**Name:** KKK (Ku Klux Klan)

**Type of Organization:**
- Criminal
- domestic terrorist
- political party (select branches)
- secret
- violent

**Ideologies and Affiliations:**
- Anti-immigrant
- anti-Catholic
- anti-miscegenation
- anti-Semitic
- homophobic
- nativist
- racist
- segregationist
- white nationalist
- white pride
- white supremacist
- xenophobic

**Place of Origin:**
Pulaski, Tennessee

**Year of Origin:**
1865 (original group)

**Founder(s):**
John C. Lester, John B. Kennedy, James R. Crowe, Frank O. McCord, Richard R. Reed, J. Calvin Jones (original group)

**Places of Operation:**
United States, Canada, worldwide

**Overview**

*Also Known As:*
- Brotherhood of Klans
- Church of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- Imperial Klans of America
- Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (the Knights Party)
- Ku Klux Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- National Aryan Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- Original Knight Riders Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- The Klan
- Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
- United Klans of America
- United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

**Executive Summary:**
The Ku Klux Klan ("KKK" or "the Klan"), dedicated to white supremacy, is America’s best-known hate group. However, the Klan’s power and standing has declined dramatically in the decades since its peak years of millions-strong membership. In fact, the KKK is no longer a single, cohesive organization, having splintered into at least four main offshoots and dozens of
smaller factions, all of which identify as members of “the Klan” and incorporate “Klan” in their group names. However, the Klan’s influence remains significant, especially among U.S. hate groups. The KKK has also attracted “vast numbers of sympathizers” due to its geographical diffusion across 41 states and historical notoriety, according to the Southern Poverty Law Center. It is the oldest hate group in the United States.

The KKK is the oldest and most notorious hate group in the United States.

The KKK has gone through three phases of growth, followed each time by drastic decline. The original Klan was founded by a group of six Confederate army veterans in Tennessee in 1865. Fearing increasing political control by Reconstructionist politicians buoyed by the potential electoral power of newly freed male black slaves, the KKK responded by terrorizing black people through physical and psychological intimidation during the Reconstruction era following the Civil War. The KKK adopted costumes evoking the spirits of dead Confederate soldiers, exploiting fear and superstition among the black population. It existed until 1871, when the federal government passed the Ku Klux Klan Act, allowing the prosecution of KKK members as part of a terrorist organization. The KKK re-emerged in 1915 in Atlanta, Georgia. At the height of the group’s power in the mid-1920s, it claimed around 4–5 million members. Numbers collapsed, however, and the organization effectively disbanded before the advent of World War II. In response to the burgeoning civil rights movement, the KKK was formed again during the 1960s and continues to function in limited ways. Today, there are at least four main KKK branches among the 72 active groups operating under the Klan name: the Brotherhood of Klans, the National Knights, the Imperial Klans of America and the Knights Party.

The KKK has returned to the national public consciousness in the last two years. In 2014, Frazier Glenn Cross Jr. (a.k.a. Miller), the founder of the Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was arrested for the murder of three people at Jewish community centers in Kansas and Missouri. On September 8, 2015, a Kansas jury recommended Cross be sentenced to death, and he was convicted of murder on November 11, 2015. When he was sentenced to death by a Kansas court, Cross responded, “Heil Hitler.”

Heil Hitler. Frazier Glenn Cross Jr., upon sentencing for murdering three at Jewish community centers, 2015.

In 2015, after white supremacist Dylann Roof shot and killed nine African-Americans at a well-known black church in Charleston, South Carolina, the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan distributed Klan propaganda with bags of candy to front lawns in Alabama, California, Georgia, Kansas, and Mississippi. On fliers, readers were encouraged to ring a hotline that saluted Roof, which said, “We in the Loyal White Knights would like to say hail victory to ... Dylann S. Roof who decided to do what the bible told him...” A spokesperson for the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (a.k.a. the Knights Party) took a different approach, trying to distance the KKK from Roof’s actions by denouncing him. She urged the media to be “courageous” and highlight the denunciation, claiming that the murders would “be used to promote white guilt.”

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, “the Klan’s message of hatred endures, supported by a record of violence and terror unmatched in the history of American extremist groups.”

Doctrine:

The KKK believes in white supremacy, white solidarity, and preservation of the white race.

The KKK’s overriding doctrine is white supremacy, white solidarity, and preservation of the white race. The group describes itself as “promoters of White Christian civilization.”

