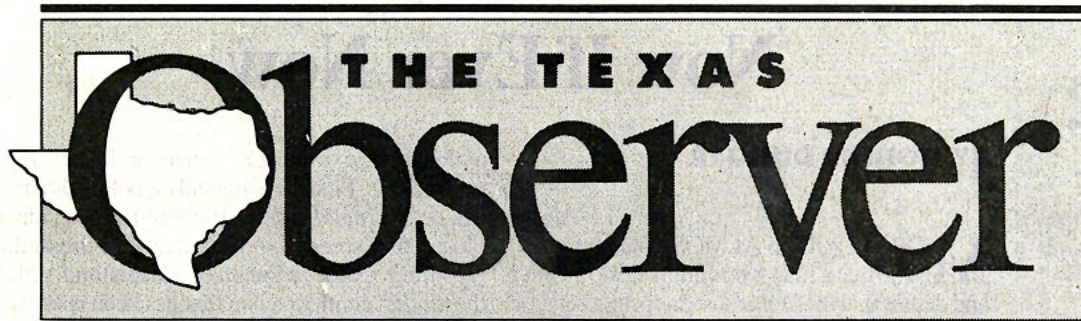


A SPECIAL DOUBLE ISSUE ON DAVID DUKE



A JOURNAL OF FREE VOICES

JANUARY 17 & 31, 1992 \$3.00

RONNIE DUGGER
INTERVIEWS
DAVID DUKE
Pages 24-32

A R a c i s t **Anti-Semitic** **Neo-Nazi** **Sprints Now** **f o r t h e** **Mainstream**

*David Duke leads
a cross burning, 1977.*



MITCHELL L. OSBORNE



A JOURNAL OF FREE VOICES

We will serve no group or party but will hew hard to the truth as we find it and the right as we see it. We are dedicated to the whole truth, to human values above all interests, to the rights of human-kind as the foundation of democracy: we will take orders from none but our own conscience, and never will we overlook or misrepresent the truth to serve the interests of the powerful or cater to the ignoble in the human spirit.

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An Introduction to This Special Issue

Now If Ever Now

BY RONNIE DUGGER

Austin

MORALLY IT IS ALMOST incomprehensible that a man who admires Adolf Hitler and denies that the Holocaust happened became a leading candidate for the U.S. Senate and governor of Louisiana, received 60 percent and then 55 percent of the votes of the white people of Louisiana for those offices, respectively, and now bids to embarrass and humiliate President Bush, the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, and the United States by making himself the potential margin of decision on the question of who will be our President from 1993 to 1997. For imagine our national and personal shame if, running for President as an independent next November, Duke makes the difference, and President Bush must credit Duke for his re-election or the Democrats must credit Duke for their presidential victory! Yet this is our real and present situation and we have prepared this special issue of the Texas Observer on David Duke to deal with it.

The astonishing contents of Duke's public career are established and documented in this issue on the simple chronological principle so that our readers can follow the continuous unbroken lines of his thought and action from 1967 up to the present moment. Duke is a vicious obsessive racist and anti-Semite who champions and promotes the master-race ideology of Hitlerian Naziism now, today, in the United States. Since late 1989, while running successively for U.S. senator of Louisiana, for governor of the same state, and now for President of the United States, he has been flying under false colors as a conservative Republican. No one who studies the record of his career which we have assembled here can fail to know the truth that he is not only a racist and anti-Semite, but also a leader of and a drummer for Third-Reich Nazism. In the well-informed opinion of Elizabeth Rickey, a member of the Louisiana Republican State Central Committee who had a series of penetrating interviews with him in 1989, "He is a Nazi."

In Duke the voters of Texas and a score of other states in the Union are presented with an appallingly popular candidate for President whose past as a Nazi and whose tenaciously-maintained fundamentalist Nazism are so shameful that he seeks to camouflage them by putting the emphasis on his past work and role as a Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, which he also was. He may be the most dangerous

nationalistic extremist in American history for two reasons. First, he is not only a political radical, he is a racial radical. Immured in Nazi ideology, this smoothly-speaking, well-dressed, facelifted zealot rationalizes, adapts and sells the kinder, gentler racism that has been used by President Reagan and President Bush to win votes while Duke remains actually determined, within himself, to enforce Hitler's racist and anti-Jewish master-race doctrines in the United States. Second, Duke has gotten farther than any other American extremist ever has before with the exception of Huey Long, who may have been a left-wing fascist, but was not a Nazi.

