Service," said the DonorBox spokesperson. "This process does take time, and I'm afraid we cannot comment on statuses of private accounts. Rest assured, if we find that any of our Terms have indeed been violated, we will take actionable steps and ban such organizations, if required."

"At this point, we are starting our investigations on the two other organizations. Thank you for the heads up about AFP, it was certainly helpful to our team."

As of April 25, AFP, the Fitzgerald Griffin Foundation, and Red Ice had active DonorBox donation portals.

PayPal

In a [statement](#) shortly after the August 2017 Unite the Right hate rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, PayPal said, “Regardless of the individual or organization in question, we work to ensure that our services are not used to accept payments or donations for activities that promote hate, violence or racial intolerance. This includes organizations that advocate racist views, such as the KKK, white supremacist groups or Nazi groups.”

This payment processor’s “[Acceptable Use Policy](#)” states that PayPal may not be used for activities that “relate to transactions involving...the promotion of hate, violence, racial or other forms of intolerance that is discriminatory.”

PayPal has selectively enforced this policy, often in response to media and public criticism, by banning the likes of H.L. Mencken Club, Spencer’s National Policy Institute, Red Ice, and alt-right figure [Stefan Molyneux](#).

When CMD conducted its research for this report, at least four white nationalist hate groups, including multiple book publishers, used PayPal to raise money. At the time of CMD’s inquiry, PayPal said that American Patriots USA, the Cursus Honorum Foundation, Real Republic of Florida, and Scott-Townsend Publishers were already under review.

By April 23, the accounts of American Patriots USA, the Cursus Honorum Foundation, and Real Republic of Florida were “currently unable to receive money,” according to their PayPal donation pages. Scott-Townsend Publishers’s site no longer has a PayPal option.

PayPal gave the following statement to CMD:

“PayPal’s policy is not to allow our services to be used for activities that promote hate, violence or racial intolerance. We base our reviews of accounts on these parameters, taking action when we deem that individuals or organizations have violated this policy. We regularly assess activity against our Acceptable Use Policy and carefully review actions reported to us, and will discontinue our relationship with account holders who are found to violate our policies.”

Georgia-based white nationalist hate group **American Patriots USA** used PayPal to accept donations. Its site, which supports Trump for president in the 2020 race and bought its domain from Google, features a members-only forum and blog written by leader Chester Doles, a [former Ku Klux Klan leader](#) who is [linked to](#) several other hate groups.

“Every single person who has come out against President Trump, Democrat OR Republican, needs to be REPLACED!!!” reads a page on the site titled, “This Is Our Duty...” The site encourages Trump fans to register and vote.

The white nationalist **Cursus Honorum Foundation**, which is not registered with the IRS as an official nonprofit organization, was able to accept credit card donations via PayPal.

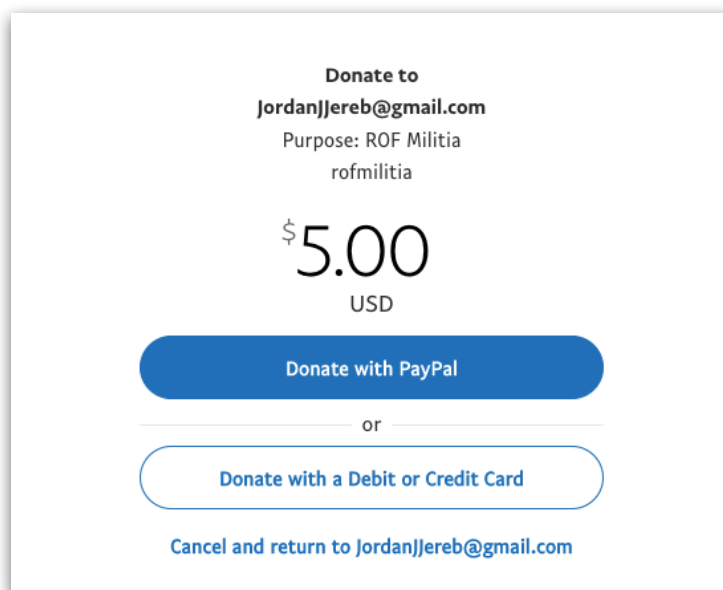
According to It’s Going Down, a site that tracks hate, the Cursus Honorum Foundation is funding a group calling itself the [Testudo Legal Defense Network](#). The network claims that it works with white nationalists who have been fired from their jobs, doxxed, or otherwise targeted with their extremist views and associations by threatening lawsuits. Testudo is part of a new legal strategy among white nationalists.

