

THE ANTI-RACIST ACTION NETWORK'S FOUR POINTS OF UNITY

1) **WE GO WHERE THEY GO:** Whenever fascists are organizing or active in public, we're there. We don't believe in ignoring them or staying away from them. Never let the nazis have the street!

2) **WE DON'T RELY ON THE COPS OR THE COURTS TO DO OUR WORK FOR US:** This doesn't mean we never go to court. But we must rely on ourselves to protect ourselves and stop the fascists.

3) **NON-SECTARIAN DEFENSE OF OTHER ANTI-FASCISTS:** In ARA, we have lots of different groups and individuals. We don't agree about everything and we have a right to differ openly. But in this movement an attack on one is an attack on us all. We stand behind each other.

4) We support abortion rights and reproductive freedom. ARA intends to do the hard work necessary to build a broad, strong movement against racism, sexism, anti-Semitism, homophobia, discrimination against the disabled, the oldest, the youngest and the most oppressed people. **WE INTEND TO WIN!**

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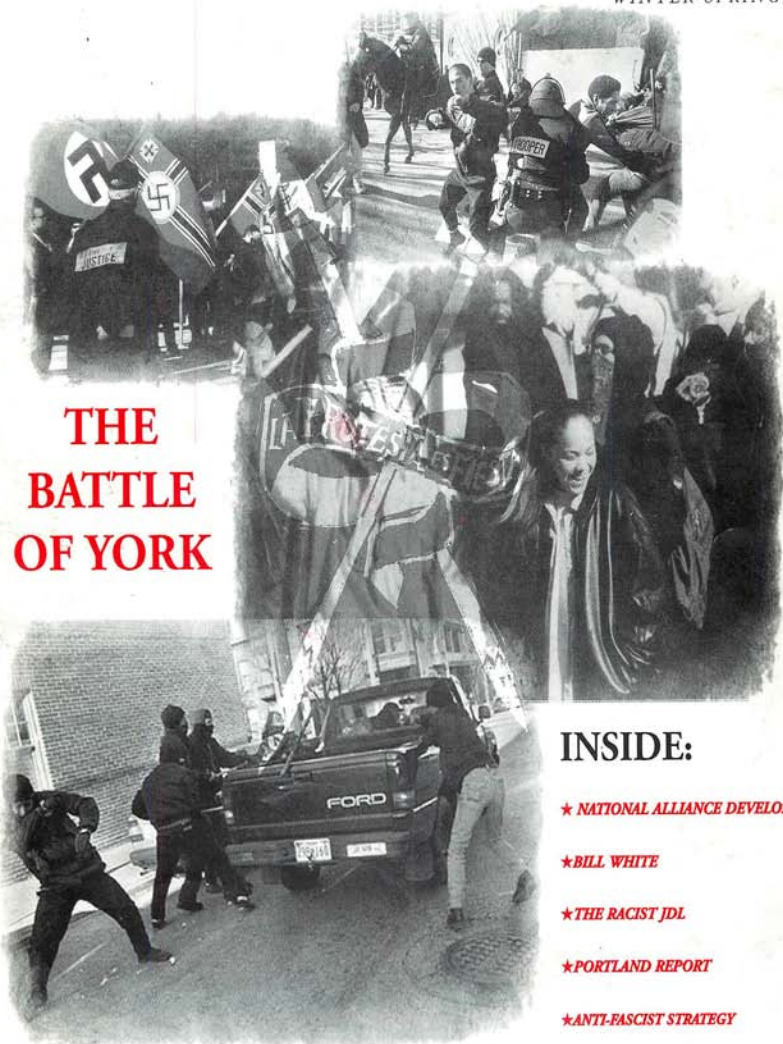
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ARA RESEARCH BULLETIN

ANTI-FASCIST RESEARCH, ANALYSIS AND DEBATE

ISSUE #3
WINTER-SPRING 2002



THE BATTLE OF YORK

INSIDE:

- ★ NATIONAL ALLIANCE DEVELOPMENTS
- ★ BILL WHITE
- ★ THE RACIST JDJ
- ★ PORTLAND REPORT
- ★ ANTI-FASCIST STRATEGY

Project of Chicago Anti-Racist Action

ARA RESEARCH BULLETIN

A project of Chicago Anti-Racist Action,
with support from the ARA Network.

Issue #3, Winter-Spring 2002

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Send well-concealed cash or blank money orders only. If you absolutely must write a check, make it payable to "Autonomous Zone Foundation."

BACK ISSUES

All back issues are available at the rates listed above.

Issue One (Summer 2001)

SPLC, the Enemy of our Enemy; The Third Position; the New Face of Resistance; Hale and Brimstone; Editorials on Death Penalty and Repression

Issue Two (Fall 2001)

Fifth Column Fascism; Reports from the Home Front; Q&A: Know Your Enemy; R.A.W.A.; Repression; Concordia

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WANTED!

Discussion:

Aside from news, information and opinion, this bulletin hopes to raise many questions that need discussion and debate among anti-fascists. We don't necessarily agree on all of the opinions expressed here, and we know that some of our readers don't either! Discussion is necessary to hone our analysis and tactics and more effectively fight fascism and build a better world, so send us your feedback, criticisms and points of contention for future issues!

Information:

ARA is a grassroots activist network. We don't have massive funding or full-time staff like Klanwatch or the ADL. We rely on street level reports and information gleaned from anti-fascists on the front lines. Help to keep us informed! Send us after-action reports, scene reports, news clippings and info on fascists and fascist activity in your area.

WHITE POWER SHOW TRACKING

The following is an incomplete list of white power concerts that have taken place in the US over the past two years (approximately one per month). Undoubtedly, there have been many other shows that have fallen beneath our radar. Given the National Alliance's control over Resistance, the white power music scene is certain to play a key role in their future organizing efforts. If we do not actively stop this movement's growth, we may soon be in the position currently faced in Germany, where anti-fascists estimate there is a white power show every one to two weeks.

12/18/99—The Shack, Orange County, CA

Bands: Aggressive Force, Hate Crime, Youngland

03/11/00—Detroit, MI

Vinland Tour 2000, sponsored by the Hammerskin Nation.
Bands: Max Resist, No Alibi, Pluton Svea (Sweden)

03/17/00—Arlington, TX

Vinland Tour 2000, sponsored by the Hammerskin Nation.
Bands: Pluton Svea (Sweden), others

03/18/00—Cleveland, TX

Vinland Tour 2000, sponsored by the Hammerskin Nation.
Bands: Bully Boys, Dying Breed, Hammerhead, Plunder & Pillage, Pluton Svea (Sweden), White Wash

03/??/00—Powderly, KY

Nordic Fest 2000, sponsored by the Imperial Klans of America and Panzerfaust
No other details available

06/10/00—Location Unknown

OH2K (basement RAC show)
Bands: Causing Problems, Manimal, Straightlaced Nightmare, Whitewash, Whoop! I Killed Myself

07/29/00—Creek Bar, Arlington, TX

CHS Productions
Bands: Straightlaced Nightmare, Whitewash

08/04/00—Buffalo, NY

Organized by Chris O., drummer for all 3 bands
Bands: Attack, Code of Violence, No Alibi

10/21-22/00—Bremen, GA

Sponsored by Hammerskin Nation, Panzerfaust, Resistance Records, promoted by Free Your Mind Productions
Bands: Aggressive Force, Bound for Glory, Brutal Attack, Bully Boys, Celtic Warrior, Dying Breed, Extreme Hatred, Hate Crime, Intimidation One, Max Resist, White Wash, Youngland

12/9/00—Detroit, MI

Sponsored by Hammerskin Nation
Bands: Intimidation One, Kremator, Max Resist

12/16/00—Sacramento, CA

Winter Solstice Festival, sponsored by the National Alliance-Sacramento Unit
Special Guests: Erich Gliebe (Resistance Editor), Will Williams (NA Vietnam green beret vet)
Bands: Youngland

01/27/01—Baltimore, MD—SHOW CANCELLED!

Sponsored by the Eastern Hammerskins
Bands: Aggressive Force, H8 Machine, Max Resist, Youngland

03/17/01—Jacksonville, FL

St. Patrick's Day Fest, sponsored by the Confederate Hammerskins and Outlaws Motorcycle Club
Bands: Aggressive Force, Attack, Intimidation One, Max Resist, No Alibi, Whitewash, Youngland

04/21/01—Missouri

Hitler's Birthday, sponsored by the Midland Hammerskins and Panzerfaust
Bands: Aggressive Force, The Brawlers, H8Machine, Shortfuse 76, Straightlaced Nightmare, Whitewash

05/12/01—Graham, NC

Confederate Memorial Day (show followed a National Alliance demonstration)
Bands: Carolina Sons, Definite Hate, Riot Wing

05/26-27/01—Powderly, KY

Nordic Fest 2001, sponsored by the Imperial Klans of America
Bands: Attack, Definite Hate, Final War, Fueled By Hate, Intimidation One, Max Resist

06/24/01—The Shack, Orange County, CA

Sponsored by the Aggressive Force and Vinland Vikings Security Services
Special Guest: Tom Metzger
Bands: Aggressive Force, Brutal Attack, Extreme Hatred, Final War, Hate Crime, Youngland

07/14/01—SS Lighthouse, Harrisburg, PA

Sponsored by the Eastern Hammerskins
Bands: Aggressive Force, Definite Hate, H8 Machine, Max Resist, Riot Wing

08/19/01—The Shack, Orange County, CA—SHOW CANCELLED!

Sponsored by Blood & Honour and Women for Aryan Unity
Bands: Hate Crime, Warfare 88, Youngblood

09/02/01—The Shack, Orange County, CA

No details available.

10/27-28/01—GA

Hammerfest 2001, sponsored by the Hammerskin Nation
Bands: Aggressive Force, Bully Boys (last show), Celtic Warrior, H8 Machine, Intimidation One, Max Resist, Mistreat (Finland), Nemesis (Scotland), Riot Wing, Youngland

12/08/01—Portland, OR

Sponsored by Volksfront
Special Guests: Tom Metzger (White Aryan Resistance), Lucy White (Sigdrifa), Geoff Olander (Volksfront)
Bands: Aggressive Force, Final War, Intimidation One

01/05/02—Sacramento, CA

2nd annual Winter Fest, sponsored by the National Alliance—Sacramento Unit
Bands: Aggressive Force, Intimidation One, Youngland



but secretly changed the route in conspiracy with the police. An antifa march of 4,000 was stopped and attacked by police near the Synagogue. Activists report that large groups of nazis who were escorted in and out on free train rides attacked other passengers on several occasions, with no police response.

January, 2002—Germany's highest court suspended scheduled hearings in the case to ban the fascist National Democratic Party (NPD), after it was revealed that four ranking NPD members cited in the case had served as "one-time agents" for the country's domestic security agency. The NPD claims the revelations prove its long-standing assertion that it has been infiltrated by agents paid to tarnish its image—more likely, this shows how the state attempts to control and manipulate fascist groups for its own ends.

Bielefeld, February 2nd, 2002—Over a thousand fascists joined an NPD march to protest an exhibition on Nazi-era crimes committed by the German army. Though protected by 2,000 riot police, 10,000 anti-fascists managed to invade the police-protected areas several times and rain bottles on the fascists.

INTERNET

October—The InterNet Anti-Fascist (TINAF), an online antifa news journal, came under intense "cyberstalking" from neo-nazis. The newsletter's ISP, Roadrunner, was flooded with wild claims of improper behavior. In response, Roadrunner censored the journal, repeatedly killing the TINAF account without warning. TINAF issued a series of special reports to make up for their interrupted service and has collected a series of documents on the attacks and how to counter them at: <http://www.anti-fascism.org/page-special.html>

January 21, 2002—On MLK Day, the National Alliance released a new video game called "Ethnic Cleansing." Based on the Genesis 3D open-source software, players kill Blacks and Latinos on city streets before descending into a subway to slay Jews and ultimately Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. A monkey sound is played when dark-skinned characters are killed; Jewish characters shout "oy vey" when they are shot. The game's soundtrack features white power music and National Alliance posters adorn the virtual walls. The game also features a video clip of NA leader William Pierce giving a speech. This game joins a host of other racist games distributed on the internet by the WCOTC and NSDAP/AO intended to mold the minds of future racist activists. In the future, the NA plans to release a game based on the Turner Diaries, Pierce's blueprint for white revolution.

NORWAY

January 2002—Three nazis were convicted for the January 26th, 2001 stabbing murder of Benjamin Hermansen, a 15-year old Black boy. Joe Erling Jahr (20), Ole Nicolai Kvisler (21), Veronica Andreassen (18) were given 16, 15 and 3 year-prison sentences (respectively), and order to pay Hermansen's family a fine. The racially motivated murder sparked outrage in Norway, touching off some of the largest demonstrations Norway had ever seen (40,000 in Oslo—8% of the city's population).

POLAND

Bialystok, December 2001—An 18 year-old anti-fascist called Lapa has been charged with assault with dangerous item and grievous body harm for successfully defending himself when a group of nazis attacked his antifa crew at a bus station. Lapa is already on probation for assault on a nazi and is now facing a serious threat of serving a few years in prison. Polish antifa are asking for messages of solidarity and money to help with legal fees (soja2@poczta.onet.pl) and also encouraging other antifa to keep on fighting.

SWEDEN

Stockholm, December 8, 2001—A thousand fascists gathered to commemorate the death of a white-power nazi musician in Salem (a Stockholm suburb) the year before. After the manifestation, several violent incidents occurred, including

late-night brawling in Stockholm's city center and an attack on two police officers in the village of Finspoeng. The Swedish antifascist movement, still suffering under extreme state repression stemming from this past summer's EU Top Meeting in Gothenburg, organized a counterdemonstration of 800 people.

WORTH READING

We weren't able to cover all of the issues we hoped to in this issue, so here are a few links we recommend that you check out.

ANTHRAX, THE EXTREME RIGHT, AND THE ARMY OF GOD

Why the silence on right-wing terrorism? There is every likelihood that those responsible for mailing anthrax spores to media and government targets are right-wing extremists bent on spreading panic and creating the conditions for new attacks on democratic rights. Many such elements have close political links to the Republican Party and the Bush administration. By Patrick Marrin, World Socialist Website.

<http://www.wsws.org/articles/2001/oct2001/anth-02.shtml>

Our own terror cells: If the Bush administration treated hometown terrorists like their overseas comrades, its dragnet could ensnare the far political right—and John Ashcroft. By Frederick Clarkson (Salon.com) 7 Jan 02

<http://burn.uscd.edu/archives/ats-1/2002.01/msg0007.html>

Expert: Anthrax Suspect ID'd. The FBI might be "dragging its feet" in pressing charges because the suspect is a former government scientist familiar with "secret activities that the government would not like to see disclosed.

<http://www.nj.com/mercer/times/index.ssf?/mercer/times/02-19-IZAR11UB.html>

OTHER THINGS WORTH CHECKING OUT

FBI 1999 Annual Report on Terrorism. For the second year running, the Animal Liberation Front and Earth Liberation Front make the cover of the report. According to the FBI analysis, "ecoterrorism" is the rising domestic terrorism threat. Also, anti-WTO protesters are a "latent" terrorist threat. Anti-abortion terrorism is not terrorism, but falls under "hate crime" laws. As a result, attacks on clinics or employees are not included in statistical analysis of domestic terrorism.

<http://www.fbi.gov/publications/terror/terror99.pdf>

Claustrophobia. This ARA-affiliated collective publishes the Claustrophobia newspaper and also recently reprinted the RAND Corporation's report on *Networks and Networks: The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy*. POB 1721, Baltimore, MD 21203, claustrophobia@verizon.net

UPCOMING FASCIST EVENTS

SHUT 'EM DOWN!

April 20, 2002: **Hitler Happy Birthday Rally**, sponsored by Aryan Nations (Butler faction), York, PA

May 11, 2002: **National Alliance Demonstration** at Israeli Embassy in Washington, D.C.

August 2-4, 2002: **First Annual White Pride Fest**, hosted by the National Knights of the KKK on their property in Oscola, Indiana. Currently booked bands are: Intimidation One from Oregon and Fueled by Hate from Texas. Announced speakers include Matt Hale of WCOTC, National Knights Imperial Wizard Ray Larsen, and National Knights Grand Dragon of Indiana Rev. Richard Loy.

FEEDBACK AND DISCUSSION

SEXUAL ASSAULT WITHIN THE MOVEMENT

In the first issue of the ARA Research Bulletin, the editorial stated: "It is no accident that the Las Vegas murders, along with splits in several important chapters, marked the beginning of a decline for ARA in size and activity."

No doubt the Vegas murders were disempowering and discouraging to many ARA folks and our supporters. But there were other factors.

At the ARA Network conference in October 1998, three months after the murders, we had the opportunity to debate and plan a solid strategy for taking back Vegas. Instead we had to deal with the fact that a man had raped a woman in the Columbus chapter, that the woman did not get satisfactory action from the chapter, and that the woman's supporters felt like their only option was to totally disrupt the gathering to make the woman's voice heard. I think that those supporters didn't appreciate the importance of ARA's work and the costs of disrupting that conference, and I criticize them for that. But there were real problems with how sexual assault was dealt with when it came up in Columbus, which left the Network wide open to disruption.

To give another example, our chapter and our region did not go into decline until the summer of 1999, a year later, and it had nothing to do with Vegas. We were stronger than ever, at least we thought we were, until we had to deal with a bunch of sexual assault garbage that totally sapped our energy.

Sexual assault is an attack on the basic human dignity of both women and men—and also our political effectiveness—not unlike nazi murders and police repression. And whether we have the correct line or not, whether we are effective or not in confronting it—it takes energy and resources to resist in the face of any of these attacks. But if we want to do this work, we have no choice except to keep fighting, evaluating, and fighting again.

kris, not on behalf of ARA-Toronto

LOOKING BACK AT AFGHANISTAN

I just wanted to send a quick note to tell you that I very much liked your interview ["Q & A: Know Your Enemy" article by J. Sakai in issue #2]. I agreed with probably about 95% of it. I probably would want to explore, a bit more, the question of the response to the Soviet invasion, i.e., that such an invasion was inevitably going to create a very bizarre united front. The question for forces like the RAWA, or other progressive and rev forces was how to relate to other opponents. There are obviously other questions which emerge including what was the character of the PDP regime, etc.

The other point might be semantic. You downplay the issue of the contributory factors of US foreign policy, at least that is the way that it sounds. While I agree that these clerical fascists have their own agenda, it is also the case that US foreign policy pisses a lot of folks off who are not clerical fascists. This might be a minor point or I may just misunderstand you.

It has been interesting in the BRC [Black Radical Congress]. There are some nationalists who have not wanted to say anything critical of the Taliban, etc. This is not to say that they support them at all. They seem to be very concerned that by saying anything critical that the "heat" is taken off the US. I vehemently disagree with this position and was, therefore, really glad to see your interview.

Take care and have a happy New Year. May it be good for the working class and all oppressed.

B. Dacar

PRISON RIOT

Dear comrades,

...Overall, I enjoyed reading issue #1 and found the information useful. Especially good was the article "The Enemy of Our Enemy"—as an anarchist working with the outside support group APLAN (Anarchist Prisoners' Legal Aid Network) I've heard many accounts of comrades on the inside getting "bad-jacketed" as bigots or gang members. Unfortunately, in your "News from the Front Lines" section of the same issue, you repeat an effort to bad-jacket rebel prisoners yourselves.

The TRCI riot of Feb 2001 was described as a white supremacist event in an Oregon Department of Corrections press release and subsequently in The Oregonian. However, several of the prisoners deny any allegiance to white supremacy (this was not reported by The Oregonian) and this evaluation of ideology and character is backed up by a respected long-term contact of ours (who is known by friends from his days on the outside). I've enclosed our latest newsletter, in which Thomas Tripp discusses the incident, as well as a copy of an earlier article he wrote for us. I realize that this may be a bit late now, but could a retraction/apology be in order? Of course, I am assuming that you got your information from the ODOC release or from The Oregonian. If you have other information proving that the riot was the work of a "white supremacist splinter gang," please bring this to our attention.

Dave Negation

APLAN, 818 SW 3rd Ave. PMB 354, Portland, OR 97204, aplan@tao.ca

Except from an article in We Never Sleep (APLAN 'zine), Vol. 2 No. 5/6 ...From what I've been able to gather from Oregonian articles, the information officer and superintendent blatantly fabricated stories, apparently to cast a favorable light upon themselves.