How, in the final third of the Twentieth Century in the United States, do you champion the Nazi ideologies of anti-Semitism, race-hate, and the geographical ghettoization of undesired brands and colors of people? How, in the final third of the Twentieth Century in the United States, do you trumpet forth the pre-Holocaust Nazi programs for the sterilization of mental defectives and "an all-white America" that is to be achieved by the consignment—obviously, by the forcible consignment—of Jewish, African, Mexican, native, Cuban, Asian, French, Cajun and southern European Americans into reservations which would be de facto prisons? How, in the final third of the Twentieth Century in the United States, while carrying on noisome pro-Nazi activity for more than three decades, do you deal with the fact that Hitler and his Nazi beasts "resettled to the East" and systematically and intentionally mass-murdered 11 million innocent civilians in the Holocaust during the course of Germany's aggressive war which cost 407,316 American deaths and a total of 50 million deaths?

You do it by denying that the Holocaust happened, denying that it existed, as David Duke does deny, and by saying the United States should have stayed out of World War II, as David Duke does say. Essentially, Duke uses anti-Semitic arguments to deny what the anti-Semitic Nazis did to the Jews by saying that "the hoax" of the Holocaust has been used to build up Israel and by rejecting the work of Jewish scholars about the Holocaust *because they are Jews*. "It takes Jewish Hollywood to make crematoria into, quote, 'ovens,'" Duke said six short years ago. Five years ago, at a site in Mauthausen concentration camp, Duke told his close friend at that time, "This wasn't really a gas chamber, it was just to de-lice people." By such statements, Duke commits indescribable offense against the voiceless slaughtered millions who are still lying tangled where they last were touched by light. Consider, too, what Duke's position on the Holocaust passes

over without comment or silently agrees with—the branding of the Jews with stars, the rounding up of families under guns, forced marches under guns, slave labor under guns, forced deportation under guns in long trains of locked killer freightcars.

Are we free citizens of the United States duty-bound or fairness-bound to believe a man like David Duke when, after his more than three decades of proselytizing for racism, anti-Semitism, and a brace of other Nazi ideologies, he goes to telling us, as he steps up to the threshold of running for the U.S. Senate, that he has reformed and matured? Of course we are not. Since that transparently cynical switch just two short years ago, the allegedly new Duke has said that he used to be intolerant, he's sorry, he is not a racist, he is not a Nazi. If we are sharply attentive to every strictly logical possibility, we must and therefore we do concede that there is a faint theoretical possibility that in these reversals Duke is telling the truth. We invite you to study this man's record, which he has made himself, to study what he said in the Observer's interview with him and to listen to him in person for yourself, if you have the opportunity—and decide for yourself. We do not believe him. We believe that he is still the racist anti-Semitic promoter of Nazism that he has been since the late 1960's and has continued to prove himself to be throughout the past two years as the record shows.

We regret the certain fact that our copious reprinting here of Duke's statements and programs will horrify and offend not only the Jewish Americans and African-Americans and Hispanic-Americans and Asian-Americans and members of other races and faiths against whom they are deliberately directed, but will also horrify and offend everyone else of whatever color or faith who has respect for their fellow human beings. Nor would we even try to deny the reasonable likelihood that our airing so much malodorous hate in the sunlight will leave some of its spores festering in the brains of some of those who pass by here.

But we cannot and we shall not apologize for presenting Duke's opinions and his programs in full. When a dedicated vendor of Nazism has

the effrontery to run for President of the United States in sheep's clothing and gets 44 percent of the vote in Louisiana for senator and 39 percent for governor, the only thing worse than falling for his audacious con game would be silence, or indifference, or averted eyes, acting as if his menacing candidacy does not exist, trying to divert people's attention away from the stench of it. For if we learned anything from the Holocaust—but did we?—did we?—we learned that either tolerance of or indifference about anti-Semitic and racist hatred is an unforgivable sin—that a person who tolerates or ignores and fails to confront Anti-Semitic and racist hatred can and may become, in due course, irreversibly and forever complicitous in the persecution and murder of innocent men women and children en masse.

People at the Captain's table on our fellow Texan Katherine Anne Porter's *Ship of Fools* joined in the prejudice and the merriment when anti-Semitic remarks were made and anti-Semitic jokes were told because they did not want to make a fuss, attract attention to themselves, be thought ill-mannered, or lose favor with their shipboard companions whom they wished to please. The consequence of their forbearance, or silence, or evasion, or complicity, or indifference—and the consequence of the forbearance, silence, evasion, complicity, and indifference of hundreds of millions of others—was the gas chambers at Auschwitz. When a malevolent bigot like Duke gets up steam—when he *twice* wins majorities of the votes of whites in our neighboring state—politeness, what is acceptable in decent company, a wish not to offend, the ordinarily logical concern not to give any currency to repulsive ideas—all such norms lose their sway. After the Holocaust, no decent and knowledgeable person may ever risk becoming personally responsible for or complicit in pogroms or racist murders to any degree, whatever the cost of refusing that risk might be or might become. What counts now in this testing time for each American citizen is the truth and dealing with the truth and nothing but the truth. So brace yourselves, readers, grit

A Notice to Our Readers

This double-sized issue of the Observer carries the cover dates January 17 and 31 and constitutes our issues for both those dates. The next regular issue, in which we will play catch-up on redistricting and other ongoing events, as well as Dialogue and other regular features, will be dated February 14. We thank our readers for their indulgence on this score.

