

EXPLOSION OF HATE

THE GROWING DANGER OF THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE

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INTRODUCTION

The Most Dangerous Organized Hate Group

A new ADL investigation reveals that the neo-Nazi National Alliance (NA) is the single most dangerous organized hate group in the United States today. The NA sprang to national attention several years ago, when it was discovered that a fictitious incident in *The Turner Diaries*, a violent and racist novel written by the NA's leader, might have been used as a model for the Oklahoma City bombing. Convicted bomber Timothy McVeigh was a devoted reader of *The Diaries*, which features a bombing scenario that is eerily reminiscent of the April 19, 1995 blast. The book was also the blueprint for The Order, a revolutionary terrorist group that robbed and murdered its way to fame in the early 1980s. The ringleader of The Order was an organizer for the NA.

Now, the National Alliance has leaped to prominence again. In the last several years, dozens of violent crimes, including murders, bombings and robberies, have been traced to NA members or appear to have been inspired by the group's propaganda. At the same time, the National Alliance's membership base has experienced dramatic growth, with its numbers more than doubling since 1992. The group, headquartered near Hillsboro, West Virginia, is led by former Oregon State University physics professor and veteran anti-Semite William L. Pierce.

Active Cells from Coast to Coast

With 16 active cells from coast to coast, an estimated membership of 1,000 and several thousand additional Americans listening to its radio broadcasts and browsing its Internet site, the National Alliance is the largest and most active neo-Nazi organization in the nation. The group has also developed significant political connections abroad. In the past three years there has been evidence of NA activity in no fewer than 26 states across the country. The organization has been most active in Ohio, Florida, Michigan, New York, Maryland, North Carolina, Virginia, and New Mexico.

The National Alliance's current strength and influence can be attributed to several factors: its skillful embrace of technology, its willingness to cooperate with other extremists, its energetic recruitment and promotional activities, and its vicious, but deceptively intellectualized propaganda.

The Militant Membership

One sign of the organization's robust health is that NA leaders around the country have been holding frequent meetings, lectures and social gatherings for members and potential recruits. These events, which have been relatively well attended, have become a standard part of the NA's program, suggesting a committed and energetic flock of adherents, who are willing to devote their time and money to the cause of hate.

In 11 states around the country, NA members operate as part of official "local units," which are headed by "unit coordinators." Members of these units generally meet regularly, in secret. The discussions vary slightly from one unit to the next, but common themes include white supremacy and William Pierce's novel, *The Turner Diaries*. Twice each year, Pierce selects about 50 NA members with "leadership potential" to attend a private, national "Leadership Conference" at the organization's headquarters.

Using Technology

Around the country, NA members, some affiliated with local units and others acting alone, operate 21 telephone hotlines, which serve as regional National Alliance propaganda centers. The hotlines feature a standard message of introduction to the NA's ideology, followed by an invitation for the caller to leave his name and phone number. Some NA members have drawn attention to their hotlines by harassing beeper users with unsolicited calls. These activists program computers to place random calls to area beepers and leave the NA hotline as the number to call back. People who return the calls are greeted with an earful of National Alliance propaganda.

Diverse Membership

While other extremist hate groups appeal to a narrower range of followers, the NA's membership varies widely in terms of class and age. Some of the group's followers are young racist Skinheads, while others are middle-aged, upper-middle-class men or couples. Moreover, Pierce has boasted that there are several judges and professors within the organization's ranks.

Some of these professionals and "respectable" members may be initially attracted to the National Alliance as opposed to other hate groups because the organization has little name recognition among the general public, yet provides ample opportunity for stealth "activism." The NA does not demand high visibility from its members; in fact, many followers are known to their fellow activists only by their first names and last initial. This policy enables people with rabidly anti-Semitic and racist beliefs to join like-minded individuals without calling unwanted attention to themselves.

A Hate-Filled Netherworld

Around the country, local National Alliance leaders are responsible for ensuring that their charges read Pierce's novel, *The Turner Diaries*, from cover to cover. Some of these unit coordinators have suggested that they regard the novel -- which depicts an Aryan world takeover -- as a model for their own activities. For instance, *The Turner Diaries* describes the protagonists' defiance of the fictitious "Cohen Act," a law against private ownership of weapons. Convinced that the government will one day confiscate the weapons of all citizens as it does in *The Diaries*, some NA leaders have instructed members to keep guns and ammunition

hidden on their property. Some coordinators have further advised followers to acquire M-16s and other weapons used by the U.S. Army, so that in the event the government does disarm its citizens, NA members will be able to raid military bases and steal ammunition for their hidden guns.

The Ideology of Hate

Beyond these specific tactical instructions, National Alliance leaders school their adherents in an ideology of hate. The NA is determined to secure "a racially clean area of the earth. . . no non-whites in our living space. . . a thorough rooting out of Semitic and other non-Aryan values and customs everywhere. . . . We must have new societies throughout the white world which are based on Aryan values and are compatible with the Aryan nature." The National Alliance claims it "will do whatever is necessary to achieve this White living space and to keep it White. We will not be deterred by the difficulty or temporary unpleasantness involved, because we realize that it is absolutely necessary for our racial survival."

Fundamental to the organization's doctrine is the belief that "our world is hierarchical" and that the Aryan race is endowed by nature with superior qualities. The National Alliance laments that "nature" is currently unable to take its course, because "the sickness of multiculturalism is destroying America, Britain and every other Aryan nation in which it is being promoted."

Rejecting Democracy

The group's racist vision extends to its views on government. The National Alliance decries "the growth of mass democracy," including "the enfranchisement of women and of non-whites," and favors a government that will "reverse the racially devolutionary course of the last few millennia and keep it reversed."

NA activists are also eager to erase the social progress made by women in the last century, and believe that "feminism is a threat to our race." "A woman's battlefield is the maternity ward," they say, and her "greatest 'diploma' is to give birth to the 'superman' or 'superwoman.'"

NA members believe that people are the masters of their destiny, and can control the trajectory of their lives, within the laws of nature. The doctrines of various religious groups are therefore a target. The National Alliance specifically rails against Christianity, because most of its members have Christian family backgrounds. "We are obliged to oppose the Christian churches and to speak out against their doctrines," read the group's tenets. "It is not an Aryan religion . . . like the other Semitic religions [it] is irredeemably primitive."

Jews as the Threat

While Pierce and other NA figures dehumanize both Blacks and Jews, depicting them as threats to "Aryan culture" and "racial purity," Jews are considered a more immediate menace to white survival. In his infamous essay, "Who Rules America?" Pierce's hatred of Jews turns to paranoia and conspiracy mongering, as he describes the United States as being in the thrall of a malevolent Jewish-owned media.

"The Jewish control of the mass media," Pierce writes, "is the single most important fact of life, not just in America, but in the world today. There is nothing -- plague, famine, economic collapse, even nuclear war -- more dangerous to the future of our people."

The National Alliance attempts to intellectualize its racist agenda in the pages of its glossy magazine, the *National Vanguard*. The magazine, which is published irregularly, glorifies Aryan civilization and racial purity in articles such as "Aryans: Culture Bearers to China" and "Miscegenation: The Morality of Death." The *National Vanguard's* highbrow tone contrasts sharply with the cruder, poorly edited propaganda materials of some other extremist groups, and perhaps heightens the NA's appeal among better-educated bigots.

Hanging out the Flag

National Alliance leaders are energetic recruiters, continually in search of innovative ways to advance their white supremacist message. To attract new followers, NA leaders and members have hung organizational banners in prominent locations, rented booths at well-attended gun shows, posted their propaganda materials on public property and distributed them in suburban neighborhoods.

The organization is also quick to exploit local racial tensions or incidents of Black-on-white violence. In May 1998, residents of Traverse City, Michigan, found NA literature hanging from their front doorknobs, including a flier with the slogan: "Don't Have Sex With Blacks. Avoid AIDS!" Beneath the slogan was a picture of a local Black man who had recently been sentenced to more than 15 years in prison for having sex with several area girls and women without informing them that he was infected with AIDS.

In addition to the group's blatantly racist appeals for newcomers, the National Alliance occasionally employs more subtle recruiting tactics. In Ohio, members of the Cleveland unit have participated in several seemingly innocuous events, including an April 1998 "European-American Cultural Fest," in an apparent effort to enlist new followers.