So to set the record straight, before addressing the underlying causes for our alleged actions, I'll say that none of us are "white supremacists." Nor do any of us belong to any "white supremacist splinter group." This is an outright lie. In fact, two of the alleged rioters were NativeAmerican, angry over racial discrimination and denial of religious freedom. Only five of us had shaved heads, not eight. Only two people shaved their heads on 28th February, doing so not because they are skinheads but because they feared their hair being pulled in the retaliatory beatings we knew were to occur.

Thomas Tripp #12032560, SCRI, 777 Stanton Blvd., Ontario, OR 97914

ARA Research Bulletin Responds:

You are correct, our information came from an article in The Oregonian that was circulated online. It is not always possible to verify news reports, and mainstream news pieces should always be taken with skepticism. We regret the mistake.



EDITORIAL: NOTES ON THE BATTLE OF YORK

"REVOLUTIONARY" RACISTS RUN TO STATE FOR PROTECTION

Despite their rhetoric about not trusting and intending to overthrow the "Jewish/Zionist Occupied Government" that keeps them down, both the World Church of the Creator and the National Alliance are eager to beg for state/police protection against ARA. The leaders of these "revolutionary" movements seem to have no concerns that the tactics they encourage to silence ARA may be used against their own groups. If they are willing to turn to the secret police for protection, what's to keep them from striking other deals with the state (perhaps to sell their own people out or resolve their own internal disputes)?

WCOTC Petition

(Created and circulated by WCOTC member Kathleen Roberazzo, 1705 Queensbury Circle, Hoffman Estates, IL 60195, (847) 755-1598, krc@juno.com)

To: United States Department of Justice/FBI

We the People of the United States of America, demand the Department of Justice declare the Anti-Racist Action Group (ARA) and the Jewish Defense League (IDL) as Domestic Terrorists.

The ARA and JDL are responsible for countless acts of violence upon innocent American Citizens, in addition to the countless acts of damage to personal property. The ARA and JDL follow a communist manifesto in that they will commit acts of violence against anybody who espouses a view that is contrary to their agenda.

At the website of the ARA you can view for yourself that this is a racist, anti-law enforcement group, as evidenced by items of clothing and banners and buttons with such things as "Kill Whirly", "I Kill Cops", "Fuck the Police."

In light of the recent arrest of the head of the JDL and one of his underlings, we feel it is vital to protect the citizens of this country from these domestic terrorists and not give them any special treatment, despite pressure from any Jewish special interest groups.

It is not 100% certain but we have information that the ARA was founded by the IDL to do their dirty work, to commit acts of violence against people they deemed enemies, so if you name one group a terrorist organization, you have to name them both since they travel together, and work very closely.

National Alliance Hides Behind Feds:

From: "Billy Roper" (Deputy Membership Coordinator for the NA)

To: philadelphia@fbi.gov; cincinnati@fbi.gov

Date: Friday, 28 December, 2001 14:22

Subject: Specific Terrorist Threat

This has been sent to your two offices since this [an attached ARA call to action in York] is apparently being coordinated out of Philadelphia and Columbus. Note that these ARA groups are plotting to deny someone their First Amendment rights by a physical assault. This attempt to deny someone their civil rights and a conspired assault across state lines is I believe within the FBI's area of jurisdiction. If you do have that Carnivore device, it is now the time to use it and find out what is going on through those ARA addresses. With this information, I don't think you will have a problem getting a judge to give you a warrant to look.

WCOTC Press Release After Defeat in Peoria

From: Matt Hale

I am disgusted that my alma mater, Bradley University, is apparently a haven for individuals desperate to stop the message of my church and I through the use of violence. In any case, I will be immediately contacting the Federal Justice Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation with a view towards seeking civil rights charges against the students (and possibly faculty) involved with these reprehensible acts. I will also be calling upon these agencies to use all manpower necessary to insure that I can speak as I am legally entitled to. After all, if the Federal Government had a mandate and duty to protect the speech of Martin Luther King three decades ago and the speech of Jesse Jackson today, they certainly have such a mandate and duty to protect my speech and the speech of our religious adherents from violent attack. The Federal law makes it very clear that conspiracies to deprive people of their civil rights—such as what happened on Saturday—are punishable by criminal sanctions and I will pursue this with vigor.

January 12, 2002, saw the first return to militant street action in the US under this post-9/11 period of recession, repression and war. The scene was the small, blue-collar city of York, Pennsylvania, where ARA and other militants joined with local youth and clashed with a major white supremacist rally. While the numbers were only a small fraction of the crowds that swelled in Seattle to take on the WTO, we have a feeling that York could well be as much of a turning point for the movement as N30 was.

The neo-Nazi rally was jointly sponsored by the World Church of the Creator and the National Alliance and supported by Aryan Nations, Eastern Hammerskins, WAR, the National Socialist Movement and other fascists. They chose York to take advantage of the climate following the arrest of the Democratic mayor for his role in a 1969 "race riot" there. The mayor, then a local cop, is accused of leading a white power rally (following the shooting of a police officer), urging attacks on the Black community, and actually arming white street gangs.

The Nazis hoped to stir up racial tensions in the city. What they got was determined resistance from the anti-fascist crowd who largely defeated the Nazis in a hit-and-run battle over the course of the day. A dozen fascist vehicles were damaged and at least that many fascists pummeled. "It was a definite victory—though something short of decisive" for the anti-fascist movement, as a comrade's article describes it.

But victories are easily reversed if we don't take careful measure of such "turning points," deal honestly and constructively with our weaknesses, and make real preparations for operating on a higher level. Here are a few notes towards that effort.

THE FASCIST RESPONSE

Despite the usual huff and puff from Matt Hale and other fascists who claimed a victory, the bulk of the fascist movement understood York was a defeat for them. This was one of their largest mobilizations in years and many had to flee in humiliation. Some fascist leaders claimed a victory based on turnout and media attention alone, though even they must understand that it hurts their organizing to lose confrontations like this.

They are not happy with this outcome, and some form of retaliation is headed our way. Aryan Nations is howling for blood and there is more talk among the fascists of gathering intel on us and targeting ARA's perceived leadership. Surely the National Alliance knows that it needs to win some decisive victories against us if they want their street actions to gain strength. Some fascists are probably looking to deliver large numbers of us (or at least our core activists) into the hands of the state. The post-York discussion among fascists focused on how they can be more prepared for confrontation in the future with weapons, security, communication and tactics. They will be much more careful in future planning and we should be cautious of set-ups.

One thing needs to be emphasized again. We are not bulletproof. The fascists are very heavily armed, and it would be foolish to think that they will never use them. In York, the Nazis actually pulled out pieces on three separate occasions when they were coming under attack. If one of us would've been shot it obviously would've changed everything. Some fascists may actually have in mind to stage another Greensboro (when armed Klansman drove up on and shot militant anti-racists), hoping to achieve the street-level victory they need over us. We can be sure that some of the fascists are informants, and just like Greensboro,

**"One thing needs
to be emphasized again.
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bottle at the door, breaking the glass. He then yelled, "Next time it's you fuckin' face." The skinheads then proceeded down the street and verbally threatened a number of youth along the way. Security guards and police from across the street were quick to react and placed one of the males under arrest. A large knife (rumored to have an 8 to 10 inch blade) was found in his possession. According to a police source, he was going to be charged with possession of a concealed weapon.

Calgary, November 2001—The neo-Nazi Northern Hammerskins started a major distribution campaign in Calgary high schools in late November. Leaflets have been distributed in 4 major areas and local anti-fascists are mobilizing. The province has seen a major increase in the neo-Nazi National Alliance in the past months but now the NHS are coming out of the gutter as well.

Toronto, November 2001—In response to reports of neo-Nazi boneheads harassing and attacking people in the multi-cultural, working class neighborhood of Parkdale, neighborhood anti-fascists and ARA held a demonstration on November 9th to expose and confront the Nazi presence in the community. About 100 people, the majority being neighborhood residents, rallied near the neighborhood community center, then marched to the Nazis' apartment (first floor, 53 Lansdowne Ave). No one was home, or the Nazis were hiding, so a speaker was held on their lawn.

The night of November 24th, 10 Nazi skinheads congregated on a street corner, then a fight broke out with others. The Nazis rushed a local bar called the Green Dolphin, screamed racist abuse and randomly pepper-sprayed bar patrons. Many people who were inside ran out to confront the Nazi boneheads. The Nazis ran away, but were later arrested.

Vancouver, December 2001—The Vancouver First Aid Network ("street medics" who do first aid at demonstrations) kicked out two of their members, Chris Shaw and Jill McEachern, for being involved with the extreme right. Shaw is the president of the British Columbia Action Party (BCAP) and McEachern is his campaign manager. The BCAP copied its name from the Canadian Action Party (CAP), a group that has gained a following for taking a position against NAFTA, the FTAA, the WTO and all the other international "trade" deals. CAP, however, has no provincial sections, and is irritated that the unaffiliated BCAP is using their similar name to gain credibility—especially since BCAP is populated by right-wing nutters who've been involved in some of the most important gatherings for the Canadian right, such as the annual Festival of Ages.

Debbie Anderson, Vice President of BCAP, was master of ceremonies for the 2000 Festival of Ages. This event featured Eustace Mullins as the surprise keynote speaker. Mullins was the former adviser to KKK leader David Duke and is one of the most vicious anti-Semites and white supremacists alive in the US today. Mullins's published books include "The Curse of Canaan," "The Biological Jew," "The World Order," and "Adolph Hitler: An Appreciation." Wes Mann of Salmon Arm, B.C., an organizer of the Festival of Ages, also distributes Mullins's propaganda. Chris Shaw was scheduled to speak at last year's Festival on behalf of the BCAP; but the party leader Jack Peach spoke instead (Shaw did speak at one of last year's three "Freedom Fests", which featured Mann and Anderson).

This is only the tip of the iceberg, and it's tough to track down this info and figure out what it means. But it's clear that right-wingers, anti-Semites and racists are attracted to the energy and enthusiasm of the anti-

globalization movement, and that we've got to watch out for them. Cheers to the Vancouver street medics for taking a stand!

Toronto, February 1, 2002—Three fascists were convicted for attacking a Black man who had verbally intervened when the Nazis hassled a woman on the bus late one night in April 2000. Justin Vrdjolak, Alexan Kulbashian (aka "Alex Krause," webmaster of the Canadian Ethnic Cleansing Team page and the Tri-City Skins page) and Adam Kujtowski were convicted. A fourth Nazi, Clayton Scott, testified against the others and had his charges dropped. Kulbashian and another Canadian Ethnic Cleansing Team member, James Scott Richardson, were also recently charged with counseling to commit murder against Muslims and Jews on their website.

Calgary, February 27, 2002—The neo-Nazi National Alliance sent a \$100 donation to the Stephen Harper Leadership Campaign of the right-wing Canadian Alliance political party. Harper refunded the donation, claimed he was the victim of a "dirty tricks" campaign, and stated that if he is elected leader he would purge the Canadian Alliance of racists (the question being, would there be a Canadian Alliance left).

February 2002—Allegations have come to light in the public media that Grant Bristow, one of the primary founders of the white supremacist Heritage Front, was a secret informant paid by CSIS, Canada's national security agency. Bristow was also known to initiate harassment campaigns against anti-racists. While the media is shocked by this discovery, this is yet another example of state police agencies building and controlling fascist groups for their own purposes—particularly to use against the left.

CROATIA

Zagreb, October/November 2001—Nazi skinheads have conducted a series of attacks against people on the street and against the multicultural club Mocarara ("Swamp"). Three Japanese visitors were attacked on November 17th, one seriously injured.

ENGLAND

London, December 2001—Sikh and Hindu extremists joined forces with the racist British National Party in an anti-Islamic campaign involving the distribution of thousands of CDs, tapes and leaflets claiming that Islam poses a threat to Britain. Sikh activists in Southall, west London, have passed hundreds of addresses of Sikh and Hindu community leaders to BNP activists who want their support. The CD includes an informal inflammatory discussion between BNP leader Nick Griffin and Midlands-based Sikh activist Rajinder Singh.

GERMANY

Berlin, December 1, 2001—The fascist National Democratic Party (NPD) called out 3,000 fascist to march against the re-opening of an exhibition showing German WW2 crimes. The NPD originally planned to march past the Berlin Synagogue,



attempted murder with a deadly weapon, possession of a stolen vehicle, possession of stolen property and felony evading.

OHIO

Columbus, January 5, 2002—Danny W. Kincaid, leader of the Ohio Aryan Nations, pled guilty to dealing firearms without a license. In exchange, U.S. District Judge James Graham dismissed 26 other weapons violations charges and sealed all court records involved with the Kincaid case (?). Just three weeks after Dayton police had searched Kincaid's home, they detonated a pipe bomb found in the woods, which they believed was transported from Kincaid's home by David Godfrey, another AN member. Neither has been charged.

During Kincaid's trial, a tape was introduced as evidence on which Harold Ray "Butch" Redfeairn, one of the men contending for leadership of the Aryan Nations, sermonized during the Cincinnati riots that whites caught up in the violence could legally shoot black rioters "in the head."

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia, December 10, 2001—During a march in support of death-row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, a mysterious incident occurred that some activists think may have been a set-up. After the march left City Hall, it passed an occupied car that happened to have a "Fry Mumia" sticker or sign upon it. The woman inside the car confronted several demonstrators for wearing masks, pulled their masks off, then grabbed one ARA activist and shouted to police that he had assaulted her. A group of police immediately jumped in to arrest the man. When some people in the crowd resisted, one cop pulled a gun (alternately pointing it at the arrestee and the crowd) and the others brutally attacked the march. In all, 7 were arrested with riot charges and 4 were hospitalized from the incident.

Philadelphia—Racist activity in the area has seen an upsurge. National Alliance affiliated boneheads and Hammerskins have been spotted at every major venue and punk show in the city. A table with anti racist literature was kicked over by boneheads at a punk show in Dillsburg, PA. National Alliance stickers appeared in racially mixed, working-class neighborhoods in northeast Philly before Philly ARA tore them down and put up ARA stickers in their place. Bonehead Keith Carney of the Keystone State Skinheads was arrested with ten other fascists for putting up NA stickers in front of a Vietnam War memorial.

Philadelphia, February 1, 2002—Despite threats from the nazi Keystone State Skinheads to shut down the show and ADL interference, an ARA benefit was held successfully. The benefit's location was forced to move just days before the event after the ADL pressured the Human Rights Commission and owner of the space where the event was to be held, claiming that ARA was drawing nazis out to the show to initiate violence.

TENNESSEE

Nashville, January 2002—Michael E. Smith, 33, was arrested after he was seen pointing an assault rifle toward a synagogue from his car and chased by police. Smith, who has connections to the Klan and National Alliance, later directed police to a cache of weapons, including a shoulder-fired, anti-tank rocket, 13 pipe bombs and bomb-making chemicals. A search of his Nashville apartment revealed 11 live hand grenades, other weapons, and racist literature. The FBI later arrested Jack Ray Spores, 33, of Midwest City, Oklahoma, for weapons charges in connection to the case.

Newport, January 19, 2002—Roughly four hundred people gathered, undeterred by a driving cold rain, to oppose the Ku Klux Klan who rallied on the Newport courthouse steps. Protesters squared off against nearly 200 Klan supporters who were harassed and ridiculed into submission, with many leaving out of frustration before the rally ended. 200 Tennessee State Troopers maintained the peace with shotguns, snipers, riot gear, and dogs.

Just days before the rally, a cross was burned on the Newport mayor's lawn—Roland Dykes is Newport's first-ever Black mayor.

WASHINGTON

December 2001—White supremacist Donald Bruce McAninch, 45, was charged with "threatened use of certain weapons of mass destruction," mail theft and mail fraud. McAninch is suspected of mailing an anthrax hoax to a woman because of her Chinese surname. He also dropped pornographic and racist material in people's mail while under FBI surveillance. McAninch, a pizza delivery driver, was sentenced in 1991 to 2 1/2 years in prison for previous mail-related crimes.

WASHINGTON, DC

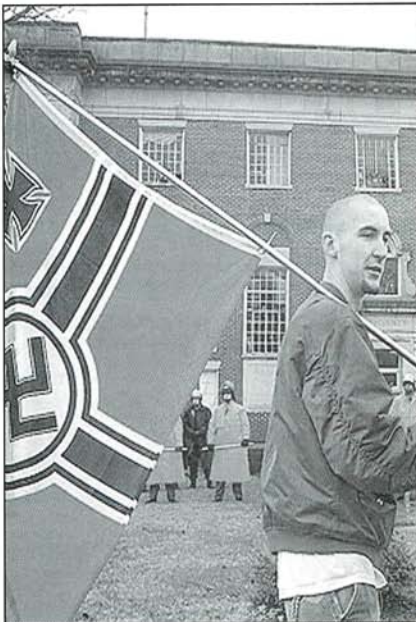
January—Army of God supporter and convicted clinic bomber Rev. Michael Bray canceled his annual White Rose Banquet, a fundraiser and networking event for the anti-choice movement's most reactionary elements. Bray held a "private meeting" instead.

February 22-24, 2002—250 white nationalists attended Jared Taylor's 2002 American Renaissance Conference ("In Defense of Western Man") at the Hyatt Dulles near Washington D.C.'s Dulles Airport. Presenters include Citizens Informer editor-in-chief Sam Francis, Council of Conservative Citizens leader Gordon Baum, British National Party chairman Nick Griffin, and anti-immigrant activist Glenn Spencer.

INTERNATIONAL

CANADA

Kitchener-Waterloo, October 13, 2001—In the latest of several incidents with fascists, a large group (15 or so) of neo-nazi skinheads left a pub and passed by a youth drop-in center known as The Spot. One of the nazis threw a beer



Bonehead Nick Choromansky (of Cleveland) at Klan Rally in Newport, TN

informants have state protection and so feel like they can literally get away with murder. Our security and self-defense capabilities have to match the level of struggle we are engaged in.

York was a unified action that pulled together many (often opposed) fascist groups, partly due to the influence the National Alliance has gained over the movement. But York also opened up divisions among the fascists. Many were disgusted with the way Matt Hale was whisked away under "ZOG" protection while the rank and file took it on the chin (see p. 11). We need to understand these divisions and find methods of attack to further exacerbate them.

State Repression

An escalating conflict between white supremacists and radical anti-fascists will not go unnoticed by the state. In fact, federal police agencies have been following developments in our movement—and in the fascist movement—for some time. This project has undoubtedly increased with the emergence of the militant anti-capitalist wing of the anti-globalization movement and was probably given a blank check in the wake of the September 11th attacks.

The main thrust of the authorities' repressive efforts towards anti-fascism will be to isolate militants from our potential mass base, co-opt and contain whatever section of the movement it can, and promote a less troublesome, more loyal brand of anti-fascism. They will work towards this through the media, through pressure from liberal "anti-racists," and through infiltrators in our own ranks who will attempt to steer us in the direction the state wishes.

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) are already playing leading roles in this tack. The line they are broadcasting, with the eager help of the mainstream media, is that there is essentially no difference between ARA and the nazis—in their characterization, we are both irrational, violent extremists.

If this kind of disinformation is allowed to take hold in the public consciousness, it will be much easier for moderates to argue that our radicalism is preventing us from reaching real people. A lack of popular sympathy will allow any harder forms of repression (brutality, imprisonment, dismantling of radical structures) deemed necessary or advantageous to go more smoothly.

Our task is to be vigilant against these undermining attacks, to get our undiluted politics out there, and to continue to develop a mass base of support and participation for revolutionary anti-fascist ideas and action.

Popular Struggle

The exceptional thing about the Battle of York was not the successful physical confrontation of nazis (we've done that before), it was the active participation of large numbers of local Black, Puerto Rican and white youth (and some older folks as well). This is what transformed the action from a clash of politics into an insurgent community defense.

ARA's pledge of "we go where they go" ends up taking us places where the rest of the Left does not tread. We need to reach out into all communities where we're active, attempt to set up ARA groups where we can, and give concrete solidarity to other struggles: against police brutality, for women's and queer freedom, in neighborhoods and workplaces, against poverty, etc. It is important that we follow up actions in York with community outreach and use these struggles to build an even stronger movement.

We also need to make effective use of the media (including the corporate mass-media) to counter the ADL/SPLC spin, remaining extremely wary of media attempts to turn us into spectacle, or create "leaders" over the movement.

It is crucial we continue to develop an anti-fascist culture, truly liberatory and in sharp contrast to the fascists' racist, patriarchal, nationalistic and hierarchical vibe. It will be by those standards that people will ultimately measure our differences with the fascists, not simply by written programs or by military victories.

The Battle of York offers up many lessons and insights into the struggle ahead. Let's take full advantage of them.