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THE TEXAS Observer

January 17 & 31, 1992

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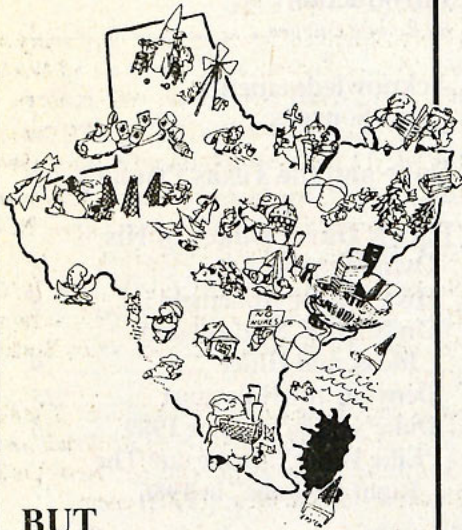
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This is Texas today. A state full of Sunbelt boosters, strident anti-unionists, oil and gas companies, nuclear weapons and power plants, political hucksters, underpaid workers, and toxic wastes, to mention a few.



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your teeth, here is the truth about David Duke and never say henceforth you did not know.

Our purpose is not political, but educational. We are not here fashioning an ordinary editorial position for or against a presidential candidate; we do not take a position here for or against the election of Duke as President. Rather, we take the position that when citizens vote they should know what they are voting for. If an American votes for David Duke, he or she is voting to make a racist and anti-Semitic promoter of Nazism President of the United States. Any citizen has a legal right to cast such a vote. But every citizen who either casts or opposes such a vote should know what it is and means, about Duke, the voter for Duke, and the future of the United States.

One practical issue which Duke's candidacy poses is, How should we regard his supporters? On that troubling moral and political question, please see Associate Editor Jim Cullen's column at page 34. Each person must and will bear his or her own civic and human responsibility. Beyond that, remember, too, that the public, and with them the media, have been inoculated against moral vigilance by the poundings of Reaganism against the poor for eight years and the Bush/Atwater strategy of inflaming white prejudice to get white votes while piously deploring racism. This country is now plagued not only by vacuums in economic and public policy, but also by a moral vacuum. Scrubbed clean of values and empathy, we are left unable to make moral judgements and willingly prey to facile solutions.

One of our purposes in producing this special issue is to give citizens something appropriate to *do* concerning Duke's real or prospective supporters in Texas and in the many other states where he is now a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination. If you agree with our conclusion on the weight of David Duke's whole record herein: that he is what we have said he is, and if, say, you know or come to know a supporter of David Duke, we suggest that you simply lend that supporter—or give him or her a copy of—this documented record on Duke. Then if, after that particular citizen has read this issue, he or she is still supporting David Duke, you and the fellow citizens you advise may, if you and they wish, fairly conclude that that particular, now well-informed fellow citizen of yours is knowingly supporting the election of a Nazi President of the United States. Never will such a Duke supporter be able to say, to you or to history—as citizens of the Third Reich have said and do say to their children and are still saying to all of history—"We didn't know."

To our colleagues in the press—reporters, columnists, and editorial writers—we commend to your attention reporter Lanny Keller's article at page 43, "How to Cover the Dukester," and we would add this.

Last November, after losing the race for gov-

ernor of Louisiana, Duke agreed that his past had hurt him in the voting, but, speaking from the ballroom of the Quality Inn in New Orleans, he said confidently, "As time goes on, my past will become just that—my past." That is David Duke's contemptuous challenge to the intelligence and integrity of the American press corps. *The issue of his candidacy for President is presented to us not by his past, but by the fact that his past is his present.* He is an anti-Semite now. He is a racist now. He promotes a Nazi vision of America now. Any journalist is anybody's fool for anything who lets Duke run for President as a Reagan/Bush-style Republican conservative. Duke must be questioned and questioned and questioned, again and again and again, in every forum, before and after every speech, during every press conference, on each and any and every aspect of his "past" which on his own record is his very present. He is smart, he is quick, he ducks the few tough questions he has been asked by evading them or professing reformation and going on to say, "But that is not the issue, the issue is..." flowing on into his malevolently "coded" formulations of legitimate conventional political issues. Already in confrontations on national TV and in other situations he has outwitted and outwilled many of the most prominent journalists in the country, and as he "wins" against more and more of them he will just laugh and go right on up.