A Tight Ship

The NA owes much of its strength to the autocratic leadership style of its leader, Dr. William Pierce. Though not particularly dynamic or charismatic, Pierce is well educated, focused, organized and obsessed with his group's image. Pierce maintains the organization's relatively high profile by publishing a steady stream of propaganda publications, producing speeches for the group's weekly *American Dissident Voices (ADV)* radio broadcast and writing copy for the monthly, members-only *National Alliance Bulletin*.

He tightly controls the NA's message by requiring adherents to obtain his permission before they speak publicly or create new propaganda materials. Pierce's strict enforcement of these rules has helped the National Alliance conduct its activities without much of the internal politics and strife that have sapped the strength of other hate organizations.

The Turner Diaries & Hunter

The NA's propaganda, which includes some of the most racist, anti-Semitic and explicitly violent materials available, has had a far greater impact on the country than the group's membership activities. Most significantly, *The Turner Diaries*, William Pierce's novel of racist revolution, is considered required reading by virtually every member of the American white supremacist movement. The book describes -- in gory, graphic and unabashedly racist passage after passage -- a world takeover by an all-white army called the "Organization," and the army's systematic extermination of Blacks, Jews and "race traitors."

Hunter: Glorifying Racial Murder

Pierce's sequel to *The Diaries*, called *Hunter*, tells the story of a drive-by killer who tries to cleanse America of its "sickness" by murdering interracial couples and eventually "working his way up" to assassinating Jews. *Hunter* is dedicated to the racist murderer and synagogue bomber Joseph Paul Franklin, who confessed to killing as many as 18 individuals between 1977 and 1980 in an attempt to start "a race war." His victims included random Blacks, Jews and interracial couples. Franklin, who is on death row in Missouri, is praised in the novel as "the Lone Hunter, who saw his duty as a White man and did what a responsible son of his race must do."

The Mechanics of Terrorist Activity

In *The Turner Diaries*, such painstaking attention is paid to the mechanics of terrorist activity that the book cannot be dismissed as merely a work of fiction. Pierce has admitted that his motives were hardly pure when he wrote the novel. Speaking to *The Washington Post* shortly after the Oklahoma City bombing, he said, "I don't have the time to write just for entertainment. It's to explain things to people. I'd like to see North America become a white continent." Indeed, in practice, *The Turner Diaries* is regarded by many in the hate movement as an explicit terrorism manual.

The Turner Diaries and the Oklahoma City Bombings

Praise from convicted Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh, a dedicated promoter of Pierce's novel, is a prime example of the extremist movement's regard for the book. The early pages of *The Diaries* contain a scenario strikingly similar to that of the April 1995 bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal Building: Members of the "Organization" raid a farm-supply warehouse to obtain bags of ammonium nitrate fertilizer, mix the fertilizer with heating oil and load the bags on to a stolen delivery truck. At 9:15 the next morning, "Organization" members detonate the bomb in front of the FBI Building in Washington, DC, causing massive loss of life. They revel in the destruction.

Days before he bombed the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, McVeigh mailed a letter to his sister warning that "something big is going to happen," followed by a second envelope with clippings from *The Turner Diaries*. When she learned of her brother's arrest in connection with the bombing, McVeigh's sister burned the clippings.

What Timothy McVeigh Read

FBI agents also found a copy of a passage from *The Turner Diaries* in a search of the car McVeigh drove on the day of the Oklahoma City blast. McVeigh had highlighted several sentences from *The Diaries* passage, which reflects on the terrorist bombing of the U.S. Capitol and an airliner bound for Tel Aviv. It reads:

The real value of our attacks today lies in the psychological impact, not in the immediate casualties. For one thing, our efforts against the System gained immeasurably in credibility. More important, though, is what we taught the politicians and the bureaucrats. They learned today that not one of them is beyond our reach. They can huddle behind barbed wire and tanks in the city, or they can hide behind the concrete walls and alarm systems of their country estates, but we can still find them and kill them.

During the bombing trial, several of McVeigh's friends testified that he had sent them copies of William Pierce's novel with notes encouraging them to read it. Testimony also showed that McVeigh sold *The Diaries* and *Hunter* at weekend gun shows. One of his army buddies told the court that McVeigh, a former U.S. army sergeant, read *The Turner Diaries* for days during training. Kyle Kraus, one of the friends to whom McVeigh mailed the novel, stated in court that when he learned of the Oklahoma City bombing, he was immediately reminded of scenes from *The Turner Diaries*. Kraus grabbed his copy of the book and brought it to a local FBI office.

Terry Nichols, who was convicted of conspiracy in the Oklahoma City bombing, may have also been a fan of William Pierce's writings. Federal agents found a copy of Pierce's book, *Hunter*, in a search of Nichols' Michigan home. They saw few other books in the house.

The Diaries: An Inspiration

While he wrote *The Turner Diaries* more than two decades ago, Pierce continues to champion its ugly vision of a world for whites only. A National Alliance radio broadcast aired in early 1997 provides one of many examples:

In 1975, when I began writing *The Turner Diaries* . . . I wanted to take all of the feminist agitators and propagandists and all of the race-mixing fanatics and all of the media bosses and all of the bureaucrats and politicians who were collaborating with them, and I wanted to put them up against a wall, in batches of a thousand or so at a time, and machine-gun them. And I still want to do that. I am convinced that one day we will have to do that before we can get our civilization back on track, and I look forward to the day.

Following its broadcast on short-wave and conventional radio stations, a recording of Pierce's explicitly violent statement was featured on the NA's Web site.

A Racist Crime Spree

Other murderers and terrorists appear to have shared the racist fantasies Pierce voiced in his radio address. *The Turner Diaries* is thought to be the inspiration behind a crime spree in the early 1980s perpetrated by a gang of extremists called The Order. The Order's crimes included murders, robberies, counterfeiting and the bombing of a synagogue.

After a Seattle bank robbery in 1983, the terrorist gang's leader, Robert Mathews, told an acquaintance that he had orchestrated the heist as the opening scene in what he hoped would be a reenactment of Pierce's American Nazi revolution. Prior to The Order's formation, Mathews was a Pacific Northwest representative of the National Alliance, and other founders of this terrorist gang also traced their roots to the NA. Even the group's name, "The Order," was chosen as a reverent nod to its inspiration -- an elite, clandestine paramilitary unit featured in *The Turner Diaries*.

The Aryan Republican Army: Reading the *Turner Diaries*

More recently, members of a white supremacist gang calling itself the "Aryan Republican Army" took its cues from The Order. Authorities say the "Army," led by Peter Langan, committed 22 bank robberies and bombings across the Midwest between 1992 and 1996 using tactics reminiscent of The Order. Four

members of the group have pleaded guilty to a variety of robbery charges, while Langan was convicted in two Federal trials. In a racist video discovered by the FBI, Langan praised Robert Mathews and instructed his viewers to "learn from Bob." Federal prosecutors have also demonstrated that *The Turner Diaries* was required reading in the Aryan Republican Army.

The New Order: Planning Violence

The activities of The Order have also been cited as a role model for an alleged conspiracy by a group of white supremacists in East St. Louis, Illinois. In March 1998, Federal authorities arrested Dennis McGiffen, an Aryan Nations leader and former Klansman, Wallace Weicherding, also a former Klansman, and Robert Bock. The three were charged with conspiracy to possess and make machine guns. McGiffen and Bock pleaded guilty to the charges one month later. Wallace Weicherding was convicted on September 1, 1998.

At the time of their indictment, an FBI agent testified that McGiffen had been forming a group called "The New Order," patterned after Robert Mathews' terrorist gang. The group allegedly planned to bomb the Anti-Defamation League's New York headquarters, the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, Alabama, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles. They had also talked of bombing state capitols and post offices, and poisoning public water supplies with cyanide. Like other admirers of The Order, McGiffen's beliefs were reportedly heavily influenced by *The Turner Diaries*.

An Aborted Reign of Terror

On April 23, 1997, Todd Vanbiber, a National Alliance adherent in Winter Park, Florida, injured himself while trying to assemble a pipe bomb at a rented storage unit. In a search of Vanbiber's storage unit, law enforcement officials found 14 unregistered explosive devices, weapons and ammunition, bomb-making manuals, Nazi memorabilia and NA materials. Vanbiber ultimately pleaded guilty to illegally constructing and possessing the explosives and was sentenced to 6 1/2 years in prison. At a sentencing hearing in October 1997, a cellmate testified that Vanbiber admitted he planned to use the bombs against African Americans attending Fourth of July celebrations.