White nationalist hate group **Real Republic of Florida** is a militia group that claims to teach survival skills, including self defense, to young people and families. The group wants Florida to become its own white ethnostate. Jordan J. Jereb, who leads the group, could accept donations via PayPal until recently. The PayPal donation page said the purpose of the contribution is for “ROF Militia.”

Jereb [falsely claimed](#) that Nikolas Cruz, the suspected murderer of 17 people at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida, in 2018, was a member of Real Republic of Florida. As a result, Jereb was charged with making false statements to law enforcement, which searched his home and found six tactical knives, putting him in jail for breaking the rules of his probation agreement for a previous, unrelation extortion indictment.

Washington, D.C.-based white nationalist book publisher **Scott-Townsend Publishers** sells books about “race and intelligence and related topics” online and was previously able to accept money through PayPal.

Color of Change has worked with PayPal to “remove hate donations, starting a few months before the Charlottesville ‘Unite the Right’ riot,” Collins-Dexter told CMD. “They continue to be the most proactive



on ending service to hate groups as we track them in 2020, though they still have plenty of room for improvement and frequently need to be pressured to do so.”

Over the last few years, Color of Change has run a “Blood Money” campaign, tracking online marketplaces, payment processors, and credit card companies that help hate groups make money and giving users ways to contribute research and take action. The campaign “has pushed payment service providers to cut more than 175 funding sources from white nationalist pages,” said Collins-Dexter. “But many groups have found new sources of online revenue because payment service providers like Amazon, Discover, and Stripe continue to be reliable sources of revenue for hate groups spreading their violent propaganda and ideologies.”

Amazon

Jeff Bezos’s giant online store has profited from hate for years. A 2018 [report](#) by the Action Center on Race & the Economy and Partnership for Working Families found that Amazon spread white supremacy, antisemitism, and Islamophobia hate by selling merchandise featuring hate symbols, books by bigoted publishers, and hate music.

Amazon has [removed](#) Nazi-themed merchandise, but its [policy](#) restricting “offensive and controversial materials,” which prohibits the sale of “products that promote, incite, or glorify hate or violence towards any person or group,” doesn’t apply to books, music, and videos. Over the last year and a half, however, Amazon [banned](#) the sale of books by former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke and George Lincoln Rockwell, the founder of the American Nazi Party. Still, several white nationalist publishers and authors continue to make money from Amazon’s marketplace.

An Amazon spokesperson told CMD, “As a bookseller, we believe that providing access to the written word is important. That includes books that some may find objectionable, though we have [policies](#) governing which books can be listed for sale. We invest significant time and resources to ensure our guidelines are followed, and remove products that do not adhere to our guidelines. We also promptly investigate any book when a concern is raised.”

After CMD’s inquiry, Amazon and ABE Books, an Amazon subsidiary, removed a book called “Behold the International Jew,” written by Jack Mohr, “[one of the fieriest anti-Semites in America](#),” according to SPLC.

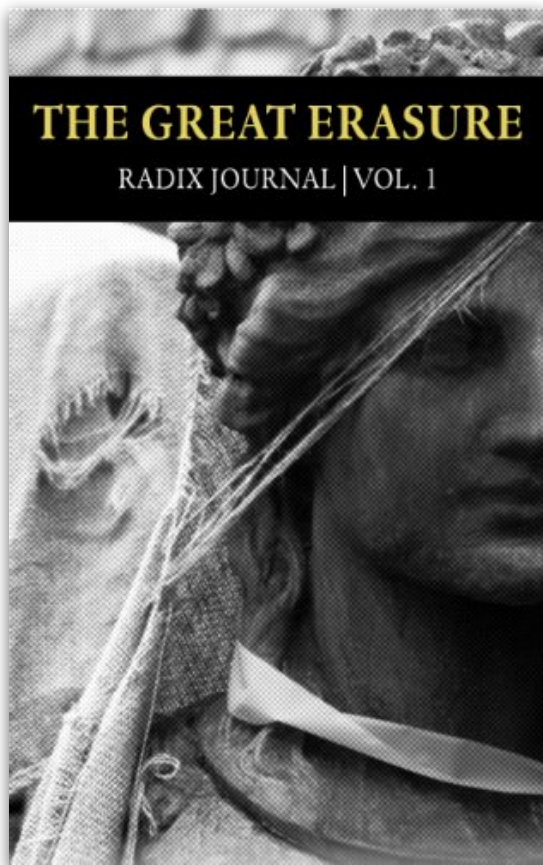
The Colchester Collection is “the Web’s largest pro-White bookstore,” according to the collection’s Gab profile. Its site makes hundreds of racist titles available for free in PDF and HTML formats and links