Now *if ever now* is the time for both the American press and the American public to confront David Duke as what he is, a racist anti-Semitic Hitlerian ideologue who has risen up among us from the slaughterpits and gas chambers of Nazi Europe. Fail this duty now, colleagues and fellow citizens, and you fail the human race itself 50 short years since Adolf Hitler and his Nazis made war on Europe and branded with stars and triangles, arrested, beat up and shot down on city streets and forced marches, shot down in open pits and set fire to, locked away in barbed-wire concentration camps, bashed to death, crammed into closed vans and there asphyxiated, starved and worked to death, scientifically tortured, and methodically intentionally gassed to death eleven million children women and men including five million one hundred thousand Jews. □

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS & SOURCES

The Texas Observer acknowledges with thanks assistance we have received in compiling the record on David Duke for this issue from the Louisiana Council Against Racism and Nazism (LCARN), New Orleans; the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'Nai B'Rith, New York City; Klanwatch of the Southern Poverty Law Center, Atlanta; the research departments of the Democratic National Committee and the Republican National Committee in Washington, D.C.; the Center for Democratic Renewal, Atlanta; Michael Zatarain; and David Duke.

In the case of the excellent investigative articles in the New Orleans Times-Picayune written by reporter Tyler Bridges we have used short titles in our citations. There follow below the full titles and dates of articles from that newspaper by Tyler Bridges which are cited as sources in a shorter form elsewhere in this issue:

"Blacks more prone to crime, Duke tells Tulane interviewer," 12/8/89.

"David Duke tries to bury Nazi past," undated, c. 1990.

"Duke working hard to overcome past," 8/26/90.

"Duke paints a dark picture of Jews," 8/26/90.

"The Men Who Would be Governor," 11/3/91.

"New reports of racism dog Duke," 11/13/91.

The Observer also made use of "Duke on Tape," excerpts from two Duke interviews in March 1985 with Evelyn Rich, published in the Times-Picayune on Nov. 3, 1991, and supplemented these with other excerpts from the same interviews that were published in LCARN's "Resource Packet," cited below.

Materials from LCARN are cited elsewhere in this issue by abbreviated references. The materials are:

"Resource Packet: The Politics and Background of State Representative David Duke," fourth edition, August 1991 and fifth edition, December 1991.

"Who's Who in the Duke Organization: A Guide to Extremist Ties," a part of the fifth edition of "Resource Packet," above.

"Transcript—Duke/Fields/Rich Interview, 1986."

ADL presented its research on Duke in a special report in 1991: ADL, "Dukewatch," an ADL Special Research Report, 1991. This was prepared by Gerald Baumgarten, J.Q. Purcell, Judith Bolton, and Irwin Suall and edited by Alan M. Schwartz and Gail Gans.

Books, cited elsewhere in this issue in the shorter form, are:

Anti-Defamation League, *Extremism on the Right*, ed. Alan M. Schwartz, 1988.

Breitman, Richard, *The Architect of Genocide: Himmler and the Final Solution*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991.

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Noakes, J. and G. Pridham, Eds. *Nazism 1919-1945: A History in Documents and Eyewitness Accounts*. 2 vols. New York: Schocken Books, 1990.

Ridgeway, James, *Blood in the Face: The Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations, Nazi Skinheads, and the Rise of a New White Culture*. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1990 (paper).

Wasserstein, Bernard, *Britain and the Jews of Europe 1939-1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988 (paper).

Zatarain, Michael, *David Duke: Evolution of a Klansman*. Gretna, La.: Pelican Publishing Co., 1990. □

Duke & the Texas Primary

As of January 10th, the date of the Observer's interview with David Duke, the former Klansman had won places on the primary ballots of seven states, including Texas. Duke has also obtained the listing of his name on the ballots in Louisiana, South Carolina, Mississippi, Tennessee, Massachusetts, and Michigan, according to Nicole Berthonnaud, assistant director of research for the Duke campaign. A lawsuit is pending to get Duke on the ballot in Rhode Island, and other suits for the same purpose were expected in Georgia and Florida.

Duke's name will appear on the Republican ballot, along with George Bush's and anyone else who meets one of two requirements: 1) paying a \$5,000 filing fee, or 2) submitting a petition containing the signatures of at least 300 voters from at least 15

Congressional districts. According to Mary Fraser, primary advisor for the Texas Republican Party, party rules stipulate that any candidate who meets either of those criteria must be placed upon the ballot; the party has no discretion in the matter. Duke chose the first course, paying his \$5,000 fee last month, and his application form to the Texas Republican Party was approved without difficulty, said Berthonnaud.