More directly, however, it appears that Vanbiber's accident prevented a major robbery and bombing plot from being carried out. Shortly after his sentencing, Vanbiber began to cooperate with Federal officials. He told authorities that on the night he was injured, he was putting final touches on 14 bombs that he and three accomplices intended to plant on major highways in the Orlando area. The bombs were meant to create chaos and confusion while Vanbiber and his cohorts robbed two nearby banks.

Donating to the National Alliance

In May 1998, Federal agents arrested Vanbiber's alleged accomplices, Brian Pickett, a Tampa National Alliance member, Deena Wanzie, and Christopher Norris on a variety of conspiracy, explosives, weapons and robbery-related charges.

While the gang's alleged plot failed, a Federal complaint accuses Vanbiber and Pickett of successfully robbing three banks: a Tampa bank in January 1996 and banks in Tampa and Danbury, Connecticut, one month later. The Federal complaint also connects Vanbiber and Pickett more closely to the National Alliance and suggests that the men were more than just dues-paying members. Driving home from

Connecticut following a successful bank heist, Vanbiber and Pickett allegedly met with William Pierce at his West Virginia compound for about two hours. They each donated \$1,000 to the National Alliance and purchased \$700 worth of literature.

The Fort Bragg Murders

Also on the East Coast, the NA has attempted to attract members among U.S. Army personnel at Fort Bragg, in Fayetteville, North Carolina. A member of the elite 82nd Airborne Division, Robert Hunt, reportedly worked as a recruiter for the National Alliance while stationed at Fort Bragg. In April 1995, according to the NA, Hunt rented a billboard outside Fort Bragg and used it to post an advertisement and local phone number for the group.

In December 1995, a Black couple was gunned down near the Army base in what prosecutors called a racially motivated killing. James Burmeister and Malcolm Wright, members of the 82nd Airborne Division, were ultimately convicted of the murders and sentenced to life in prison. (A third soldier, Randy Meadows, pleaded guilty to conspiracy and accessory charges.) Burmeister and Wright were active neo-Nazi Skinheads, and reportedly read National Alliance propaganda.

Racist Shooting in Mississippi

Another racial incident that can be linked to National Alliance propaganda occurred in April 1996, when Larry Wayne Shoemake killed one African American and injured seven others in Jackson, Mississippi. Police say Shoemake piled a small arsenal of weapons into an abandoned restaurant in a predominantly Black neighborhood, and from his hideout began shooting wildly into the street in a murderous rampage. As an ambulance tried to rescue a dying victim, Shoemake continued firing his rifle, preventing emergency workers from remaining on the scene. Shoemake ultimately took his own life.

In a police search of Shoemake's home, authorities found a Nazi flag draped over his bed, a copy of Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and literature from the National Alliance. According to his ex-wife, Shoemake first encountered NA propaganda in the mid-1980s, when he borrowed *The Turner Diaries* from a friend. She said her husband wasn't the same after he read Pierce's novel. "It was like an eye-opener for him," his wife said. "There was a distinct difference in him." Shoemake also began subscribing to Pierce's monthly publications.

Separation or Annihilation

The October 1995 issue of *Free Speech*, a monthly newsletter sent to financial supporters of the NA's *American Dissident Voices* radio program, seems to have had a particular impact on Shoemake. The issue featured an article called "Separation or Annihilation," which exhorted readers to choose between "racial separation" and "annihilation" of whites. It stated that "attaining racial separation and avoiding racial annihilation is worth any cost. We should be willing to give up every material thing we own to achieve it." Along the margins of the essay, Shoemake scrawled: "I say: Separation or annihilation! Who is crazy? Me or you? We will see." Shoemake repeated the NA's slogan in a final, rambling letter obtained and published by the Jackson, Mississippi, *Clarion-Ledger*. Shoemake wrote: "Black is the problem. It's in their genes. . . . They will never forgive whites for all the supposedly terrible treatment we did to them. The bottom line is: Separation or annihilation."

A Venomous Voice

Despite these crimes, Pierce continues to glorify violence, offering it as the ultimate solution to what he calls -- in words reminiscent of Adolf Hitler -- "the Jewish problem." Much like his writings, Pierce's weekly radio show is rife with incendiary speech. Moreover, while the program's topic varies from week to week depending on current events, Pierce's material never truly changes. Each broadcast is a springboard for the NA's enduring message of anti-Jewish, anti-Black and anti-government hatred.

The broadcasts can be picked up in most of the country on shortwave radio, are aired on local radio stations in parts of Arkansas, Texas, Alabama, New England, Florida and California and can be downloaded in audio form from the NA's World Wide Web site. Transcripts of the speeches are sent via E-mail to subscribers and are sent to financial supporters in the form of a monthly newsletter.

A Continuing Theme: Eliminating Jews and non-whites

In a November 1997 broadcast discussing the revelation that a Black man in upstate New York had infected dozens of local white girls with the AIDS virus, Pierce said:

Ultimately, we must separate ourselves from the Blacks and other non-whites and keep ourselves separate, no matter what it takes to accomplish this. We must do this not because we hate Blacks, but because we cannot survive if we remain mixed with them. And we cannot survive if we permit the Jews and the traitors among us to remain among us and to repeat their treachery. Eventually we must hunt them down and get rid of them.

Continuing his tirade, Pierce said that while individual Blacks and Jews may seem worthy of redemption, the only tenable solution for white people is to eliminate all non-whites.

Calling For Racial Cleansing

In January 1998, in a speech titled, "What Is a Patriot to Do?" Pierce spoke of starting an armed revolution against the Jewish people. He agreed that such an act of resistance would demand sacrifice, but deemed its rewards far greater:

Yes, the great cleansing which must come may destroy millions of our own people, the innocent along with the guilty, the good along with the bad. . . . But eventually it must come, because otherwise our people will die, and everything that has gone before as well as everything that might come in the future will be lost forever. The great cleansing must come, and we must do whatever it takes to ensure that it does, so that our people will live.

The bottom line to listeners was a shrill cry for violence. "We should not flinch from this," Pierce said. "We should not focus on the fact that it will be horrible and bloody, but on the fact that it is necessary, and because it is necessary it is good."

Prescribing Mass Destruction

Pierce's broadcasts and novels are a prescription for mass destruction. The radio messages lay the ideological groundwork by glamorizing violence and inciting hatred, while *The Turner Diaries* and *Hunter* offer direction for would-be terrorists to act on their racist beliefs.

This volatile combination has suddenly become available on the mass market. As noted, the *ADV* programs are widely available in audio and print form, and *The Turner Diaries*, previously sold only by the National Alliance, is now published by Lyle Stuart's Barricade Books. Available in most major bookstores, Barricade Books has sold 20,000 copies of its edition since the book first hit the shelves in late 1996.

BONDS WITH OTHER BIGOTS

Grand Ambitions

While it is more stable and self-contained than many other hate groups on the scene today, the National Alliance does not operate in a vacuum. The organization has developed working relationships with a number of like-minded extremist individuals and groups, particularly those with relatively high profiles or sophisticated operations. In the last two decades, NA leaders and members have frequently cooperated with such racists, both at home and abroad, ultimately hoping to achieve one of the organization's stated goals: "We need a strong centralized government spanning several continents to coordinate many important tasks during the few first decades of a White world: the racial cleansing of the land, the rooting out of racially destructive institutions, and the reorganization of society on a new basis."

The David Duke Connection

Most recently, the NA has been providing a speaking venue for David Duke, a former Klan leader and founder of the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP). Duke is currently chairman of the Republican Party's Executive Committee in St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana. In 1988 and again in 1992, he made unsuccessful bids for the Presidency. In 1991, when running for the governorship of Louisiana, Duke claimed to have repudiated his racist views. However, his appearances under the auspices of the National Alliance have signaled a significant shift for him. He has once again publicly embraced the white supremacist movement. Between 1997 and 1998, Duke spoke at four separate National Alliance events -- three in Florida and one in Ohio. Speaking in Cleveland, Tampa, and Tallahassee, Duke reportedly suggested that Blacks were an inferior race and stressed the importance of protecting the freedoms of whites.