ARA on the ground in York

"Personally, I agree with you both on different levels. Fighting tactics and self-defense classes, knife-proof fishing gloves or slap gloves (filled with shot), mace and the ability to use a flag staff will be very useful. Fire arms and knives invite felonies if you get caught. Bill (Billy Roper of the NA) and I are coming together next weekend to discuss tactics, flags and banners, self defense tactics, communications between local groups and members, gathering info on the ARA leader in Yellow Springs, infiltrating the ARA, local subversive tactics and hard-core recruiting and flyer/info distribution. Communication is the main key here folks. The friggin' ARA has files on most of us. What do WE have? Time to start playing the game too!"

—From a discussion between Volksfront and the National Alliance after York

"This is a suggestion I am making to all that attended this fiasco! We can NOT allow ANYTHING like this to ever transpire again without leaving DEAD bodies of the enemy scattered EVERYWHERE! I left York a changed man no longer caring for ANYTHING non-white, they are nothing but SCUM! If our race does not wake up and fight back as a whole there will be no future for the White Race in this country or anywhere!"

—Comments on York from Pastor August B. Kreis III, Aryan Nations Minister of Information & Propaganda, January 12, 2002

NATIONAL ALLIANCE MID-ATLANTIC ORGANIZING DRIVE

by Teyxylvania Tony

The following is an attempt to assess the direction of current National Alliance (NA) activity in the mid-Atlantic region. From their West Virginia bunker, NA leadership has embarked on an uncommon/unprecedented series of public rallies and protests. This new venture began with two demonstrations of about 40 NA members and supporters each in front of the German Embassy in Washington, DC to protest the deportation and prosecution of German neo-Nazi musician Hendrick Moebus and the German state's censorship of Nazi slogans and symbols. Then, in the wake of the 9/11 attacks, the NA held two more protests, this time in front of the Israeli Embassy, making a bizarre and opportunistic show of "solidarity" with Arab nationalism.

The first of these demos went unnoticed by antifascist forces in the area. The ensuing three managed to draw enough of an antifascist counterforce to always outnumber the NA. Save for the noteworthy crowbar smack-down of NA Membership Director Billy Roper at the second German Embassy demo, however, these standoffs were a draw—which means ultimately they were a victory for the fascists. A minor victory, though not an insignificant one. These uneventful rallies in the quiet northwest DC neighborhood probably served as practice runs for the NA, an opportunity for the multiple small groups of fascists in the area to get familiar with each other.

The NA's new phase of activism was preceded by a renewed Hammerskin presence in the Baltimore and south-central Pennsylvania area. So far, bonehead activity has been confined to the usual cruising of various youth scenes to pick fights in the pursuit of an aura of power that might seduce some new recruits. The only real feather in their cap thus far has been a concert they pulled off in the Harrisburg area without a trace of opposition. It's hard to say exactly what has breathed life into the long-moribund Nazi skin scene in the area. Maybe it was the release from prison of at least one veteran organizer from the last wave of bonehead activity in Baltimore.

Whatever the case, it's clear from recent showings that the Hammerskins are ready to lead their services to the political drive of the NA. We've distinctly received the impression that some kind of united front of the east coast white power movement, under the leadership of William Pierce's National Alliance, was making a concerted push to establish a beach head. The build-up to the January 12 World Church of the Creator (WCOTC) meeting in York, PA solidified this.



Billy Roper gets his RSVP

York saw the convergence of five well-established white power organizations: The WCOTC, NA, Eastern Hammerskins, Aryan Nations, and the National Socialist Movement. While the NSM is a paper tiger based out of the Twin Cities and is probably of little importance to this discussion, the remaining four groups have shown a definite commitment to build here. The Aryan Nations for one, having recently lost a civil suit which deprived them of their Idaho compound, has moved to Pennsylvania and is no doubt out to make a name for itself in these parts.

For its part, the WCOTC took a new step with their meeting in York. For the last two years the WCOTC has been holding public meetings, mostly in Illinois towns with two in Wallingford, CT. On many occasions they were trounced by anti-fascists. In Peoria, Illinois, WCOTC leader Matt Hale was struck in the head with a 2x4 and the meeting shut down after a massive melee ensued. In Wallingford, anti-fascists broke through police lines and made a joke of Hammerskin security measures. In York, the Church called in back up well ahead of time, and then the back up called in back up. The NA announced they would be armed and they also made a plea to the FBI to investigate ARA for conspiracy. In the end, the Nazis managed about 100 and had their asses chased out of town once again. But this time, the Nazi defeat came as much on account of the actions of neighborhood youth (who carried the street fights on hours after the police made their first arrests) as of the efforts of the traveling anti-fascist fighters.

The whole York episode was initiated by the NA around the same time as its first demonstration in DC, when a few members covered the town with generic white paranoia stickers in the midst of grand jury investigation of 1969 race riots there. Did the NA then invite Matt Hale to York to set a greater stage for their agitation? Or did they simply invite themselves along when the Church announced their plans? Is the WCOTC merely a front for the NA in the first place? Whatever the case, the relationship between the NA and WCOTC is worth investigating.

THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE GETS KINKY: TRYING OUT THE "THIRD POSITION"

There are a number of important political lessons and challenges that arose in the course of these events. Liberals have, of course, long made the argument that opposing Nazis when they show up "gives them what they want"—meaning media attention, importance, etc. What's funny is that now the NA says the same thing and thanks us for it. In a recent letter mailed to the home addresses of antiracists arrested in York, Roper says:

"I just want to express to you my appreciation for your coming out and behaving in a manner which helps up to get more media attention and publicity, which translates to better name recognition and more members and supporters. Sincerely, it's doubtful that we could have had a successful demonstration without your attendance and participation, so I hope that being arrested didn't dissuade you from future service on our behalf. All you have to do is get a better mask and a new pair of running shoes, and you'll be set to go again and continue your adolescent terrorism against free speech and in support of the government."

After the first German Embassy demo when the Nazis chanted in German on the sleepy streets of residential Georgetown with no opposition and little attention, we get the feeling they started thinking how to add more punch to their demonstrations. It turns out ARA was invited to serve that punch. The first notice we received of the second German Embassy demo came from a "kid" no one had heard of named "Joe Kremlin," who wanted to start a DC ARA chapter. Since the previous DC chapter was defunct it was difficult to meet up with the kid and check him out. No one ever did meet up with Mr. Kremlin, who did not present himself at the demo, but wrote an email later stating his disgust with ARA's violent tactics, citing a version of the day's events consistent with NA-aligned reports. Kremlin's mole activity certainly got results—whether Roper catching the

ugly end of a tire iron contributed much to the legend of the Aryan warrior is another question.

So what role does antifascist opposition play in the fascist recruitment strategies? Fascists recruit with the appearance of strength—they need us for a dramatic foil, a spectacular opponent. But they also need us to lose, or to serve as a passive backdrop. When they look ineffective or when they can't even defend themselves from a horde of "degenerates" they no longer benefit. No one joins the fascist movement out of pity for the poor downtrodden fascists.

One regard in which the NA did pull some minor political victory out of the German Embassy demo was in the divisions they were able to bring out with their use of the "free speech" issue. By calling for an end to German state censorship of Nazi motifs and the prosecution of Moebus on the use of these banned forms of speech, the NA was able to bait half of their opposition that day into taking up a pro-censorship line ("no free speech for Nazis" and "free speech not hate speech"). This split came evenly down the line between those organized by the socialist and liberal youth groups and those there with ARA and the anarchists (with the former making the pro-censorship statements). The schism then crept at least superficially into anarchist circles when debate on the DC Indymedia site was full of recriminations from essentially liberal and pacifist individuals attacking ARA for being "as bad as the fascists."

(continued on page 23)

trailed by Bullock on a trip through California who reported on it to the South African government.

* ADL agent Bullock was discovered to have a floor plan of murdered Los Angeles Arab American leader Alex Odch and a key to his office.

* The ADL supplied confidential information to foreign governments that it obtained from police and federal agencies in the US.

* Having infiltrated the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), the ADL's "fact finder" performed a COINTEL-type operation at the convention of the Holocaust-denying Journal of Historical Review when he put ADC's literature on convention tables as a way of smearing the committee for "working with anti-Semites."

* The ADL has organized to silence and eliminate all critical voices of Israel from academia and the media and has targeted professors, particularly those who are African American, and who are critical of Israel.

* That at least 51% of the activities of its San Francisco office were devoted to defending Israel.

* The ADL provided secret files to police agencies when these police agencies were prevented by law from collecting the files themselves.

San Francisco—Married couple Marjorie Knoller and Robert Noel have been implicated in establishing an attack-dog breeding program called "Dogs O' War" in association with the Aryan Brotherhood prison gang. They are on trial for the mauling death of a neighbor by two of their dogs.

CONNECTICUT

New Haven, December 11, 2001—Charles Cornelius, 31, was charged with four counts of illegal possession of an assault weapon after police raided his Forest Road home. Police also found hand grenades, hundreds of rounds of ammunition, and literature from the World Church of the Creator.

FLORIDA

Fort Meade, January 2002—Despite an attempt by the city manager and police chief to keep the event secret, 100 to 200 Fort Meade residents attended a hastily organized protest against a leafleting by a dozen KKK members.

ILLINOIS

Pittsfield, October 6, 2001—Police found a cache of bombs and more than 12,000 rounds of ammunition they believe belonged to the United Survivalists of America. Also found inside five campers parked in a rural area of western Illinois were bomb-making instruction manuals, black powder, electronic arming devices and a small amount of ammonium nitrate. Police arrested one man and are seeking another.

Chicago—The past few months have seen an upsurge in National Alliance leafleting actions around the city and suburbs. NA members have flyer'd O'Hare and dozens of communities, including distributing anti-gay leaflets in Chicago's Wrigleyville neighborhood. Attempts to flyer the Israeli consulate and an anti-racist conference sponsored by the Center for New Community were unsuccessful.

INDIANA

Shelbyville, December 2001—Anti-immigrant stickers from the National Alliance were posted on the front window of a Latino grocery store. The store-owners and other local Latinos noted that unreported name-calling, graffiti, broken windows and other incidents have occurred in recent months.

December 3rd, 2001—Jeff Berry, Imperial Wizard of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was sentenced to seven years in prison for temporarily holding a media crew hostage at gunpoint in his home when an interview turned sour. Berry lost a civil trial for \$120,000 to the reporters earlier in the year. Berry's vacation leaves Grand Dragon Jean Null in charge of the American Knights.

Oscola, December 8th, 2001—The National Knights of the KKK held a rally on their property, drawing about 50 supporters, including members of the American Knights of the KKK and Aryan Nations Propaganda Minister August Kries. Imperial Wizard Ralton Luy and his son, Indian Grand Dragon Richard Loy, both suffered mishaps prior to the event. Ralton was charged with felony intimidation against a neighbor, while Richard lost two front teeth to a ricochet when he decided to test whether or not his new riot shield was indeed bulletproof as the manufacturer claimed. The National Knights managed to offend many of their guests by serving pork at the event (many attendees were believers in Christian Identity, which states that whites are the true tribe of Israel—which means that according to the Bible whites can't eat pork). The day ended in comedy as the klansmen were unable to light their cross and swastika as they couldn't keep them standing.

MARYLAND

Dundalk, December 16th, 2001—A pipe bomb exploded in the face of racist skinhead Robert Joseph Lockman, 28, of the 2000 block of Ewald Ave. Lockman has been charged with at least eight crimes in the past decade—including possessing a chemical device with intent to injure in 1992—and has had two protective orders filed against him in the past two years. Police charged him with first-degree arson and manufacturing a hazardous device.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis, February 14, 2002—The office shared by the Twin Cities skinhead Robert Joseph Lockman, 28, of the 2000 block of Ewald Ave. Lockman has been charged with at least eight crimes in the past decade—including possessing a chemical device with intent to injure in 1992—and has had two protective orders filed against him in the past two years. Police charged him with first-degree arson and manufacturing a hazardous device.

MONTANA

Billings, November 2, 2001—Six members of the Montana Front Working Class Skinheads were convicted for their "Park Patrol" activities during which they terrorized and attacked non-whites. Sean Allen, 29, Eric Dixon, 23, Jeremiah Skidmore, 24, Jason Potter, 28, Ryan Flaherty, 24, and Michael Flom, 26, were convicted. Another skinhead, Thomas Edelman, was not charged because he testified against the others.

Flathead County, February 27, 2002—Two members of the Project Seven militia group (Montana designates Flathead its seventh county) were arrested after an informant told police the group had plans to assassinate government officials with the goal of triggering a wider conflict in which militia members would stand against the National Guard and Chinese troops amassing in Canada to invade the US. Police uncovered thousands of rounds of ammunition, illegal automatic machine guns, body armor, pipe bombs, and booby traps in addition to a list naming local police officers, judges and other officials. The suspected ringleader, David Burgert, 38, is facing charges along with Tracy Brockway, 32. Burgert was already facing charges of assaulting police officers in two previous cases when he disappeared. Three weeks later, Burgert allegedly assaulted another Project Seven member who went to police with a detailed account of the group's plans and whereabouts.

On an odder note, Tracy Brockway's husband, Alan Brockway, recently joined the Israeli Army is on duty there now. Brockway operated an illegal, anti-government FM radio station, called "Free Thought Radio," in Kalispell before leaving the area last year.

NEVADA

October 2, 2001—25-year old Melissa Hack (involved in the July 1998 murders of ARA members Spit and Dan in Las Vegas) and William Ronald Clark, 23, fired nine shots at a police officer when he followed their truck after determining it was stolen. The pair escaped, but were arrested a week later in Missouri after leading police on a half-hour car chase. Clark and Hack are being held in Missouri on charges of

NEWS FROM THE FRONT LINES

The following items were compiled, summarized or blatantly stolen from ARA members, activist reports, Internet news sources and mainstream news articles. This listing is by no means a complete accounting of fascist activity or state repression over the last several months—it's merely a sampling.

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA

Montgomery, February 2002—Auburn University fired a police supervisor, Edward Chandler, after he reportedly engaged in racist behavior, passed on white power music to another officer and attempted to recruit that officer into the KKK.

ARIZONA

Glendale, January 27, 2001—National Alliance member Christopher Duane Clark was shot and wounded in the neck as he walked down the street. Clark claims he was targeted because he was white. According to his story, four Mexican gangsters yelled at him as they drove by and later returned and shot him. According to police reports, the car occupants recognized Clark as a racist (one had recently had a confrontation with Clark at the Glendale City Court), and confronted him on it from the car. One has been charged with the shooting. The NA is in an uproar, calling for revenge and toting the case as an example of "anti-white hate crimes." Clark himself is facing charges from an incident where he and another NA member attacked two black men in April 2001 and demanded they move out of their apartment complex.



Christopher Duane Clark,
National Alliance Poster Boy—with a Bullet

ARKANSAS

Little Rock, December 2001—Literature from the National Alliance was found taped to the doors of a synagogue and around a knocked-down 12-foot menorah.

CALIFORNIA

Santa Cruz, October 2-3, 2001—There has been a flurry of racist activity around the University of California-Santa Cruz. First, a Muslim was verbally assaulted, then Anti-Semitic flyers were posted around campus and stapled to picnic tables. The next day, flyers targeting African-Americans were found.

Sacramento, November 30, 2001—Two white supremacist anti-abortion extremists, Benjamin Matthew Williams and his brother James Tyler Williams, were sentenced for the 1999 arson of three synagogues and the fire-bombing of an abortion clinic. Ben Williams received thirty years in a federal prison and his brother received twenty-one years and three months. Both brothers were also ordered to pay \$1 million in restitution. The brothers will face additional charges next year in the murder of a gay couple. Prosecutors in that case will seek the death penalty.

San Francisco, November 28, 2001—Two AIDS activists who organized a "telephone zap" and urged people to call public health officials and news reporters were arrested and charged with a long list of felonies and misdemeanors. The state interpreted their actions as stalking and harassment and set their bail at \$500,000 each. The activist efforts were against the Model

State Emergency Health Powers, a law with such loose wording that it could allow quarantine measures against people with AIDS. San Francisco District Attorney Terence Hallinan declared in the San Francisco Examiner, "We are talking about terrorism here."

Anaheim, December 9, 2001—A "Defense of the Homeland" rally by two anti-immigration groups, the American Patrol and the California Coalition for Immigration Reform, in front of Anaheim City Hall was disrupted by anarchists and anti-racists. Several men were bloodied and bruised before police arrived.

Riverside, December 2001—Robert Clyde, 36, a member of the American Front Skinheads, was arrested after shouting racial slurs and attacking a Black man. The victim fought back and injured Clyde. Clyde, who is homeless and wears several white supremacist tattoos, was charged on suspicion of making terrorist threats, battery and a hate crime.

Sherman Oaks, January 24, 2002—Federal agents raided the home of Sean Austin, 18, shutting down his anarchist website raisethefist.com. Authorities seized computer equipment and documents, stating that Austin was believed to have committed computer fraud and distributed bomb-making information (now a crime). Austin later admitted to hacking websites, but was not charged. On Feb. 2nd, he was arrested at the WEF protests in New York city and charged with the publication of information about making explosives and for possession of a Molotov cocktail. Charges were later dropped.

Los Angeles, January-February 2002—A rash of school vandalisms may be the work of white supremacists. In February, two North Hollywood classrooms were completely destroyed by arson. Previously, in January, a school was vandalized with "white power" and swastika graffiti.

Ontario, February 15, 2002—Twelve alleged members of the Nazi Low Riders white supremacist prison gang were charged with racketeering for allegedly spreading white supremacist philosophy and controlling drug trafficking for white inmates. Two of them,

Michael Bridge, 34, and Robert Baltimore, 32, also were indicted in the 1996 murder of an inmate at the Devore state prison. If found guilty, they could face the death penalty.

San Francisco, February—Almost a decade after it began, a suit filed by activists against the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) in 1993 finally came to an end. The suit was initiated after District of Attorney of San Francisco released 700 pages of documents implicating the ADL, an organization that claims to be a defender of civil rights, in a vast spying operation that targeted some 12,000 individuals and more than 600 left-of-center organizations. These people and groups were spied on because they were opposed to Israel's policies in the Occupied West Bank and Gaza and to the apartheid policies of the government of South Africa. The ADL also was caught passing on information to both governments. The ADL spent millions of dollars trying to prevent the case from reaching trial through costly appeals and exploiting the judicial process, and also tried to enforce confidentiality on the case's details.

During the course of the suit the following information was uncovered:

* Roy Bullock, the ADL's top "fact finder" had sold confidential information to a South African intelligence agent in San Francisco for \$15,000.

* Ten days before he was assassinated in South Africa, Chris Han, the man who would have succeeded Nelson Mandela as the country's president, was

TRENDS AND INTENTIONS OF THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE

by Jerry Bellow

The *National Alliance* has always been one of the forefront groups of the neo-Nazi movement. Since their founding in the 1970s they have been developing themselves quietly. Their leader, William Pierce, is seen by many as old (and old fashioned), but patient.

The situation in this country and in the neo-Nazi movement has changed drastically in the last two years. This has marked a change in tactics by the NA and an acceleration of their activity. They have moved from quiet work in the background straight to the street with a rash of demonstrations on the east coast and even two multi-city days of action around the South, East, and Midwest.

What has changed for the National Alliance and for the white power movement? Where are they headed? What can we look forward to in the short and medium term?

The National Alliance is the most Hitlerian group on the fascist right. This causes them to model some of their strategy on the original NSDAP (Hitler's National Socialist German Worker's Party). They seek to unite other groups under their banner gradually as they build a mechanism for seizing state power in a time of severe social crisis—that's on their website. Their louder "Day of the Rope" type proclamations will likely be fulfilled after their seizure of power rather than before/during it. Remember that William Pierce is a scientist with a love of order and hierarchy—he believes in bureaucratic, rather than pogrom-oriented, exterminations.

Their work for unity within the white power movement revolves around recruitment of second and third tier leadership of other groups. In this manner they work to build a consensus within the movement without outright takeovers and faction fights. This is the method that they use to dominate discussion within the Council of Conservative Citizens (CoCC) and the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP).

A new layer of neo-Nazi boneheads is being recruited underneath this for street work. Over the last two years, control of Resistance Records has given the National Alliance a voice in the skinhead scene. They can also now financially back bands and promote concerts and tours. This doesn't give them control over skinhead organizations, but it allows them to own the scene. It also gives them the financial muscle to win the respect of older boneheads who are planning for smarter and better financed activism and terrorism in their 30s.

Their organizational growth (possibly 1500-2000 members nationwide) has given them the ability to sponsor tours and rallies by other groups. All of the World Church of the Creator's (WCOTC) East Coast events have relied heavily on the National Alliance's personnel and resources. The SS Action Group would not be a viable organization without the wave of concerts by Resistance Records bands to speak at and sell merchandise at.