The GOP's position, said Fraser, is that it's a free country, and anyone can run for office who fulfills the requirements. Texas Republican Party chair Fred Meyer of Dallas was quoted to that effect when the party certified Duke's candidacy (see page 36).

The Texas Election Code leaves the selection of candidates in presidential primaries to the political parties, said Katy Davis,

spokeswoman for Secretary of State John Hannah, whose office oversees Texas elections. As long as a candidate meets the statutory and constitutional requirements for the office (minimum age 35, born in the U.S.) and is certified to run by the Democratic or Republican party, the state of Texas will allow his or her name to appear on the ballot, Davis said.

To qualify for the Texas general election ballot as an independent, a candidate must file with the Texas Secretary of State an application and a petition with the signatures of at least 54,200 registered Texas voters (1 percent of the votes cast in the last general election for president). The filing deadline is May 11.

—BRETT CAMPBELL

David Duke: In His Own Words

I. *Duke's Case for Apartheid and an all-White America*

Duke: 'Stop the Black Plague.... White Victory!'

1967: 'The overthrow of whites'

"The civil rights movement was never about equal rights, but a racial movement that would be used in the overthrow of whites in America."

— Duke in high school in New Orleans (Zatarain, *David*, p. 98.)

1968: God's distinctions

"God created different races and in his infinite wisdom separated them by Continents....Are we doing God's work to destroy the distinctions that God created?"

— Duke in his tract for the Citizens' Council (Zatarain, *David*, p. 110.)

c. 1970: 'Black Savagery'

Whites are "losing their schools to black savagery, their hard-earned pay to welfare and their culture to no-win red treason and Jewish and black degeneracy."

— Duke in his pamphlet subtitled "The White Power Program" (Zatarain, *David*, p. 135.)

1972: 'The Black Plague'

In 1972 a black man allegedly raped a 17-year-old girl in New Orleans. In a leaflet composed for a torchlight parade on Jan. 12, 1972, Duke wrote: "Does it take the rape of your own girlfriend or daughter by a black savage on the rampage to make you become involved? It is time to stop the black plague now."

— Zatarain, *David*, pp. 175-6.

About 1974-5: All white

"Isn't it wonderful," Duke said addressing a hall full of white-robed Klansmen outside of Baton Rouge, "to see 2,700 people in one room together, and all of them white?"

— Zatarain, *David*, pp. 205-7.

1970's: 'White Victory'

Duke, dressed in a brown suit and diagonally-striped tie and addressing white-robed Klansmen as a Christian cross 10 or 12 feet high burned against the night sky in a field, said: "The fiery cross is the representative symbol of the white race. It is our symbol." Extending his left arm stiffly upward with his palm flat and down, Duke then led the similarly-saluting Klansmen in the chant: "White victory! White victory! White victory!"

— Seen by Dugger of the Observer in "Uncommon Sense: Dukke," a video chain letter provided for inspection by the research committee of the Democratic National Committee.

1975: Abernathy a 'nigger'

"Duke....labeled the Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference as a 'nigger who is hat in hand with the American Jews...'"

"The Ku Klux Klan gained approximately 20 new members in Wichita [Kansas] last Friday, following a rabidly racist pep talk from Grand

Dragon David Duke, who said among other things that 'white people don't need a law against rape, but if you fill this room up with your normal black bucks you would, because niggers are basically primitive animals.'

"Duke told a rapt audience of about 50 people in a West Wichita home that it's really 'the Jew Marxists who see the nigger as their instrument, as their bullets, by which to destroy our society.'"

— Daily Tarheel, student newspaper at University of North Carolina, 1975, and Wichita Sun, 1975, respectively, cited in ADL, "Dukewatch," p. 14.

1981: 'A Brown Swarm of Locusts'

"In 1981 Duke enrolled in est, the controversial New Age human-potential movement....Borrowing from est techniques, Duke sponsored several seminars that he called 'white leadership training.' During the first, a 15-hour marathon session in Palm Springs, Calif., Duke berated the 40 participants, urging them to overcome any lingering tolerance they might have for non-white people. His newspaper, the NAAWP News, recorded Duke's performance.

"'You wonder why the white race is dying?' he shouted. 'Why many of our women are raped by minority savages? Why our children are denied their educational birthright? Why our nation lies prostrate before a brown swarm of locusts devouring our jobs, our paychecks, our neighborhoods, our culture and even our genetic heritage? It's all because of the fact that you and people like you can't keep commitments and are willing to lie to themselves and others instead of facing the hard truth.'"

— Tyler Bridges, "The Men," New Orleans Times-Picayune (hereafter cited as the Times-Picayune).

1982: 'In Terms of IQ'

Hustler: Okay. Do you think blacks are less intelligent than whites in terms of IQ?