to purchase hard copies, most often from Amazon. Many titles are available in Kindle format, meaning they're sold by Amazon.com Services LLC. While the Amazon purchases may not directly fund the Colchester Collection, they do support the racist, antisemitic, and Islamophobic authors that Colchester promotes.

Amazon sells the books of white nationalist twin brothers [Sacco](#) and [Vanzetti Vandal](#) of hate group **Vandal Brothers, LLC**. Sacco Vandal, an ex-Marine alt-right figure, created the "white Sharia" meme and advocates "[extreme tribal patriarchy in the ethnostate](#)" of rural America. These militant white nationalists call for a violent "race war" against feminists, African Americans, Muslims, and immigrants.

The **Shieldwall Network's** founder [Billy Roper](#) sells his books on Amazon and [ABE Books](#). The Arkansas-based Shieldwall Network wants to build a white ethnostate around the Arkansas-Missouri border. "I have a lot of empathy for him," Roper [told](#) New York Magazine, referencing Dylann Roof.

Shieldwall has collaborated with the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement and the neo-Confederate League of the South, among other racist and antisemitic groups, on rallies and conferences. "I believe...that Jews are the descendants of Satan," Roper posted on social media.



The network "[trains in military-style formations](#)," according to the Anti-Defamation League.

Amazon sells a [Radix Journal ebook](#), as well as a very expensive paperback version, called "The Great Erasure: The Reconstruction of White Identity." It was edited by Richard Spencer and includes writings by Kevin MacDonald, Sam Francis, Colin Liddell, and others. White nationalist hate group **Washington Summit Publishers** published the volume.

As of 2006, Alexandria, Virginia-based Washington Summit Publishers was led by [Lewis Andrews](#), who had been managing editor of the white nationalist Occidental Quarterly and director of the National Policy Institute. According to SPLC, the publisher "reprints a range of classical and modern racist tracts, along with books on eugenics, the discredited 'science' of breeding better

humans.” It “also sells the works of Kevin MacDonald, which Andrews says show why ‘anti-Semitism is a naturally expected and powerful phenomenon.’”

Washington Summit Publishers is now run by Spencer and publishes the Radix Journal, also a white nationalist hate group and a project of Spencer’s National Policy Institute. Amazon sells [another book edited by Spencer](#), published by Radix.

Arktos Media, a Europe-based publisher of white nationalist books and music, sells its books and ebooks on Amazon and audiobooks on the Amazon-owned Audible, and it streams music on Apple Music, iTunes, and Spotify. It also produces a podcast that’s available on iTunes, Spotify, and its YouTube channel. It uses Mailchimp to manage its [newsletter](#).

Among the more [extreme titles](#) written by fascists and sold by Arktos is [Guillaume Faye and the Battle for Europe](#), “a compilation of postings from American neo-Nazi websites including **Vanguard News Network** and **National Vanguard**.” The Vanguard News Network has been [blamed for antisemitism-motivated murders](#).

Arktos is closely tied to Richard Spencer, Red Ice, and the white nationalist terrorist group the [American Identity Movement](#) (AIM). The publisher [worked with AIM](#), then known as Identity Evropa, “to promote identitarian literature with university students.” AIM helped plan the deadly Unite the Right events.