The financial collapse of the Aryan Nations and the senility of its leadership created a political vacuum within the movement that can now be completely filled by the National Alliance. The contested new leadership of the Aryan Nations may be tough and active but they are not planners and movement builders. They have no new propaganda or ideas.

The hard times that have befallen the Spotlight and Nazi propagandist Gary Lauck have also made the National Vanguard Press (wholly owned

by the National Alliance) the largest white power printer and distributor in the world. Together with Resistance Records, this press gives them a large amount of profit, and a strong voice in their movement.

September 11th gave the National Alliance's street work new emphasis, but they were already moving in the direction of taking to the streets either on their own or in coalition with various other groups (CoCC, NAAWP, WCOTC). Their new ability to call out the Hammerskins as their fighting vanguard is cause for concern.

CONCLUSIONS

Because of recent setbacks to other groups, the National Alliance has, to some degree, gained effective organizational and operational control over most of the white power movement. They are now prepared to take to the streets openly and build the whole movement into a single apparatus. Given the current weakness of the various Klan groups in the South and Midwest, the National Alliance's influence will quickly grow to fill this vacuum. Expect more groups to gradually fall into their orbit if not outright control.

These trends are very serious, and we are at a decisive point as to whether they can be stopped or reversed. The critical strategy for defeating the National Alliance's current bid for hegemony must be twofold: 1) Defeat them on the streets quickly. Do not allow them to gain momentum and respect from successful street actions. 2) Conduct operations that have the effect of fostering disunity among fascist groups in the orbit of the National Alliance in order to deprive them of working class foot soldiers and/or a middle class professional social base.



Erica Hardwick and Joseph Hoesch (in the middle) were married by Matt Hale just before the York rally. Here they drink away memories of their defeat in York with other Philly nazis.

(continued from page 6)

Admittedly, at least half these charges were probably put out by different Bill White identities [see accompanying article, p. 8].

The simple lesson in all of this is that politically it is not hard to defeat the nazis when they are clear and principled. We should never take a position supporting state repression. It allies us with our greater enemy while arming them to take us out next. When we don't distinguish ourselves from feeble pro-state liberal and socialist positions we allow a lot of confused and divisive arguments to arise.

The attack on the World Trade Center handed the white power movement some themes of far greater potential than the censorship of a shitty German musician. So the NA moved their act a few blocks over to the Israeli embassy and commenced a "test drive" of third positionist arguments. Like the manipulation of free speech arguments, NA support for the Palestinian cause is a deftly handled assault on the left's control of some of its key organizing themes. At these demos, the NA programatically targeted Israeli and US support for brutal Zionist policy, designating this support and policy as the primary reason terrorists targeted Americans. The list of demands presented by the NA were uncommonly crafted for broad popular consumption, lacking as they were in the typical slobbering racial obsessions

(continued on page 23)



BILL WHITE: THE THIRD POSITION IN NORTH AMERICA

by Mark Salotte

THE THIRD POSITION INTERNATIONALLY

Recently, the growth of the political tendency known as the "third position"—a fascist tradition with roots in the left-wing of the German Nazi Party under Otto and Gregor Strasser—has been trumpeted loudly from all corners. A recent article in *Playboy* magazine (1) authored by a former member of the Southern Poverty Law Center uses the concept to attempt to tie together such diverse political tendencies as Islamic fundamentalism, anti-abortion terrorism, neo-Nazism, Earth First, and other hinted-at-but-not-named anarchist tendencies. For liberals such as the SPLC and the Anti-Defamation League, the concept of the fascist "third position" is precisely the necessary construct to justify an attack on the anarchist movement under the cover of "anti-racism."

The "third-position" label has also been an attractive description for many radicals trying to understand a populist cultural rebellion that often didn't fit into traditional left/right distinctions. It explains popular xenophobia, racism, and anti-Semitism that isn't based around the Nazi fetishism or cultishness of the extreme right, and it has the veneer of the liberatory struggle of the left without the stigma of "red" Marxism. But reality is never so simple. While there may be some similarities between, say, the militia movement today and the forces which supported the stormtroopers in the early days of the Nazi movement, both of these cases show movements in which genuine revolutionary feelings exist alongside—but haven't managed to overcome—the mysticisms of flags, uniforms, nations, and "race." It's a cop-out to present them as part of the same guiding tradition.

What's described as "third positionism" in mass movements (militias, environmentalists, talk-radio show callers, whatever) is, more accurately, the beginnings of revolutionary consciousness among masses of people, deformed and stunted by the racism that underlies all of white America. In its actual organizational form, however, the "third position" is for the most part a few dozen intellectuals whose actual organizing consists of manipulating reality to make it appear that their position has support. They often have no qualms about allying with the neo-Nazi right against the revolutionary left—their claims of being "beyond left and right" notwithstanding.

One prime example: the National Revolutionary Faction, a British splinter group that evolved out of the National Front, has been at the forefront of promoting "third-positionism" internationally. NRF member Troy Southgate started an email discussion group to promote the tendency and writes articles regularly for *Pravda* (magazine of the third-position-leaning Russian Communist Party). But the NRF, like most third-positionists, seems to do no actual organizing. The only tangible result of their work is that, possibly as a result of their influence, the British National Party (formerly a dogmatic Hitlerian sect) has begun to take up slicker, more radical positions. These positions have won it some notable working-class support and been difficult for the left—still stuck in outdated liberal and Trotskyist assumptions—to combat.

Bill White, "Kaiser Bill" from the DC area, is a similar example of this tendency. As with many of the third positionists, he's never quite what he seems. On one hand he's a master of self-promotion and disinformation. But on the other hand the delusions that come out in his writing are sometimes so huge and glaring that you have to wonder if he crosses the line from intentionally stretching the truth to actually believing reality is just a bit different from what everybody else sees. His political allegiances are easy to pin down (even people that don't know anything about his politics know him as "Nazi Bill White"). But what's a little more disorienting are the arguments he—probably more than any other figure on the American Right—has worked to hone over the last few years. Since his abandonment of the lone wolf, loose-cannon style he had staked out for himself historically, he has attempted to remake himself as some kind of external ideologue and propagandist for the neo-fascist political right wing.

HISTORY: FROM MAD BOMBER TO LAW-ABIDING NAZI

Bill White started his political career as a student at the University of Maryland College Park in the mid-90s. He portrayed himself as an apolitical "anarchist"—something like what you might become if your only exposure to anarchism was from reading *The Anarchist Cookbook*. He liked to talk a lot about explosives and shooting cops, but had little to no grasp of the dynamics of class struggle, anti-racism, and anti-authoritarianism that underlied the entire anarchist critique. He claimed over a thousand members for his "organization," the Utopian Anarchist Party, although two or three is probably a much more accurate count. One UAP event at the 'height' of their organization—a Mayday event in 1997—drew maybe 15 people, all of whom were there to heckle.

The UAP generally made their name by defending people nobody else in the anarchist movement could or was willing to defend. During the wave of school killings in 1998-99, Bill White managed to defend every single massacre of innocents—without ever suggesting a solution that would stop such drastic measures from being necessary. "The only thing Michael Carnel [who shot up his school in Kentucky] did wrong was not take out more of these Christian pigs. By eliminating three future Bible-thumping lunatics he did America a service, and we should thank, and not revile, him for it." (2) As usual, he salivates talking about death and destruction, but is only half-coherent politically. (From our point of view, on the other hand, any such attempt at rebellion should be explained and not blindly condemned, but this kind of terrorism which says nothing and leads nowhere is nothing to celebrate.)

Among the UAP's advertised "programs" was something called the "Runaway Railroad"—supposedly set up to offer safe houses and resources to runaway teenagers trying to start life independently of their parents. This was an example of a project desperately needed in the anarchist movement, which led maybe a few of us to hopefully believe White's "movement" was for real. In reality, however, the so-called "railroad" was most likely (to the extent that it even existed) just a scam for Bill to find underage girls to hook up with and influence. Most of the anarchist movement concluded that he was useless and dangerous at best, and most likely a police agent provocateur to boot. Still, a few people who didn't have to deal too closely with him held out judgement in the hopes that he might be just ignorant but well intentioned and enthusiastic.

In early 1999, White's political delusions reached a feverish pitch—the final straw was claiming that the Columbine "Trenchcoat Mafia" were UAP members acting under his command, and that the UAP had similar attacks planned across the country. Around this time he was arrested in a scuffle with a cop. He got scared, realizing that his mouth was gonna be used against him, pleaded insanity at trial, was committed to a mental institution, and disappeared from the activist scene for several months.

When he resurfaced, White had stopped calling himself an anarchist, turned over control of the Utopian Anarchist Party (must've been a tragedy to give up that one!) and taken on the new label "libertarian socialist." After a brief period of involvement with the Libertarian Party, he moved on to join Pat Buchanan's Reform Party campaign. The Washington Post carried a photo of Pat Buchanan around this time in which Bill White is visible in the background.

Racism is almost always based in psychological or sexual problems to some degree; in any case, it's not too crucial to get into those details in a brief political overview like this. It's enough to point out that in the view of many people who have watched Bill White's "development" over the years, the racism he's known for today came out of his cowardice and impotence when the shit hit his fan. "He still wants to be an ego maniac and grab attention ... but he knows that anarchists and even progressives and leftists won't allow him to speak for them. He needs to be sensational and controversial but he can't do that any more by advocating terrorism—the most 'legal' controversial thing he can do is advocate racism." (3)



"Kaiser Bill" White

LAST MINUTE UPDATE: BILL WHITE SUES ARA

Before this bulletin even went to print, a version of this story was posted to Indymedia. Bill White saw the article and freaked out. Here are some excerpts from his posts:

2/19/02 Bill White Press Release:

Independent candidate for state legislature and editor of Libertarian Socialist News Bill White today brought civil suit against Mark Salotte, the Claustrophobia Collective, and Anti-Racist Action, claiming the groups committed six acts of libel and defamation of character in a recent issue of their "Anti-Racist Action" Bulletin ...

White told press today that he was "shocked" by the article: "What they are saying, that I advocate violence against anyone based on their membership in a religious or racial minority, is such a negation of who I am and what I believe that I cannot understand the depth of malice required for someone to print such a lie. The very idea of such a thing is abhorrent to me as a human being. What this demonstrates is that Anti-Racist Action, and the interests that have infiltrated it and which use it, are essentially what I have been saying they are: They are an organization focused on violence, hate and terror, which uses brainwashing, lies and propaganda to persuade young teenagers to engage in crimes on behalf of interests that those children are simply too young to perceive or comprehend."

Montgomery County Civil Case #060100041412002

2/20/02 Billy Roper, National Alliance, Responds:

"As far as I am concerned, Bill White is neither a racist nor a National Socialist, although I wish that he was because we are always interested in having intelligent and thoughtful people on our side ... The difference between the A.R.A. cowards and myself is that when I read a Bill White piece critical of us, I try to absorb it as honest professional criticism and something that perhaps can be learned from, whereas they see any disagreement with their dogma as an unacceptable affront that cannot be tolerated. For them to tolerate anyone's dissenting views would mean that they would have to view their own weltanschauungs honestly, and the hypocrites inherent in their worldviews cannot withstand such scrutiny. Getting them to approach political issues logically would have the same effect as asking a traveler before the chasm in 'Monty Python's Holy Grail' what their favorite color was: 'Blue, No, Red...Aaaaaaiiiieeeeeeeeee!'. Not only is it all subjective to them, it's just as amorphous."

(Bill White—continued from p. 9)

HOW TO RESPOND:

The first conclusion we draw from this overview of Bill White is that, at least in the mid-Atlantic U.S. region, the so-called "third position" that Bill White supposedly represents can't be said to be an authentic third position. Rather than being an alternative both to the right and left, it represents more of an argumentative style being developed by independent individuals on the right for the benefit of the traditional fascist right against the left. For this reason, despite Bill White's apparent organizational and ideological independence from the neo-Nazi movement, he should be seen and treated as an integral part of their scene. This conclusion should be widely supported by activists who have been dealing with him for years.

More generally, we would argue that third positionists can only be understood in the context of providing external guidance and building broader support for the neo-fascists. America is full of millions of people who feel a deep dissatisfaction with their lives and a longing for some kind of radical change, but at the same time are infected with the racism, the upright patriarchal attitudes, and the need to respect leaders and authority that come out of the economic and psychological insecurity of their lives.

Plus, these are people who for the most part instinctively reject the swastika or the KKK. People like Bill White or Troy Southgate see this situation and are offering their services to the organized racists, to help create propaganda which can draw these masses of undecided people into at least passively supporting the efforts of white supremacist groupings. Our task is to undercut this as deeply as we can, pointing out the absurdities in the fascists' ideas and offering the real solutions that they promise but never manage to deliver.

NOTES:

1. Michael Reynolds, "Virtual Reich". *Playboy*, February 2002.
2. from an Anarchist News Service press release on overthrow.com, 1997.
3. interview with a DC-area activist
4. Bill White, "Anti-Globalist Resistance Beyond Left and Right: An Emerging Trend that is Defining a New Paradigm in Revolutionary Struggle." *Pravda.ru*, 3 Nov 2001.
5. "Nazi Group sees Explosive Growth in Wake of September 11 Attacks: National Alliance Sees Numbers Triple as Protests Show Strength." *Pravda.ru* 15 Nov 2001.
6. "Trapped in a Race Riot: Violence in York After White Supremacists Rally." *Pravda.ru*, 17 Jan 2002.
7. posted to National-Anarchist@yahoogroups.com, 11 Jan 2002.

ANOTHER LAST MINUTE UPDATE: BILL WHITE QUITS PRAVDA

Effective immediately please recognize my resignation as corporate officer for Pravda in the USA. I expect my name to be struck from all relevant material. As is clear from the letter I've just sent you (and which you obviously have not seen yet), I am discontinuing my column with Pravda effective immediately. Sincerely, Bill White

Dear Bill,

I have to ask you not to write any more articles about your political activity in USA for PRAVDA.Ru. We prefer you to write us about events in USA as our correspondent whose position is balanced and objective. We do not want PRAVDA.Ru to be mentioned in your discussions about with your friends and opponents. We are a foreign newspaper and it looks extremely strange that we have so radical position on the questions of domestic political movements in your country. It is your position, not ours. We do not support your position on the problem and we do not want to be involved in your struggle.

It is very sad that our newspaper became to attract other extreme politicians. At the same time some of our old correspondents decided that we had changed our position and stopped to write for us. (By the way, I do not mean Eric Garis) [she means Justin Raimondo and Lew Rockwell—BW]. We are losing not only our authors, but readers as well. Unfortunately, you use PRAVDA.Ru as the tribune for your political activity inside your country. You are our correspondent, but you do not represent our political position in USA. I ask you not to act on PRAVDA.Ru's behalf. [Note that I am actually their corporate officer in the USA and the head of their US operations, a position I am also resigning from—BW.] If you are ready to inform us about ALL WIDE POLITICAL life in USA and present ALL points of view, ALL positions as a balanced journalist, you are welcome. If you want to use PRAVDA.Ru as a tribune for your ideas, we can not afford to lose our image and to post your articles any more.

Best regards, Inna Novikova

Yet Rubin and the JDL, along with the cops, had protected the secrecy of the Klan cross-burning and allowed it to proceed! (The police reports were mysteriously faulty, and charges were initially dropped; the case bounced in and out of court for a decade before Metzger, Witke and a couple of others were convicted.)

Rubin and Metzger repeatedly carried out an elaborate charade of oppression throughout the 80's. They appeared together regularly and jointly on various local TV talk shows, each using the other as a foil to play to their audience; their "act" was very similar to the lecture tour by Tim Leary and Gordon Liddy in the same period. Even worse, Rubin and Metzger were both secretly getting money from the same fraudulent LA business, -Best Carpet Company, which may have been a money laundry for organized crime. Each knew that other was milking that same cash cow. Rubin got his money from the president, Metzger from the treasurer, Tom Padgett, who is still an active and outspoken member of Metzger's White Aryan Resistance (WAR). Metzger used the money to produce his cableTV show, Race and Reason, and to propagandize the first stirrings of the nazi beachhead scene.

Rubin has worked even more closely with other fascists. He supported a group opposed to the Iranian Revolution, Nemesis, in physical attacks on supporters of the Iranian revolution against the Shah. He joined Glenn Spencer of the American Patrol, in anti-immigrant rallies that also drew nazi beachhead participants. The JDL turned up at an LA protest of the Pope's visit to Colorado, to oppose the raising of a cross outside Auschwitz. But when they found out most of the other protesters were gays and feminists, they broke out into chants and jeers against homosexuality. Later that day, Rubin left a long racist, sexist and homophobic message on the JDL telephone message line. The JDL also attacked anti-war demonstrators during the Gulf War. Rubin and the JDL were involved in a melee against supporters of Israel's Peace Now/Shalom Achshav movement in L.A. in which actor Richard

The fact is, the JDL's version of "anti-nazi" politics are actually consistent with the rest of their reactionary racist politics. They oppose nazism and fascism, not on a universal or internationalist basis, but as nationalists counter-posed to "white nationalists." Their opposition is similar to the opposition between reactionary Serb and Croat nationalists, each bitterly opposed to the other, but actually reflecting similar though mutually incompatible views and chauvinism. However, because they base this opposition on a Jewish identity, and carry it out in a highly militant way, they have duped some people, including some Jews and others, into accepting that they are a legitimate and appropriate force within the anti-fascist movement.

It is vital to break through this mistaken belief, because it grows out of a kind of schizophrenic mental state common not only to Jews, but to all people in a contradictory situation of privilege and oppression. The JDL takes the oppression of Jews and uses it as a justification for oppressiveness against Arabs, Blacks and others, while denying their own privilege. This is actually quite similar to the motivation and psychology of many white working class youth drawn into fascist organizations. They seek to expunge an internalized self-hatred, based on an oppression they seek to deny and repudiate, through acts of self-glorifying violence and scapegoating. They cannot face the reality of either their privilege or their oppression, and thus are incapable of overcoming either. The JDL response to nazis is not really anger, but resentment that the nazis refuse to accept them as "white." Thus their anti-nazi activity is part and parcel of their other attempts to have the kind of oppressive privilege and power over others that "whiteness" and empire provide. Opposing the JDL, like opposing the nazis, requires in part offering other strategies for dealing with the contradictions of oppression and privilege. An end to the oppression of Jews and the exploitation of working people can only come about through conscious solidarity with all oppressed people to seek the transformation of this society in its entirety. Jewish freedom and security can never be achieved at the expense of Palestinians, Blacks or other oppressed people. It will require a break with the wealthy Jewish establishment and Zionist settler-colonialism that have aligned themselves with imperialism.

Michael Novick publishes *Turning the Tide*, an anti-racist journal that struggles for an anti-zionist, anti-imperialist road to ending anti-semitism. TTT subscriptions are \$15/yr, available from PART, POB 1055, Culver City, CA 90232, 310.495.0299 or part2001@usa.net

THE JDL AND THE ADL

A group like the JDL would be impossible without the generally pro-imperialist, right wing agenda of the moneyed, mainstream Jewish establishment. Just as the KKK is the tip of an iceberg of white supremacy, rooted in society and used by the state and the economic elite, the JDL is only one manifestation of such racist politics among US and Canadian Jews. The Anti-Defamation League (ADL), for one example, founded by the Jewish fraternal organization B'nai B'rith (Sons of the Covenant), is openly controlled by the wealthiest Jews, members of the international ruling class. As such, it is well-funded, endowed with extensive international resources, well-connected researchers, and media credibility. Yet it has shared much of the anti-Arab, anti-Black and anti-left politics of Kahane and the JDL, even while claiming to denounce the man and the group. The ADL and the JDL both use their opposition to neo-nazi forces as a guise to legitimize their own racist and reactionary positions. It was ADL, not JDL, which had an agent attempt to get Arab American civil rights activists sign up for membership in Holocaust revisionist groups. It was ADL, not JDL, that released the real identities of anti-Klan activists in Chicago IL on the eve of a confrontation with the fascists. It was ADL, not JDL, that maintained extensive surveillance and intelligence gathering records on Arab students, Black activists, and anti-apartheid groups and shared them illegally with police departments enjoined by court orders from carrying out such political espionage on legal political dissent.

Dreyfus was roughed up.



At some point, White got hooked up with a gig as a correspondent for *Pravda*, the once-famous paper of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation—who White proudly cites as a leading force in third-positionist worldwide. In one article, he proudly quotes—as if this were a mark of distinction—a spokesman for the Union of Jews of the Former Soviet Union: "Many KPRF leaders are openly antisemitic, support antisemitic media, or give indirect or direct support to antisemitic groups or individuals ... With the rise of extremist nationalist ideology in post-Soviet Russia, a new form of Communist antisemitism has emerged as some members of the KPRF have begun using antisemitic rhetoric borrowed from nationalist extremists to drum up political support." (4)

STRATEGIST FOR THE NEO-NAZIS?

