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# Studies of White Nationalism in the United States: Part Two

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## ABSTRACT

U.S. Air Force veteran George Michael is a prolific scholar at the University of West Virginia, Wise. Between 2003–2009 he wrote four books dealing with right-wing groups in America. Those books are *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism in the USA* (2003), *The Enemy of My Enemy: The Alarming Convergence of Militant Islam and the Extreme Right* (2006), *Willis Carto and the American Far Right* (2008), and *Theology of Hate: A History of the World Church of the Creator* (2009). The present essay is a critical consideration of the first and third books, *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism* and *Willis Carto and the American Far Right*. This complements a previous essay I wrote for this journal, “Studies of White Nationalism in the United States: Part One” (#144 [June 2010]).

## Background

“Bob [Matthews] masterminded the hit on Berg. He and several others of the Order drove to Denver. They ambushed Berg getting out of his car in front of his apartment. One of the members of the Order, not Bob, started firing from close up. Bullets hit Berg in the face, neck, and torso. The garage door behind Berg splintered from the spray of bullets. When Berg was found lying face up in a pool of blood, the cigarette he had been holding was still lit. Autopsy reports couldn't be sure how many shots there were because Berg was twisting at the time he was shot, although it was probably around twelve. Two slugs struck near Berg's left eye and exited on the right side of his neck. Others hit the left side of Berg's head and exited from his neck and the back of his skull.”<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

The above description of a cold-blooded murder is true. On the night of June 18, 1984 a group of White Nationalists known as “The Order” ambushed abrasive radio talk show host

Alan Berg and killed him because he had taunted white Christians on air, and because they saw Jews in general as satanic.<sup>2</sup> In the post-World War II era, such violent incidents have plagued the United States. George Michael is one of the leading scholars who discusses the perpetrators of such crimes and why they commit them. This essay considers the first and third of his books.<sup>3</sup>

### **Confronting Right-wing Extremism and Terrorism**

Michael's approach in *Confronting Right-wing Extremism and Terrorism* is typical for books of this genre, but he claims that "few students have simultaneously examined the response of government and non-government organizations to the threat these groups embody." Perhaps this is true, but John George and Laird Wilcox, in their 1992 book *Nazis, Communists, Klansmen, and Others on the Fringe* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books) began the work. As part of the Routledge series "Studies in Extremism and Democracy," *Confronting Right-wing Extremism and Terrorism* evolved from Michael's Ph.D. dissertation at George Mason University. One of the key strengths of this book (as with his others) is the personal interviews he did with members of extremist organizations as well as groups that monitor and counter them, including the U.S. government.

Michael argues that terrorism has been on the rise in the U.S. since the 1990s. The 1995 lone wolf attack on the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City and the September 11, 2001 terror attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon represent two of three strands of such terrorism, the first being the previously more prevalent brand of left-wing terrorism (such as that of Puerto Rican separatists). Michael organizes these strands into "single issue terrorists" (Puerto Rican separatists, anti-abortion activists), international terrorists (9/11), and right-wing terrorists, whom Michael sees as "among the most active of all terrorist categories in the United States."<sup>4</sup>

Because the American Constitution encourages a strong civil rights tradition, the U.S. government, in contrast to the governments of other nations such as Germany, Great Britain and even Israel, is generally constrained from a priori disbanding groups it finds disagreeable or potentially dangerous. Thus, this work has fallen on the shoulders of private non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) and The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). These groups have not been timid in their efforts to monitor and suppress what they perceive to be right-wing groups. Their success comes from their ability to get the government to act upon their recommendations. "In essence," Michael writes, "the response to right-wing extremism in America is a joint

effort by both the government and private watchdog groups. Thus the US response to right-wing terrorism and extremism is qualitatively different than the response to other variants of terrorism and political extremism insofar as it engenders much greater participation from NGOs. NGOs are much less likely to be involved in the response to other forms of political extremism and violence.”<sup>5</sup>

This is telling. First, the question might be asked why there is so much concern about right-wing groups in the first place. As Michael observes, “there have been 245 incidents of right-wing terrorism since 1978.” Further, since 1978 there has been a death total from right-wing terrorists of only 120 people in the twenty-four years in question, for an average of fewer than five per year. In contrast, the United States had between ten and twelve and a half *thousand* murders *per year* over the same time span.<sup>6</sup> As Michael puts it, “Not to trivialize the victims, these figures are relative and can be compared to other forms of violence to be put in proper perspective. In one year alone (1991), in just one American city, Los Angeles, there were over 700 deaths related to intergang violence.”<sup>7</sup> It may seem that fears of right-wing violence greatly exceed what would be prudently warranted.

Interestingly, Michael does not include the Oklahoma City bombing of the Murrah Federal Building which, on April 19, 1995, killed 168 people. Surprising for such an orthodox treatment of right-wing groups, Michael is fairly direct about his suspicions surrounding this bombing. Timothy McVeigh was convicted and executed for carrying out this truck bomb attack, while an accomplice, Terry Nichols, was convicted and sentenced to life in prison without the chance of parole. Michael has doubts that two people could carry out such a massive bombing. “There were many coincidences about the Oklahoma City bombing that suggested there was a larger conspiracy at work than in the government’s version of the case.” Further, a highly credible witness, retired Air Force Brigadier General Benton Partin, who oversaw testing of non-nuclear weapons designed by the Air Force, concluded that the single truck bomb allegedly used by McVeigh could not have caused the massive damage witnessed in the attack. Instead, Partin believed the destruction actually resulted from “demolition charges attached to supporting column bases, at locations not accessible from the street, to supplement the truck bomb damage.”<sup>8</sup>

There is little evidence that Michael is speaking in code here, but what he has written — as well as much of what follows — suggests that he is constrained from identifying the actual mechanisms at work in this fight explicitly against *white* right-wing groups. This is obvious from reading Michael’s text in such statements as: “By and large the government responds to other variants of political extremism relatively independently, unencumbered by the

influence of private interest groups. Thus *the response to right-wing extremism is unique*” [emphasis added]. This leads Michael to phrase the issue as a question: “Why have private groups been able to exert so much influence on this public policy agenda? Like many other areas of American public policy, NGOs have a significant influence on public policy and this area is one more, but unexplored example.”<sup>9</sup>

Actually, this is not entirely true. What is true is that *within deliberately established bounds of discourse* this example is “unexplored.” As I will argue later, the dynamics of what these specific NGOs are doing to get the government to do their bidding is quite understandable within a larger context of struggle, but the very side represented by the NGOs in question has established the terms of discourse, and Michael would likely have met resistance from those involved in his book projects had he violated those terms.<sup>10</sup> More will be said about this point later.

In the fore of these “watchdog” groups that seek to monitor and neutralize right-wing groups, Michael is explicit about their Jewish ethnic make-up. Foremost is the Anti-Defamation League, followed by the American Jewish Committee, the Simon Wiesenthal Center and the Southern Poverty Law Center, a de facto Jewish group.<sup>11</sup> Though Michael makes use of Stuart Svonkin’s 1997 book *Jews Against Prejudice: American Jews and the Fight for Civil Liberties*, he fails to follow the implications of Svonkin’s argument about what Jewish groups are doing and why. Still, one can credit Michael with putting an emphasis on these Jewish groups by treating them early in the book.

Also, he does not endeavor to consistently put these Jewish groups in a favorable light. For instance, from 1931 onward, the ADL began gathering information on what it considered fascist groups and surreptitiously shared it with government agencies. “The ADL,” Michael writes, “sought to conceal this cooperation it has with law enforcement authorities from the press so that it would not fuel hostility from some quarters.” As for the SPLC, he notes that “the American Institute of Philanthropy — an organization that rates charitable institutions according to several criteria — gave the SPLC an ‘F’ rating on a scale from A through F.” It had spent on its stated mission only 31% of its donations, while the non-profit average was 75%.<sup>12</sup>

Still, while Michael spends the bulk of this chapter on watchdog groups discussing Jewish actors, he concludes that “it is a highly variegated and nuanced community of organizations.”<sup>13</sup> That may be true, but the rest of the book builds powerfully on the sense that the Jewish community is the number one supporter of stricter control of the far right. Further, the entire book tells a story of Jewish watchdogs of various sorts engaged in an ethnic battle

with their perceived enemies — European Americans (i.e., Christian whites from the majority stock who built America).<sup>14</sup> In fact, the theme suffuses the book. Prominent examples will be discussed below.