Although Amazon sells FGF Books’s products, AmazonSmile, a program that enables the Amazon Foundation to donate 0.5 percent of a user’s total to approved charitable nonprofits of the user’s choice, does not permit users to donate to the Fitzgerald Griffin Foundation. Organizations [eligible](#) for AmazonSmile donations must be 501(c)(3) public charities that “do not engage in, support, encourage, or promote...intolerance, discrimination or discriminatory practices based on race, sex, religion, nationality, disability, sexual orientation, or age” or “hate, terrorism, or violence.”

An Amazon spokesperson did not explain why the company sells some of FGF Books’ products but prohibits Amazon Smile donors from giving money to the Fitzgerald Griffin Foundation.

Amazon sells *Guillaume Faye and the Battle for Europe*, “a compilation of postings from American neo-Nazi websites including Vanguard News Network and National Vanguard.”

Ecwid

Neo-Nazi hate store **PzG Inc.** uses American and Russian payment processor [Ecwid](#) to sell a wide range of reproduced Nazi items such as Hitler Youth armbands, daggers, SS skull rings, coins, clothing, books, and posters on its website. Ecwid did not respond to a request for comment.

Amazon [sells CDs](#) of recordings from the Third Reich produced by PzG Inc.

eProcessing Network

Tennessee-based white nationalist media group **Blood River Radio** uses software made by [eProcessing Network](#) to accept donations online. The group says its mission is “to fight the rising tide of global White genocide; to serve as an advocate for the White race; to act as a White civil rights and civil defense group.” Blood River Radio thinks that white people in South Africa are “in the most acute danger” and makes wild claims, including that “white females from toddlers to octogenarians are being raped on a daily basis by black gangs.”

The group’s charter demands that the U.S. “stop all non-white immigration immediately. Round up and deport all illegals back to the last country they were in as they crossed the border.”

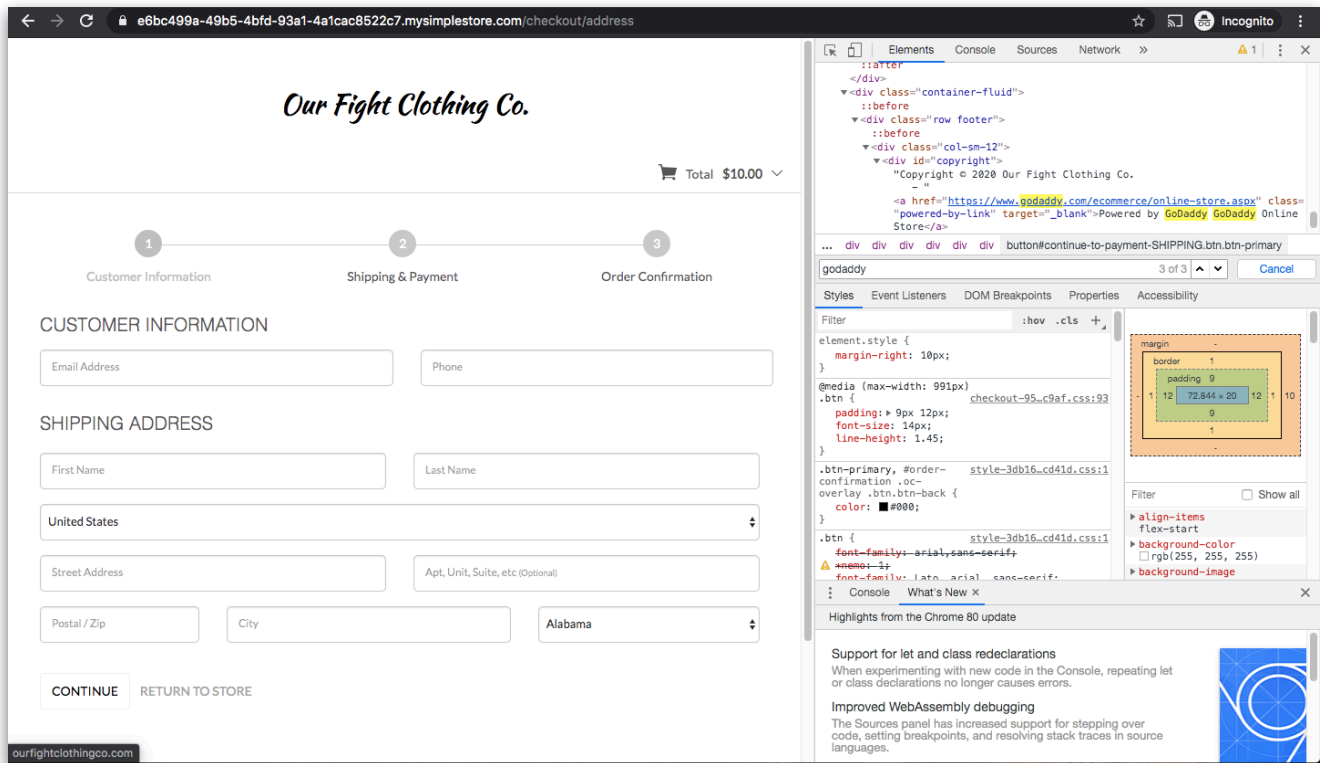
Blood River Radio founder and host Eddie Miller was formerly a co-host of The Political Cesspool, and co-host Jacob Tyler claims to be head of U.S. sales for Arktos Publications and appears to have written for Identity Dixie’s website.