In 2000-2001, White started to refine his image, from a lone wolf provocateur on the fringes of the anarchist movement to a funnel of information and analysis to the neo-fascist right. While White was not exactly greeted with open arms at first by the nazis—after White's reporting on the National Alliance's 7/29/01 rally at the German Embassy, NA leader Will Williams threatened him and called him a "lying troublemaker"—he was able to convince the NA of his usefulness relatively quickly. Soon enough, he was exchanging friendly correspondence with Billy Roper, "deputy membership coordinator" of the National Alliance, and developing arguments for Roper to use to attack the anti-racist left.

This is White's danger, far more than his actual news reporting. Though people are occasionally taken in by his pretences at journalistic objectivity (for maybe a few weeks), his absurd accounts of events are pretty gener- ally assumed to be made up, by his friends on the right wing just as much as by the left. But he has often proved to be somewhat perceptive in reading between the lines of movement dialogue, picking up on divisive issues and figuring how to bring out those issues. And even the most rigid and ideological groups on the fascist right have shown themselves willing to take up his suggestions, at least in their dealings with the anti-racist movement.

For example, White has been writing for several months now that the anti-racist left are "left-fascists," "one of the strongest supporters of the government" on account of our attempts to "crush the right of free speech." The argument in its full form is that powerful corporate interests (who he equates in his usual half-truth way with the Democratic Party, ADL, NAACP, etc.) are using "anti-racism" as cover to crush dissent in all its forms and that the anti-fascist movement is merely duped into playing the extra-legal role these interests require for their master plan. On a particularly honest day, he'll go so far as to admit that these interests are "nearly all Jewish." While this is a patently absurd formulation, it has a certain power in that it derives from real debates on the left between anti-statist radicals and liberals over the question of "free speech for fascists"—an issue that has been exploited plenty by fascist moles every time it arises. Most recently, this was echoed by Billy Roper in a letter sent to the home addresses of anti-racists and random bystanders arrested at the York, PA mobilization: "All you have to do is get a better mask and a new pair of running shoes, and you'll be set to go again and continue your adolescent terrorism against free speech and in support of the government."

White's role is hardly undercover. Several of his recent *Pravda* articles have contained advice directed clearly toward the National Alliance. One piece, an actually interesting and informative (if seriously exaggerated) article called "Nazi group sees explosive growth in wake of September 11 attacks" (5) even uses relevant passages out of *Mein Kampf* to critique the NA's failure to set up front groups. According to White, these front groups could draw in the supporters he the NA will inevitably attract and keep them from weakening the organization while they're still being schooled in the basic principles of national socialism.

MISREPRESENTING "ANTI-CAPITALISM"

Perhaps taking his cue, as many white supremacists have, from the hysteria pumped out by many pro-state liberals at the growth of the anti-capitalist movement, White has consistently tried in the past to present the anarchist anti-capitalist movement as a vehicle of "third positionist" anti-Jewish

politics in this country. A number of his articles have cited "sources within the Black Block" (whether real or imagined) offering their own regurgitations of "Protocols of the Elders of Zion"-type conspiracy theories. But recently, as his manipulations have come to naught, he's been reduced to fuming to no one in particular: "I told you ... this is what happens when you let the [Chuck] Munsons and the Barricadas run the Black Block ... violence against 'white supremacists' in York ... and no violence against Jews in New York."

At this point (although maybe it's years late), Bill White and his positions have been completely isolated within the anti-capitalist movement. A recent anonymous indymedia posting claiming to be from a Palestinian woman that accused Anti-Racist Action and the Barricada Collective of having close ties with the fascist Jewish Defense League was solidly refuted and exposed from every corner. His attempt to sign on as an endorser of the Anti-Capitalist Convergence's call to protest the World Economic Forum (which, unsurprisingly enough, he describes as "under Jewish control ... founded by Jewish businessman Maurice Levy, managed by Jewish businessman Richard Attias" (6)) was unanimously blocked. The time when third positionists could hope to find potential interest from within the radical anti-capitalist movement has come to a close, and Kaiser Bill has had to change with the times, orienting his approach to the far right. Toning down the "anarchist" elements of his politics in favor of the racial and nationalist elements.

A joke making the rounds of the DC activist scene these days is that it's a good thing that Bill has finally started to get cozy with the nazis, because when he tries to pull the sort of shit with them that he's been trying on the left for the last five years, they won't just laugh it off, they'll shoot his ass, and we'll finally be rid of him. Of course, its funny cause its true ... For the moment, he can claim to represent a "third position" and in reality do nothing but provide ideological cover for neo-Nazis. But sooner or later, it'll come time to put up or shut up. And at that point, he'll either be reduced to taking orders from William Pierce and his like (though one would think that the National Alliance could find a propagandist who could actually spell and write complete sentences) or trying to strike out on his own to maintain his image. Judging by the means he's used to try and draw recruits from the left, this would mean anonymous "poison pen" attacks, spreading snitch jackets and lies to break up potential alliances, and generally misrepresenting any and every event to fit his own personal reality—stuff that's not likely to go over too well in a movement that's known for leaving people who fall out of favor in comas.

FUN WITH RUMORS AND LIES

What keeps Bill amusing is the number of outright lies and rumors he spreads. When you keep in mind that none of it is real, it almost makes a nice spy story. "Often I find myself attacking myself from one IP address, defending myself from another, and then watching the dopes try to take sides and taking all my manifestations seriously." (7) So you get, for example, a post claiming to be a press release from him saying he's joined the National Alliance, then 5 minutes later a post from him denying it but saying it was a nice joke, then a joking post from Billy Roper.

The rumors he spreads about activists are just as easy to dismiss. 75% of what he reports is made up, and it's easy to tell what parts those are—usually the parts where the mystical racial fetishes show though the most clearly. When, for example, he claims that such-and-such "Jewish ARA member" (especially when the individual in question is neither Jewish nor a member of ARA) turned information over to the police about the organization, nobody believes it anyway.

The thing to keep in mind in dealing with all this is that we know exactly who Bill White is and what he stands for, so none of these rumors matter in the least. Whether he's a member of the National Alliance, or the Church of the Creator, or the "leader" of a thousand teenage terrorists, he's still just a lone neo-nazi, and at that, one who's too unstable to be part of any organization for too long anyhow.

(continued on p. 25)



FASCIST DIRTY LAUNDRY

by Sprite

Despite many recent signs of unified activity between white supremacists, there is still abundant squabbling in their ranks. Many groups are fracturing and splitting apart, leaving a void that the National Alliance is quickly moving to fill. Anti-fascists can and should take advantage of this infighting to create further divisions and hinder their organizing.

Foremost among these conflicts were two splits within the World Church of the Creator (WCOTC) that threaten the stability of the organization.

FIRST SPLIT WITHIN WCOTC

The first split came in October-November 2001, when three prominent member of the WCOTC publicly quit on the same day, including Lisa Turner. Director of the WCOTC Women's Frontier, Melody LaRue, who coordinated the WCOTC's Sisterhood, also left. This leaves a void of women's leadership in the organization and points to a potential internal conflict over women's activism and the role of women within the group.

From Lisa Turner:

...due to my family priorities and wanting to focus my energies more in that area for the reasons I discussed, I am no longer a member of The World Church of the Creator, nor is The Women's Frontier a chapter of the WCOTC. It is now an independent voice and forum for women who espouse the racial religion of Creativity, as well as being a source of information, activism and alternative media for White women who are sick of being manipulated pawns of the Jewish Occupational Government.

Statement from Matt Hale:

Dear Comrades, Lisa Turner stated in an email she sent out today to another email list that "The Women's Frontier is not a chapter of the WCOTC." This is incorrect. While I need not belabor the point, on any issues concerning The Women's Frontier and its being part of our great World Church of the Creator, be sure to check with me for confirmation before assuming any notions from outside the Church are correct.

Editorial from Matt Hale:

There is absolutely no justification, for example, for anyone—anywhere, to become an "ex-Creator" or for anyone to abscond "for a change of pace" or any other conceived or conjured reason. This is a war and in a war, desertion is a criminal and cowardly activity... Thus was I sickened upon reading such lame attempts this past month by the three previously discussed individuals to present their actions as being honorable and necessary. I was sickened to read falsehoods designed to emasculate the truth. I was sickened by the incredibly selfish manner in which they took action and how they made sure that their desertions occurred on the same day for the optimum negative effect upon our Church. I was sickened that neither you nor I were given an opportunity to know about these inclinations in advance so that you or I could address any problems that existed. I do not smile at desertion and I categorically condemn it. We expect the enemies of our people to do what they will do to destroy our work, but must find even more deplorable those who would commit sabotage within our own ranks.

SECOND SPLIT WITHIN WCOTC

The second split revealed an even deeper division among the WCOTC ranks—and an attempt to oust Hale in a coup and replace him with William Pierce!

The story begins back in 1999, when WCOTC member Benjamin Smith went on his shooting rampage. Fearful of police repression, Hale secretly asked WCOTC member Dan Hassett to stash over \$8,000 in church funds. Hassett claims to have converted the money into gold bars and buried them near the Montana cabin of another WCOTC member, Slim Deardorff. Both Hassett and Deardorff are long-time "creators," both members of the WCOTC's "Guardians of the Faith Committee."

Hale's trust in Hassett and Deardorff appears to have been misplaced. First, Hassett took the side of Lisa Turner and Melody LaRue, attacking Hale online under the user-name "were wolf" (see message below) and threatening to inform on him. When Hale asked for Hassett to return the WCOTC funds and a supply of their "holy books," Hassett refused, claiming that the funds were lost in a fire that destroyed Deardorff's cabin in January. Hale refused to believe this and ordered them to return the cash. They responded by threatening to "impeach" Hale.

The kicker came when the National Alliance informed Hale of a letter they had received from Deardorff in November 2001 (see below). In this letter, the Guardians of Faith asked NA leader William Pierce if he would be willing to take over control of the WCOTC. Pierce declined, then evidently decided to take sides in the power struggle between Hale and the "Guardians of Faith" by informing Hale of the message. Though Pierce would undoubtedly like to have another segment of the movement under his direct control, he cannot afford to play a partisan role when it comes to white supremacist religious viewpoints. Clearly he views Hale as enough of a supporter/pawn that he desires to keep Hale in his place.

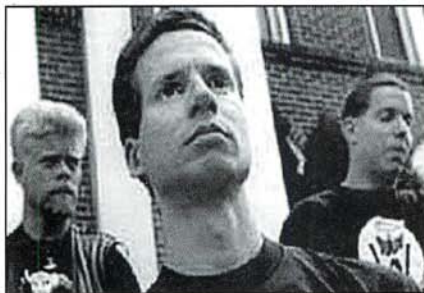
Hale's response was to deny that the Guardians of Faith had any control over his position, kicking both Hassett and Deardorff out of the WCOTC and labeling them traitors. Hale then took another step, establishing a new Guardians of Faith Committee, composed of twelve trusted members.

From Dan Hassett ("were wolf") to Matt Hale:

Your betrayal of the WCOTC and the White Race is unacceptable. It must stop immediately or you will face the consequences of your lunacy. I have in my possession emails from you, providing confidential information about Church members, with instructions to attack them. If you continue with your attacks on the GFC, I will personally forward those emails to Lisa Turner, Melody LaRue and the FBI. This is not just a little game like our attack on the LaRues, this will turn into an all out war if you do not stop immediately! I personally will not stop until you are sharing a prison cell with Irv Rubin and I will gladly testify before any court and provided it with all of our correspondence. If you thing the Church lost funds from the fire in Superior, MT, think of how much we'd lose when Lisa and Melody win harassment suits against you. I'm sure there is also some law against ordering your subordinates to hide funds in order to avoid paying judgements against the Church.

From Slim Deardorff to William Pierce of the national Alliance:

I am chairman of the Guardians of Faith Committee of the C.O.T.C. As called for by Ben Klassen, we are responsible for renewing a P.M. [Pontifex Maximus—WCOTC leader] every ten years. Sooner if absolutely necessary. We appointed Matt Hale over 5 years ago and are thinking that we'd better be looking for someone to take his place. Just wanted to feel you out if you might be interested in another project to your other enterprises. You'd no doubt have to hire more help, to be paid out of Church funds.



Matt Hale, back in the day when he didn't worry about Slim Deardorff (left) or Dan Hassett (right) standing behind him.

(Fascist Dirty Laundry—continued from p. 11)

fight. They shudder at the possibility of their getting their clothes a little dirty. Even though such conflicts are quite rare and the risk to one's personal safety is hence quite low at any given public event, they might use the events at York to "reconsider" the wisdom of the mass meeting or even of showing their faces in public in a racial context at all.

These are not men, but mice. Simply selling a CD here or giving a private lecture there is not going to cut it. The first might raise a few dollars and the second might make one feel that one is truly "doing something" for the Cause. However, this is simply no substitute for mass activism. The people have never been won by preaching to the choir. Instead, all of the emotions of man must be whipped up into a frenzy if there is to be true change.

IS PIERCE FAILING?

Harold Covington posted an article in January claiming that National Alliance leader William Pierce "has been suffering from intermittent episodes of Alzheimer's Disease for approximately two years." Covington is an infamous provocateur who is widely despised in fascist circles for being a state infiltrator—so the report is naturally suspect. He claims the information comes from an NA staffer in Hillsboro.

Covington writes:

He has been able to function on a part-time basis, and he has in most cases been able to deliver the American Dissident Voices short wave radio presentations, although there were several occasions when old ADV's had to be broadcast because Dr. Pierce was unable to read the text that week. A group of several National Alliance activists including former NA member [deleted] have actually been writing the copy for the ADV broadcasts for some months now. Dr. Pierce's condition has been gradually deteriorating since November and it is now clear that at some time within the next year or 18 months he will no longer be able to function and will require institutional care. This is not to say that he has totally lost all command of his faculties. Like all Alzheimer's patients, Dr. Pierce has good days and bad days, although the bad spells are increasing in frequency and duration.

The main question on everyone's mind is, of course, what happens to the National Alliance as an organization and what happens to the financial, business and real assets of the National Alliance once Dr. Pierce is no longer in charge... The general opinion in the NA is that Billy Roper lacks the maturity, the intelligence, and the strength of character successfully to seize control of the NA's assets or real estate when Pierce finally goes off and doesn't come back... Whatever happens, it now appears quite likely that within the next two to three years, the National Alliance will implode and disappear from the political scene.

KLAN KONFLICT

Many activists forget that the Klan considers itself to be a Christian organization. The following announcement from the IKA, a Christian identity Klan sect, highlights the potential conflict between white power music supporters and the Satanic-influenced national socialist black metal bands that are a strong part of the European fascist music scene.

From the Imperial Klans of America announcement for NordicFest 2002:

We the Imperial Klans of America work in Unity with all true white Organizations. However, WE WILL NOT ALLOW ANY DEVIL WORSHIPERS ON OUR LAND!!! We are a Christian Identity Klan Organization and we will work with all groups no matter what they do believe in or what they do not believe in... However, I could care less what group a satan worshiper belongs to, they are NOT WELCOMED HERE EVER!!! ... NO DEVIL WORSHIPERS ALLOWED!!!

We will not be allowing members of the American Knights this year or any other year! (you know who you are) We apologize to all the good members of their organization; but we can make no exceptions!

THIEVING WHITE POWER LAUNDRY

This one speaks for itself. Richard Scutari was a member of the Order, the armed cell that conducted several bank robberies to fund white power groups and assassinated Jewish talk show host Alan Berg.

From Sigdrifa (a white nationalist women's 'zine):

I am writing today to bring news of yet another thief leaching off our Cause, even worse, leaching off a hero of our Cause: Thomas Henry Irwin, the supposed "White Rights Attorney" out of Kentucky. This lawyer was hired by Richard Scutari clo Sigdrifa and Volksfront regarding his parole denial last year. He was sent \$750,000 dollars for a retainer and initial document preparation fees. Richard personally approved Irwin after a 30 minute phone call with Irwin, then Irwin just didn't do anything else. Irwin didn't even get around to sending Richard a retainer agreement. Richard ended up firing him for lack of representation and requested that all the funds be refunded to the Volksfront Representative who was officially handling attorney correspondence and funds. Irwin responded by saying he used up the fee on "legal research", which I and Richard had already done. Richard only required document preparation and representation by an attorney, which never materialized. Then Irwin, in an attempt to intimidate, asked for all donors Social Security numbers and full names and addresses! Richard responded with asking for the Volksfront Rep to be given limited Power of Attorney in his financial affairs regarding his legal case and telling Irwin that his (Richard's) Social Security number was the only information he was getting.

Sigdrifa and Volksfront have become aware that Irwin has also done this very thing to the Creators that are on trial in New Jersey and to another member of our Cause. I ask that anyone who has dealing with this fraud and thief stop! Also, please get the word out that Irwin will not be allowed to remain a member of this Movement. He has already been banned from speaking at the upcoming Nordic Fest put on by the Klan.



(National Alliance—continued from page 6)

of white power literature, including that of the NA.

It is important to note that the NA's junior partner, the WCOTC, was working the other side of the issue at the same time, distributing flyers that targeted Arab Americans as the source of the problem and calling for a race-based immigration policy. These two attitudes are at odds but appear to be co-existing for the time being. In the long run, we wonder how much "internationalism" and "anti-imperialism" the rank and file racists will put up with and what effect it will have on group morale.

Like the manipulation of free speech arguments, NA support for the Palestinian cause is a deftly handled assault on the left's control of some of its key organizing themes. At these demos, the NA programatically targeted Israeli and US support for brutal Zionist policy, designating this support and policy as the primary reason terrorists targeted Americans. The list of demands presented by the NA were uncommonly crafted for broad popular consumption, lacking as they were in the typical slobbering racial obsessions of white power literature, including that of the NA.

It is important to note that the NA's junior partner, the WCOTC, was working the other side of the issue at the same time, distributing flyers that targeted Arab Americans as the source of the problem and calling for a race-based immigration policy. These two attitudes are at odds but appear to be co-existing for the time being. In the long run, we wonder how much "internationalism" and "anti-imperialism" the rank and file racists will put up with and what effect it will have on group morale.

Sometimes I've nagged at our members because I thought that they were being obstinate and difficult to organize and motivate for activities, but after seeing how hard it was to get the ARA and the communists stirred up and interested in the rally, I take it all back. It took the work of several members who each performed virtual infiltrations of their lists and e-mail exchanges weeks ahead of time to do a bit of agent provocateur work before the ARA awoke to the challenge. I mean, it was like trying to herd ducks, to get those commies motivated. But, without their presence and participation, the event wouldn't have been nearly as newsworthy to the media, so it was a necessary labor.

—Billy Roper, speaking to an NA Leadership Conference

INTERROGATION OF AN ANTI-CAPITALIST

OCAP BORDER STOP REVEALS STATE'S EYE

My name is John Clarke and I am an Organizer with the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP). In the early afternoon of February 19th, 2002, I crossed the international bridge between Sarnia, Ontario and Port Huron, Michigan. I was on my way to a speaking engagement that had been set up by students at Michigan State University.

When I pulled up my car at the customs booth, the officer asked where I was bound and I told him. He wanted to know on what basis I was asked to speak and whether I would be paid. I replied that I was with OCAP and that I had been told by the organizers of the meeting that an honourarium would be provided as was normal. The officer was concerned that this meant I was coming into the US to work. Of course, people on both sides of the border accept speaking invitations all the time on this basis and the issue of a work permit is never raised. At this point, the matter was nothing that could not have been rapidly cleared up if I had been on my way to address a business seminar or deliver a lecture on self awareness.

As instructed by the officer, I parked my car and made my way into the offices shared by customs and US Immigration. As soon as my ID was run through the computer, there was a marked change in the situation. An officer asked me more questions about my intentions in the US, what anti globalization protests I had attended and whether I opposed the "ideology of the United States." My car was searched and I was taken into a room and thoroughly (though not roughly) frisked. I was then told that I would be denied entry to the US and that the FBI and State Department wanted to speak to me. Agents were on their way from Detroit I was told.

After about an hour and a half, a man entered the "controlled reception" area that I was being kept in and passed by me into the inner offices. He was carrying a big folder and a pile of files. It struck me that he carried them the way a highly skilled worker might carry his or her precision tools. He spent some time in discussion with the local officers and then I was brought into an interrogation room to deal with him. He introduced himself and gave me his card. His name was Edward J. Seitz of the State Department of the United States Diplomatic Security Service and his rank was Special Agent. I found him to be an impressive and fascinating character.