A Mutually Beneficial Arrangement

While Duke is not an actual member of the National Alliance, it appears that he is pleased with the exposure the group has provided him. And the NA also seems to be benefiting from the relationship. In the July 27, 1997, issue of the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, Duke told a reporter that he is willing to ally himself with the National Alliance because he realized that he cannot "shake his past." That same month, in an article in *The Tallahassee Democrat*, Tampa NA leader Victor Heath said that the National Alliance had "hired" Duke "to increase the visibility of the organization [National Alliance] and to recruit new members." Also in that

article, Duke acknowledged that his politics were becoming "more radical" as a reaction to what he referred to as a "'growing undercurrent' of white frustration." In May 1998, Vincent Breeding, also of the Tampa NA unit, brought Duke to the campus of Southwest Texas University for a public debate.

David Irving: Spokesman for Holocaust Denial

The National Alliance has also provided a forum for David Irving, the well-known British Holocaust denier. Irving has asserted that Hitler neither proposed nor knew about the mass extermination of the Jews of Europe and that there were no gas chambers at Auschwitz. Irving addressed National Alliance events at least four times between 1995 and 1997. At a talk sponsored by the Cleveland NA unit in September 1996, Irving reportedly called the figure of six million Jews killed by the Nazis a "gross exaggeration that someone in New York came up with." In 1998, Irving continued to appear at NA-sponsored events, sharing his "revisionist history" with members in New Jersey and Cleveland, and with a broader audience at Washington State University (WSU), in Pullman, Washington. Irving's public appearance at WSU was reportedly organized by an NA member who is a student at the school.

International Liaisons

The National Alliance claims to have members in Holland, France, Great Britain and Germany, and has reported that Martyn Freling, a member in Holland, was elected in 1994 to the Rotterdam City Council. Freling, who also belongs to a right-wing extremist party in Holland, lost his seat on the council in the 1998 elections. William Pierce also claims to have long-term ties to the British National Party (BNP), a racist, anti-minority and neo-Fascist party in Great Britain, and to one of its leaders, John Tyndall. In February 1997, Pierce reportedly addressed a BNP meeting in London.

Germany: Collaborating With the "Most Dangerous Party"

By its own report, the National Alliance also "has especially friendly connections" with the Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD) or the German National Democratic Party, an ultra-right-wing nationalist party in Germany. The NPD program is opposed to foreigners and all "non-Germans." Even though the party tries to gain adherents through constitutional methods and therefore calls itself "democratic," it is known for being sympathetic to Nazi ideas.

Hans Jürgen-Förster, head of the *Verfassungsschutz* (Office for the Protection of the Constitution), the German domestic intelligence agency, in Brandenburg, has said that he favors outlawing the NPD. He considers the NPD "clearly and by far the most dangerous party [in Germany] even though it has the fewest members." "Its strategy," he added, "is to make coalitions with the entire extreme-right spectrum, including neo-Nazis and violent Skinheads."

Udo Voigt, chairman of the NPD in Germany, seems to be interested in building bridges to extremist groups outside Germany as well. In a 1996 interview in the NA publication *National Vanguard*, he spoke of the need for the formation of a "worldwide confederation of nationalists." Voigt pointed to his party's friendly relations with the Ukrainian National Party and the Spanish nationalists, and to its successful collaboration with the NA in the United States.

Exchanging Visits

In October 1997, Pierce, together with members of the NPD's youth branch, attended the Fourth European Congress of Youth held in Fürth im Wald, Germany. Pierce returned to Germany in February 1998 to attend the NPD's Congress in Passau. *The New York Times* reported that videotapes of Hitler were sold at the gathering and that the theme of the meeting was "national resistance." The event in Passau quickly exploded into a heated clash between left- and right-wing demonstrators, and culminated in the arrests of over 70 people. Pierce had originally been invited to address the Congress, but the German authorities did not allow him to speak.

In April 1998, Pierce reportedly invited NPD board member Alexander von Webenau to address the Alliance's Seventh Leadership Conference at the NA's national headquarters in West Virginia.

Spanning Borders on the Internet

The NA's eagerness to maintain relationships with its overseas allies is also evident in cyberspace. The National Alliance's Web site features links to the Web sites of the NPD, the BNP, and Thule Netz, a German nationalist Web page that proclaims its ties to other right-wing nationalists in Europe and the United States.

Although the full impact of the NA's ties to right-wing extremists abroad remains to be seen, it is important to note that at least one of these allies, the NPD, is gaining more political power in Germany. Bernd Wagner, project director for the Center for Democratic Culture, which monitors extreme right-wing activity in Germany, reports that the NPD has been attracting a growing number of young people in the eastern part of the country, where unemployment is high and the party can stir up nationalist feelings. Wagner also reports that in recent years the NPD has developed a national socialist wing that publicly proclaims Rudolf Hess, Hitler's deputy and a contributor to *Mein Kampf*, a national hero.

Historic Ties

The National Alliance has a long history of links to other extremist and white supremacist groups. As noted previously, one of the most notorious groups connected to the NA was The Order, formed by the late Robert Mathews and other NA members. Mathews reportedly addressed the 1983 NA Convention not long before he and other members of The Order went on their violent crime spree. Before he was killed in a shootout with the FBI in 1984, Mathews had purchased a \$50,000 life insurance policy naming William Pierce and another NA "official," John Ireland, as his beneficiaries.

The World Church of the Creator

In the 1980s, Pierce also developed a bond with Ben Klassen, the late founder of the racist, anti-Semitic, anti-Christian Church of the Creator (COTC). In a May 1992 letter to Klassen's publication, *Racial Loyalty*, Pierce sympathized with the difficulties Klassen faced in his dealings with other white supremacists and praised Klassen's work. The problem, Pierce wrote, "is that none of the challengers [to Klassen's authority] will be able to do the necessary things to preserve and advance what you have built. . . . I have always appreciated your work . . . because you have helped to move a substantial portion of the White resistance movement away from Christianity." The tie between the two men was further strengthened when Pierce

purchased Klassen's 21-acre compound in Macon County, North Carolina, in 1992. Klassen also appeared to admire Pierce's writing. For years, *Racial Loyalty* advertised Pierce's novels, *The Turner Diaries* and *Hunter*, alongside ads for COTC publications, T-shirts and other paraphernalia.

A Status Symbol

Members of the Klan and other hate groups have long considered Pierce an elder statesman. As noted previously, his novels are wildly popular and highly regarded by other white supremacists. Pierce and other members of his organization have addressed Klan rallies and other hate fests -- further evidence of their stature in the extremist world.

A Source of Hate-Filled Propaganda

A 1998 flyer from the Minnesota-based National Socialist Movement, an organization that advocates armed struggle to defend the white race against "the common enemy" (including the Federal Government, Blacks, Jews, liberals, and gay people) used a quote by William Pierce as a call to action for the coming "revolution" they want to stage: "While it is the time to be 'legal' we must stolidly endure whatever the State sees fit to inflict upon us. And when it comes time to revolt, we must be prepared to unleash all the furies of hell on the state until it yields."

The *NSV Report*, published by the National Socialist Vanguard, a virulently anti-Semitic, racist, anti-government, neo-Nazi group, reported that Will Williams, formerly the NA's regional coordinator in North Carolina, spoke at an annual gathering of Aryan Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Virginia in September 1995. In 1996, members of the National Alliance showed up to support a rally held by the Greensboro, North Carolina, chapter of the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), a "grass-roots" organization that is against "big government" and increased immigration and whose agenda includes "restoring moral values and the traditional family according to [the country's] Christian heritage." NA members from Florida also reportedly appeared at the second annual "White Christmas" in Fort Pierce, Florida, in 1997. The event, sponsored by the Florida-based Knights of the White Kamelia and attended by various Klan and neo-Nazi groups, is a rally celebrating "white pride."

Pierce's propaganda also appears to have inspired members of other extremist groups to join the National Alliance, and to convince their former associates to sign up as well. Several former members of the North Carolina Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which later evolved into the now-defunct violent paramilitary group the White Patriot Party, are currently members of the National Alliance. At least two of these former Klansmen currently act as NA leaders or "coordinators" in their respective states, in charge of recruitment and other activities.

National Alliance & Skinheads

In an effort to attract young people to their cause, some units of the National Alliance, including the Midland, Michigan, and Cleveland, Ohio, units, have reached out to neo-Nazi Skinhead groups. Frank Hesse, an NA leader in Michigan, has successfully recruited local Skinheads to the group, according to *The Saginaw News*, a Michigan daily. The Cleveland NA unit has courted Skinheads and youths in general by hosting two White Power concerts in 1995. The concerts featured "white power" rock bands such as Rahowa, Das

Reich, Max Resist, and Aggravated Assault, which are known for their violent, rabidly anti-Semitic, anti-minority lyrics. Both events were co-sponsored by Life Rune Records, a Cleveland-area NA affiliate.