Chapter three offers a workmanlike account of contemporary right-wing groups, beginning with an historical overview. This includes the John Birch Society (explicitly non-anti-Semitic), the Minutemen, the Posse Comitatus, the contemporary militia movement, and The Council of Conservative Citizens. Like two similar books on right-wing groups — Carol Swain's *The New White Nationalism in America* and Leonard Zeskind's *Blood and Politics*<sup>15</sup> — *Confronting Right-wing Extremism and Terrorism* gives a good description of Jared Taylor's pro-white *American Renaissance* outfit. As mentioned, Michael offers transcripts of personal interviews with his subjects, allowing them to use their own words and emphases. This non-judgmental approach is a strong point of the book. Thus, rather than merely castigating someone like William Pierce, the late leader of the National Alliance, he allows Pierce to develop his own arguments uninterrupted.

Pierce comes across as the most insightful — though radical — of Michael's interviewees. Taking an approach similar to anti-corporate leftists such as M.I.T.'s Noam Chomsky or Yale Ph.D. Michael Parenti, both of whom focus on how economic power translates into “manufacturing consent” about the *established* establishment position on any number of important issues, Pierce asserted that rather than corporate power pulling the strings, there is an ethno-religious factor; i.e., “a tight knit Jewish establishment” controlling the media. Michael gave Pierce room to expand on this contention:

I do believe in the centrality of the media in determining public policy in the United States today. The whole idea of democracy, the will of the people, is meaningless in the television era simply because most people do not form their own conclusions. They simply accept what they see as fashionable around them. They are lemmings. They really are, most people. So whoever is able to paint the picture of what is fashionable, most of the population will then adopt as their own opinions. If they really believe that all of the neighbors and the Hollywood movie stars, the wise people in Washington, and so on believe certain concepts, they'll adopt those as their own. That's the way people are 98 per cent, probably of the population. . . . Most people are not independent thinkers. They do not come to their own opinions. . . . And so therefore, whoever controls television and Hollywood and Madison Avenue can determine what the majority of the American people will think. You can shape their attitudes. You can shape their opinions. . . . Therefore you can control the politicians and you can control public policy. And the whole concept of democracy becomes meaningless.<sup>16</sup>

Michael astutely notes that right-wing groups themselves judge Jewish organizations to be their primary nemesis, particularly the ADL.<sup>17</sup> He marshals abundant evidence to show why this is so. In contrast, other groups that might consider right-wing whites their enemies are almost completely absent. Rarely, for example, is there talk about the NAACP or other black groups, let alone gay rights outfits or similar “out” groups.

This emphasis becomes clear in chapters five and six, on the government’s and (largely Jewish) watchdogs’ responses to right-wing extremism, respectively. As far back as the 1920s, the ADL was monitoring and infiltrating right-wing groups to aid the government in suppression of such. They had, for instance, sponsored legislation “to curtail the activities of the Second Era Ku Klux Klan.” Later, during the Depression, they placed undercover investigators into the German American Bund, including one investigator who was the personal chauffeur for the Bund’s leader, Fritz Kuhn.<sup>18</sup>

After war broke out in Europe, the American Jewish Committee joined the ADL in similar efforts, such that “most of the data on pro-Nazi propaganda that federal agencies possessed came from ADL field investigators and other private organizations.” As an example of how Michael provides some information without drawing further conclusions, the reader will note that just prior to the above tidbit comes a revelation that Samuel Untermyer, a Jewish lawyer based in New York, “spearheaded an economic boycott against Germany.” Another source tells us that “Untermyer publicly called for the political destruction of Germany in 1933. As quoted in the *New York Times* on Aug. 07, 1933, Untermyer exclaimed: ‘The Jews of the world now declare a Holy War against Germany. We are now engaged in a sacred conflict against the Germans. And we are going to starve them into surrender. We are going to use a world-wide boycott against them, that will destroy them because they are dependent upon their export business.’”<sup>19</sup> A following paragraph informs us that the ADL and famed journalist Walter Winchell worked closely together against right-wing German American groups. In neither case does Michael mention Untermyer’s or Winchell’s Jewishness.<sup>20</sup>

Twenty-five years later, this close working relationship between Jewish watchdog groups and the U.S. government continued. “The most notable instance of collusion between private actors and the government . . . occurred in 1967 in response to bombings of Jewish homes and synagogues in the South.” The regional director of the ADL in New Orleans, A.I. Botnick, played a personal role in setting up an execution ambush, or “death trap” in Michael’s words, against two right-wing terrorists planning to bomb a Jewish leader’s home. The problem, in Michael’s view, was that the money Botnick raised was used “to pay two

informants to arrange for two Klansmen to attempt a bombing so that the police could execute them during the commission of a crime.”<sup>21</sup>

Jumping to the mid-1980s, when the threat of right-wing terrorism was again on the rise, we find Michael describing how the ADL again worked closely with the Justice Department to arrest and try a group of suspects in what became known as the Fort Smith sedition trial of 1988. The ADL's chief investigator flew to the site of the trial to consult with prosecutors and also had a personal interview with the judge presiding over the trial.<sup>22</sup> Even in the 1993 Waco fiasco, which targeted a multiracial, philo-Semitic religious group, the ADL was active. Michael can only speculate that because some Jewish parents had had trouble with children joining cults, and because the Branch Dividians were considered cult members, the ADL somehow had an interest. Overall, these ties between watchdog groups and government agencies were not widely advertised because “It could be potentially embarrassing for both the government and watchdog groups if it appears that outside actors unduly influence sensitive areas of policy such as law enforcement and criminal justice.”<sup>23</sup> Depending upon how one defines “unduly” in that sentence, the following chapter (6) may well suggest that watchdog groups in fact had too much influence.

One of the chief methods for outside groups to steer government in a desired direction was to craft legislation and see that it was adopted. The ADL and SPLC relied upon this method greatly, for instance, when paramilitary groups of right-wing extremists began active training. Michael notes that the ADL issued “a highly critical report entitled *Armed and Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at America*.”<sup>24</sup>

While these methods appeared successful, watchdog groups — particularly the ADL — eventually hit upon a more successful strategy: hate crime legislation. In fact, this was hardly a new tactic, as Jewish groups had long sought ways to counter what they considered dangerous thoughts, expressions or acts against Jews. By the 1940s and 1950s, these efforts were already mature, and during that era were collectively known as “the intergroup relations movement.”<sup>25</sup> Michael — among others — finds the concept and practice of hate crime legislation problematic, first and foremost because “the percentage of the American population victimized by hate crimes is extremely low.”<sup>26</sup> Second is the issue of “enforced selectivity.” As an example of this fear, Michael quotes a critic who observed that “It creates the anomaly of a White youth receiving a stiffer sentence for mere graffiti on a Black business than a Black youth might receive for the burglary of its owner!”<sup>27</sup>

In keeping with his emphasis that his book is essentially about what Jewish watchdog groups are doing to combat right-wing Gentile groups, Michael states that “The ADL has

been by far the most important advocate of hate crime legislation.”<sup>28</sup> Michael goes on to bolster that claim in the following pages, noting, for example, how the the ADL fights “hate” on the Internet with such software programs as “HateFilters®” that have been distributed to libraries, schools and universities. The also run training and educational programs, including giving lectures at the FBI academy in Quantico, Virginia. (The Simon Wiesenthal Center offers similar software and training programs.) As of 2003, Michael finds most effective the ADL’s State and Local Anti-Terrorism Training course which focuses on “pre-incident awareness” and “pre-incident preparation.” Some critics, however, find that such programs politically profile selective groups and “unfairly stigmatiz[e] some people for no other reason than for expressing views that are protected by the First Amendment.”<sup>29</sup>