In 1975, David Duke, a KKK member and future candidate for president and other high offices, launched the Knights Party, explicitly seeking to soften the Klan’s image. According to the Knights Party, the KKK seeks to “secure the existence of our people and a future for white children” and advocates for white self-determination in the U.S. The Knights Party thus describes its ethos as “racialist” rather than “racist” and explicitly rejects charges of racism, claiming, “How disappointed
they must be when they find out the Klan does not hate Negroes!" The term racialism as used by the Knights Party describes a simple preference for one race over another, rather than racism, which entails negative discrimination against other races. Other academics also claim differences between racism and racialism, including a Yale Law School professor who states, "[r]acialism is rational, morally neutral, and inevitable in a society with our history of slavery, discrimination, and white-black social differences in so many areas." According to the Oxford English Dictionary and most dictionaries, however, it is synonymous with racism.

Similar to the Knights Party’s claim, the Imperial Wizard (leader) of the Traditional American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Frank Ancona has stated, "We don’t hate people because of their race…We want to keep our race the White race…We want to stay White. It’s not a hateful thing to want to maintain White Supremacy."

The Knights Party also downplays its violent associations—referring to its “alleged ‘violent’ past”—and explicitly rejects the label of “hate group.” According to the KKK itself, it “is not a hate group, but we are a LOVE group…because we LOVE America and we LOVE our people.” A KKK Chapter called the Traditionalist American Knights of the Ku Klux Klux (TAK) similarly states, “We are a non-violent organization that believes in the preservation of the White race and the United States Constitution as it was originally written…"

Notwithstanding these attempts to disassociate the KKK from its racist foundations, the “same bigoted rhetoric…lurks beneath the veneer,” according to the Southern Poverty Law Center. The KKK “target[s] blacks more often than any other group.” Biracial couples are also “frequent targets of Klan violence,” while anti-Semitism and “rabidly homophobic” literature since the 1970s also form key pillars of the KKK’s ideology. In 1999, homophobic Klan rhetoric reportedly inspired Steven Eric Mullins and Charles Monroe Butler to beat a gay man to death before burning the corpse.

In April 2014, the founder and former leader of the Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Glenn Frazier Cross shot and killed a boy and his grandfather at the Jewish Community Center of Greater Kansas City, one day before the Jewish holiday of Passover.

**Organizational Structure:**

There are at least four main KKK splinter groups operating today.

The KKK is no longer a single entity run by a sole leader and with central headquarters. The SPLC mentions at least four larger Klan organizations: the Brotherhood of Klans (BOK); the Church of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (National Knights); Imperial Klans of America (IKA); and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKKK, a.k.a. The Knights Party), which is the largest group. These four main groups are supplemented by dozens of smaller factions, all of which use the "Klan" name.

**The Brotherhood of Klans (BOK)**

The Brotherhood of Klans (BOK) was founded in 1996 by Dale Fox. It is a “traditional” Klan and therefore highly secretive. It is nonetheless geographically widespread, and distinguishes itself from other factions as the only Klan to establish a presence outside the United States, "with a sizeable presence in Canada." Its headquarters are believed to be in Henderson, Tennessee.

**The Church of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (National Knights)**

Formed in 1960 and now operating out of South Bend, Indiana, the National Knights is one of the most active Klans. The SPLC has pointed to the group’s organizational incompetence, saying it "gained a kind of "Keystone Kops" reputation on the white supremacist scene for its bumbling ways."

**Imperial Klans of America (IKA)**
Like the BOK, the Imperial Klans of America (IKA) is a “traditional” Klan. It was founded by Ron Edwards in Dawson Springs, Kentucky in 1996. It is believed to be the second-largest Klan group after the BOK.\textsuperscript{42}

The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKKK, a.k.a. the Knights Party)

The Knights Party was founded by David Duke in 1975 and purports to represent the modern Klan with a “kindler, gentler” face seeking “white civil rights.” Its head office is in Harrison, Arkansas.\textsuperscript{43}

The KKK’s fragmentation and lack of organization has stemmed in large part from internal disputes over ideology, as well as petty squabbling.\textsuperscript{44} Generally, cosmetic differences in competence, public relations ability, group size, and structure mark one group as different from another.\textsuperscript{45} Ideological distinctions between these Klan groups are marginal, however, as all are devoted to white supremacy.

The KKK consists of around 160 chapters across 41 states.