CMD left a voicemail with the owner of eProcessing Network and did not receive a response.

Blood River Radio runs on Liberty News Radio every Saturday afternoon. Users can donate to Liberty News Radio via PayPal.

GoDaddy

White nationalist online store **Our Fight Clothing** raises money through sales of a “free RAM” shirt for the legal defense of white nationalist gang the [Rise Above Movement](#), according to a Rise Above [post](#) on the hate-friendly social media platform Gab. The Rise Above Movement is a “[violent right-wing fight club](#) that attends rallies around the country to do open combat with counter-protesters,” according to SPLC. Four members of the movement were [indicted on rioting charges](#) after committing violent assaults at the 2017 Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia.



SPLC considers both Our Fight Clothing and the Rise Above Movement to be white nationalist hate groups. According to its website, Our Fight Clothing is the exclusive U.S. distributor of merchandise from **Be Active Front**, a SPLC-designated racist skinhead hate group. It also carries products made by **Right Brand Clothing**, a SPLC-designated white nationalist hate group. The reported owner of Right Brand clothing, Robert Rundo, was one of the Rise Above Movement members charged with rioting, and he was [arrested again](#) in 2018 for a series of alleged violent attacks in California.

Despite having booted neo-Nazi forum [Stormfront](#) and white nationalist [Richard Spencer's](#) AltRight.com off of its servers, GoDaddy is supporting Our Fight Clothing. Users can select clothing, music, and stickers on Our Fight Clothing's website via the GoDaddy [online store](#), a paid service that sellers can use within sites designed with GoDaddy Website Builder.

GoDaddy provides domains to websites of a number of white nationalist groups. Many of the groups mentioned in this report, including Arktos Media, the American Freedom Party, and the Political Cesspool, lease their domains from GoDaddy. Additional similar hate groups do as well; for example, the Occidental Observer, a publication of the Richard Spencer-linked Charles Martel Society, pays GoDaddy for its domain, despite being blocked by PayPal and crowdfunder Patreon.

GoDaddy's [Terms of Service](#) do not ban hate or hate groups; the company prohibits any user who "promotes, encourages or engages in terrorism, violence against people, animals, or property."

"GoDaddy does not condone content that advocates expressions of hate, racism or bigotry," a GoDaddy spokesperson told CMD. "However, we generally do not take action on complaints that would constitute censorship of content and that represents the exercise of freedom of speech and expression on the Internet. While we detest the sentiment of such sites, we support a free and open Internet and, similar to the principles of free speech, that sometimes means allowing such tasteless, ignorant content...Our team reviewed the website in question and did not find any such content."

Wave

Until CMD sent out inquiries for this report, after using the GoDaddy Online Store, a user would receive an email from Our Fight Clothing with a link to the site of [Wave Payments](#), a payment processor made by Wave Financial USA, a division of Canadian firm Wave Financial. Tax preparation company H&R Block owns Wave Financial. The user could pay with credit card, debit card or via bank transfer.

Hours after CMD requested comment from Wave, the processor closed Our Fight Clothing's account because the site clearly violated the [Wave Payments Terms of Service](#). The terms explicitly ban the distribution of "hateful content." "Hate, violent acts or activities, discrimination, or the financial exploitation of a crime" are prohibited.