One example Michael offers of the consequences of this involvement with hate crime legislation and training involves the police. The San Diego Police Department and the ADL work closely, to the point that “Police officers are instructed to immediately contact an ADL crisis interventionist when a hate crime occurs.” If anything, these efforts by the ADL have gained momentum since the publication of Michael’s 2003 book. As the ADL’s website currently states in a heading titled “Leading the Way Against Violent Bigotry”:

ADL’s model hate crime statute provides for increased penalties for criminals who target their victims because of their personal characteristics, such as race, religion, national origin, gender or sexual orientation. Now, 45 states and the District of Columbia have enacted hate crimes laws based on (or similar to) ADL’s model, and, in 1993, the Supreme Court unanimously upheld such laws, ruling that they did not violate First Amendment rights. The passage of the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crime Prevention Act — the most important, comprehensive and inclusive federal hate crime law — is a direct result of ADL’s leadership in this area.<sup>30</sup>

All of this close cooperation with the government, and in some cases controlling aspects of government activity, brings to mind political scientist Benjamin Ginsberg’s thesis of “the fatal embrace.” In a book of that title, he argues that historically Jews have formed increasingly close relationships with governments. While this has afforded them temporary power and influence, in the long run it works against Jewish interests.<sup>31</sup> To date in America (and Canada, Australia, and Europe), however, there is no evidence of a meaningful backlash against close ties between Jewish groups and their respective states.

Michael asks an interesting question at the start of Chapter 7: “Why have NGOs been so influential?” By this, he is explicitly referring to NGOs that monitor and combat the far

right in America. His answers are commonsensical. First, lawmakers can't lose on this one. Supporting hate crime legislation, etc. "is basically a no-lose proposition." Further, these efforts are heavily symbolic — and cost little or nothing. Another reason he found was that "there really is not much competition or countervailing power on the other side of this issue." By this, he means that the opponents of the far right have the moral high ground, a broad social consensus in their favor, an extremely fragmented foe in the right, and most critically, abundant financial resources. To make this last point, Michael includes a table that shows a) the immense resources of these NGOs (\$309 million as of fiscal year 2000) and, more tellingly, b) the gross imbalance of Jewish groups' resources versus others. To wit, of the \$309 million just mentioned, over \$235 million belongs to Jewish groups (including the SPLC, which I have argued is essentially a front group for Jewish interest). The wealthiest non-Jewish group controls a paltry \$737,000 dollars.<sup>32</sup>

In closing, Michael offers some public policy recommendations. First, he quotes sources that are extremely critical of the methods and organization of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (BATF). After all, it was they who botched the Ruby Ridge siege and the Waco raid.<sup>33</sup> (Michael's interview with former Attorney General Ed Meese here not only provides insightful organizational considerations about how the BATF and FBI handle their duties, it also emphasizes the usefulness of Michael's decision to conduct and include these first-person interviews.) Michael also questions the wisdom of government agencies relying upon watchdog group testimony, since there could be an inherent bias in their views.

Finally, he offers recommendations for the watchdog groups themselves:

It may also be prudent for the watchdog organizations to develop a better division and specialization of duties between them. For instance, some watchdogs, such as the ADL and the SPLC, appear to be doing too many activities for one organization. They may actually be better served by separating some of their functions among other groups. *It raises some ethical questions if an organization engages in surveillance on its ideological opponents and provides intelligence on them to law endorsement agencies while it contemporaneously lobbies for special political causes and specific policies against the same.*<sup>34</sup> [emphasis added]

*Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism in the USA* is an excellent reference book on the topic and well complements either Carol Swain's *The New White Nationalism in America* or Leonard Zeskind's *Blood and Politics*. Though it is light on original or extended

analysis, in a sense the factual information Michael presents speaks for itself. Unfortunately, the book was not tightly edited and there are numerous formatting and typographical errors. For instance, in an interview section with William Pierce (pp. 122–3) some of Pierce's words have fallen outside the block quote. Also, Michael well knows that the Oklahoma City bombing was in 1995, not 1993, as stated on p. 149. In the extensive endnotes section, needless spaces exist (p. 237, for example) and there are typos such as “a few days prior to the final rail” when talking about a trial (p. 245). Finally, I'm not familiar with the footnote format in which an author's last name comes before the given name as in a bibliography. These are all small quibbles, however, that hardly detract from the wealth of information in the book.

In writing this book, Michael found the substance for his next three books.<sup>35</sup> Below I will consider the third of Michael's four books, *Willis Carto and the American Far Right* (2008). One message readers can take away from *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism* is that, as of 2003, “there is virtually no organized right-wing terrorism.” Rather, “lone wolf terrorists will more than likely continue to cause sporadic havoc.”<sup>36</sup> In fact, Michael is of the opinion that “anti-globalist anarchists appear to be displacing right-wing extremists as the government's focus of attention with regard to political extremism and terrorism.”<sup>37</sup>

As a closing reflection on *Confronting Right-wing Extremism and Terrorism in the USA*, we might consider what the editors of this Routledge series on extremism and democracy were hoping for. As stated on the title page, the series “will seek to answer questions such as to what extent ‘extremist’ groups pose a major threat to democratic parties.” One might suspect that the editors and others involved in the project were disappointed in Michael's unambiguous conclusion that the threat from right-wing groups is minuscule:

Thus it would seem that, despite all the attention the far right has received, its threat has been somewhat exaggerated. In fact one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the movement is its weakness. And currently the far right poses no threat whatsoever to the state system in the United States. In its current guise one would be hard pressed to call it more than a nuisance. Does such a minimal threat warrant such attention?<sup>38</sup>

One obvious conclusion to draw would be to take what most right-wing extremists themselves argue, that they are in an ethnic/race war. Michael thoroughly documents which side is winning and provides insights into a number of successful methods employed. Another book by Michael expands on this.

## Willis Carto and the American Far Right

Observers of the racist far-right movement in America will quickly note that Michael's approach in *Willis Carto and the American Far Right* is the same as that taken by Professor Robert Griffin in *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds: An Up-Close Portrait of White Nationalist William Pierce*, in which Griffin stayed with Pierce and interviewed him at length, giving an even-handed account of Pierce's work and thoughts. While Pierce's name was well known to those familiar with the far right, especially because of the notoriety surrounding Pierce's pseudonymously written novel *The Turner Diaries*, Carto's name is far less known. David Duke's name is almost a household word, while names like Francis Parker Yockey and George Lincoln Rockwell at least ring a bell. But Willis Carto has personally stayed so far in the background that he is almost an enigma to the public. Michael's book corrects this oversight.

Michael calls Carto "undoubtedly the central figure in the post-World War II American far right." The organization Carto founded — Liberty Lobby — was "one of the most enduring institutions in the history of the movement and provided a base where virtually all segments of the far right came together."<sup>39</sup> *The Spotlight*, which Liberty Lobby published for over twenty-five years, was widely read as the most influential medium of the far right, appealing to militias, antiglobalists, conspiracy theorists, Holocaust revisionists, and white racials.<sup>40</sup> Not surprisingly, the Anti-Defamation League has considered Carto and the organization he built, the Liberty Lobby, highly dangerous.

Others agree with Michael's assessment of Carto's importance. Leonard Zeskind, for example, positions Carto at the pinnacle of white nationalism — along with William Pierce — in his 2009 book *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream* (though oddly, Carol Swain, author of the even-handed work *The New White Nationalism in America*, does not even mention Carto, a glaring omission). Zeskind quotes David Duke speaking about Carto to a conference full of "Aryan believers": "There is probably no individual in this room who has had more impact on the movement today in terms of awareness of the Jewish question than this individual . . . Because he has not only influenced many of you individually . . . but he also has influenced the men and women who influenced you." At the conclusion of his book, Zeskind writes that "More than any other individual in his time and place, he built the infrastructure and generated the resources supporting a long-standing white supremacist political movement."<sup>41</sup> George Michael's book provides a satisfying tour of how Carto accomplished that.