Duke: Sure. The average white and black have markedly different IQs; maybe 15 to 20 points separate the two. I've also heard the argument that blacks are much more intelligent than the lowest whites. But there are gorillas in this country with IQs of 90, higher than many people. That does not make gorillas and people the same.

— Duke interview in *Hustler* magazine, cited in ADL, "Dukewatch," p. 15.

1983: 'Radical Surgery'

"Although repatriation of blacks (to Africa) would constitute an enormous task politically, socially, and economically....frankly, what alternatives are there....Who can deny that cancer-ridden America can be saved by anything short of radical surgery."

— Duke letter-insert in NAAWP News, Issue #26, 1983, cited in LCARN, "Resource."

1984: 'Closer to the Jungle'

"Blacks are much more elemental people....I feel they're very primitive in lots of ways. They're talented people. They're good singers...excellent dancers. But I feel that....they're much more closer to the jungle than European people who have six or seven centuries of civilization behind us."

"I don't see any problem in 'separate but equal.'"

— Duke, from Xavier University Archives, a filmed interview, seen and heard by Dugger of the Observer in "Uncommon Sense: Dukke," the video, *op. cit.*

1984: Jews and Colored Peoples, Out!

Please see the information under this same subtitle in the documentation earlier in this issue of Duke's Nazi orientations.

1985: 'Geographic Separation'

"We don't have a program to send them back to Africa. I think that's impractical. We do feel an ideal, perhaps an impossible ideal, would be geographic separation of the races, either within this country or on an extra-continental basis."

— Duke, quoted in the Baton Rouge State-Times, 1985, cited in LCARN, "Resource."

1985: Apartheid, No Blacks Around

[On the ultimate goal of his racial politics:] "Well, like an apartheid, except more of a complete—whereas apartheid set up black states within a country, I favor a complete separation on a volunteer basis, eventually.... You know, integration is absolutely unthinkable because that will destroy our country.... So we're for separation."

"In the meantime we're for strict equal rights for all, for everyone and for blacks better qualified for the job—they get—if any other race is better qualified, fine. We're not afraid of those kinds of programs because we think white people are, in fact, better qualified. So we're not afraid of equal rights."...

"What we really want to do is to be left alone. We don't want Negroes around. We don't need Negroes around. We're not asking—you know, we don't have to have them, you know, for our culture. We simply want our own country and our own society."

— Duke to Evelyn Rich, March 1985.

Whites Are Superior

1985: Blacks Can't Hack It

"The computer revolution in this country is going to increase the dichotomy between blacks and whites because to be able to program computers and be in the upper echelons of the computer world, it takes an innate ability in mathematics. And mathematics is not something learned, it is something inbred. And a lot of the blacks, you know, you look in the university today. You find very few blacks in the science and computer fields. They just can't hack it."

— Duke to Evelyn Rich, March 1985.

1985: The Problem:...the Mexicans...

Duke: I feel like as far as white people are concerned, we have to draw a much wider net. We cannot be—we cannot afford a too intense nationalism of the different ethnic white groups now.

Evelyn Rich: So you'll include Italians and Greeks and Mediterraneans?

Duke: Of course, sure. It's ridiculous to draw those boundaries.

Rich: What about the Spanish?

Duke: That's where I would say I do some compromising.... Spaniards, white Spaniards—I have no problems with. Seve [Severiano] Ballesteros [the professional golfer] is as white as anyone. He's dolichocephalic [long-headed], you know. He's very Caucasoid, and there's many Spanish like that. The problem—most of the Mexicans coming over are mostly Indian-Mestizo, and a lot of Puerto Ricans, other South Americans are a mixture of Negroes. So, the Spanish you've pretty much got to call them as you see them.

— From Evelyn Rich interview with Duke, March 1985.

1985: On the Klan's Ideas

"People always say it's the same old Klan package. Well, it's true from the standpoint of myself. My ideology has not fundamentally changed."

— Duke to Rich, March 1985.



MITCHEL L. OSBORNE

Duke putting a torch to a cross, Klan rally, Chalmette, La., during the 1970s.

"The Klan was really a home-grown racist organization and it had a lot of potential for making some great changes in this country.... Actually the Klan was led in the early days by men with a good degree of education, literacy, wit and political power and stature."

— Duke, 1985, cited in ADL, "Dukewatch," p. 1.

1987: Keep It White

Wearing a "Keep Forsyth White" button, Duke rallied whites against the integration of Georgia's Forsyth County, orating against "the black plague of crime, murder, and terror of our citizens" and "the violence, incompetence, corruption, and decay of black-run cities or counties." To an author in 1989-'90 he declared of the demonstrating whites: "If they get massive numbers of blacks from Atlanta into Forsyth County, they know that their children are more likely to be hurt or robbed or raped or killed."