"Frankly we were both very surprised and concerned when we received your email regarding the Wave platform being used to promote hate and violence," said Les Whiting, who is Wave's chief financial services officer and personally wrote the Wave Payments Terms of Service. "I wish I could tell you we get it right, 100% of the time, but we don't. We do however try very hard and are continually advancing our technology, processes and practices to prevent fraudulent, unauthorized and prohibited activity on our platform...Let me be clear, there is no place for hate and violence in any form on the Wave platform."

Nuvei

Neo-Nazi publisher **Third Reich Books** sells books on behalf of the **NDSAP/AO**—the German acronym for the National Socialist German Workers Party/Overseas Organization—a modern, U.S.-based incarnation of the former German party. Third Reich Books has a site built with the free, downloadable, open-source Wordpress.org product that uses a similarly free and open-source plugin called [WooCommerce](#), which is owned by [Automattic](#), to arrange payments.

After a user fills out a form on the Third Reich Books site, Montreal-based payment technology company [Nuvei](#) sends the buyer a payment request, which links to a Nuvei portal where users can pay via credit card. Nuvei's [merchant agreement](#) does not appear to address hate groups.

Nuvei did not respond to CMD's request for comment.

Because Wordpress.org and WooCommerce are both free, open-source software, anyone can download and use them on self-hosted websites. "We don't have control over sites that we don't host," said a spokesperson for Automattic, which owns the site building and hosting company Wordpress.com. "For websites we host at WordPress.com, we have very specific terms of service and [user guidelines](#) for what content is allowed, and we urge people to report any sites that they believe might be abusing those user guidelines." WordPress.com's [terms](#) prohibit "serious threats of violence."

After the deadly white nationalist Unite the Right events in Charlottesville, Virginia, in August 2017, Wordpress.com [removed](#) the site of neo-Nazi hate group **Vanguard America**, which was associated with the white nationalist who killed protester Heather Hayer with his car. This was a big deal for Wordpress, as it has generally been on the side of neutrality and freedom of expression.

"The best response to content that you find negative, offensive, malicious, or inaccurate is not to silence it, but rather to speak out," reads Wordpress.com's [free speech statement](#). "When you present your own counter-narrative, you give others a chance to see multiple aspects of complex issues and help them reach their own conclusions."

The **Washington Summit Publishers** site used Wordpress.org and WooCommerce to set up payments that were previously processed by PayPal, but the PayPal account has been closed.

ProPay

Another neo-Nazi hate group, **NS Publications**, sells books, posters, and cassette tapes about the Third Reich, the Waffen SS, "the Jewish question," and other related topics. The [site](#) instructs users to email the owner with a purchase request, and the owner will send a payment link, where users can pay via credit card through [ProPay](#), a Utah-based payment processing company and subsidiary of payment firm [TSYS/Global Payments](#), a publicly traded company and member of the S&P 500.

ProPay's [High Risk Acceptable Use Policy](#) states that the sale of "products/services that promote hate, violence, harassment or abuse" is prohibited. The company did not respond to CMD's request for comment.

The screenshot shows a web browser window with the URL `epay.propay.com/payment/?id=59397233456D795848747951795248414131446556513D3D`. The browser's address bar shows the Incognito mode. The page has a blue header with a search bar, a language dropdown, and 'Login' and 'Sign Up' buttons. The main content area features the ProPay logo (ATSYS Company) and a 'Payment Request' section. Below this, there are two columns: 'Invoice Information' and 'Payment Options'. The 'Invoice Information' column shows 'Sender: Educational Material (nspublications88@gmail.com)' and 'Invoice: Amount: [REDACTED]'. The 'Payment Options' column shows a 'Checkout' button with a green arrow, a 'VISA Checkout' button with a blue arrow, and a 'Tell Me More' link. The page is secured by ProPay, Inc.

Square and Cash App

Two white nationalist groups, [Red Ice](#) and [Renaissance Horizon](#), recently accepted donations through Cash App, a mobile payment provider developed by Square.

White Rabbit Radio, a white nationalist “[online cult](#),” according to SPLC, accepted subscribers’ payments via Square.