Seitz, with the backing of another local officer, interrogated me for some considerable time. It was not a situation like an arrest by Canadian police where silence is the best option. Had I refused to talk to him, I did not doubt that he would order me detained and that it would be some time before the Canadian consular authorities came into the picture. If I was to avoid at least several days in detention, I determined that I had no option but to answer his questions. It was immediately obvious to me that I was dealing with a specialist in interrogation methods. He told the admiring locals at one point that he had been stationed in Yemen and I avoided speculating on how he had employed his talents there.

Seitz's basic strategy, apart from general intelligence gathering, was to try and set me up to tell him something false that would place me in the situation of violating US law. He began with some very basic questions on my personal background, extremely affable in his manner and striking a pose of mild confusion that was designed to make me underestimate him. He then asked about OCAP. He told me it sounded like we were good people but he had heard something about an organization that a year or so before had been involved in a confrontation with the police at the Ontario Legislature. That wasn't us was it? The trap was clear and I told him that we were indeed that organization. His affable manner then vanished and his difficulties in focusing his thoughts ended. He gradually moved his chair over so we were

right up against each other and fired questions at me. He wanted to know about the June 15, 2000 March on the Ontario Legislature where the Toronto police attacked a march against homelessness that we had organized. He wanted to know about charges that the police have laid against me. He wanted to know how OCAP is structured and who are the members of its elected executive committee (which I refused to tell him).

Seitz then took up the question of OCAP's friends and allies in the US. Are we involved in anti globalization work. Isn't this a cover for anarchism? Was I personally an anarchist or a socialist? (In the interests of anti capitalist unity, I won't say which one of these I acknowledged I was). Seitz had a huge file on OCAP with him that included leaflets from public speaking events I had been at in the US. He knew the name of the man I stayed with the last time I was in Chicago. He wanted to know who I spoke to in the Chicago Direct Action Network. He claimed that I was an advocate of violence and that my association with DAN showed this but (in a rare stumble)

could find nothing in their literature that proved that they call for violence.

This phase of the questioning went on for a long time. He covered a great deal of ground and had at his disposal voluminous information on us. He, obviously, had been in contact with the Canadian police but was most interested on our US allies. The exception was an enormous interest in Canadian anti capitalist activist, Jaggi Singh. He knew that he and I had spoken at the same meetings and was most anxious to find out if he was also in the US. He showed me a picture of Jaggi and wanted to know where he was at that moment. Suddenly, the mask of affability went back on. I was a "gentleman" and he

didn't want to lock me up. I was ok but he couldn't understand how I worked with a "violent man like Mr. Singh." Then he told me he would have to ban me from the US but I could go to the US Consulate in Toronto and apply for a waiver. I could just take a seat in the waiting room while they prepared some paper work but I would soon be on my way.

I had not been sitting out there long, however, before the Special Agent came out to try a new tack that I had heard of in the past. Essentially, his plan was to make me think he was utterly mad and, thereby, rattle me to the point where I lost my judgement. I assume the method works better if it is used after serious sleep deprivation. He came over and sat next to me right there in the waiting area with other people around. He had a few OCAP cheques that he asserted showed I was bringing with me the means to live illegally in the US. I was going to jail, he asserted. I explained that the cheques were in my bag because I always kept a few with me to cover the cost of office supplies and suchlike and that I had seen no reason to take them out just because I was going to spend a few hours in Michigan. Then came the most astounding part of the whole interrogation. Out of the blue, Seitz demanded to know where Osama Bin Laden was hiding. I knew where he was, he insisted. If I grew a beard I would look like Bin Laden. I was holding back on telling him why I was going to the university and who I was going to meet there. If I didn't want to go to jail, it was time to tell him the real story. I replied that I had been quite open with him about my intentions and that sending me to jail was now up to him. He laughed, told me there were no problems. I could go home after all. Did I drink tea or coffee? Would I have a coffee with him if he came up to Toronto? I told him I would, which was the only lie I told that day, and he gathered up his files and left.

Shortly after this, the local officers gave me the free ticket for the bridge which is the only perk that comes along with being denied entry to the US and, a little over five hours after coming over, I headed back to the Canadian side.

Statement from Matt Hale:

I just wanted to inform you that Dan Hasset is no longer a member of our beloved World Church of the Creator. He has unfortunately embezzled Church funds and further has threatened to give information to the FBI about the Church when confronted with his crimes. He has further utilized an alias called "wibravoles" or "weiravoles" in order to harass members and former members of the Church. Since both traitors and thieves are usually not open about their treason and thievery, it is not surprising that he has chosen a "cloak and dagger" war against you, my Brothers and Sisters and our great Church.

While I am not concerned at all about his threat to give information to the FBI or "testify" against us since the Church and I have acted completely legally and honorably at all times and because Hasset has been suspect for some time, it is believed that he will shortly attempt to "hack" into my email account and perhaps others and do harm in that way. So, it was necessary for me to beat this traitor to the punch and inform you of his in advance lest any kind of communicative freedom on our part be hampered in any way. Further, it is possible that now this matter is out in the open and with guilt squarely on the man's shoulders that he will realize the error of his ways and end the ridiculous nonsense ...

Letter From Audy Wilson (one of the new WCOTC "Guardians of the Faith"):

It is no accident that what you witness here resembles totalitarianism. It is not a secret that the position of Pontifex Maximus is a position no less defined as Leviathan. Why? Simply, the World Church of the Creator is not a democracy, never has been a democracy, and nor shall it ever be a democracy. We are members of its anathesis. Those of us that hold sacred the doctrine of Ben Klassen and our beloved Church know that the design of Creativity is rooted as dictatorial and we sit comfortably in knowledge of this very fact.

SPLIT WITHIN ARYAN NATIONS

After the Aryan Nations lost its Idaho compound to an SPLC lawsuit, the ailing leader of the group, Richard Butler, was clearly ready to pass the torch on. Pastor Ray Redfearn from Ohio became the AN's new National Director, where he was in position to assume control once Butler dies. But soon there was friction in the ranks. Redfearn stepped down, nominating a new troika to lead the AN—a move publicly opposed by Butler, leading to a split.

Announcement from AN National Director Pastor Ray Redfearn:

As you are no doubt aware, there has developed a great division in the Aryan Nations leadership ... All of the State Leaders, the Minister of Information and Propaganda, and the Aryan Nations National Security Officer understand the issues and stand firmly at my side. Even so, the jackals and the backbiting dogs will be howling to high heaven that the decision to sever ourselves from the office in Hayden Lake is nothing more than an attempt on my part to take the Aryan Nations away from Pastor Butler.

In order to pull the teeth from the dogs and their cousins, I have decided to take the following steps:

- 1) Effective March 30, 2002, I will step down as the National Director of the Aryan Nations; I will hold no office or rank within the Aryan Nations; I will relinquish my membership in the Aryan Nations.
- 2) On the above date, the office of National Director will be replaced with the Aryan Nations High Council consisting of three officers—Pastor August Kreis, PA, State Leader Charles Juba and a third member to be named in March.

By implementing the above it will be seen that:

* The Aryan Nations does not belong to Pastor Butler, Pastor Redfearn or anyone else.

* The Aryan Nations is not anyone's personal hobby, toy or tool.

* The Aryan Nations does not exist in order for the members to serve the leadership or as a means to boost anyone's ego.

The Aryan Nations belongs to the Aryan people. It exists to help our people understand and live in accordance with YHVH's Life Law. The leaders in the Aryan Nations are there to serve the Aryan People.

Butler Kicks Out Kreis and Redfearn

I just received a letter from the Church of Jesus Christ Christian / Aryan Nations that clearly states that Kreis and Redfearn have been terminated from the

Church for violating the major rules under section #3 of the Aryan Nations Handbook.

- D. Failure to conform to Aryan Nations standards
 - E. Malicious behavior toward one's comrades
 - F. Improper attitude and outlook
 - J. Engaging in conduct or activities, which tend to discredit Aryan Nations
 - K. Engaging in deliberate anti-Aryan Nations Activity
- The letter goes on to state that both have failed to follow the direct orders of Pastor Richard Butler. Pastor Butler no longer authorizes the current website Aryan-Nations.org and a new website will be announced soon.

Volksfront Statement on AN

We, the Volksfront organization, recognize that Pastor Richard Butler, of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian and its political wing Aryan Nations is the rightful leader of said organizations.

We rebuke the attempted take over of this organization by persons wrongfully claiming to control the Church and its political arm via the Aryan Nations website.

We will accept no contact from persons wrongfully claiming to be acting in an official capacity as Church or Aryan Nations representatives. Despite unfortunate circumstances causing the loss of Church grounds in Idaho, we honor and respect Pastor Butler and will only recognize his designated successor as the rightful leader of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian and Aryan Nations.

Despite errors in judgement and the unannounced actions of his followers Pastor Richard Butler is the only rightful leader of CJCCAN. Persons not liking his leadership are welcome to leave the organization and form their own. We strongly condemn the attempted take over and will have no official dealing with these people until they relinquish control of all CJCCAN property and websites to Pastor Butler. We will continue our friendship and Pastor Butler unmoved by the deception of those who wrongly attempt to steal the life's work of a great man.

POST-YORK SPLITS

Despite claims of unity and victory, it is clear that many fascists walked away from York holding a grudge against other factions. William Pierce of the National Alliance made it clear that joint activity between the NA and other groups was not to be continued, and also banned NA members from joining other groups. Volksfront criticized Hale for fleeing under police protection while his supporters were run out of town. Hale kept up his tough talk but threw in a jab at his critics and former allies.

From William Pierce:

[The National Alliance] certainly will not become stronger by "uniting" with weak or defective organizations—and that includes virtually every "movement" group ... [the National Alliance] will act independently of other organizations ... [and] will not engage in joint activities with other organizations.

From Randy of Volksfront (emphasis added):

These are just a few points we use here for event security and organizational security. Reading accounts of the York event i noticed an extreme lack of inter-group coordination. All groups MUST have a common plan of entry and exit. Leaders should stay with their people for morale and discipline, (not leave in a police van) while their comrades are in battle. Nevertheless, even if other groups are undisciplined NA should look to the safety and security of their members and be prepared to see to their safety with or without the assistance of other organizations.

From Matt Hale:

Only by mass activism can we capture the attention of the people whom we would otherwise not reach. Only by proving to the people that OUR Cause inspires more sacrifice than do the others will the people be willing to reconsider the supposed righteousness of the currently prevailing dogma and hence will the people cast their lots with us.

Oh, I know, the smug "respectable" ones out there shudder at a few arrests and some blood being spilled. They shudder at a

Continued on page 23



Aryan Nations exiles, August Kreis (left) and Ray Redfearn (right)



JDL EXPOSED

THE RACIST, PRO-IMPERIALIST NATURE OF THE JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE

by Michael Novick

Irv Rubin, national director of the racist Jewish Defense League (JDL), was recently indicted along with his chief Los Angeles lieutenant, on charges of plotting to bomb a mosque in Culver City, California, and the offices of a southern California Republican Congressman of Lebanese descent. This has focused new attention on the long-standing threat of reactionary and racist violence by the JDL. At the same time, other fascist forces have been emboldened by the September 11 attacks and the US war drive to step up public racist and anti-semitic organizing. The JDL has attempted to attach itself to anti-racists opposing nazis in the National Alliance, World Church of the Creator, and other similar forces. Simultaneously, the Zionist state of Israel has launched a new offensive and occupation against the Palestinians. It is critical for anti-racists and anti-fascists to understand the nature of the JDL and of Zionism, and the ability of imperialism to offer people false solutions that actually serve to propagate the system. In opposing fascism, racism and anti-semitism, we cannot accept or tolerate forces like the JDL. The JDL also offers important general lessons about the contradictions between privilege and oppression and how they play out in people's consciousness and practice. These lessons are relevant to all people struggling against privilege and oppression to uproot racism.

The Jewish Defense League cannot be understood outside the context of Zionism, US imperialism, and the Black liberation struggle. Rabbi Meir (Martin) Kahane, the son of an Orthodox Jewish rabbi who was active in the right-wing Zionist movement of Ze'ev Jabotinsky, founded the JDL in Brooklyn, NY in 1968. I was on the scene at the time, coming out of an Orthodox Jewish Brooklyn background myself, and I was physically attacked by JDL members during a Brooklyn College sit-in for open admissions for Black and Puerto Rican students. I can testify from eyewitness knowledge that anti-Black racism and rabid anti-Arab Zionism were the immediate wellsprings in the founding of the organization. One key event that led to its establishment was the 1967 Six-Day War, in which Israel attacked and defeated its Arab neighbors and occupied Jerusalem, the rest of the West Bank and Gaza. The other was the racist strike against community control of schools by the United Federation of Teachers in NYC, which sought to portray Black parents trying to obtain a better education for their children as "anti-semites." But the roots of the organization are deeper than that.

Kahane had been active in Jabotinsky's Betar movement, and was first arrested in 1947, at age 15, for leading a group of Betar youth in an attack on British foreign minister Ernest Bevin. Kahane's participation in Betar links him to Menachem Begin, who once headed the Irgun group, and Yitzhak Shamir, who headed the Stern gang, two armed underground Zionist terror groups that applied Jabotinsky's right wing views in the struggle to establish the state of Israel in British-mandate Palestine. Both later became right wing Prime Ministers of Israel. Kahane, unable to disguise his virulent anti-Arab racism with statecraft, never reached higher than a position in the Israeli Knesset (Parliament), but he was a useful tool for the Israeli state and US imperialism. Prior to establishing the JDL, Kahane lived and worked under the name of Michael King, and later claimed that he worked for the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He provided intelligence on left-wing Jews during this Cold War period of anti-communism. Later, during the period of COINTELPRO, he was selected by the FBI as a vehicle for fomenting Black-Jewish divisions through his newspaper column and for distributing FBI-composed canards about anti-semitism in the Black Panther Party. Kahane's double identity as King reflected an involvement in criminality as well as counter-insurgency, and apparently resulted in the suicide of a woman he maintained a relationship with under his false name.



Irv Rubin

Despite their rabid racism, the founders of the JDL were clearly influenced by the Black Panther Party themselves. They put forward the slogan "Every Jew a 22," and some of them wore berets. Their name proclaimed the need for Jewish self-defense, and they ran martial arts and weapons training classes. But beyond these superficial or stylistic similarities, the JDL was the antithesis of the revolutionary liberation organizations of the time, such as the BPP, the Puerto Rican Young Lords, the anti-racist Appalachian Young Patriots, or the Brown Berets. The JDL opposed national liberation, supported the US in Vietnam, and reserved a special venom for Jews who took the opposite stance. In particular, the JDL slogan "Never Again," and its clenched fist in a Jewish star symbol, expressed a militance guided by reactionary, pro-imperialist politics. JDL venom against Holocaust revisionists (even though their Zionist antecedents had dealt with the Nazis) was due to the centrality of the Holocaust to Zionist rationales for establishing the state of Israel. The JDL served to direct working class Jewish kids from tough backgrounds into forms of militance that supported the US state and Zionism, and thus to divert them from the kind of internationalist solidarity that could really have combated fascism. It is also an example of the ability of the bourgeoisie to incorporate and neutralize dissident ideologies and sectors by replacing them with de-natured, bourgeois and pro-imperialist versions. Thus, the threat posed by the radical women's liberation movement in the period was dealt with in part by offering a subsidized accommodationist bourgeois feminism. Gay liberation was superseded by "gay rights." Revolutionary Black nationalists were subverted by the promotion of cultural pseudo-nationalists. And Jews who learned the lesson of Hitler's genocide that fascist forces had to be dealt with in the language they understood were seduced in the JDL into a politics that in every other respect was pro-imperialist and reactionary.

JDL violence was mostly personal until Kahane received a key visit from a leader of Israel's right-wing Herut political party, Geula Cohen. According to Kahane biographer Robert Friedman, she asked him point blank, "Why are you wasting your time fighting the *schvartzes*?" (Yiddish for Blacks, but closer in connotation to the n-word). She urged him to direct his attention at the Soviet Union. Beginning in December 1969 and well into the 1970s, Kahane's JDL, with support from several wealthy American Jewish businessmen, carried out a campaign of criminal attacks against Soviet Russian diplomats and other Soviet targets in the USA. They wanted to generate sympathy for Jews in the Soviet Union, damage détente between the United States and the USSR, and get the US to force the Soviets to allow massive Jewish emigration to Israel. Kahane, who was later to urge mass expulsions of all Arab residents of the occupied territories and Israel itself, was already focused on the potential demographic crisis for the Zionist state. Israel was intent on getting a new infusion of Eastern European Jews to strengthen its Jewish majority.

JDL members carried a wave of bombings and other attacks, including against music impresario Sol Hurok, who brought the Bolshoi Ballet to the U.S. There was an attempt to fire a mortar at a UN target. There was also a mass movement of more mainstream forces seeking the same goals by other means, out of which the JDL sometimes recruited, such as the SSSJ (Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry). Kahane himself was arrested in May 1971 along with a dozen other JDL members on federal charges of conspiracy to manufacture explosives. Yet in 1972, the JDL leader was invited by US Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson, the so-called Senator from Boeing, a right-wing Cold War liberal, to stand on stage with him during a New York City appearance in Jackson's futile presidential bid. Representative Mario Biaggi, an Italian American from the Bronx also was a public supporter of Kahane. The JDL, which at its height of several thousand members in the U.S. and several other countries, was still a relatively small organization of the most-committed and

essary links are just barely starting to be made and are hampered by a lot of arrogance within the movement. The movement's class politics may be much too weak to really attract the allies we need, and our tacticians may not have the experience necessary to out-think the professional police just yet.

A more likely possibility is that in time, we may find ourselves temporarily stalled or contained by the state. If our assessment of the determination and interest that people have been showing in radical politics lately is accurate, it seems very unlikely that anytime soon our movement will be completely defeated or even forced back to pre-Seattle levels of activity. But it's easy to see a situation where the state will be able to prevent us from mounting the kind of large actions that have been the public face of anarchism over the past few years. And at the same time that the state's political forces are working to contain us organizationally and militarily, its conservative and liberal supporters are also trying to defeat us politically by using mass propaganda to push nationalist, xenophobic, religious, and racially inflammatory attitudes among the American population. In such a situation, the growing neo-fascist movement, which has enjoyed extremely low levels of political repression for the past few decades, will find itself in a position to pick up the initiative we've built with our organizing. Even the possibility of this situation—and we see it as being quite possible—demands that anti-fascist work be made a priority today. This work is important to both in track and prevent the growth of organizations that could play this role down the road. It can also, in a more general way, counter the social attitudes—promoted today by almost every wing of the government, the church, and the media—that provide fertile ground for fascist organizing.

A third possibility involves the state managing to contain both the anti-capitalist left and the fascist right, and move towards an ultra-centralized authoritarian fascism on its own. This is the possibility that the militias et al have been warning about for years, although many of them haven't been able to read the signs that it has become a real potential. The Bush coup last election, the conveniently-timed war on terrorism, and basically everything that's happened since show that this is on the agenda of at least some elements in the ruling class. Who needs some outdated racial theories imported from Europe when we have good old American jingoism, conservative Christianity, and a multi-culturalist gloss to hold together mass support for a major change in the government? The task of the left in this case is to consistently talk to people on the street, and point out the obvious contradictions between these elements of the state's "official religion." For example, a little while ago there



was a bit of a scandal when one of Bush's Secret Service men, an Arab-American, was forced off a plane and questioned as a suspected terrorist. This highlighted the contradiction between the classic xenophobia being pushed to support the war effort and the illusion essential for continued capitalist market growth that America is a color-blind "land of opportunity." Events like these usually get buried in the media pretty quickly, but in the present situation, they're bound to happen regularly, and they always leave at least a little opening for us to point to and expose the state's plots behind the scenes.

The anti-fascist movement right now has a strong momentum and a clear direction, at a time when much of the revolutionary anarchist scene is regrouping in its forces and questioning its politics. For that reason, groups who identify with the revolutionary anti-fascist tradition have an opportunity—and an obligation—to lead by example.

The January 12th mobilization in York was a turning point for us. It was a definite victory—although something short of decisive—in the streets, but more importantly, it gave us back the upper hand politically. For some time now, the white power movement has been concentrating its forces in the mid-Atlantic area; we correctly recognized that situation, picked a point to engage them at, and stopped their momentum in its tracks. York was the first—and far from the last—street showdown in this part of the country between the neo-nazis and us. But the showing we had was strong enough to guarantee that the streets will be ours unless the nazis win a major propaganda victory over us that can change the balance of forces. So therefore, the terrain this war will be fought on will be the world of public opinion where we already have some groundwork laid, rather than the empty symbolism of street demonstrations that the Nazis thrive on. This is and of itself is a huge a victory for us.