— Zatarain, David, pp. 264-6.

1987: Blacks and AIDS

Duke wrote then-U.S. Surgeon General C. Everett Koop advancing the idea that blood supplies be segregated by race because "black blood is at least ten times more likely to be contaminated [with AIDS] as white blood." Duke later backed off from that, but still believed blacks are "more likely" than whites to contract AIDS.

— Revealed in a Jack Anderson column in 1990: Duke revision, Times-Picayune, 9/27/90—cited in ADL, "Dukewatch," p. 6.

Revisions and Repetitions

1989-90: Negro rapists

In 1972, campaigning for George Wallace, Duke was thrown in jail. Recounting, during 1989-'90 for a book published in 1990, what he saw, Duke said: "The experience made me understand....that white prisoners must be protected from being raped by Negroes, even behind bars."

The same author quoted Duke as stating that "the Klan today...(is) a living instrument for the ideals of Western Christian civilization and...the white race." Duke denies he said that then; the author said he did.

— Zatarain, *David*, pp. 177-184, and see page 28.

1989: Not to Associate

"I'm not for any law for segregation or integration. The right not to associate is just as precious as the right to associate."

— Duke, quoted in an Associated Press dispatch from New Orleans, 2/20/89.

August 1989: All-White America

"To tell you the truth, I wouldn't mind if America were all white today, but that's not a practical reality."

— Duke on 8/10/89 during an interview on WSMB-AM radio, New Orleans, quoted in "The Monitor," Center for Democratic Renewal, November 1990.

1989: More Prone to Crime

"State Rep. David Duke said in a recent interview that blacks are inherently more likely to commit crimes than whites."

"I do think that there are certain tendencies, certain behavioral tendencies, that are more inherited, and I think that blacks generally, in terms of our society, have more of a tendency to act in anti-social ways," Duke...told a Tulane student on Nov. 29. 'I think blacks have more of a tendency to commit crime.'

"Duke...spoke to Tulane freshman Abby Kaplan, who said she interviewed him for an English paper."

— Bridges, "Blacks more," Times-Picayune.

1989: An All-White U.S.

"Duke also said a 'possible solution' to race problems is to ship blacks back to Africa."

"'There's only one country any more that's all-white, and that's Iceland,' he added. 'And Iceland is not enough.'"

— Bridges, *ibid.*

1989: 'Or Even Racial Hatred'

Duke: I'm not a Klansman, and I reject any sort of violence or illegality, or even racial hatred....

Morton Dean: ...what mesmerized you about the KKK...?

Duke: Well, as a young man, an idealistic young man, I came to believe that white people were losing their rights in this country, losing their heritage, and at that time, at 17, it was the only organization I saw that was standing up for white rights. The group I joined was legal and law-abiding....And so I joined, and I was active, and I saw the Klan as—in a historical role almost like the Reconstruction. There's a monument at the base of my main street here in New Orleans called the White Monument, which was dedicated to the White League, which was a Klan organization that saved the—well, the city of New Orleans and the state of Louisiana from the radical reconstructionists, the carpetbaggers, and I admired that. I never—I've—never agree with violence, I'm too young to be part of the Jim Crow system, I've always been—

Dean: But you were—Mr. Duke, you were aware of that, that one of the historical perceptions of the KKK is that it lynched blacks in the South, that it was anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic. You were certainly aware of that.

Duke: Well, first of all, the Klan in Louisiana was never anti-Catholic....I must say that the perception of the Klan at the turn of the century, for instance, was very positive. The Supreme Court of the United States, "Birth of a Nation" and Chambers, they praised the Klan for saving the South after the war between the states. Even the Encyclopaedia Britannica called the organization a civil work organization. So you ask me what attracted me as a young person, that's what did it....

Dean: ...in the latest Greater New Orleans phone book, the KKK number is listed under your address. How do you explain that?...

Duke: ...let me explain that to you, sir....There's no telephone and there's no bill that comes in the name KKK. Years ago I had an additional listing put in because I was known, obviously, for my prior Klan role. We didn't realize it was there....When it was brought to our attention, obviously in the campaign, we canceled....

Duke: How can I be called a racist when I believe in equal rights for everybody....

— Transcript, "Nightline," ABC News, 2/20/89.

1989: Agreeing with "Some Aspects"

Duke elaborated his ideas on the connections between Nazi Germany and his racial approach to society in his interview with Abby Kaplan, during which he said:

"I wouldn't say Hitler was right on race, but I do believe that there are genetic differences between races and that they profoundly affect culture....I think that for instance there's differences in physical abilities, there's differences in musical abilities, there's differences in I.Q...."