These are not overblown claims about Carto's importance. Consider that Liberty Lobby had 250,000 members in 1970, working with a budget of nearly a million dollars. At its mid-1980s peak, the budget was between \$4-\$5 million.<sup>42</sup> What far right or white nationalist organization has even a fraction of those resources today?

Just as Robert Griffin did in his Pierce biography, Michael succeeds in humanizing Carto by giving an objective description of the man. For example, upon their first meeting in late 2000, Michael had this impression:

At first [Carto's] deep-set eyes conveyed a demeanor and mood of intense seriousness. Although at the time he was in his seventies, Carto appeared mentally sharp and physically fit. He is a diminutive man, shorter than average and probably weighing less than 150 pounds. His dapper attire gave him the appearance of a newspaper reporter, as portrayed in old Hollywood films. He speaks with a Midwestern accent that leaves an impression of ordinariness. Overall, his appearance is unremarkable; one might even describe him as avuncular.<sup>43</sup>

Born in Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1926, Carto had significant French ancestry, with the family name likely being "Carteaux" originally. Carto's grandfather anglicized it to better blend in. Carto saw his family as unexceptional for the times. Still, Carto believes that his salt-of-the-earth father privately agreed with his unorthodox views "but he never discussed it. People like my dad — millions of guys like him at their country clubs and in private gatherings, playing bridge or whatever — they talk [about] things. It's so obvious that the Jews are taking over. But the last thing they want to do is get involved."<sup>44</sup>

Carto's focus on Jews began after he left the Army in 1946 (in 1944 he was shot and wounded by a Japanese sniper and was awarded the Purple Heart). Sensing something was wrong in the country, Carto felt that "on virtually every issue — whether it was immigration, foreign policy, economics, taxes, or race relations — the media supported those positions that ran counter to the interests and wishes of the America people."<sup>45</sup> Hoping to counter this trend, Carto left the commercial workforce and began involvement in right-wing politics, landing at an organization called Liberty and Property. On behalf of this outfit, he traveled on a 7,500-mile journey across America building contacts with supporters and far-right groups. By 1955, he launched a publication called *Right: The National Journal of Forward-Looking Americanism*. In essence, his position was globally non-interventionist, a position with a long and respectable past in America thought and politics.

Influenced by Prof. John Owen Beaty's *The Iron Curtain Over America*, Carto became

extremely wary of Communism and moved further toward the opinion that “Jewish international bankers were implicated in conspiracies to control the economies of the Western world.” One might almost call this an obsession of Carto’s:

Who is using who? Who is calling the shots? History supplies the answer to this. History tells us plainly who our Enemy is. Our Enemy today is the same Enemy of 50 years ago and before — and that was before Communism. The Communists are “using” the Jews we are told . . . who was “using” the Jews fifty years ago — one hundred or one thousand years ago. History supplies the answer. The Jews came first and remain Public Enemy No. 1.<sup>46</sup>

Through his magazine *Right*, Carto saw Jews as advocating the “pollution” of America through miscegenation while at the same time striving to maintain ethnic purity among themselves. Out of fear of miscegenation, Carto also opposed the admission of Alaska and Hawaii as states, fearing Hawaii, for its part, would elect ethnic Japanese who would not support White interests in Congress. Not surprisingly, given the demographics of the United States in this period, Carto was most concerned about the Negro question and invited many advocates of segregation to write for his magazine.<sup>47</sup>

One remarkable thing about Carto is that he managed to cross paths with nearly every right-wing group and promoter of the last half century. In the 1960s, for instance, he met and worked with American Nazi George Lincoln Rockwell, a fellow anti-Semite. Carto was sympathetic not only to Rockwell’s views but also to the extravagant antics Rockwell employed to gain national attention. Eventually, however, they parted ways because Rockwell accused Francis Parker Yockey of being a Soviet agent.<sup>48</sup> Carto had a special sense of respect for Yockey, partially based on a meeting they had under unusual circumstances. Like Carto and Rockwell, Yockey held Jews responsible for the decline of the West. As Michael writes, “In Yockey’s worldview, Jews were the primary culprits in the decline of Western civilization. Not unlike previous anti-Semitic narratives, he submitted that Jews excelled mainly in parasitism and were incapable of creating a civilization on their own.” In essence, Yockey believed, they were “culture distorters.” Yockey brought these views together in a 1947 tome called *Imperium*, which was dedicated to Adolf Hitler.

When Carto heard in June of 1960 that Yockey was locked up in a San Francisco jail on passport fraud charges, he immediately visited Yockey. Later, Carto said that “I knew that I was in the presence of a great force,” and “I could feel history standing aside me.” Later that night, Yockey committed suicide in jail by swallowing a cyanide tablet. Carto and

Yockey's lawyer where the last visitors to see Yockey, so it is not surprising that rumors grew that Carto had supplied the pill.<sup>49</sup>

In a letter purloined by an undercover mole in the organization, Carto had been very explicit about his Yockey-inspired beliefs:

Hitler's defeat was the defeat of Europe. And of America. How could we have been so blind? The blame, it seems, must be laid at the door of the international Jews. It was their propaganda, lies and demands which blinded the West to what Germany was doing. . . . If Satan himself, with all of the superhuman genius and diabolical ingenuity at his command, had tried to create a permanent disintegration and force for the destruction of the nations, he could have done no better than to invent the Jews.<sup>50</sup>

Yockey felt that Jews had taken over America in "all but name" by 1933, with Roosevelt as their agent. Using the media, Yockey argued, Jews controlled public opinion, and thereby the policies of the democracies in Europe and the United States. According to Michael, Yockey reasoned that the Industrial Revolution allowed Jews to rise to power, with American eventually becoming a "money civilization" with a "semitic countenance." Michael notes that Yockey also asserted that Jews comprised 10 percent of the population of the North American continent and that "it is a stark and gruesome fact that *America today is ruled by the Jew*" [emphasis in original].<sup>51</sup> Yockey's beliefs stayed with Carto long term. For instance, Carto held that "the conspiracy the West faced came from an enemy that had 'four millenniums of experience in guile and deception'" and that Jews were behind the Communism that ravaged the Russian people.<sup>52</sup>

Like William Pierce, Carto believed that alleged Jewish control of the media allowed them to confuse the white masses, "thereby inverting their morality so that they sympathized with non-whites and convinced the form of the 'rightness of the suicide of the White race.'" So impressed was Carto with Yockey's thought that he worked hard to introduce Yockey's work to an American audience.<sup>53</sup>

Similar views were held by other racialsists with whom Carto crossed paths. For instance, Prof. Revilo Oliver had a mixed relationship with Carto, though they shared similarly negative views on Jews. Ironically, Carto supported the 1964 presidential candidacy of Barry Goldwater, despite the fact that Goldwater was half Jewish. To thwart the election of the incumbent, Lyndon Johnson, Liberty Lobby distributed fourteen million copies of a flier that alleged all kinds of negative things about Johnson.<sup>54</sup> As an alternative to

Johnson (or Nixon) in the 1968 presidential election, Carto and his group pinned their hopes on Southern segregationist George Wallace. Again showing his brilliance for organization, Carto established the Youth for Wallace group. After Nixon won the election, Carto changed the group to the National Youth Alliance (NYA).