In 1996, the Skinhead-oriented magazine *Resistance*, then published by George Burdi, former head of the neo-Nazi record company, Resistance Records, had kind words for the NA. It informed readers that "The National Alliance is clearly the most forward-looking and progressive Racist organization in the world today, and it is no wonder that Robert Mathews endorsed them so whole-heartedly." In a March 1997 letter to the readers of *Resistance*, Burdi, who at the time was in prison for attacking and beating an anti-racist protester, wrote, "The *American Dissident Voices* radio show done by the National Alliance is an example of the progressive direction we needed to take in the propaganda field." He urged his readers to devote more energy to the "white power movement" that he said was being spearheaded by his record company and groups like the National Alliance. But the NA did not rely only on Burdi's endorsement. The group regularly promoted itself in slick full-page advertisements in *Resistance*.

New Direction for the National Alliance

Although the National Alliance has a long history of allying itself with other extremist groups, its recent ties to more sophisticated and well-established operations both at home and abroad raise new concerns. Through the NA's connection to David Duke, the group may be looking to gain the experience and skills needed to break into more mainstream politics. At a 1997 NA event in Cleveland, Duke encouraged attendees to become more active in the Republican Party and local politics.

EXPLOITING THE INTERNET

An Opportunity to Promote Hate

Like other hate groups today, the National Alliance uses the Internet to showcase its racist and neo-Nazi ideology. Pierce, who has a doctorate in physics, was quick to understand the potential power of the Internet and to take aggressive steps to incorporate it into the National Alliance propaganda arsenal. The organization relies on the Internet as a tool for recruitment and for broad, inexpensive dissemination of its hate-filled ideas.

The NA maintains one of the most technically sophisticated hate sites on the World Wide Web. Constantly updated, the site effectively uses the idea of "Internet radio." The NA's weekly half-hour *American Dissident Voices (ADV)* radio broadcasts -- transmitted over nine AM or FM radio stations and on shortwave radio via WRNO (based in Metairie, Louisiana) -- appear on the group's Web site on the day of the broadcast. They then stay in the Web site's program archives for several months, ready to be listened to at anytime, anywhere in the world. The user simply needs to click a mouse to listen to the violent, hate-filled fantasies of William Pierce, and the venom he aims at Blacks, Jews, and other minorities.

In a May 1998 broadcast, Pierce accused Russian Jewish immigrants in the United States of belonging to a global criminal network called "Organizatsiya," a Russian word meaning "the organization." He railed, "... These Jews from the former Soviet Union are far more predatory than the Mafia ever was. They suck far more blood from law-abiding Americans." In another broadcast, in July 1998, Pierce asked, "What can we do to free ourselves from the Jews? What can we do to break their death grip on our mass media of news

and entertainment and on our political system? How can we bring about an end to their racket of using us to extort money from the rest of the world for them?"

In an effort to disseminate this type of virulent propaganda to sympathetic extremists abroad, the NA has recently made the texts of selected *ADV* broadcasts available in Swedish on the organization's Web site.

Logging On

A glance at the NA's Web site reveals that the group's ideology mirrors that of Nazi Germany: biological determinism, hierarchical organization, an emphasis on will and sacrifice, and "a long-term eugenics program involving at least the entire populations of Europe and America." The group's Web pages offer a series of policy statements explaining the NA's program for establishing an "Aryan society." These statements include a call for the creation of "White Living Space," an area that incorporates all of Europe and "the temperate zones of the Americas," which is to be purged of all non-whites. The group also calls for the formation of a "strong, centralized government" that is "wholly committed to the service of [the white] race and subject to no non-Aryan influence." These policy statements are also contained in the essay, "What Is the National Alliance?" which is distributed through the group's publishing arm, National Vanguard Books.

Familiar Themes in a New Venue

Also included on the Web site is Pierce's anti-Semitic essay, "Who Rules America?" and articles from *Free Speech*, the NA's newsletter, and *National Vanguard*, its magazine. The publications contain familiar themes: America is in decline, its vital essence polluted by non-Aryans, and only the revolutionary program of the NA can save it. Recently, the group added three foreign language texts to its Web site: French and German versions of *The Turner Diaries*, and a German translation of "What Is the National Alliance?"

Racist Electronic Commerce

The Web site also features an on-line version of the organization's *National Vanguard Books* catalog, which offers an extensive selection of books, videotapes and cassettes. The materials are divided into categories such as "National Socialist Revolution," "Race: Science and Sociology," and an especially long list on "Communism, Zionism, Feminism, and the Jews." Visitors to the site can download a form for ordering these materials and print out a membership application that can be mailed to the organization.

Hate in Many Languages

Recently, the site became even more "user friendly." It added a search engine, which enables users to plug in key words to find items relating to a particular topic, and a translation feature, which allows the site's English text to appear in five additional languages at the push of a button.

In an April 1998 *ADV* broadcast, Pierce claimed that about 12,000 people a day are visiting the NA's Web site, and that this number "is up about 75 percent from what it was a year ago." While it is not possible to verify these figures, as the Internet becomes increasingly popular, it is likely that a growing number of users are discovering the site.

Use of Public Internet Forums

National Alliance sympathizers have also increased the group's exposure by exploiting public Internet forums, including a feature offered on the popular on-line book service, amazon.com. In a section called "Reviews and Commentaries," amazon.com browsers are invited to comment on books they have read. In at least two such reviews, which no longer appear on the Web site, NA supporters have pushed the organization's message. Reviewing *The Turner Diaries*, one of these sympathizers urged other readers to "contact the author's organization, the National Alliance, and get involved in the struggle for self determination and freedom for our people." Another commentary lamented that "the white people [sic] out there that just sit on their butts all day and allow the Jewish takeover of the U.S. to continue unchallenged really need to read the chapter called the 'Day of the Rope.' Everyone else who wants to fight needs to join the National Alliance [sic]."

Harassment on the Net

The NA has been connected to a number of provocative actions on the Internet. In April 1998, three Black students at Southwest Texas University were charged with raping two white students at a dormitory party. The campus NAACP chapter voiced opposition to the charges and criticized school administrators for a "rush to judgment." In response, a National Alliance member sent 16,000 unsolicited E-mail messages to students and faculty calling on the NAACP to apologize to "victims of rape and all white women." "The truth is," the E-mail said, "White people in this country are under attack by an ever-growing population of black criminals." This type of mass mailing, known as "spamming" in Internet slang, is widely considered a serious breach of "netiquette," the term for responsible Internet use.

More Spam

Similarly, in February 1998, hundreds of people received an unsolicited E-mail message containing one of Pierce's anti-Semitic and racist propaganda pieces. The message was a transcript of a recent radio broadcast by Pierce, entitled "Bill, Monica, and Saddam." In it, Pierce claimed that by writing about the Monica Lewinsky affair, the "Jewish media bosses" harmed President Clinton, who "would do whatever they told him to do," but "had screwed up so many times that he had become a liability for them." Pierce also asserted that these "media bosses" exaggerate the danger posed by Saddam Hussein so that the United States will attack Iraq and aid Israel, adding "the Jews would like to have us get rid of Saddam Hussein and cripple Iraq for them." In the same transcript, Pierce described Steven Spielberg as "one of the most influential of the Jewish media bosses." He went on to say that Spielberg's films, such as *Schindler's List* and *Amistad*, "were designed purely as psychological weapons for keeping White people off balance and feeling guilty, so that Jews can manipulate and exploit them more easily." Spams promoting NA ideology have been sent on at least two earlier occasions, once in 1995, on the eve of the Jewish High Holy Days, and in October 1994. Both times, the organization disavowed responsibility for the act.

Disrupting Discussion Groups

Until recently, another harassment tactic employed by the organization was the creation of an "Alliance Cybercell," whose members disrupted Internet discussion group exchanges, particularly those dealing with issues of concern to the Jewish community. During a 1996 speech to the NA's Cleveland unit, Pierce explained how the NA cells operated: "We have organized members working as teams, not identifying

themselves as Alliance members but going into these discussion groups and virtually taking them over. . . ." Pierce went on to say that cell leaders "decide what discussion groups they want to get into . . . analyze the situation, analyze the types of propaganda that have been presented by the other side and we go in there and just tear them apart." This tactic, however, proved to be disappointing as a means of attracting potential members to the group. In 1998, Pierce reportedly urged Cybercell members to shift their recruiting activities from public debate to private one-on-one discussions with individuals they "meet" over the Internet.