The KKK consists of around 160 known active chapters across 41 states, including both national organizations like the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and local chapters such as the Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.\textsuperscript{46} The London-based \textit{Telegraph} estimates total KKK membership at “no more than 8,000,” further “split among dozens of different—and often warring—organizations that use the Klan name.”\textsuperscript{47} According to the Anti-Defamation League, the KKK has more chapters than any other U.S. right-wing group.\textsuperscript{48} Two-thirds of chapters are located in the South.\textsuperscript{49}

Traditional KKK groups such as the TAK employ a well-developed hierarchical structure characterized by a distinctive Klan lexicon. TAK leader Frank Ancona, for instance, is known as the “Grand Wizard” of the organization. The United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (UNSKKKK) also retains the distinctive names of rank such as Klaliff, Kleagle, Kladd, Kleaxter, Klokard and Klokan.\textsuperscript{50} The comparatively more “modern” Knights Party, by contrast, dispenses with the traditional Klan lexicon. In general, KKK members retain anonymity, apart from higher echelons and some officers.

\textit{Financing:}

Funding for the KKK is believed to be minimal and primarily secured from membership fees and sales of KKK paraphernalia and merchandise.\textsuperscript{51} The TAK also encourages prospective supporters disinclined to full membership to sign up as “Ghoul Squad” members, thereby “contributing to our unseen, invisible army of supporters” for a fee of $25 or $100.\textsuperscript{52}

\textit{Recruitment:}

Historically, a Klan group’s “Kleagle” is responsible for recruiting new members, known as “Ghouls.” According to the SPLC the Kleagle – in Klan groups that still adopt the traditional names – “gets a percentage of the initiation fees.”\textsuperscript{53} During the 1940s, membership cost $10, “plus annual fees of $6.80” and functioned as a pyramid scheme in which the “national, state, and provincial headquarters each got about a 20 percent slice of the action.”\textsuperscript{54}

The KKK has exploited major attacks, including the June 2015 South Carolina massacre, as an opportunity for recruitment. Through the summer of 2015, the KKK distributed fliers along with bags of candy on residential front yards across Alabama, California, Georgia, Kansas, and Mississippi. The fliers included the website and telephone number of the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. According to “Grand Dragon” Robert Jones, “We’re doing this from the East Coast to the West Coast, just to let people know the Klan’s in their community.”\textsuperscript{55} According to the Anti-Defamation League, sections of the KKK’s members are drawn from a “criminal milieu.”\textsuperscript{56}

The KKK also recruits through web-based media. Pastor Thomas Robb—a well-known current KKK leader, successor to
David Duke, and current head of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—hosts a show called *This Is The Klan* on his website. On the same site, younger members and prospective recruits are directed to watch *White Youth Focus*, hosted by Billy Graham, “for racially aware young people to get their news.” Thomas Robb formerly hosted a YouTube show called *The Andrew Show* using the channel name ShowForWhiteKids. “White women” are catered to in a show called *White Women’s Perspective*, hosted by Rachel Prendergraft and promoted on Pastor Robb’s website. After taking control of the KKKK, Robb dispensed with the traditional initiation rites “in favor of a simple mail-in fee that earned applicants booklets and tests, allowing them to move through the ranks by paying for promotions.”

18 “Hate Map: National Numbers,” Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed November 9, 2015, [https://www.splcenter.org/hate-map](https://www.splcenter.org/hate-map) [6].
KKK (Ku Klux Klan)

KKK (Ku Klux Klan)

Key Leaders

Phil Lawson
Emperor of the United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Cole Thornton
Imperial Wizard of the United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Frank Ancona
Imperial Wizard of the Traditional Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (deceased)

Rachel Pendergraft
Spokeswoman, National Membership Coordinator of The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan a.k.a. The Knights Party

Thomas Robb
National Director of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
KKK (Ku Klux Klan)

History:

- **February 27, 2016**: Five people are injured during a KKK rally in Pearson Park in Anaheim, California. According to the Anaheim Police Department, Klan members stabbed three counter-protesters, one of whom was stabbed using the “decorative end of a flagpole.” The KKK had planned an anti-immigration “white lives matter” rally. Five Klan members, four men and one woman, are arrested on suspicion of assault with a deadly weapon. One day later, all five members are released after Anaheim Police state that the Klan members appeared to act in “self-defense and defense of another.” Police also noted that the clash was initiated by counter-protesters. Source: http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-in-anti-kkk-protesters-anaheim-release-jail-20160228-story.html.


- **April 1997**: Four Klan members are arrested for plotting terrorist attacks in northern Texas. They are later found guilty of a variety of criminal charges, including “building pipe bombs designed to blow up buses carrying Mexican and Haitian migrant workers from Tennessee to Florida.” Source: “Ku Klux Klan: Criminal Activity and Violence,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed September 2, 2015, http://archive.adl.org/learn/ext_us/kkk/crime.html?LEARN_Cat=Extremism.