So how do we move forward? Well, we should recognize that our politics are a few steps ahead of the fascists right now. While we still need to be on the ground stopping their organizing, we also have a chance to move ahead and actually start organizing and offering solutions where the fascists are still trying to sell images. This will mean talking with people on the ground, organizing public events and building ongoing people's institutions where that's possible.

REVOLUTIONARY ANTI-FASCISM: SOME STRATEGIC QUESTIONS

by Mark Salotte

There is a general consensus in the movement—and in the broader society today—that N30 in Seattle was the announcement of a new phase of struggle for the left. One in which decentralization, anarchist and anti-authoritarian ideas, and international "horizontally-linked" struggles would play a central role as common reference points for all involved. While the "post-Seattle landscape" to most observers, from critics to police and the state to movement tacticians, refers primarily to street tactics, these organizational and philosophical changes have a comparable impact on all of us. Suddenly people are speaking our language, some of whom we don't see eye to eye with on just about anything, and those of us on the anti-racist, anti-capitalist, anti-authoritarian "left" have been so stunned we haven't figured out how to respond quite yet.

In the days of the Tower of Babel, a movement was effectively broken up by confusing the people's tongues so they spoke different languages and could no longer understand each other. What's happening today is the process in reverse: now everyone speaks the same language and means completely different things by it. When our enemies are using the same terms to describe themselves as we do, how do we explain to people what we stand for and how that's different from what our enemies offer?

"Libertarian communism" and "anarchist communism" look to a movement where class war and working-class resistance can break the boundaries of nationalist bigotry, while "libertarian socialism" looks to stir up nationalist and ethnic rivalries to crush class solidarity. Some anarchists identify as "anti-imperialists" and, with varying degrees of integrity, take inspiration from and offer support to leftist and anti-authoritarian currents within black, Puerto Rican, and other nationalist struggles. While on the other hand, there are "national anarchists" who look for the right-wing elements in those same nationalist struggles, and ally with those elements while organizing for a right-wing white nationalist movement. It gets hard for a lot of people to tell friend from foe these days.

Puzzling these questions out is essential if we hope to move forward in any way. The defining line as we see it is the relationship between class struggle and nationalism. While traditional terms like "left" and "right" may not carry the same meaning to activists today they once did—in some cases they barely have any meaning left at all—we're not ready to follow the lead of many in the "primitivist" and "deep ecology" scenes in abandoning them altogether. The vital contribution of anti-fascism to the movement today lies in analyzing all the forces, separating "friend" from "foe," and suggesting directions in organizing and strategic alliances that would strengthen the anti-racist and anti-nationalist tendencies of the movement and isolate the reactionary tendencies.

An interesting historical document to compare against our situation today is an essay by Wilhelm Reich called "What is Class Consciousness?"—written from exile a year after the Nazi Party came to power in Germany. Reich brings up many interesting questions regarding the failure of the left to effectively oppose the politics of National Socialism. He begins by analyzing the current situation:

The Soc-Pol working community believes that there are three main possibilities. First, there is the possibility of an unpredictable uprising in Germany in the near future. Since none of the existing organizations is even remotely prepared for such an eventuality, none of them could control such a movement or lead it consciously to a conclusion. This possibility, however, is the least likely. Should it happen, the situation would be chaotic and the outcome extremely uncertain, but it would nevertheless be the best solution, and we should support it and promote it from the very start. Second, the working-class movement may need a few years before it rallies once more in terms of theory and organization. It will then form an integrated movement under good, highly trained, and determined leadership, will struggle for power in Germany, and will seize it within, say, the next two decades. This prospect is the most probable, but it requires energetic, unwavering and tireless preparation beginning today. Third, the last major possibility is that the rallying of the working-class movement under new, good and reliable leadership will not occur quickly enough or will fail to occur altogether; that international fascism will establish itself and consolidate its positions everywhere, especially by reason of its immanent skill in attracting children and youth; that it will acquire a permanent mass base, and will be helped by economic conjunctures, however marginal. In such a case the socialist movement must reckon with a long—a very long—period of economic, cultural, and political barbarism lasting many decades. Its task then will be to prove that it was not mistaken in principle and that, in the last analysis, it was right after all. This prospect reveals the full extent of the responsibility we bear.

We propose, so far as conditions permit, to allow for the first possibility; to make the second the real target of our work, because it is the more likely one, and to concentrate all our efforts on bringing it about while doing everything within human possibility to avoid the third.

As we know, the left failed on all three of these counts. No real spontaneous uprising ever threatened the Nazis. Conservative Catholic and monarchist groups tried a few half-hearted protests, but for the most part the only people who even resisted the Nazis were working-class street gangs who were very early on repressed and killed. The communist movement never managed to regroup in any serious way. And even after Nazism was defeated militarily by outside imperialism, it was still rooted in mass culture a lot deeper than socialism. It took another generation for the left to pull itself together as something more than a middle-class academic fashion. And yet, still, it seems that Reich was basically right in his whole analysis. Not that he could have led the rebirth of the anti-fascist movement, but that in order to rebuild itself, the movement would have had to be thinking in the way he was trying to lay out.

This is particularly interesting to us today. From a revolutionary anti-fascist perspective, we can similarly break down the possibilities presented to us by the current situation. First, the "anti-capitalist" movement could continue to grow, overcoming the inevitable setbacks and outflanking the state's attempt to contain us. In such a scenario, autonomous zones created by insurrections or long-term organizing projects would turn into liberated spaces. The movement could manage to link up with ghetto, barrio, and neighborhood uprisings and organizing in cities and with workplace struggles everywhere, manage to build alliances with rebel militias in rural areas, and get to a point where our autonomy seriously threatens the stability of the state. This, I think should be obvious, is a very remote possibility. The nec-

violence-prone. But beyond that, Kahane had a bully pulpit in the Brooklyn-based weekly Jewish Press (an Orthodox newspaper with a circulation of about 150,000).

In Jan. 1972, the JDL fire-bombed Hurok's offices, killing a Jewish secretary and injuring 13 others. One participant, Sheldon Siegel, confessed to making the bomb, and provided the names of the others involved in the crime. However, the case against the JDL members who were charged in the incident was eventually dismissed on a technicality. It would be fair to assume that the useful role the JDL was playing not only in the Zionist campaign for repatriation of Soviet Jews to Israel, but in the US cold war against the USSR, won them impunity for their crimes. The pattern of numerous incidents all through the 70's was that the JDL would deny responsibility for, but "welcome," violence against Soviet, Arab, and Holocaust-revisionist targets of bombings and beatings. On February 21, 1975, Kahane was convicted of violating terms of his 1971 probation on explosives charges. He was sentenced to a year in prison, most of it served in a half-way house. Subsequently, he went to Israel permanently, and established his ultra-Orthodox, ultra-rightist Kach Party on a program of opposing democracy in Israel as incompatible with true Zionism, and calling for "revenge" against and expulsion of Palestinians. Kahanists were among the settlers who began to move into the occupied territories.

With his own attention focused on Israeli politics, and the NY JDL stronghold divided into several factions and a number of semi-clandestine groups, Kahane anointed LA's Irv Rubin as the new national director of the JDL. Infighting continued among Rubin and several of the NY leaders, including Victor Vancier, Mordechai Levy and others. Kahane had been bleeding funds and activists out of the US into his Kach Party in Israel. A rumormongering attempt to take control of the bank account and establish a "New JDL" was itself the target of a bombing attempt. Rubin and the others made an uneasy truce, but Levy was arrested for firing at Rubin from the roof of his house, wounding a bystander. In 1987, Vancier and two other members of the Jewish Defense League were tried for their involvement in at least six bombing attacks carried out the New York area between 1984 and 1987. Vancier was sentenced in October 1987 to ten years and Murray Young got five years in prison. In this same period on the West Coast, Alex Odeh, the leader of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) was killed in the bombing of his Orange County office. The chief suspects in this unsolved killing, hailed by Rubin, were JDL members Rochelle and Robert Manning, who fled to Israel. A deal was eventually worked out between the US and Israel under which Manning was extradited, and eventually convicted for another deadly letter-bombing, but under the terms of the deal he could never be charged with the Odeh killing.

Victor Vancier has had more trouble with the law than many JDL "activists." He served two months on Riker's Island for an attack on a Soviet diplomat's car in 1974. After his release, he joined a JDL front-group, Save Our Israel Land (SOIL), which took credit for several smoke-bombs and fire-bombs at African UN missions. In 1979, he was sent to federal prison for bombing 11 Egyptian diplomatic targets in three states. In 1987 he was arrested in a new wave of attacks, including a tear gas canister hurled into the NY Metropolitan Opera House. Yet after all that, Vancier was hired onto the staff of the New York state legislature's Human Rights Committee by his former JDL and SOIL associate, right wing Brooklyn Assemblyman Dov Hikind. Vancier also became host of a racist, homophobic cable TV talk show in Manhattan.

From the 70's through the late 80's, the FBI repeatedly called the JDL a terrorist organization. In 1985 the FBI's Terrorist Research and Analytical Center wrote: "In FBI terrorism analyses published since 1981, responsibility for 18 terrorist incidents has been attributed to groups seeking to publicize past and present injustices suffered by the Jewish people. While claims for some of these acts have been made in the names of the Jewish Defenders, United Jewish Underground, and Jewish Direct Action, 15 of the incidents were attributed to the Jewish Defense League (JDL), by far the most well known of these groups." The FBI named the Jewish Defense League as the second most active terrorist group in the United States, behind the Puerto Rican FALN. The FBI report said:

"The JDL has also attacked Arab, Iranian, Iraqi, Egyptian, Palestinian, Lebanese, French, and German targets in the United States ... Attacks have

also been staged by League chapters in France, Britain, Italy and Israel ... The JDL has pursued a dual-track strategy of acts of civil disobedience and generally peaceful protest, along with acts of outright terrorism ... Bombing is the JDL's favorite tactic, accounting for 78 percent of all JDL incidents. Shootings are next, accounting for 16 percent, followed by arson, vandalism, and kidnapping, accounting for one percent each ... Since 1968, JDL operations have killed seven persons and wounded at least 22 ... Sixty-two percent of all JDL attacks are directed against property; 30 percent against businesses; four percent against academics and academic institutions; and two percent against religious targets. Typically, an anonymous caller will claim responsibility for a specific terrorist act for either the JDL or one of its alleged subgroups, only to have an official spokesman for the JDL deny the group's involvement the following day."

Other attacks in this period included arson in a shop in Brooklyn's Atlantic Avenue Arab-American community, which claimed the life of an elderly woman resident upstairs.

What about the JDL'ers who followed Kahane to Israel? On April 11, 1982, JDL member Allan Goodman opened fire with a machine gun at a Jerusalem mosque, killing two Palestinians and critically wounding several others. He had received paramilitary training at the JDL's Camp Jedel in New York. Kahane defended the killing as "perfectly correct." This attack was later duplicated by another ex-Brooklyn JDL'er, Baruch Goldstein, who was killed in a bloody attack on Arab worshippers with automatic weapons, thereby becoming a martyr and hero to Kahanists in Israel and the US. After Kahane's assassination in 1990, his movement fell victim to some of the same splits as they JDL had once he left the US. Remnants include both the Kach Movement (the party was declared illegal by the Israeli state) and Kahane Chai (Kahane Lives, whose initials in Hebrew also spell out Kach). Kahane's son was killed in a Palestinian attack last year. An ultra-Orthodox Israeli rightist, encouraged by reactionary Orthodox rabbis in the U.S., who issued a virtual Jewish "fatwa" (religious death sentence), assassinated the Israeli Prime Minister.

THE JDL: ANTI-NAZIS

What about the JDL's self-proclaimed role in fighting nazis? Based on the experience in LA in the 80's and 90's, it would have to be considered a sham. In 1983, for example, the JDL recruited an informant inside Nazi Party ranks, Mike Canale, a former close associate of Tom Metzger's. Canale had taken the fall for a synagogue arson apparently fomented by Metzger and Nazi Party leader Stan Witek. In prison, he met anti-communist (and racist) Jews associated with the JDL, and when he got out, he re-entered the nazi milieu on their behalf, providing intelligence to Rubin. During this period, as it turned out, the forces that came together in the white supremacist underground, The Order (Bruder Schweigen/Silent Brotherhood), were coalescing, in part in LA. Canale went up to Idaho with local KKK leader Frank Silva, where they were inducted into the Aryan Nations. The John Brown Anti-Klan Committee in L.A., of which I was then a member, had gotten wind of the plans by Silva to hold a cross-burning in the San Fernando Valley. He had applied to the LA Fire Department for a permit!

We held a couple of demonstrations at the local firehouse to oppose granting a permit to burn crosses, which we considered an act of racist terror. The JDL learned of our plans, and while 2 or three nazis looked on, came out and attacked us, screaming racist epithets at Black protesters and trying to tear up signs. Eventually, the JDL, the nazis and the LAPD cut a three-way deal. The JDL showed up at the site of the cross-burning (held without a permit) based on their inside information from Canale, and went home upon the assurance from the cops that the Klansmen would be arrested. The cops in turn allowed the cross-burning to go forward after reaching an agreement with the nazis to take them into custody once they conducted their ceremony!

About 15 of the 25 participants were arrested, including Tom Metzger and his son John, Witek, Silva, Richard Butler of the Aryan Nations and several of his followers down from Idaho for the occasion. Five of them eventually became federal fugitives as part of The Order; one killed a Missouri state trooper while fleeing to Arkansas.

(Continued on Page 24)

NEO-NAZIS RETURN TO PORTLAND

by Paul O'Bannon

In 1993, after years of anti-fascist street organizing, violence, and a lawsuit by the SPLC, neo-nazi skinheads were driven out of Portland, Oregon. Now they're back.

Portland's past nazi problem first gained attention with the murder of Ethiopian immigrant Mulegeta Seraw by nazi skinheads in southeast Portland in 1988. The nazi skins had been at a party with a White Aryan Resistance (WAR) organizer shortly before they murdered Seraw. Seraw's family, represented by the Southern Poverty Law Center, sued WAR and its California-based leader, Tom Metzger. The lawsuit bankrupted WAR. In 1993, a nazi skin named Erik Banks (once a member of the white power band Bound for Glory) was shot and killed by an anti-racist skin. After these events, nazi strength in Portland was significantly reduced.

RENEWED NAZI PRESENCE

The first incident indicating that the nazis had returned took place in August of 2001. A re-formed neo-nazi group called "Volksfront" posted flyers supporting Black city council person Derry Jackson's anti-Semitic comments to the effect that Jews control and own everything. Neighborhood people and organizers quickly tore down all the flyers, mostly posted on telephone polls. New flyers went up almost immediately that alerted people to the nazi presence, said nazis wouldn't be tolerated, and listed an email address to report nazi activity.

In October, a coalition came together to protest a visit to Portland by former Israeli Prime Minister Barak. Two nazis showed up, handing out literature, fairly low key. They were spotted, however, and left when they realized they were being photographed. Local Palestinians report that the nazis have contacted them hoping to form an alliance against "the Jews," to no avail.

This was all topped off on Halloween when nazi skins came into a lefty cafe/bar in southeast Portland (the same area where Seraw was murdered in '98) with knives, threatened patrons and workers, and tore down posters. This cafe/bar is an informal meeting place/hang-out for organizers, activists, and militant union people. The act was carried out by Northern Hammerskins and a racist skin named James David Torkelson (see sidebar) who often worked security for the Aryan Nations. After the nazis came through the door, a call went out to people who showed up quickly and managed to drive the boneheads out of the bar and into the street where a fight ensued. The only reported injury was one nazi with a broken nose.

Later, the full story of the attack came out. Apparently a new young female nazi recruit was supposed to prove herself by attacking an anti-racist skin at the bar. She backed out, so the nazi crew took it upon themselves to attack. The young woman was later severely beaten and held against her will for four days by the nazis. She escaped and called the cops. Now five nazis are facing stiff sentences, with two in custody.

Metzger Returns

The most visible sign that the nazis had returned came in December 2001, when Volksfront set out to "commemorate" dead nazi Erik Banks by bringing Tom Metzger to Portland to speak. Specifics were sketchy leading up to the event and the nazis did their best to sow con-

fusion, announcing at least three different dates and several possible locations. They are suspected of posting several fake messages from "anti-racists" on the Portland.indymedia.org site with rumors about when and where the event was going to be as well. They also wrote to the Portland anti-racists' email address to find out information about where people opposed to them were meeting and what they were planning. The evidence here is circumstantial but pretty good.

Originally, Volksfront planned to hold the event in Portland, but due to "threats" from "ARA" and calls from the Portland police concerned about violence, the location was moved out of Portland.

There has been some confusion about all this, which in part reflects some infighting and confusion amongst the nazi groups involved. According to the Volksfront website, other groups were trying to advance their own agendas through the Banks memorial and Volksfront iced those groups out to take sole possession of it. In the end, the event involved about 100 people from nine different nazi groups: Volksfront, Blood & Honour/Combat 18, WAR, WCCOTC, National Alliance, Northern Hammerskins, National Socialist Movement, Panzerfaust and Sigdrifnir. White power bands Aggressive Force, Final War, and Intimidation One played at the event. Cars bore license plates from Oregon, California, Idaho and Montana.

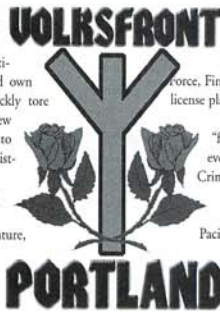
Volksfront attempts to present themselves as fascist "folks" with a human face. They claim they are non-violent, even going so far as to apply to join the Coalition Against Hate Crimes. They also say they are a "European-American organization" devoted to getting whites to stop engaging in "hate crimes" while maintaining their larger goal of turning the Pacific Northwest into a whites only "homeland." They seem to have about 30 hardcore members, with supporters probably totaling around 100. They claim that now only 10 percent of them are skinheads, which may or may not be true. (web site: www.volksfront-usa.org).

Anti-Nazi Activity

Organized opposition to Volksfront in basically coming from four places: organized labor; the anti-war/social justice folks; the anarchists; and the institutional anti-racists at the Spotlight, et al.

Jobs With Justice has an anti-racism committee which initiated an organizing meeting against the Metzger event. (ILWU Local 40 endorsed "The Labor Anti-Racist Mobilization Against the December Neo-Nazi Rally in the Portland Area" on Nov 14th.). Sections of the labor movement here are pretty radical, with several anti-authoritarians inside and good connections to direct action types and Left organizers. This group called an anti-nazi rally for December 8th—when we still were not sure that would be the date—which several hundred people attended. Unfortunately, due to a lack of good counter-intelligence, organizers did not know the location in advance in order to stop the event, although many people here wanted to do so.

The anti-racist committee of the main anti-war coalition has put a lot of work into organizing as well, bringing in Eric Ward of the Coalition for Human Dignity to speak as well as tying in discussion of local attacks against people from the Middle East. They put energy into stopping the nazis, but also do not want to lose their primary focus on institutional racism and working in solidarity with communities targeted by recent repressive legislation as well as the renewed nazi menace.



"This is the first time in recent Portland history that we had nine organizations in the same room with nothing but unity and kinship." —Nationalist Socialist Movement Report on the Erik Banks Memorial

REVIEW OF NORDIC FRONT



"When the bullet-riddled corpses of two punks are found washed up on the shore one cold morning, a small port city along the Great Lakes becomes the center of an explosive hate crime. Society points the blame to a local group of skinheads who belong to America's most dedicated crew: Nordic Front."

—Nordic Front back cover

Sound familiar? Clearly author John Murdoch loosely based the premise of his story on the real murders of ARA members Spit Newborn and Dan Sherby by neo-nazi skinheads in the Las Vegas desert in July 1998. *Nordic Front* was released by white power distributors in late 2000, hailed as "the first pro-NS [national socialist] skinhead novel." John Murdoch works on the white power music label Panzerfaust and is also the managing editor for *Resistance* magazine. *Resistance* is owned by William Pierce, head of the neo-nazi National Alliance. Pierce authored *The Turner Diaries* and *Hunter*, books that use fiction to outline a white supremacist revolutionary strategy. *Nordic Front* follows in the same vein.

The book itself is poorly edited and the story weak at best. It displays the skewed version of reality you'd expect from fascist propaganda. In John Murdoch's world, anti-racists are all dopeheads, Jewish groups hire hitmen so they can frame nazis for the murders, and lesbians are only queer because they've been raped (but suave nazi infiltrators can seduce them anyway). It's also a world where boneheads never lose fights and where they engage in creative (!) sabotage to disrupt anti-racist plans. Oddly, boneheads are never responsible for crimes and actions attributed to them—even if it's something

they aren't opposed to doing or even support. A bonehead who beats up a black student, for example, didn't do it for race reasons, but because the black student was dealing drugs to kids.