Harnessing the Power of the Net

The Internet is used by the NA not just as a battleground for winning over new recruits but as a tool for mobilizing the "troops." The organization claims to have established a "Rapid Response Team (RRT)," a group of NA volunteers who are contacted via E-mail to respond to special situations. According to the NA, this team serves many purposes, from gathering information to quickly alerting other NA members in their area if an "emergency" arises.

Keeping up with new Internet technology has been a priority for the National Alliance. In an acknowledgment of his vision of the potential power of the Internet for the NA, Pierce has declared, "[The Internet] is the one medium where we are on an equal footing with CBS, NBC, and all the rest of them."

THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE: A HISTORY

Origins: William Pierce and Willis Carto

The National Alliance has had several incarnations. The group was originally established by Willis Carto, anti-Semitic founder of Liberty Lobby, as the "Youth for Wallace" campaign in support of the 1968 Presidential bid of Alabama Governor George Wallace. After Wallace lost the Presidential race, Carto renamed his organization the National Youth Alliance and attempted to recruit activists to his increasingly radical anti-democratic cause. In 1970, William Pierce, a former American Nazi Party (ANP) officer and editor of the *National Socialist World*, left the National Socialist White People's Party (NSWPP), the successor to the ANP, to join the National Youth Alliance. According to *The Washington Post* at the time, the National Youth Alliance attracted several former ANP activists. These extremists ultimately led the organization away from Carto's influence.

By 1971, Pierce and Carto were openly feuding. Carto accused Pierce of stealing the Liberty Lobby mailing list and sending the individuals listed on it "poison pen" letters that vilified Carto's group. The hostilities between the two men have not abated. Carto currently blames Pierce for a dispute begun in 1993 between Liberty Lobby and another Carto-founded group, the Holocaust-denying Institute for Historical Review.

The 1970's

Since 1974, when the National Alliance dropped the word "Youth" from its name, Pierce has run the group and edited its magazine, *National Vanguard* (originally titled *Attack!*), as well as an internal newsletter, *National Alliance Bulletin* (formerly called *Action*). The National Alliance also publishes *National Vanguard Books*, a catalog of racist and anti-Semitic literature. Unsolicited promotional materials about the catalog

and extremist publications listing the catalog have been sent to high school and college students across the country. The principal books promoted by the National Alliance have been *The Turner Diaries*, a novel published in 1978, and *Hunter*, a second work of fiction published in 1989.

The 1980's

In 1985, Pierce relocated the National Alliance from Arlington, Virginia, to a 346-acre farm near Mill Point, West Virginia, which he bought for \$95,000 in cash. There has been some speculation over the years that at least some of the money used for the purchase had come from the proceeds of bank and armored car robberies committed by The Order. Authorities believe that of the \$4 million stolen by members of the terrorist band, \$750,000 was distributed to various white supremacist allies. Tom Martinez, a one-time associate of Bob Mathews who became an FBI informant, has written that in November 1984, Mathews admitted to him that he had donated some of The Order's loot to William Pierce. That same month, Pierce bought the West Virginia farm. He converted it to a compound and called it the "Cosmotheist Community Church." Pierce then filed for Federal, state and local tax exemptions. But in 1986, the "Church" lost its state tax exemption for all but 60 acres and those buildings being used exclusively for "religious purposes."

Pierce's formation of the "Church" appears to have been a last-ditch effort to avoid paying taxes. Pierce had tried, years earlier, to acquire tax-exempt status for the National Alliance itself by claiming that his organization was "educational." But the Internal Revenue Service denied the application in 1978. While Pierce appealed, the U.S. Court of Appeals upheld the IRS's decision in 1983, ruling that the National Alliance did not qualify as an educational organization. (The court's position was supported by amicus curiae briefs filed by ADL, the American Jewish Congress and the NAACP.) The court noted that Pierce's organization "repetitively appeals for action, including violence" to injure members of "named racial, religious, or ethnic groups," and added that National Alliance published materials that "cannot reasonably be considered intellectual exposition."

The 1990's

Meanwhile, Pierce continued to invest in unusual real estate ventures. In 1992, he paid \$100,000 to Ben Klassen (who is now deceased), founder of the racist, anti-Semitic and anti-Christian Church of the Creator (COTC), for a 21-acre compound in Macon County, North Carolina. Klassen undersold the property, possibly in an attempt to unload his assets and avoid a civil lawsuit holding his organization vicariously responsible for the murder of an African-American sailor by a COTC member.

Pierce put the North Carolina property up for sale again almost immediately after he bought it from Klassen, with an asking price of nearly three times what he had paid. A buyer unconnected to the white-supremacist movement purchased the land a year later for \$185,000. The Southern Poverty Law Center, representing the sailor's family, filed suit against Pierce, arguing that the original sale had been a fraudulent pretext to avoid paying the family damages in their claim against Klassen. On May 19, 1996, a Federal jury ruled against Pierce and ordered that he give the murdered sailor's family the \$85,000 profit he made from the land sale.

In 1986, the National Alliance purchased 100 shares of AT&T stock, which enabled the group to place resolutions on the ballot of the corporation's annual shareholders meeting. The first such resolution, proposed in 1987, called for an end to AT&T's minority hiring program, on the grounds that Black people

are intellectually inferior to whites. With the explicit condemnation by company officials, the resolution received 8.6 percent of shareholders' votes. The National Alliance resubmitted this proposal over the next three years, with no appreciable change in support. In 1991, the NA group submitted a new resolution calling for AT&T to stop doing all business with Israel. Following a vigorous campaign against the resolution, it was voted down by 96 percent of shareholders. The following year AT&T blocked the National Alliance from resubmitting the anti-Israel proposal; the Securities and Exchange Commission upheld their effort against Pierce's group.

Looking Ahead

The National Alliance's dramatic growth is significant because it comes at a time when other neo-Nazi organizations, as well as groups like the Ku Klux Klan, are becoming weaker and more fragmented. Moreover, the NA does not appear to be siphoning members from these declining groups, but actually recruiting a fresh cast of educated, middle-class bigots. These new followers appear to be attracted to the National Alliance's dedicated membership, its commanding presence on the Internet, its emphasis on maintaining a "sophisticated" image, and its powerful leadership. As the National Alliance continues to gather momentum and strength, its threat of violence grows. Crimes being plotted or committed by NA members or *Turner Diaries* devotees have been mounting. By publishing this report, ADL seeks to increase public awareness of the dangers posed by these individuals, as well as to encourage stepped-up vigilance by law enforcement officials at all levels.

ALLIANCE ACTIVITY BY STATE

Arizona

The National Alliance has kept a low profile in Arizona in recent years. Prior to the Oklahoma City bombing, a local unit comprising members from Arizona and Las Vegas met under the leadership of Rick Coffman of Fort Mohave, Arizona. Coffman had also operated an NA phone message service in his home.

In December 1997, Coffman, who said he continued to be a member of the NA, was called as a prosecution witness at the Oklahoma City bombing trial of Terry Nichols. Coffman testified that two weeks before the bombing, an individual identifying himself as Tim Tuttle of Kingman, Arizona, called the NA phone line several times. Tim Tuttle was an alias used by Timothy McVeigh. Phone records indicate that nine calls were placed by McVeigh's prepaid phone card to the NA hotline between April 5 and 7, 1995.

According to Coffman, "Tuttle" left an urgent message saying he would be in Arizona for only a few more days and wanted to talk to someone from the National Alliance. In a message left the following day, "Tuttle" said that since he did not have a phone of his own, he would call the hotline at a specific time the following day and hoped that an NA member would answer the line in person and talk to him. "Tuttle" called the next day at the specified time and left a final, anxious-sounding message saying that he would be leaving Kingman soon. Records show that several additional calls were placed to the NA through McVeigh's calling card, but the caller hung up each time soon after the recorded message began. Coffman said that he never answered the calls in person.

California

A local NA unit is active in Sacramento under the leadership of Jim Ring. Ring, who has flown a Nazi flag outside his home, has promoted the National Alliance by taking out ads in the local paper, operating a telephone hotline, distributing NA literature and selling National Alliance materials at area gun shows. Ring has also hosted monthly membership meetings and annual parties in celebration of Hitler's birthday. Bob Strawn, an NA member in Rancho Cucamonga, runs a second phone message service for the organization.