The group is focused on spreading the white genocide conspiracy theory and is obsessed with the Mantra, a message blaming immigrants for the alleged genocide of white people by white nationalist Robert Whitaker. White Rabbit Radio puts out video and audio of its radio sessions as well as animated videos and a subscription-only podcast. It has a YouTube account with 14,000 subscribers.

“My job is to provoke a conversation using the very charged concept of white genocide to create a paradigm change,” [said](#) Robert Murdock, head of White Rabbit Radio, in 2013.

Square’s [General Terms of Service](#), which apply to Cash App users as well, state that the company may remove “objectionable” content at any time. This includes content that is “false, misleading, unlawful, obscene, indecent, lewd, pornographic, defamatory, libelous, threatening, harassing, hateful, abusive, or inflammatory.”

After CMD alerted Square to these groups that used their service, the company deactivated all three accounts and declined to comment on the record.

Visa and Authorize.Net

White nationalist online merchandise vendor [Patriotic Flags](#) uses payment processor [Authorize.Net](#), which is owned by Visa, to sell its wares. Authorize.Net's [Terms of Use](#) do not describe any anti-hate policy.

[Kyle Rogers](#), a former key member of the Council of Conservative Citizens and former member of League of the South, runs Patriotic Flags. The site used to use PayPal to receive payments but is now using Authorize.Net. It "sells a variety of far-right flags and banners, including the neo-Confederate 'Southern Nationalist' flag, the flag of Rhodesia—which Roof wore on his jacket in a widely circulated photograph—and various Confederate flags," according to SPLC.

Patriotic Flags is [a sponsor](#) of Renaissance Horizon, according to the latter group's YouTube channel.

A Visa spokesperson made it clear to CMD that the company would not ban Patriotic Flags from its services. However, after CMD's inquiry, Visa alerted the bank that does business with Patriotic Flags so the bank can conduct its own review into whether the site is in compliance with its policies and any applicable legal requirements.

"As a company and as individuals, we oppose groups that promote prejudice, intolerance, discrimination, or violence against others," a Visa spokesperson told CMD. "We support efforts to combat injustice and racism, and we are vigilant in our efforts to stamp out illegal activity on the Visa network.

"While we may find certain organizations or their positions to be offensive, Visa does not restrict transactions that are legal and involve free speech or lawful expression of views," the spokesperson continued. "There are few organizations truly as global as Visa. Our business and our shared values drive us to embrace diversity and inclusion, and we remain as

Patriotic Flags "sells a variety of far-right flags and banners, including the neo-Confederate 'Southern Nationalist' flag, the flag of Rhodesia—which Roof wore on his jacket in a widely circulated photograph—and various Confederate

committed as ever to these values. We strive to make our payment services available to all people in all places, for uses consistent with local, national, and international laws.”

Patreon

White nationalist hate group **Affirmative Right** has a [Patreon account](#), which only publicly posted once and takes in \$47 per month. It also has an active YouTube channel. Patreon’s [Community Guidelines](#) ban hate speech and encourage users to report it. “There is no room on Patreon for projects funding hate speech, such as calling for violence, exclusion, or segregation,” state the guidelines. “This includes serious attacks on people based on their race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, sex, gender, sexual orientation, age, disability or serious medical conditions.”

Patreon has [banned white supremacists](#) and [people](#) associated with the alt-right in recent years. A Patreon spokesperson told CMD that she was not familiar with Affirmative Right’s page but flagged it for the company’s Trust and Safety team.

In November 2019, Facebook [banned](#) Affirmative Right’s page. Affirmative Right is the rebrand of Richard Spencer’s Alternative Right, which helped launch the alt-right movement, but it has since had a “falling out” with Spencer, according to The Guardian. White nationalist [Colin Liddell](#) is currently the co-editor of the Affirmative Right site, as well as the connected site Trad News.

Google and Blogger

Affirmative Right and Trad News are published by blogspot.com, a platform created by the company Blogger that is owned and hosted by Google. Blogger’s [Content Policy](#) does not allow hate speech, which it defines as “content that promotes or condones violence against or has the primary purpose of inciting hatred against an individual or group on the basis of their race or ethnic origin, religion, disability, age, nationality, veteran status, sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, or any other characteristic that is associated with systemic discrimination or marginalization.”