**1915**: The KKK re-emerges in 1915 in Atlanta, Georgia.  
http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/general-article/grant-kkk/.

**April 20, 1871**: The U.S. government enacts the Ku Klux Klan Act, permitting the prosecution of KKK members as part of a terrorist organization.  
http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/general-article/grant-kkk/.

**December 1865**: First meeting of original KKK in Pulaski, Tennessee, formed by six Confederate army veterans. Initially formed as a “social club,” it quickly spreads throughout the South, becoming a terrorist organization targeting black community leaders. Source: Richard Wormser, “The Ku Klux Klan (1866),” Public Broadcasting Service, accessed September 10, 2015,  

**KKK (Ku Klux Klan)**
Violent history:

The KKK has used violence as a tool of fear and intimidation from its earliest days in the late 19th century. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, “[l]ynchings, tar-and-featherings, rapes and other violent attacks on those challenging white supremacy became a hallmark of the Klan” during the Reconstruction era.62

The KKK is most associated with the practice of lynching (especially by hanging), in which a mob takes the law into its own hands and commits murder.63 KKK lynchings of black men and women witnessed a resurgence during the 1920s. By 1930, the Klan was responsible for a significant proportion of the 4,000 blacks killed via lynching since the start of the 20th century.64 This practice continues to be most associated with the KKK in the public imagination. In its third, current phase, the KKK has resorted to other forms of violence, including attempted bombings. Some Klan offshoots, notably the Knights Party and the Traditional American Knights (TAK), now officially eschew violence in order to “rebrand” with a softer image. According to TAK leader Frank Ancona, “I believe in racial separation but it doesn't have to be violent.”65

- **June 21, 1964:** In coordination with Deputy Sherriff Cecil Price in Philadelphia, Mississippi police, Klan members follow, beat then shoot to death three civil rights workers.66
- **November 3, 1979:** Five protesters at a “Death to the Klan” march in Greensboro, North Carolina, are shot and killed by KKK and American Nazi Party members.67
- **March 1981:** Two Klansmen from the United Klans of America lynch teenager Michael Donald in Mobile, Alabama. One of the perpetrators, Henry Hayes, is executed for the crime in 1997.68
- **April 1997:** Four Klan members are arrested for plotting terrorist attacks in North Texas, including the targeting of a gas processing plant. They are later found guilty of a variety of charges.69
- **August 2005:** Daniel James Schertz of the North Georgia White Knights pleads guilty to building pipe bombs designed to blow up buses transporting Haitian and Mexican workers from Tennessee to Florida.70
- **May 6, 2010:** KKK chapter leader Raymond Foster is sentenced to life imprisonment for shooting to death Cynthia Lynch, a new recruit who wanted to leave the group one day after her initiation in St. Tammany Parish near New Orleans in November 2008.71
- **April 13, 2014:** Former KKK senior leader Frazier Glenn Cross, Jr. murders three people at two Jewish community centers near Kansas City, Missouri.72
- **May 15, 2014:** Former Exalted Cyclops of the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Steven Dinkle is sentenced to two years in prison. He is convicted for hate crimes and obstruction of justice in relation to a 2009 cross burning.73
- **November 14, 2014:** The Traditionalist American Knights of the KKK claims it will use “lethal force” against protesters in Ferguson, Missouri, in a flier that reads: “There will be consequences for your actions against the peaceful, law abiding citizens of Missouri.”74
- **June 2015:** After white supremacist Dylann Roof murders black churchgoers in South Carolina, the Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan distribute Klan propaganda with bags of candy onto front lawns in Alabama, California, Georgia, Kansas, and Mississippi.75
- **November 11, 2015:** Former Klan leader and anti-Semite Frazier Glenn Cross, Jr. is found guilty of one count of capital murder and three counts of attempted murder committed in April 2014. He is sentenced to death, to which he responds “Heil Hitler.”76

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KKK (Ku Klux Klan)

http://escholarship.org/uc/item/1m71i2dk#page-1 [39].
KKK (Ku Klux Klan)

Associations:

Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC):

The Anti-Defamation League and Southern Poverty Law Center both state that KKK members have ties to the CCC and other white supremacist groups.\(^7\) CCC members have previously supported the political activities of former KKKK leader David Duke.\(^7\) On January 2, 1999, Duke held a fundraiser in Arlington, Virginia for his campaign for a Louisiana seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. Event organizer Mark Cotterill had recently resigned as chair of the CCC’s national capital region. Cotterill insisted the CCC did not sponsor the event, but the audience of about 100 included many CCC members.\(^7\) Duke had also previously shown up at a CCC national convention, to the ire of former CCC CEO Gordon Baum, who thought Duke’s presence would hurt the CCC’s political legitimacy.\(^8\) Baum reportedly threatened a local newspaper with a lawsuit if it reported Duke’s presence.\(^9\)