In July 1998, the greater Los Angeles area was flooded with flyers promoting the National Alliance. The flyers were discovered inside packages of taco shells, cookies, ice cream bars, soda and tuna fish bought in local grocery stores. "Our culture and racial heritage have been destroyed . . . by this tribe of hateful control freaks," the leaflets read. "Will we find the courage to chain Steven Spielberg to a pickup truck and drag him down Sunset Blvd. before we are exterminated through interracial sex and marriage?" Flyers bearing the identical message were also stuffed in mailboxes in the communities of Glendale, Flintridge, Agoura Hills, Valencia, Santa Clarita, Encino and Newhall. On July 30, two synagogues in the San Fernando Valley were vandalized with graffiti. In both instances, the National Alliance's Web site address was scrawled in red spray paint across an outside wall of the synagogue, along with the words, "Stop Murdering the White Race."

Connecticut

National Alliance activity in the state appears to be restricted to the distribution of propaganda materials and affixing stickers to public property. Stickers with messages such as "Earth's Most Endangered Species. The White Race. Help Preserve It," along with the NA's West Virginia address and telephone number, have been spotted in several parts of the state. In addition, NA posters were plastered in areas around the towns of Hamden and North Haven.

Florida

The National Alliance has been highly visible in Florida in recent years. Members are primarily concentrated around Tampa, with smaller numbers residing in Orlando, Tallahassee and Boca Raton. There are also telephone hotlines in Orlando and Boca Raton.

Organized activities in the state, including monthly gatherings, revolve around the Tampa unit, led by Victor Heath. The unit promotes the NA message heavily: it operates a telephone hotline, has aired a public access television program and ran a pirate radio station. The radio station, which was located on land owned by neo-Nazi activist R.J. Ryan, went off the air in late 1997 when the property was cited for zoning violations.

On three occasions in the last year, Florida NA members hosted David Duke. He spoke in Tampa in May 1997 and in February 1998, to crowds of 100-150, including about 20 Skinheads. A day before his February appearance, Duke traveled, together with NA activist Vincent Breeding and a van full of Skinheads, to nearby St. Petersburg, which recently had been the scene of racial unrest. Duke held a press conference on the steps of the local police department and invited the police chief to meet with him -- a request that was turned down. In July 1997, the NA sponsored a speech by Duke in Tallahassee, which drew about 50 people.

As noted earlier, two Florida NA members have been accused by Federal authorities of plotting acts of violence and robbing several banks.

Illinois

National Alliance activity in the state is embryonic, with several preliminary, organizational meetings held in the Chicago suburb of Arlington Heights in the last year. The group has a telephone message service based in Park Forest, another Chicago suburb.

In October 1997, on the morning of Yom Kippur, an NA bumper sticker was found pasted across the window of the Hillel facility on the campus of the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana. A note reading, "It's time for a new Holocaust. Yours truly, William Pierce," was attached.

Maryland

In the past year, the NA's presence has expanded in the northern part of the state. Craig Jackson, a correction officer, leads a local unit in Hagerstown, with about 30 members. Jackson also operates a National Alliance telephone hotline. A second unit, launched in mid-1997, is based in Baltimore and is headed by former Church of the Creator leader Quinton Diets. Both groups meet regularly.

Massachusetts

The NA is becoming increasingly visible in the state, particularly in and around Boston. In July 1998, the group began operating a phone message service out of Boston. At about the same time, NA propaganda stickers were affixed to light poles in Cambridge. Note cards promoting the organization's message have been distributed in the Boston suburb of Quincy and NA flyers have been found outside homes in Arlington, another Boston suburb.

Michigan

The NA has been active in the Midland County area of Michigan since 1993. Frank Hesse, a former neo-Nazi Skinhead, leads the Midland local unit, and his brother, August, is also a member. Other members hail from Saginaw, Grand Rapids and the Detroit area.

Frank and August Hesse attracted national attention in March 1995 when a police search for neo-Nazi Skinheads Bryan and David Freeman ended at the Hesse family farm. The Freeman brothers, who were being sought by Pennsylvania authorities for the recent murder of their parents and younger brother, had fled to the Hesses' home. After their capture, the Freemans confessed to killing their parents and were ultimately sentenced to life in prison. Frank Hesse has said that he first met Bryan Freeman at a "white power" concert in Detroit and claimed that he was unaware of the murders when the two brothers took refuge at his farm.

In December 1994, prosecutors say, August Hesse, who was clad in a "White Power" T-shirt and had a shaven head, threatened to kill a Black man while he was shopping in a local store. Hesse pleaded no contest to charges of ethnic intimidation and pleaded guilty to charges of battery and resisting and obstructing arrest, and was sentenced to one year in jail. Police searching the Hesse home at the time of the

racial incident found assault weapons, rifles and Nazi literature. In a later search of the house, authorities discovered materials for the manufacture of a pipe bomb and arrested Frank Hesse on an explosives charge, which was ultimately dropped.

There has been evidence of camaraderie between Midland NA members and other local white supremacists. In July 1997, Skinheads distributed copies of the NA's publication, *Free Speech*, in Traverse City. Two months later, in Caro, several Midland NA members attended a rally staged by Thom Robb's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Several areas around the state have seen frequent distributions of NA materials. The group's propaganda stickers have been used to deface private property in Detroit, Midland County and North Muskegon, and in the last five years, NA literature has turned up repeatedly on lawns in Midland County. In late spring 1997, the Traverse City area was flooded with over 1,000 packets of the group's materials, according to Cleveland NA leader Erich Gliebe.

Mississippi

While there are individual NA members in the state, there is no known organized activity in Mississippi. However, in April 1996, Jackson was the scene of a racial killing that can be tied to National Alliance propaganda.

Nevada

A local National Alliance unit based in Fort Mohave, Arizona, was active several years ago, with members from both Arizona and Las Vegas. Reports in the *Rocky Mountain News*, based on information learned in an interview with Utah-based white supremacist Johnny Bangerter, suggest that Timothy McVeigh may have attended two of the NA's meetings, one in June 1993 and another in February 1995. Both were held at Harrah's Hotel and Casino in Laughlin, Nevada.

More recently, the group's recruitment activities have moved up to Reno, where the NA operates a message service and a post office box.

New Hampshire

In February 1997, several NA members and potential recruits from the New England area reportedly gathered in Dublin, New Hampshire, to discuss organizational strategy and future activities.

New Jersey

NA activities in the state are organized by the Northern New Jersey unit, which meets monthly. The unit has also held joint meetings with the New York Metro unit. In September 1996, the Northern New Jersey unit hosted a speech by David Irving, which was attended by local NA members as well as their counterparts in New York and Pennsylvania. NA leaders at the meeting discussed their efforts to distribute propaganda materials around the state. Irving returned to the area in May 1998, and addressed New Jersey members and the public at a lecture in Paterson.

New Mexico

There are an estimated 30 active NA members in the state, including several married couples. A local unit in Albuquerque holds regular meetings. Members have distributed NA literature in downtown Albuquerque and at the University of New Mexico and have actively sought new recruits, especially neo-Nazi Skinheads, in both of these areas.

New York

NA activity in the state is concentrated in New York City and Westchester County. The New York Metro unit, which meets irregularly, is based in the North Bronx. Each of the five boroughs and parts of Westchester have been littered with NA propaganda materials and stickers. In July 1998, the group's flyers were attached to car windshields in the upper Westchester County town of Cortlandt. The leaflets advertised a new NA phone message service based in nearby Peekskill.

In August 1995, New York members met with their New Jersey and Connecticut counterparts at a hall in New Rochelle. In September 1996, members from New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania joined for a meeting featuring a lecture by David Irving. Local NA leaders encouraged followers to attend the group's "wilderness school" in upstate New York, which they said would provide lessons in "basic survival" and "other worthwhile skills."

In February 1996, a National Alliance banner was hung from an overpass on the Staten Island Expressway during the morning rush hour. The banner bore the phone number of the Metro unit's hotline number, along with the message "White revolution, the only solution."

North Carolina

Five local units, with about 20 followers each, meet around North Carolina. A regional office was established in Raleigh to enable the various local units to coordinate activities and to increase membership. Will Williams, who had been the NA's national membership coordinator, served as state regional coordinator until the spring of 1998 when he reportedly left the NA.