Here again Carto met a luminary of the far right, William Pierce. Initially, Pierce had worked under Rockwell, but after the latter's death, Pierce moved to the NYA. This mentor-protege relationship quickly soured but not before Pierce was able to gain control of one faction of the NYA. Four years later, in 1974, he renamed the group the National Alliance, which went on to become a premier vehicle for the extreme right.<sup>55</sup>

Carto's publishing ambitions continued. In addition to *The Spotlight*, Carto published over two hundred books. Also, in 1966 he acquired H.L. Mencken's old journal *American Mercury*. Now right-wing luminaries were writing for the journal. These included Wilmot Robertson, author of the right-wing "bible" *The Dispossessed Majority*, Gerald L.K. Smith, and Professor Revilo Oliver.<sup>56</sup> Not surprisingly, much of the opposition to Carto and his various organizations and publications came from the ADL, which, as we saw above, was vigilant in its monitoring of and attacks on perceived anti-Semites. Michael's Chapter 11, "Opposition," shows that the ADL overshadowed by far all other groups disapproving of Carto's message.

Carto did not retreat. One of his greatest achievements was yet to come: the founding of the Institute for Historical Review (IHR) in 1978. Michael's treatment of this particular topic again shows the strength of his approach. As he did in the beginning of the book with a chapter offering an overview of the far right before Carto became involved, Michael prefaces the discussion of the IHR with an introductory treatment of the origins of Holocaust revisionism. He lists, for example, the achievements of Frenchman Paul Rassinier, the first notable revisionist, whose works include *Crossing the Line* and *The Drama of European Jews*. He then ties together Carto's promotion of David Hoggan's *Myth of the Six Million* and its impact on leading revisionist Harry Elmer Barnes. We next hear about Arthur Butz and his seminal work *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (1976).<sup>57</sup>

Carto took the step of providing an institutional setting for Holocaust studies because he wanted to unite the disparate revisionist forces under one roof. With the founding of the IHR, the world now had "the number-one international force for Holocaust revisionism." Located in Torrance, California, the IHR housed the Noontide Press. More importantly, The IHR published a periodical, the *Journal of Historical Review*, which was a direct descendant of Carto's *American Mercury*. Presented along scholarly lines, articles were

properly formatted and footnoted, and at one point the IHR boasted twenty-five editorial advisory committee members, eighteen of whom held doctorate degrees.<sup>58</sup> Not surprisingly, the rise of an institution supporting Holocaust revisionism elicited a powerful backlash. Carto's house was vandalized, followed by picketing by Jewish Defense League members. Next, a firebomb did minor damage to parts of the IHR facilities in 1981. A year later there were two more firebombings. On July 4, 1984, however, a serious arson attack by unknown forces destroyed more than ninety percent of the books and tapes at the IHR, resulting in nearly a half million dollars of damage. The case was never solved.<sup>59</sup>

Michael later chronicles a series of setbacks and challenges to Carto and the IHR, particularly a devastating conflict involving *Journal of Historical Review* editor Mark Weber and his allies. The upshot was that in 1996 a judge awarded the IHR \$7.365 million in damages, forcing Carto, his wife, and Liberty Lobby to declare bankruptcy. This appears to be a fitting tale about the far right more generally, as squabbling amongst themselves seems to result in more harm than attacks by external enemies. As Michael notes, "Thus, in an ironic twist of fate, one of the most longstanding institutions of the far right was forced to close shop, not due to action by its watchdog opponents, such as the ADL or the Southern Poverty Law Center, but rather due to an internecine feud on the far right."<sup>60</sup>

Remarkably, Carto bounced back. In place of Liberty Lobby and its mouthpiece *The Spotlight*, Carto created *American Free Press* and *The Barnes Review*.<sup>61</sup> The former newsletter maintains a heavy focus on Holocaust revisionism, just as *The Journal of Historical Review* had. (Michael notes in passing that even some Jewish scholars seek to downgrade many of the more exaggerated claims about Jewish suffering. Two men mentioned are historian Peter Novick and *enfant terrible* Norman Finkelstein.<sup>62</sup>) In addition, *The Barnes Review* holds annual conferences in the Washington, D.C. area, attracting speakers such as Eustace Mullins, attorney Edgar Steele, and Holocaust revisionists Frederick Toben, and Germar Rudolf. In-house journalists such as Michael Collins Piper also speak. Even Hutton Gibson, father of Mel, has given a lecture there.<sup>63</sup>

A perennial favorite of *American Free Press* is Mossad Conspiracy Theories, a prime one being that Israel spies extensively on its "patron," the United States. Such a claim today appears to be on more and more solid ground, as various revelations about Jewish and Israeli spying surface.<sup>64</sup> In addition to mere spying, articles in the newspaper allege an Israeli role in 9/11 and the anthrax attacks that followed.<sup>65</sup> Finally, *American Free Press* strongly pushes arguments that Israel and its neoconservative operatives were behind the drive for a second war on Iraq.<sup>66</sup>

Michael sees the emergence of Carto's new media as evidence of Carto's continuing resolve:

The survival of *American Free Press* has demonstrated the durability and tenacity of Willis Carto. The paper's circulation is roughly 40,000, not far below the *Spotlight's* circulation of 50,000 when it ceased publication. Furthermore, the *Barnes Review* is now the most widely distributed revisionist journal. Finally, Carto still organizes conferences that draw crowds in the low hundreds — a considerable feat by American far right standards. Nearly all observers wrote him off after his loss in the battle with the IHR. However, as of 2007, the eighty-one-year-old Carto works a full-time schedule that would tire most men half his age. His influence on the American far right remains undeniable.<sup>67</sup>

The following exchange between Carto and Michael illustrates Carto's views, while also showing the immediacy of the book's approach:

Willis Carto: They [Jews] have the universalistic dream where everybody is going to be a slave. And the plutocrats, they want essentially the same thing. But at some point I can just imagine the Anglo-plutocrats — the Bush types and the Queen of England types — sitting around with the Jews. And what's going to happen then? That's going to be a watershed. And if anybody thinks that the plutocrats are going to share with the Jews or the Jews are going to share with the plutocrats, he is totally crazy.

George Michael: How do you see this relationship between the plutocrats — the so-called Eastern establishment — and the Jews? Who do you really think pulls the strings?

WC: I think it is shared interests. I don't think they really have come to the point yet that they have to start scheming against each other . . . . They're both after the same thing, which is mastery of the globe . . . . When they reach some point, the daggers have to come out. I mean the Jews aren't plutocrats. And the plutocrats aren't Jews. They are going to share power only until they get down too close to the bone, when they have to start nibbling with sharp teeth. I don't think it will hold together.

GM: Are you optimistic that somehow these problems can be surmounted, that someday there will be an effective opposition that will be able to marshal grassroots support to effect change in America? And the western world by extension?

WC: If I understand your question right, I can see as I say, at some point, the dollar has to crack. It has to shatter. Everything has to collapse. And when it does . .

. . . Well, I'll tell you what I really believe. There is one of two things. And both of them are pretty bad. Number one I sort of laugh, I find it kind of humorous that these old-line, old money people want a gold standard. They're going to get their gold standard. When the dollar goes down the tube, they're going to have their gold standard, because that will be the only money. That is one scenario, which isn't good. The other scenario isn't any better, but is really a condition of anarchy in this country where you have all these groups that are put together forcibly at each other's throats. And it could be very bloody.<sup>68</sup>

Be that as it may, Michael portrays the far right as a small pond indeed, so being a relatively big fish there is not necessarily important. As Michael asks, “[I]n the larger scheme of American politics, just how significant has he been?”<sup>69</sup>

Michael observes that some have looked at the net effect of Willis Carto's work and concluded it has been “virtually nothing.” If so, Carto alone is hardly to blame, as researchers on the American Right, John George and Laird Wilcox comment: “[W]hatever else one can say of Willis Carto, it is clear that he, more than any individual, has been responsible for giving form to the ragtag band of citizens who make up the rightist fringe. Carto has attempted to ride herd on a very difficult and contentious band of rugged individualists, prima donnas, loners, and nut cases with predictably marginal results. Some critics on the right say that Carto's failures have been caused by his autocratic personality, but it's doubtful anyone else could have done better.”<sup>70</sup>

Surprisingly, Carto's own take on his efforts to unite the right is similar:

That was a fundamental error. I had to learn as many, many others have learned, that such a noble sounding goal is impractical and impossible, a waste of time, a waste of effort. These various groups and organizations, and leaders, under no circumstances are they going to join together. They all have their own ideas on how to do things and none of them work. That certainly is not the way to do it. I was wrong all those years. It took a long time for me to find out. . . .