This persecuted martyr complex permeates the book, as it also infects skinhead culture in some ways in real life. It can't help make you wonder what these boneheads can be proud of, since they never take pro-active action according to their beliefs. Instead they are poor victims of prejudice and circumstance who only react to repression. But according to Murdoch, being a bonehead is important because they're out there as an active, visual racist presence, unlike the "Klans and p.o. box Nazis" who everyone knows are a joke. But that visibility comes with a price, which is the "burden" that skinheads must bear. Sniff sniff, poor nazis.

Ok, so no surprise, it's a crappy read. The book doesn't do much to attract non-skinhead readers, and unlike *The Turner Diaries*, it fails to make any good arguments to draw new recruits towards white supremacy. The best argument the book presents for being racist—which comes up when a cop is drawn to the boneheads' side—is because it's hard to identify with those "other people" who don't look, think or act the same. The book also fails to define the path to race war, though it does encourage absurdly complex tactics to manipulate and outmaneuver the racists' opponents.

What makes the book important, though, is the intent. Murdoch is trying to show what boneheads can accomplish if they're organized, disciplined, honorable and think strategically. This comes at a time when the National Alliance has gained influence over the racist youth scene through *Resistance*. A recent *Resistance* article was entitled "On Youth: Conscious and Disciplined Youth are Critical to our Struggle."

The National Alliance has translated words into action by pulling large numbers of Hammerskins (a nazi skinhead organization influenced by *Resistance*) out as shock troops for their recent street actions in DC and York. Murdoch's book is cheerleading this tactic along and encouraging those boneheads to get their act together. Now all they have to do is get the boneheads to read.

—Sprite



Unfortunately, not every nazi is actually this stupid.

THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT THAT WASN'T

ANTI CAPITALIST POLITICS WOULD HAVE KEPT UP MOMENTUM

Editorial Note: In the aftermath of Sept. 11, large sections of our movement retreated from the militancy that had made the recent anti-globalization and anti-fascist actions so fresh to reformism and protest politics. There they were welcomed by those left groups who have always worried that the movement was going too far too fast (and leaving them behind). The following article about Chicago's anti-war movement applies to much of what has happened around the country and elsewhere in the world. We agree with the arguments made, both for the author's reasons and for additional ones of our own. We can't win a fight against fascism by reforming capitalism. We can't defeat escalating repression by sanitizing our movement or by retreating back to what the system considers to be legal and legitimate—in other words, by repressing ourselves.

by Sean OT

After September 11th the Direct Action Network in Chicago organized the city's first anti-war meeting. This was a great success with over 300 attending. At this position of some members of DAN and of ARA was that the movement against the war should be linked to the movement against global capitalism and that the anti-war movement must not be allowed to push the anti-global capitalism movement and idea off the streets and out of the consciousness. No to the war, No to global capitalism, linked with diversity of tactics would have allowed the growing anti-global capitalist movement to unite with the emerging anti-war movement.

The argument of the liberal forces and the sections of the left who went along with them was that it was necessary to leave out any talk of global capitalism in order to build a broad anti-war movement. These liberals and the lefts who went along with them took control of the anti-war movement, committing it to three very basic demands. These specifically and consciously excluded any identification of the war with the global capitalism and its offensive against working people worldwide.

The Chicago anti-war coalition has completely failed to build a broad coalition. It is questionable if it can be said that it even exists any longer. So keeping out any talk of global capitalism and trying to exclude diversity of tactics and the more militant actions of the new anti-global capitalist movement did not work. No broad movement against the war was built.

The drive for "respectability" of the anti-war movement, its continual looking over its shoulder at liberal opinion, its attempt to suppress the militant spirit of the youth, also cut it off from the youth and the anti global capitalist movement. Not only that, it confused and temporarily cut across the anti-global capitalist movement itself, which wanted to be part of the anti-war coalition but did not want to give up its opposition to global capitalism and its militant and diverse tactics. It also helped to suppress the anti-global capitalist idea which was gaining ground.

Look at what could have been. Flowing from the first meeting that DAN organized we could have come forward with the demand No to the war, No to Global Capitalism and we could have agreed on diversity of tactics. This would have unified the anti global capitalist movement with the movement against the war. It would have helped people to see the war as the product of global capitalism. Yes we might have lost a few liberals

along the way but this would have been more than made up for by the advantages of the unity of the activist forces in the city.

And imagine the situation we would have been in now. The war in Afghanistan and US capitalism's "war against terrorism" in general is entering a more problematic phase. The uprising in Argentina has put the issue of mass opposition to global capitalism back onto the agenda. We have Enron and the remarks of O'Neill about Enron being the "genius of capitalism". The idea of capitalism is once again popping up here and there in the mass consciousness. It is linked directly to the mass impoverishment of the people of Argentina, and to criminal swindling, the treatment of working class people versus the capitalist class, the Bush regime, the republicans and democrats as the agents of capitalism in the case of Enron. If the anti-war and anti-global capitalist ideas had been linked together we would now have been getting much more of an echo.

One of the main tactics of capitalism is to refuse to acknowledge that there is a capitalist system. One US capitalist politician described the foreign policy of US capitalism as the "enlargement of the worlds free communities of market democracies". When US bombs kill civilians in Afghanistan, or US economic policies enforced through the IMF or WTO make homeless the worker in Argentina or South Africa or Russia, this is not capitalism, this is the "enlargement of the worlds free communities of market democracies." It is not being suggested that we act like ultra left sectarians and precede every other word with "capitalist". What is being suggested is that in order to make any serious advance in opposition to the system we have to help get the idea that there is a system and that it is the capitalist system into the mass consciousness.

But every time there is a new crisis, or there is a new turn in the situation like Seattle 1999, or September 11th 2001, the liberals, the liberal wing of the trade union bureaucracy, those lefts who are either under the domination of these forces or who are demoralized combine to keep the new movements from naming and identifying capitalism. One of the reasons that the new movement that developed around Seattle was able to identify capitalism and make opposition to global capitalism a key slogan was that these liberals and demoralized lefts had so little influence in this movement before Seattle.

It is precisely at such times of crisis in the system, of sharp turns in the situation, that capitalism must be named as the cause of the problems. But unfortunately we are all familiar with the pattern. After Seattle we had a large increase in attendance at meetings of activists here in Chicago. And we had the usual struggle. Those who want to openly identify capitalism as the problem and put forward demands and tactics which challenge capitalism. And those who want to make the new movement fit into their relations with the liberals, the liberal wing of the trade union bureaucracy and the liberal wing of the Democratic Party and its hangers on.

After September 11th and the move to war in Afghanistan these people descended upon the anti war movement and make it acceptable to these same forces. Now that their policies have squeezed the life out of the anti-war movement most of these forces disappear. But they will return with the next upturn in struggle to once again try and drain it of any anti-capitalist demands and explanation.

I hope that these few ideas spark a discussion in the movement here in Chicago. If this is the case then we may be in a better position in the future to struggle against those forces who want to make every movement acceptable to those who have made their accommodation with capitalism. And we may be able to make some advances in helping the US working class become more conscious that we live in a system and it is the capitalist system.



BONEHEADS ON THE RUN

In January 2002, police arrested James David Torkelson, 23, outside the headquarters of the National Knights of the KKK in Osceola, Indiana. Torkelson is accused of the November 1 beating and kidnapping of Lindsey Ulrich, in Portland, Oregon after she refused to participate in a planned attack on anti-racist skinheads. Along with Torkelson, four other nazi skins are charged with assault, kidnapping, robbery and coercion, as well as various criminal conspiracies to commit those crimes. Gary Carson Brown, 32, is being held in Multnomah County pending trial. Three other suspects remain at large: Sheila McKenzie (Portland, 25), Pamela Bailey (Los Angeles), and Dimitri Tash (Los Angeles).

At 6-foot-2 and 190 pounds, Torkelson is known to have traveled around to provide muscle for various white supremacist groups. In the summer of 2000 he was a security guard at the Aryan Nations headquarters in Idaho (now defunct). On July 28, 2000, Torkelson and other guards at the Hayden Lake compound reported to police that they had gotten into an exchange of gunfire with a pair of intruders, but no intruders were ever found and the story was never corroborated. In August 2000, Torkelson and at least two other Aryan Nations members reportedly obtained a map of the Kootenai County Justice Building and other sites in Coeur d'Alene—allegedly to prepare security for the civil trial of Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler.

Torkelson was reportedly hiding in Osceola because he was born in nearby South Bend and has relatives in another nearby town.



Metzger gets slashed at the Erik Banks Memorial

The anarchist scene is diffuse and largely unorganized and people are doing things here and there. Following the Metzger visit a new group formed out of the scene called Youth Against Fascism. In addition, anarchists and anti-authoritarians are organizing a six-month course on the nature of fascism and how to organize against it, as well as bringing Chicago ARA organizers to share their experiences and help with the potential formation of a local anti-fascist group.

Finally, the Spotlight are as anti-radical left as they are anti-nazi. They work with the cops, report anti-racists that don't cooperate with them as nazis in disguise, and condemn confrontational tactics as just what the nazis want. Basically, they're worthless, but they do put the word out about the existence of nazi groups in a way that the media likes, so at the very least a mainstream audience gets the word that neo-nazis are out there. This happened about a month before the Metzger appearance when they put out a report on Volksfront and it was given sensational coverage on local TV and a little better coverage in *The Oregonian* (the largest paper in Oregon). Then it was gone.

Conclusion

The re-appearance of the nazis in Portland has created a response amongst the radical left. From the labor movement to the anarchists, new groups have formed and people have a new sense of vigilance. Although several hundred anti-fascists turned out to protest, we were not able to shut down their event. In the future, more information will need to be gathered about when and where the nazis are meeting. Meanwhile, Volksfront claims to be planning to bring Holocaust denier David Irving and former Klamathman David Duke to town. They also are initiating a surveillance program aimed at gathering information on us, their enemies.



The nazis celebrate, unhindered by anti-fa—this time.

VOLKSFRONT CREATES DATABASE ON ANTI-FASCISTS

This message was posted by Volksfront on several fascist forums:

Volksfront Security Database

Volksfront, in cooperation with On-Point Research has constructed a movement security database on enemy individuals and organizations. Please send ANY info you have on enemies of the cause, including photos. Send photos "snail mail" if you do not possess a scanner. No enemy is above listing.

This database which is growing quickly will eventually cover every nation. Please send photos, physical description and identifying marks, acts against our folk, DOB and address/ last known location. Even a name is acceptable if thats all you have. To access this database you must have 3 references known to us or in established organizations. The database is available in the "security" section of the Volksfront website <http://www.volksfront-usa.org>.

The passwords are changed randomly to prevent hacking, only those in known movement groups or verified persons will be informed of the pass code information. This project is critical to all movement organizations to prevent infiltration by various forms of scam. This database is a major project which demands your assistance for our common safety.

Send information to security@volksfront-usa.org. Established movement organizations will be sent the password info in the near future. Do your bit for movement security and assist this project, our enemies are collecting information on us and our families, the question is what are we going to do about it.

VF Security

HOMELAND SECURITY: FROM TORTURE TO CO-OPTATION

by Don Hamerquist

When it comes right down to it, torture and assassination trump human rights and due process in the eyes of good old U.S. capitalism, both around the world and at home. We've known that all along—from Jon Burge, the Chicago cop who learned that torture techniques he picked up in Vietnam also worked on Black suspects in south Chicago, to the little organizing manual on torture and black propaganda that the CIA prepared for the Nicaraguan contras. Or at least we should have.

But there are some changes. Now, torture and denial of human rights is becoming public policy, part of the official ideology. It is openly embraced and promoted rather than denied with a wink or attributed to the mistakes and excesses of "rogue elements." Harvard liberals like Alan Dershowitz endorse "sterilized needles under the fingernails" to extract information from terrorists. "Reputable" news organizations like *Newsweek* and *The Wall Street Journal* report without editorial comment and certainly without any indignation when the CIA organizes snatches of Arabs off the street in Bosnia and puts them on the fast track to Egyptian military tribunals and a firing squad. (Military tribunals and firing squads, another pair of ideas that would have raised liberal eyebrows only a few months ago.) Alleged Al Qaeda prisoners are shackled, hooded and caged like animals in explicit and open violation of the Geneva Conventions and any conception of due process. The perpetrators profess surprise that there is an international reaction.

For the moment, the official line is that these meas-

ures will only be applied outside of this country and only to foreign enemies, not to "Americans" here in the homeland. Supposedly there are cut-off dates and automatic reviews. But the situation does not look good for such limits. In fact, the repressive side of the "War on Terrorism" will inevitably show up here in the "homeland." The same cultures, beliefs, skin colors and languages—the same "unlawful combatants"—are here too.

Beyond this, the "war" will come home because of us. Every movement that challenges and threatens this country or any state it supports, particularly with arms, is a target. And, remember, this is a war that is intended to be permanent, the new normality. The cutting edge of our movement is also made up of "unlawful combatants." We are in here as a target someplace. But where ... and how?

"Unlawful combatant," "collateral damage," "precision guided munitions," and "weak states" are core terms in the new language of political/military analysis. This language defines all serious challenges to global capitalist power as illegal and illegitimate while providing a legal and moral cloak for virtually any action by capitalist states.

This "War on Terrorism" is officially presented in ways that invite ridicule. It is blatantly self-serving and hypocritical; it is almost nonsense. This is how it is widely seen elsewhere in the world, particularly in the part of the world that Bush and company call "uncivilized." But this "new normality" is not just nonsense, nor is it just a simple move to strengthen the power of the state. Under the cartoonish rhetoric such as "Axis of Evil," "dead or alive," "with us or against us," lie some deadly serious processes. We must get a handle on new developments and think carefully about some assumptions in order to understand how to fight back.

T. Friedman, the NY Times' primary asshole and front man for global capitalism, is a clearer spokesperson for the new policy than most of the politicians. Here's a recent (11/27/01) quote:

"... we're not fighting to eradicate terrorism. Terrorism is just a tool. We're fighting to defeat an ideology: religious totalitarianism."

While Friedman leaves vague just who he thinks this "we" is, he is still much more to the point than the official proclamations. He doesn't fetishize the issue of terror, he doesn't conjure up a super-enemy out of yesterday's friend or yesterday's tool. He relies on Samuel Huntington's notion of the clash of civilizations, not on the simplistic official propaganda of good vs. evil. We should do so well. 9/11 and "terrorism" have tended to slide left into old and sterile channels of debate about what to do and how to do it.

Here's the first question. Is the perceived danger of "Islamic Fundamentalists" really what's behind the "War of Terror" and the related strong-state repressive policies, as Friedman argues. Or is this alleged danger just a pretext for an attack on all popular movements ... for an attack on us, as many on the left apparently believe?

A recent (late January) Village Voice article attacked militant anti-globalization protesters preparing for a N.Y. demonstration as follows:

"In the post 9/11 world, cops see these brick throwers and car-burners [the Black Bloc—d.h.] as almost al Qaeda-like, down to their transnational wanderings, their leaders wealthy backgrounds, and their fundamentalist message."

(The issue following this one had an equally stupid puff piece presenting anarchist protesters as saintly naïfs. The combined impact of the articles—to encapsulate and marginalize the movement—can hardly be accidental.)

How tempting it is to read this quote and conclude that we are the real target of the new repressive policies. After all, isn't Islamic Fundamentalism part of global capitalist strategy ... one of "their" weapons?

Wasn't it launched in modern form by Z. Brezhinski, Jimmy Carter's national security guy back in the late 1970s? There's some truth here: repression will certainly increase against us and Islamic fundamentalism does have clear "made in the USA" features. But these are the sort of partial truths that can easily lead to mistakes.

In our view, Islamic fundamentalism includes one part of an emergent fascism. We argued this point in our previous issue. Fascism, whatever its specific history and immediate project, is always going to be more than a tool of global capital. It will also be a real threat to established capitalism. It is this threat, not a pending danger from the revolutionary left, that is the capitalist rationale for the "War on Terror" and the huge political and economic risks for global capitalism and for U.S. hegemony that it involves.

There are at least four aspects to this fascist challenge to global capital (there may be other such challenges that raise other issues). First, these movements can root themselves in the "illegal" sectors of the global economy which for a variety of reasons capital can neither fully control or eliminate. Second, they have the capacity to coalesce popular mass movements to destabilize and overthrow client regimes that currently control resources central to the global economy. Third, their malevolent male supremacy implies a restructuring of the international workforce that would undermine the way women and children are used as consumable capital, particularly in southern Asia. Finally, and particularly interesting, the character of Islamic fascism as a transnational social movement—based more in ideology and culture than biology and eth-

nicity—confronts and undermines the national state system, the only currently existing political-military mechanism to enforce global capital's project. Hence the consensus of virtually all states, whatever their political coloration, in supporting the "War on Terror" as well as the newly discovered concern with the problem of "weak states." It would be a large mistake to see this consensus as a result of Bush's "you're with us or against us" bluster, rather than a convergence of interests.

Of course, all of these elements are complex and contradictory. Different tendencies and countervailing pressures abound. The interests and policies of global capital aren't going to be identical with those of the U.S. state. The policies of Russia and Israel aren't necessarily based on the same interests as those of the U.S. There are widely differing assessments of the nature and magnitude of the fascist threat and of the extent to which military force should be used against it. In sum, however, Islamic fascism and other similar but less developed tendencies are a serious capitalist challenge to global capital. An immediate danger to global capital does underlie the "War on Terror," but that

to turn us into an incompetent opposition—it will try to determine our politics through penetration and external pressure in order to both incorporate and marginalize our movement.

There are lots of ways that we can buy into the "War on Terror" where, in effect, we will do the state the favor of repressing ourselves. Not many will follow Christopher Hitchens and support U.S. policy as a "justified force against Islamic fascism." But significant tendencies will be backing into safer territory—they will be "anti-war," not "anti-capitalist;" they will oppose policies, not a global system; they will "build a base," not confront power. By moving in this direction we can wind up strengthening the ideology and institutions of liberal capitalism when we think we are doing something quite different—like building united fronts or fighting for immediate demands.

Some sections of the movement have resisted its growing radicalization from the first emergence of the Black Bloc in Seattle, but there are other sections that have been convinced to take some steps backwards after 9/11 because of the real danger of increased repression.



danger is not us. This should be as clear to us as it is to Tom Friedman.

(One clarification: In my opinion, seeing this form of fascism as essentially capitalist is not a statement about the political limits of fascism. Though this is definitely an open question, I believe that populist, anti-bourgeois and even anti-capitalist forms of fascism will ultimately be a greater danger to us. Certainly they will pose the most difficult ideological problems for the left. Significantly, one element of anti-capitalist fascism, the Eurasian version of "National Bolshevism," orients towards a reshaping of Islamic fundamentalism.)

Even if our movement is not the target of the "War on Terror," however, we are still a target of it. The U.S. state can walk and chew gum at the same time, even when it acts like it can't. Its repressive apparatus is not incompetent even when, for various reasons, it is pictured this way.

The "war" will certainly include a concerted and continuing effort to get a full map of our movement and its potential directions. "Homeland security" will be looking into this with way more money and way fewer political and legal restraints than they have had since the aftermath of the Vietnam War. The "new normality" also means that when our movement breaks the boundaries of permissible protest, as it should and must, the state will certainly make us pay a higher price.

This side of repression, dangerous as it is, however, is not the main danger for us. The ruling class wants our heads in the fog, more than it wants our butts in Camp X-Ray. The main aspect of the repression directed at us will try

9/11 was a jolt to the left in many ways. It showed that not everyone opposing global capitalism was on our side. It showed the distance we have to go to be a serious challenge in this country. It brought out tendencies to exceptionalize and prioritize this country and "our" movements in a manner incompatible with revolutionary internationalism. It severely skewed the necessary debate and discussion over issues of violence, armed struggle, and terrorism. These are all real issues that must be discussed, but as they are being discussed, they will also provide openings and fertile grounds for state repression of the "low intensity" variety.

Finally, there is the Red/Brown-Green/Brown issue. Beyond the importance of reclarifying and sharpening our challenge to global capitalism, 9/11 and its aftermath brings out the importance of clarifying our differences with every variant of fascism. In practice, this is not going to be so easy with fascists promoting the Palestinian cause and leading the fight against some features of "homeland security," or with other types of fascists such as the JDL eager to join some of our efforts. We can be absolutely certain that state repression is going to be operating in this arena, obscuring differences of principle and creating whatever antagonisms will best serve ruling class interests. We can expect these policies to be at work both within the fascist movement and within our own.