Williams had ties to the violent paramilitary White Patriot Party, which was active in the early 1980s and based in Angier, North Carolina. Williams recruited former White Patriot members into the NA. During the 1980s, Richard Vanderford, currently the coordinator for the NA's local unit in Siler City, also belonged to the Klan and the White Patriot Party. The NA's phone number in Siler City, in use by the group since 1992, was formerly employed as a "white power" hotline number by the Klan and the White Patriot Party. NA members operate four other telephone hotline numbers in the state.

Currently, North Carolina NA members use gun shows as a main venue for attracting new people to the NA. The group is not always well received at these events. In January 1998, sponsors of a gun show in Greensboro asked the NA to close shop after attendees complained about the group's literature. A National Guardsman ordered Williams and other NA representatives to leave a gun show at a National Guard Armory in Morrisville, North Carolina, in April 1996.

The group's literature has been distributed in Elon College, Greensboro, and Fayetteville. In May 1997, several NA followers attended a Confederate Memorial Day rally in Alamance County. Members have also participated in fund raising. Like other followers around the country, they have raised money for the organization by holding gun raffles. A 1996 raffle of an AK-47 semiautomatic rifle allegedly raised nearly \$2,000 for the group.

Two North Carolina NA members have been involved in recent lawsuits. In a case that highlighted the clash between different branches of the white supremacist movement, Will Williams sued Harold Covington of the National Socialist White People's Party (NSWPP) in 1997 for making defamatory statements about him. Their fight escalated on the Internet where the two regularly exchanged insults. Williams won his suit against Covington in the spring of 1998, and was awarded a judgment of over \$110,000.

In 1995, NA member Paul Lennon was arrested on felony weapons charges by a sheriff's deputy who had followed him off the grounds of a Wilmington high school. Lennon had been handing out white supremacist literature at the school and when he left the campus, the officer trailing him found a loaded pistol on the front seat of Lennon's car. Law enforcement officials also discovered NA literature in the vehicle. The weapons charges against Lennon were later dropped. In 1996, Lennon filed two lawsuits in connection with the case: he sued law enforcement officials for false arrest and defamation, and brought a libel suit against a Wilmington newspaper for misrepresenting his beliefs and implying his involvement in the murder of a Black couple. Lennon claimed that the newspaper caused him to lose his position as a pilot at Continental Airlines, and prevented him from finding another job. Both cases were dismissed, but Lennon intends to appeal the decisions.

Another incident that has brought attention to the NA's presence in North Carolina involved the group's alleged attempt to recruit soldiers from Fort Bragg. In April 1995, the NA reported that one of its members had placed a large billboard outside of the army base, which advertised the NA's message and hotline phone number.

Ohio

In the last five years, the National Alliance has maintained a strong presence in Ohio, particularly in Cleveland and its outlying suburbs. A local unit with approximately 50 members meets regularly in Cleveland under the leadership of Erich Giebe, with 200 additional members living throughout the state. Telephone message services are operated out of Parma and Dayton.

The Cleveland unit has successfully hosted numerous public gatherings in recent years. In 1995, the group reportedly sponsored two "white power" rock concerts in the Cleveland area. Attendance topped 200 at each event. Like their Florida brethren, Cleveland members have organized several speeches by David Irving and David Duke. Irving appeared in October 1995, September 1996, and June 1997 and returned to Cleveland a fourth time in June 1998. Duke spoke in May 1997.

Perhaps more than any of the other NA cells around the country, members of the Cleveland unit seem to regard the organization not only as a political group, but as a white "European" social club as well. Members have reportedly invited friends and family to regular social events, including a "Spring Buffet Dinner" and an annual "European American Cultural Fest." The latter event, which was held for the second

time in April 1998, featured a dinner catered by Cleveland members, as well as Irish and Slovakian dance acts and folk music. It was attended by 150-200 people of all ages, with William Pierce and Tom Metzger among the more prominent participants.

A variety of National Alliance materials have turned up in residential neighborhoods and on college campuses around the state. In two instances over the last decade, individuals have been prosecuted for defacing property with NA propaganda stickers. In 1994, Ray Wolbert of Bay Village was convicted of pasting NA stickers in library books at Cleveland State University. In 1990, John Winch of Rocky River was convicted of criminal damaging in connection with similar stickers he affixed to books in a B. Dalton bookstore.

A Canton member has used his mail order business, which offers Nazi literature and memorabilia, to push the organization's white supremacist message and attract recruits. The mail order service, called 88 Enterprises, advertises the NA's radio program and hotline number and has shared its customer list with the NA. (The number "88" is often used by young neo-Nazis as a coded abbreviation for "Heil Hitler," because "H" is the eighth letter in the alphabet.)

Pennsylvania

NA activities in the state have been most visible in Reading and Philadelphia. A local unit has been meeting in Reading for several years. The unit reportedly raises money for the organization by selling knives and Nazi-like flags, and has tried to recruit members at Skinhead gatherings.

The organization also runs a post office box out of Fairless Hills, a Philadelphia suburb. In late 1997, several Philadelphia facilities, including an anarchist bookstore and a synagogue, were bombarded with National Alliance literature.

In October 1996, three NA adherents from Pennsylvania attended a meeting hosted by the group's New Jersey unit, in Pompton Lakes. David Irving addressed the crowd.

Rhode Island

A National Alliance sticker stating, "Enough! Let's start taking America back now," was discovered in late 1997 in Providence, a short distance from the campus of Brown University.

Texas

A handful of members from around the state meet several times annually, but are not organized as part of an official unit. There are two NA phone message services based in the state, one in Fort Worth and the other in Austin. A Houston member of the National Alliance actively promotes the organization in hundreds of postings to Internet newsgroups. Dallas Skinheads have been known to circulate NA propaganda materials. The group's flyers have also been found stuffed inside books at the Texas A&M library.

In April 1998, the NA exploited racial tensions brewing at Southwest Texas University by sending unsolicited E-mail messages to most of the students and faculty at the. The NA also promised to bring David

Duke to address the students. Hoping to make Duke's impending visit a balanced affair, members of the Coalition of African-Americans Unified for Self-Empowerment (CAUSE), a student group, decided to organize it as a debate between Duke and Texas State Representative Ron Wilson, an African American.

CAUSE members coordinated the event together with Vincent Breeding, a Florida NA member who said he would bring Duke to the school. During the May 2 debate, Duke railed against affirmative action, calling it a "fraud" against "European Americans." Wilson responded that "'European Americans' have heard this kind of articulation before. The guy's name was Hitler." Several members of the National Alliance, who distributed flyers at the close of the program, reportedly accompanied Duke.

Vermont

For a brief period in early 1997, a National Alliance member distributed the group's literature and publicized its activities at a barbershop he owned in Bellows Falls. He has subsequently left the area.

Virginia

A local NA unit is based in Richmond under the leadership of long-time white supremacist Ron Doggett. In the 1980s, Doggett was a unit leader of the White Patriot Party; he also has ties to the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP). In November 1997, Doggett arranged for David Duke to speak at the dedication of a new NAAWP chapter in Richmond. Doggett also hosts a live cable TV show, *Race and Reality*, on which he reportedly quotes William Pierce. The program, which airs on Richmond's public access station, allows viewers to call in to discuss or debate Doggett's white separatist views.

The NA has a phone hotline in Newport News and a post office box in Glen Allen. NA activists in Virginia have also disseminated propaganda leaflets. In May 1998, copies of *Free Speech*, the NA's newsletter, were distributed in Petersburg and Chesterfield County. In May 1996, numerous Jewish residents in Henrico County, including Holocaust survivors, received the NA's anti-Semitic tract, "Who Rules America?" The year before, Doggett, holding a Confederate flag, reportedly protested against Richmond's erection of a statue of the late Black tennis player Arthur Ashe.

Washington

While there is no evidence of an official NA presence in Washington State, the group's leaflets have been distributed occasionally, most frequently in the West Seattle area.

In April 1998, David Irving delivered a presentation at Washington State University's Pullman campus to an audience of over 300. NA member Justin Ried, a senior at the school, reportedly organized the event.

West Virginia

The NA's National Office, located near the Pocahontas County community of Mill Point, is the hub of the organization's operations. Pierce's headquarters sits on 346 acres of land, which he purchased in November 1984 for \$95,000 in cash. (There has been speculation over the years that at least some of the money Pierce used to pay for the farm came from proceeds of robberies committed by The Order. From the



group's remote headquarters, Pierce works with a staff of two Ph.D.'s and a secretary to generate the organization's propaganda materials and weekly radio broadcasts.