KKK (Ku Klux Klan)

Media Coverage:
**Rhetoric:**

*Charles Lee, Leader of the White Camelia Knights, 2005 [48]*

“We see more and more All-Black TV programs that pollute the airwaves. Where are the White people in these Black Sitcoms? You can be sure to find a majority of the credits for these Black Sitcoms belonging to the Jews. In a Country where the Majority rules, you would think that the White Man would be in control and therefore rid this land of the evil that plagues it. But instead you have the parasitic Jew at the Head of Government.”

*Thomas Robb, National Director of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 2002 [49]*

“Anti-White discrimination is official government policy through ‘affirmative action’ schemes such as minority scholarships, minority business grants, contract ‘set-asides,’ and the hiring and force fed promotion of less qualified employees. We demand an end to all government enforced race mixing such as busing and moving welfare recipients into Middle Class neighborhoods.”

*David Duke, founder and former leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 2002 [50]*

“In modern America, Jews lead the effort to de-Christianize America. More importantly, Jews dominate the very un-Christian mass media.... As I became more aware of the all-encompassing, world-wide scope of Jewish power, I also learned that Jews have endeavored to undermine the religious foundations of whatever nation they have lived in.”

*Rachel Pendergraft, Spokeswoman, The Knights Party [51]*

“So for a church to welcome so-called Christian homosexuals or non-whites into the congregation—because its some sort of hospital for the depraved is wrong.”

*The Knights Party, 1997 [52]*

“But there are those who speak of ideals, who can’t figure out what’s so great about two guys cuddling up for a romantic evening (ugh), who find it odd those who speak of rights are quick to end the rights of the unborn, and there are those who understand the concepts of genocide and how interracial mixing promotes it and the destruction of the white race.”

*The Knights Party, 1997 [53]*

“Of course, once you do get to college there are no Caucasian Student Unions or European Culture Clubs, and don’t even think about starting one just because there are tons of them for Blacks, Asians, or what ever.”

*The Knights Party, 1997 [54]*

“The people who own the entertainment industry are like the people in Sodom and Gomorrah.”
C. Edward Foster, *Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1997* [55]

“The Pennsylvania Ku Klux Klan recognizes the simple fact that ALL African niggers are all savage, bloodthirsty Satanic beasts... In the last 30 years these cannibalistic apes have fiendishly MURDERED over 50,000 White Christians. A nigger cannot be a Christian. Voodoo is the only appropriate religion for these depraved, demonic, vile, ape-like creatures of jungle darkness.”

David Duke, *founder and former leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1977* [56]

“The Mexican birthrate in this country is five times that of white people. The black birthrate is four times larger. America will become a Third World nation if these trends continue. Unless we slow down and cut off immigration by beefing up border control and encourage welfare recipients to have fewer kids, the white population in America will be swamped.”

Robert Shelton, *United Klans of America, January 1970* [57]

“We’re going to kick the enemies of white people from one end of the country to the other.”

Robert Shelton, *United Klans of America, December 23, 1969* [58]

“If we’re going to have racial integrity and we’re going to have decency and morality and advancement we’ve got to have complete separation.”

Robert Shelton, *United Klans of America, December 23, 1969* [59]

“You can’t raise the nigger race of people that aren’t equal to white. Whether it’s in schooling, whether it’s in housing, in the community, or in society or what it is. You can only do one thing as the situation has proven itself in the Washington D.C. school system. You can only bring the white race down, and by continually bringing the white race down you’re bringing them down to a level with the nigger race of people. You don’t bring the nigger up to the level of the white. You’re bringing the white and driving the white down on to a level of that of the nigger. And that’s the entire program of desegregation that’s transpiring and taking place.”

Eldon Edwards, *Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, May 5, 1957* [60]

“I sure will believe in segregation for the simple reason we believe in preserving and protecting God’s word. He created the white man. He intended for him to stay white. He created the nigger. He intended for him to stay black. And we believe that Mongolization destroys both races and creates a Mongol which is not a race.”

Hiram Wesley Evans, *Imperial Wizard, Ku Klux Klan, December 1925* [61]

“Also, we believe that races of men are as distinct as animals; that any mixture between races of any great divergence is evil; that the American stock, which was bred under
highly selective surroundings, has proved its value and should not be mongrelized...”