The only way this can be surmounted is to have one personality, one leader, extremely intelligent, with the right type of personality, a good speaker, a gregarious person, who can literally take over these other groups in the sense that half of their membership deserts to come over to his banner. That's the only way it could be done. . . .

That's the only way to do it. Not to try to merge with other organizations. You have to steal their membership. He [Hitler] didn't merge his party with anybody. But through his own abilities as a speaker and all the other leadership qualities he had, he was literally able to steal the memberships. And so these organizations

would vote to dissolve and go into the National Socialist German Workers' Party. That's what he did. And he instinctively recognized the fallacy of what Liberty Lobby later tried to do and the Congress of Freedom tried to do and what We, the People tried to do and get one organization out of many. You can't have it.

*Willis Carto and the American Far Right* is a personal tale of an important man in an arguably unimportant story about an entire race. Carto believed there were risks to the West over half a century ago and has been working ceaselessly ever since to defend what he saw as his people and civilization. From this perspective, it is cheerless to read Carto's final words in the book: "I did my best. That's all I can say."<sup>71</sup>

What is George Michael's take on Carto? Though he does not explicitly and repeatedly label Carto a racist or anti-Semite, because Michael is a scholar writing for a respected university press, readers can safely assume that Michael abhors the views put forth by Carto. On the other hand, readers may have assumed the same thing about Robert Griffin and his opinions about William Pierce in the book *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds*. As it turned out in that instance, Griffin was actually pro-white and espoused many of the positions taken by Pierce.<sup>72</sup>

In Michael's case, it is most likely that he in fact is critical of Carto and those on the far right but would like readers to more deeply understand Carto et al.'s views, just as Carol Swain had done in her book on white nationalism. Being judgmental was not necessary for this task. Still, in the penultimate paragraph in the book, Michael offers an intriguing insight when he notes that "Carto pursued a dual strategy in which he promoted an exoteric message that featured traditional American patriotic themes. However, he also offered an esoteric message based on the precepts of Yockeyism. To the discerning reader, this message was apparent in his publications, although not always explicitly presented."<sup>73</sup>

Is it possible Michael is mirroring this exoteric/esoteric strategy in the Carto book, seemingly offering the beliefs of Carto and other right wingers as self-evidently racist (exoteric), while allowing Carto's message to nonetheless reach the reader's consciousness? It is impossible to determine, but there is some evidence for this. For instance, Michael cites the late Harvard historian Samuel Huntington as a mainstream example of someone whose views on race somewhat coincide with those of the far right. In his last major work, *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity*, Huntington recorded the betrayal of white Americans by the American elites, who in the 1960s and 1970s "began to promote measures consciously designed to weaken America's cultural and creedal identity and to strengthen racial, ethnic, cultural, and other subnational identities. These efforts by a

nation's leaders to deconstruct the nation they governed were, quite possibly, without precedent in human history.”<sup>74</sup>

White backlash, Huntington argued, is to be expected, which, should it come, would ironically put Carto in the vanguard. “The actual and prospective continuing loss of power, status, and numbers by any social, ethnic, racial, or economic group,” Huntington wrote, “almost always leads to efforts by that group to stop or reverse those losses.” The example he cites? Bosnia-Herzegovina. While he did not foresee that level of violence, he did predict that whites — in this case those in California — would react to their dispossession with a certainty of 100%.<sup>75</sup>

Both Leonard Zeskind and Michael are in agreement about the future of far right activism. Zeskind concludes that movement activists have created “a white nationalist opposition to the status quo that *will not* go away in the near future” [emphasis in the original].<sup>76</sup> Michael believes that such activism “will probably endure well into the current century.”<sup>77</sup>

Taken together, the wide-ranging *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism in the USA* covering many groups and individuals and the tightly focused *Willis Carto and the American Far Right* provide a sound exploration of this little understood (by the mainstream) portion of American society. Though, as Michael himself concludes, neither the groups nor the individuals involved really have any meaningful impact on life and politics in America, they do represent a fascinating subculture, and by understanding that subculture, we better understand the United States as a whole.

## Notes

1. Robert S. Griffin, *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds: An Up-Close Portrait of White Nationalist William Pierce* (1st Books Library, 2001), 214.
2. Much has been written on the Berg murder. See, for instance, Stephen Singular, *Talked to Death: The Life and Murder of Alan Berg* (Beech Tree Books, March 1987); Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood: Inside America's Racist Underground* (New York: Free Press, 1989); and Thomas Martinez and John Guinther, *Brotherhood of Murder* (iUniverse, 1999). The murder also inspired a theatrical courtroom docudrama by Steven Dietz called *God's Country* (1988) and a stage rendition, *Talk Radio*, which was first a 1987 Pulitzer Prize-nominated play by Tad Savinar and Eric Bogosian. Bogosian played the radio host in the 1988 Oliver Stone film version as well. “Brotherhood of Murder” (1999) was a made-for-TV drama about the murder. Berg's murder and subsequent acts of right-wing terror also inspired the 1988 film *Betrayed*, which I addressed in an essay in this journal (#146 [December 2010]) called “Hollywood Considers White Nationalism: Two Films.” Leonard Zeskind included the murder in his tome *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream* (New York:

- Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009). He gets the date of the murder wrong, however (98).
3. George Michael, *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism in the USA*, (New York: Routledge, 2003); *The Enemy of My Enemy: The Alarming Convergence of Militant Islam and the Extreme Right* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2006); *Willis Carto and the American Far Right* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2008); *Theology of Hate: A History of the World Church of the Creator* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2009).
  4. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 1.
  5. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 2.
  6. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 93 and 95. For murders in the U.S. as a whole, see FBI Uniform Crime Reports, <http://www.disastercenter.com/crime/uscrime.htm>.
  7. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 123.
  8. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 110–11. 236, 73ff. One book is *Others Unknown: The Oklahoma City Bombing Case and Conspiracy* (New York: Lorenz Books, 1998) by defense lawyer for Timothy McVeigh, Stephen Jones. In it, Jones claims that the bombing was a conspiracy, and that McVeigh was not its mastermind. “I’m not trying to say he was innocent. He has exaggerated his guilt to protect others. He played a role, but he was a foot soldier, a mule, not the general,” says Jones. Jones also points a finger at Elohim City, a white supremacist group in Oklahoma whose members were planning to bomb the federal building. Another book cited is David Hoffman, *The Oklahoma City Bombing and the Politics of Terror* (Venice, CA: Feral House, 1998). This book argues that McVeigh and Nichols may have been part of a larger conspiracy with Islamic terrorist connections.
  9. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 3.
  10. In his acknowledgments, Michael writes that the present book evolved from his Ph.D. dissertation at George Mason University. At least two members of his committee are Jewish — Walter Laqueur and Seymour Martin Lipset.
  11. Though co-founder Morris Seligman Dees was raised as a Southern Baptist, his partner Joseph J. Levin is Jewish, as are activists Mark Potok and Heidi Beirich. Kevin MacDonald notes that “the SPLC is a de facto Jewish activist organization promoting Jewish ethnic interests and individual SPLC activists like Beirich and Potok have an ethnic interest . . .” (<http://www.theoccidentalobserver.net/2010/03/kevin-macdonald-jerry-kammer-on-the-splc-2/>). Jerry Kammer, in “Immigration and the SPLC: How the Southern Poverty Law Center Invented a Smear, Served La Raza, Manipulated the Press, and Duped its Donors,” writes that “A former SPLC employee told the Montgomery Advertiser that the donor base was ‘anchored by wealthy Jewish contributors on the East and West coasts.’” (See Center for Immigration Studies, March 2010, <http://www.cis.org/articles/2010/immigration-splc.pdf>.) MacDonald also explains that “The menace of racially conscious White people is what motivates Jewish donors, not poor people.” (“The SPLC’s ‘Jihad for Dollars’ Is Fueled by Ethnic Conflict” (<http://www.theoccidentalobserver.net/2010/03/kevin-macdonald-the-splcs-jihad-for-dollars-is-fueled-by-ethnic-conflict/>)). He also quotes “watchdog group” expert Laird Wilcox as writing, “The SPLC has exploited the patina of the old civil rights movement. And this has a mesmerizing effect on people, especially reporters who are naturally attracted to heroic images of racial struggles and stark contrasts of good vs. evil. I’ve been astounded at how many of the SPLC’s claims have gone unchallenged.” (“Jerry Kammer on the SPLC,” <http://theoccidentalobserver.net/tooblog/?p=1191>).