Blogger does not “monitor content or mediate disputes,” but users can [report](#) hate speech to the company.

A Terms of Service link on Blogger’s site sends users to Google’s [Terms of Service](#), which don’t specifically address “hate” but allow Google to terminate accounts that cause “harm or liability to a user, third party, or Google...by...harassing” or “misleading others.”

One of the sites, Trad News, advertises [a book](#) from Colin Liddell, linking to the Amazon purchase page. Amazon sells [several](#) of Liddell's books.

A Google spokesperson did not answer specific questions about whether Affirmative Right and Trad News violate Blogger's anti-hate speech policy, and the company did not remove the sites.

Mainstream Donor-Advised Funds

Online fundraising is not the only way that hate groups raise funds. Some white nationalist nonprofits in good standing with the IRS receive donations directly from mainstream donor-advised fund (DAF) sponsors. Typically wealthy donors open charitable accounts with DAF sponsors, which invest and distribute the money for a fee. Individual donors are hidden from the IRS and the public, and they may elect to remain anonymous to their grant recipients. DAF sponsors include large charities tied to major financial institutions, ideological charities, and community foundations.

As this author previously reported, the nation's biggest charity by annual revenue, Fidelity Charitable Gift Fund, passes along its clients' charitable dollars to white nationalist hate groups including the [New Century Foundation](#), the nonprofit behind Jared Taylor's American Renaissance. Federal tax records show that Fidelity Charitable gave the New Century Foundation over \$100,000 from the 2016-18 fiscal years; \$36,100 from FY2015-17 to the VDARE Foundation; and \$6,855 to the H.L. Mencken Club in FY2018. It has given [far more](#) to anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant, and anti-LGBTQ hate groups.

Also donating to the VDARE Foundation are DAF sponsors Vanguard Charitable, which gave \$15,000 in FY2017, Schwab Charitable (\$6,200 in 2018), and the Innovia Foundation (\$5,000 in 2018).

After this author's previous reporting was published by Sludge, the Amalgamated Foundation, a DAF sponsor affiliated with Amalgamated Bank, launched the "[Hate Is Not Charitable](#)" campaign, an initiative to pressure DAF sponsors to stop funding hate that now has scores of participant organizations.

In March 2020, CAIR and SPLC released a white paper, "[Hate-Free Philanthropy](#)," which outlines the problem of DAF sponsors funding hate groups and describes best practices for charities to screen for hate groups.

Fighting Back

Despite many tech companies having policies against hate and violence, hate groups continue to raise money online. In some cases, they have slipped through the cracks of the policies; in others, the policies are not strict enough to ban certain white nationalist groups.

Some companies don't actively seek out violators, instead relying on users and journalists to report hateful accounts. Others do devote some, though not enough, resources towards identifying bad actors. The result is a patchwork of different online payment options and varying terms of service that allows white nationalist and neo-Nazi hate groups to reach people around the world, and often to solicit their financial contributions.

Because of this pervasive problem, some institutions have taken action. Organizations such as Color of Change have run campaigns to urge tech companies to deny hate groups service, and the Change the Terms coalition has created [model policies](#) for tech companies to adopt in order to reduce hate online. But there's much more to be done, especially as the current economic crisis worsens, said Collins-Dexter.

"The crisis we are now in warrants an even stronger examination into how corporations are enabling the rise of white nationalist groups," she said. "The combination of an economic free fall, massive unemployment, racist scapegoating, idle hands and increased online presences means that we're going to see greater recruitment for and activity from hate groups. You only need to look at the phenomenon of '[Zoombombing](#)'—coordinated cyber attacks against Black users on Zoom—to know that this will be a growing problem as every single aspect of our life moves online."

"The crisis we are now in warrants an even stronger examination into how corporations are enabling the rise of white nationalist groups."

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About the Center for Media and Democracy

THE CENTER FOR MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY has been researching and exposing the undue influence of powerful special interests on our democracy for more than 25 years. Its investigations and exposés have pulled back the curtain on numerous cases of public corruption and corporate manipulation of public policy, elections, and the media, and its publicly available research has made CMD a go-to source for thousands of journalists, educators, reform groups, and citizen activists.

Website: exposedbycmd.org

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