See also E. Michael Jones, who referenced Ken Silverstein’s November 2000 article in *Harper’s*

- magazine, "The Church of Morris Dees: How the Southern Poverty Law Center profits from intolerance." Jones notes that "The American Institute of Philanthropy gives the Center one of the worst ratings of any group it monitors, estimating that the SPLC could operate for 4.6 years without making another tax-exempt nickel from its investments or raising another tax-deductible cent from well-meaning 'people like you.'" He also quotes British Left-wing journalist Alexander Cockburn in *The New York Press* in 2007: "I've long regarded Morris Dees and his Southern Poverty Law Center as collectively one of the greatest frauds in American life. The reasons: a relentless fundraising machine devoted to terrifying its mostly low-income contributors into unbelting ill-spared dollars year after year to an organization that now has an endowment of more than \$100 million, with very little to show for it beyond hysterical bulletins designed to raise money on the proposition that only the SPLC can stop Nazism and the KKK from seizing power." (See "Anti-Semitism and Thought Control at Catholic University," *Culture Wars*, April 2008.)
12. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 15, 24.
  13. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 38.
  14. This is a major theme in the writing of Kevin MacDonald, particularly the second two books in his trilogy on Jews, *Separation and Its Discontents: Toward an Evolutionary Theory of Anti-Semitism* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998) and *The Culture of Critique: An Evolutionary Analysis of Jewish Involvement in Twentieth-Century Intellectual and Political Movements* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998). Since the publication of these books, MacDonald has published copiously on the topic, particularly in the academic journal *Occidental Quarterly* (<http://www.toqonline.com/>) and the online site *The Occidental Observer* (<http://www.theoccidentalobserver.net/>). Many of these writings have been collected in the book *Cultural Insurrections: Essays on Western Civilization, Jewish Influence, and Anti-Semitism* (Atlanta: The Occidental Press, 2007). Michael is intimately familiar with MacDonald's work, having published an essay on MacDonald, "Kevin MacDonald's Critique of Judaism: Legitimate Scholarship or the Intellectualization of Anti-Semitism?" *Journal of Church & State*, Autumn 2006.
  15. Carol Swain, *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); and Leonard Zeskind, *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009).
  16. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 70. Factually, Pierce was on solid ground regarding the American media. A moderate search of the literature will soon reveal the scope of Jewish control. Among other sources, see: Neal Gabler, *An Empire of Their Own: How the Jews Invented Hollywood* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1988); Benjamin Stein, "Whatever happened to small-town America?" *The Public Interest*, Summer 1976, and *The View from Sunset Boulevard: America As Brought To You By The People Who Make Television* (New York: Basic Books, 1979); and Steven Silbiger, *The Jewish Phenomenon: Seven Keys to the Enduring Wealth of a People* (Atlanta: Longstreet Press, 2000). *Los Angeles Times* columnist Joel Stein wrote in 2008 that "all eight major film studios are run by Jews." Elaborating, he wrote: "When the studio chiefs took out a full-page ad in the Los Angeles Times a few weeks ago to demand that the Screen Actors Guild settle its contract, the open letter was signed by: News Corp. President Peter Chernin (Jewish), Paramount Pictures Chairman Brad Grey (Jewish), Walt Disney Co. Chief Executive Robert Iger (Jewish), Sony Pictures Chairman Michael Lynton (surprise, Dutch Jew), Warner Bros. Chairman Barry Meyer (Jewish), CBS Corp. Chief Executive Leslie Moonves (so Jewish his great uncle was the first prime minister of Israel), MGM Chairman Harry

Sloan (Jewish) and NBC Universal Chief Executive Jeff Zucker (mega-Jewish). If either of the Weinstein brothers had signed, this group would have not only the power to shut down all film production but to form a minyan with enough Fiji water on hand to fill a mikvah." ("How Jewish is Hollywood?" *Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 19, 2008). See also *Jewtopia: The Chosen Book for the Chosen People* (New York: Warner Books, 2006), based on the hit play by Bryan Fogel and Sam Wolfson, where the authors confirm Jewish dominance in Hollywood, noting that of the ten major studios under discussion, nine were created by Jews (Walt Disney was a Gentile), and as of 2006 all ten studios were run by Jews. Studios discussed are: Columbia, Warner Bros., MGM, Universal, Paramount, Disney, Miramax, Dreamworks, New Line, and 20th Century Fox. Chapter 8, "Conspiracy Theories: Do Jews Control the World?" contains the information on Hollywood, television, print media, banking, etc. Their figures for television networks and print media are 75 percent and 70 percent, respectively. Also, playwright David Mamet confirms this: "For those who have not been paying attention, this group [Ashkenazi Jews] constitutes, and has constituted since its earliest days, the bulk of America's movie directors and studio heads" (*Bambi v. Godzilla: On the Nature, Purpose, and Practice of the Movie Business* [New York: Pantheon Books, 2007], 19).

17. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 91.
18. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 133, 169.
19. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel\\_Untermeyer#Political\\_Involvement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel_Untermeyer#Political_Involvement).
20. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 135.
21. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 138-9.
22. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 244, 100ff. Michael also notes that in 1985 FBI Director William Webster "issued a memorandum instructing its field offices to 'contact each [ADL] Regional Office to establish a liaison and line of communication'" (182).
23. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 148, 170, 245-6, 126ff.
24. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 171-2. The ADL was also critical of what could be called the religious side of the right wing. See their book *The Religious Right: The Assault on Tolerance & Pluralism in America* (New York, 1994). (Ironically, the faction of organized American Jewry that opposed demonization of the Religious Right, sometimes said to be led by "father of neo-conservatism" Irving Kristol, prevailed in this internal dispute and went on to enlist much of the Religious Right as fervent supporters of Israel.) Of course, watchdog groups were not the only source of activism against the far right. Hollywood also contributed to the public perception that these groups were not only dangerous, but evil along the lines of Nazism. I addressed this in an essay about two films, *Betrayed* and *Arlington Road*. See "Hollywood Considers White Nationalism: Two Films," *Journal of Hokkai Gakuen University*, No. 146, December 2010.
25. Stuart Svonkin, *Jews Against Prejudice: American Jews and the Fight for Civil Liberties* (New York: Columbia University Press), 1. Svonkin writes that "While the intergroup relations field included representatives of various racial, religious, and ethnic communities, Jewish organizations played the leading role in defining the movement's tactics and objectives" (2).
26. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 174. This sentiment is also the basis for James B. Jacobs and Kimberly Potter book on the topic, *Hate Crimes: Criminal Law & Identity Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
27. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 175.
28. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 175. This remains true, as the ADL con-

tinues to be active in the campaign. For recent efforts, see [http://www.adl.org/main\\_Extremism/default.htm](http://www.adl.org/main_Extremism/default.htm). At this site, the ADL repeats a link to a group they consider racist. They write that a man named Jared Taylor “founded The New Century Foundation, a self-styled think tank known primarily for *American Renaissance*, a white supremacist journal and companion Website. The journal, which Taylor edits, promotes pseudoscientific studies that attempt to demonstrate the intellectual and cultural superiority of whites and publishes articles on the supposed decline of American society because of integrationist social policies.” After Arizona Congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords (who is Jewish) was shot in the head in Tucson, Arizona, the ADL posted this to their site: “On January 8, 2011, after a gunman identified as 22-year-old Jared Loughner allegedly killed six people, including U.S. District Judge John M. Roll, and injured fourteen others, among them U.S. Congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords, a Department of Homeland Security memo reportedly linked Loughner to *American Renaissance*.” Taylor vehemently denies the link. See [http://www.vdare.com/taylor/110113\\_loughner.htm](http://www.vdare.com/taylor/110113_loughner.htm).

29. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 179-81.

30. [http://www.adl.org/combating\\_hate/](http://www.adl.org/combating_hate/).

31. Benjamin Ginsberg, *The Fatal Embrace: Jews and the State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

32. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 190-91.

33. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 194-96. Michael also believes that the BATF played a significant role in the Greensboro Massacre of 1979 that left five Communist Workers Party members dead. Michael’s research shows that a BATF agent infiltrated the neo-Nazi party in question and “encouraged the members to bring weapons to the anti-Klan rally” (256, 19ff).

34. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 197.

35. Michael’s second book, *The Enemy of My Enemy*, developed a small argument he had made in *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism* (198-201) about right-wing groups in America, that because they are antagonistic toward Jews and Israel, they find common cause with radical Moslems. He did not in 2003 see much risk here because of the fragmented nature of the American right, and because ultimately these right-wing groups are also against the idea of Moslems or Arabs living among them. Finally, Michael’s brief treatment of Matt Hale and The World Church of the Creator (78-81) became his fourth book *Theology of Hate* (2009).

36. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 123. Further, he writes that “Since the demise of the Order, there has not really been any organized threat of terrorism and violence emanating from the racialist right. Virtually all violence has been perpetrated by individuals or ‘lone wolves,’ who act on their own initiative without any directive from the extremist groups with which they are sometimes affiliated” (124). Ultimately, he concludes, “It is important to keep in mind that the prominence of leaderless resistance is symptomatic of the organizational and financial weakness of right-wing terrorists. No real terrorist infrastructure as such exists in the far-right milieu” (125). One can sympathize with government authorities, however, since the *potential* for terrorism of all kinds is so great. Michael quotes a former assistant director of the FBI as saying:

[This terrorism is] very cheap for a magnified result. Essentially the truck bomb that McVeigh built was less than \$500 and he would have damn near knocked down the whole building with better placement. . . . The change in philosophy, the change in lethality, the change in technology, and the change in intent to commit mass casualties. Although

there may be fewer incidents, the incidents that we do have are really magnified by the expansion of capability and the very draconian philosophical approach of both the domestic right-wing extremists and the international religious based terrorist groups. (126)

Michael provides a list on p. 126 of terror plots that were thwarted. Also, he includes a short list of incidents where men tied to the right went on murder campaigns against Jews or non-Whites, but "Several of the terrorists mentioned . . . had histories of mental illness, and it is difficult to tell with any certainty if their right-wing beliefs were determinative in their decisions to carry out their attacks" (105-7).

37. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 128.
38. *Confronting Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism*, 198.
39. *Carto*, 1.
40. Michael notes that even John Wayne was a longtime subscriber, and other support from Hollywood came from Gloria Swanson and Eddie Albert (*Carto*, 109).
41. *Blood and Politics*, 3 and 530, respectively.
42. *Carto*, 64.
43. *Carto*, 3.
44. *Carto*, 18-19. Much of the background material on Carto's early years can be found in Chapter 3.
45. *Carto*, 22.
46. *Carto*, 30-31. This contention that Jews have been an adversary for over one thousand years resonates with what E. Michael Jones writes in his book *The Jewish Revolutionary Spirit and Its Impact on World History* (South Bend, Indiana: Fidelity Press, 2008).
47. *Carto*, 31-35.
48. *Carto*, 50-51.
49. *Carto*, 75-78. As an aside, Michael notes that the U.S. attorney responsible for prosecuting Yockey "inexplicably resigned, left his wife and children, and joined a monastery."
50. *Carto*, 120.
51. *Carto*, 80-81.
52. *Carto*, 84-86.
53. *Carto*, 86.
54. *Carto*, 87-88.
55. *Carto*, 94-100.
56. *Carto*, 102-4.
57. *Carto*, 124-27.
58. *Carto*, 128.
59. See <http://www.zundelsite.org/english/zgrams/zg2002/2002-November/000112.html>.
60. *Carto*, 204.
61. For their respective websites, see <http://www.americanfreepress.net/> and <http://www.barnesreview.org/>.
62. *Carto*, 211.
63. *Carto*, 216.
64. One of the most public exposures of this spying was the Jonathan Pollard case. See Ronald J. Oliver, *Capturing Jonathan Pollard: How One of the Most Notorious Spies in American History Was Brought to Justice* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press 2009). More recently, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) was embroiled in a long spy trial, which was

- ultimately dismissed. In an ironic twist, one of its accused officers is now suing his former organization for unfair dismissal, slander and libel. See Philip M. Giraldi, "AIPAC on Trial," *The American Conservative*, February 2011, 20-21. See also *Americans Convicted of Spying for Israel: Jonathan Pollard, Ben-Ami Kadish* (Memphis, TN: by on-demand publisher Books LLC).
65. Michael does not outright deny *American Free Press* writer Michael Collins Piper's assertion that a massive Israeli spy operation was at work in America prior to 9/11. Instead, he steers readers to a version of the same story carried on Fox News and reported by veteran reporter Carl Cameron (228). The best place to start research on theories regarding 9/11 is two books by eminent theologian David Ray Griffin. See *The New Pearl Harbor: Disturbing Questions about the Bush Administration and 9/11* (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2004) and *The New Pearl Harbor Revisited: 9/11, The Cover-Up, and the Exposé* (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2008).
66. The most respected study holding this view is John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007). In addition to Mearsheimer and Walt, other respected voices have noted the Jewish makeup of the bulk of the neoconservatives, as well as their elevated interest in the safety of Israel. See also Murray Friedman, *The Neoconservative Revolution: Jewish Intellectuals and the Shaping of Public Policy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Stephen Sniegowski, *The Transparent Cabal: The Neoconservative Agenda, War in the Middle East, and the National Interest of Israel* (Norfolk, VA: IHS Press 2008); Jacob Heilbrunn, *They Knew They Were Right: The Rise of the Neocons* (New York: Doubleday, 2008); and Kevin MacDonald, *Cultural Insurrections: Essays on Western Civilization, Jewish Influence, and Anti-Semitism* (Atlanta: The Occidental Press, 2007), chapter 4, "Neoconservatism as a Jewish Movement."
67. *Carto*, 238.
68. *Carto*, 220-21.
69. *Carto*, 238.
70. *Carto*, 241.
71. *Carto*, 241-42.
72. This became increasingly apparent in Griffin's next two books, *One Sheaf, One Vine: Racially Conscious White Americans Talk About Race* (1stBooks, 2004) and *Living White: Writings on Race, 2000-2005* (Bloomington, IN: Authorhouse, 2005). A review of the latter book expounded on Griffin's pro-white positions. See Theodore O'Keefe "Advice for Conscientious Activists," *Occidental Quarterly* vol. 6 no. 4 (Winter 2006-7).
73. *Carto*, 244.
74. Samuel Huntington, *Who Are We?: The Challenges to America's National Identity* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), 143.
75. *Who Are We?* 310-313. Michael's discussion appears in *Carto*, 240-41.
76. Zeskind, 538.
77. *Carto*, 244.