"The top 16 finalists for the 100-meter dash at the Olympics...last year were all black. But there's no prohibition against whites running in the 100-meter dash. I mean there's something genetic that gives them [blacks] an advantage in that particular contest."

"There's some things that give whites advantages in certain areas. And I.Q. is a reflection of western culture....I.Q. is pretty much a reflection of how well someone will do in school. It has been an accurate predictor. And I think whites score better in that particular category, that particular talent. It doesn't mean they are innately superior, but it's a mistake, and it's kind of unfair to say that, well, because you agree with some aspects of Germany, therefore you're a Nazi."

— See Kaplan's interview with Duke as further quoted in Ridgeway, *Blood*, pp. 155-156.

1990: 'Nigger' songs 'funny'

Duke, appearing on a New Orleans TV program and admitting that as late as 1989 he sold music tapes with titles such as 'Nigger Hatin' Me' and 'Niggers Never Die,' defended the songs by referring to them as "funny."

— LCARN, "Resource."

1991: How Can That Be Ignored?

Garrick Utley: In the 1970s and throughout the 1980s, you have pursued and uttered and articulated a consistent line which was strongly anti-black and strongly anti-Semitic....How can that be ignored?

Duke: I don't think it can be ignored, my past is certainly an issue, and I have regret over some of the intolerant things that I've said....Other people have been intolerant in their lives....We all grow up in our lives....Look, I've been too intolerant, and I'm a Christian person, and I believe that we have a chance to find redemption in Christ and we have a chance to move forward in our lives.

— Transcript, "Meet the Press," NBC News, 11/10/91.

1991: 'My constituency....the white vote'

In the Louisiana governor's race last November Duke received 39 percent of the vote, but a majority of the votes of whites. He said: "I won my constituency. I won 55 percent of the white vote."

— Dallas News, Nov. 19, 1991.

12/4/91: 'I'm not a racist'

Announcing for President last Dec. 4, Duke said, "I am not a racist." He twice referred to the Democratic Party as "the party of Jesse Jackson and Ron Brown," and he said its members are "the active agents that are destroying this nation." Speaking in a sing-song voice, Duke said of the Japanese, "you no buy our rice, we no buy your cars," but later denied he had meant to make fun of the Japanese.

— Boston Globe, Dallas News, New York Times, and Wall Street Journal, all for 12/5/91.

12/26/91: Cubans yes, Haitians no

Duke praised Cuban-Americans as "an asset to this country" while advocating a total ban on Haitian immigration into the U.S. Haitians are mostly blacks.

"The Cubans certainly are European descent. They've been a tremendous asset. They're Christian people, they're anti-communist," Duke said.

As for Haitians, Duke said, "I don't know if they're going to make a great contribution. I don't think we can take all the politically oppressed people of the world." Furthermore, he said, the Haitian immigration is "adding to our crime rates. Many of the people coming today don't want to work and contribute as the Cuban immigrants contributed and worked from the day that they came."

— Associated Press dispatches from Miami, 12/26/91.

II. Duke on Nazism, Nazism-related Ideas, and Hitler

At LSU, a Jew-Hating Nazi

1968: 'So many Jews'

"I am shocked, Father, how so many Jews seem to dominate the forces I despise.... Those who want to stab the American soldier in the back in Vietnam invariably appear Jewish...."

— Letter, Duke to his father, quoted in Zatarain, *David*, p. 107.

1969 at LSU: A Nazi

"I am a National Socialist. You can call me a Nazi if you want to."

— Duke in a November 1969 speech at Free Speech Alley on the Louisiana State University campus as reported the next day in the LSU campus newspaper, the *Daily Reveille* (cited in Bridges, "The Men," *Times-Picayune*).

1969: 'The Master Race'

"...85 percent of the communist traitors convicted of spying in the United States were Jews...."

"Whites are the master race, in that we should have the right to keep the white race white."

— Duke, as quoted in the same *Reveille* story (Zatarain, *David*, p. 123.)

1969: In re: Exterminating Jews

Please see the Observer's "race war" story at page 20 concerning a radio talk show in which Duke participated in Baton Rouge in 1969.

1970: Hitler's ideas were right

"Dressed in a Nazi uniform, (Duke) carried a sign reading 'Kunstler is a Communist Jew'.... 'He would talk about *Mein Kampf*,' said [Michael] Connelly, then state chairman of Young Americans for Freedom. 'He would describe how he was going to become mainstream and get elected to the legislature. He thought Adolf Hitler's ideas were right.'" The sign Duke carried on this occasion, which occurred on July 23, 1970, also said, "Gas the Chicago Seven."

— Peter Applebome, *The New York Times*, 11/10/91; the date and the detail about gassing, LCARN, "Resource."

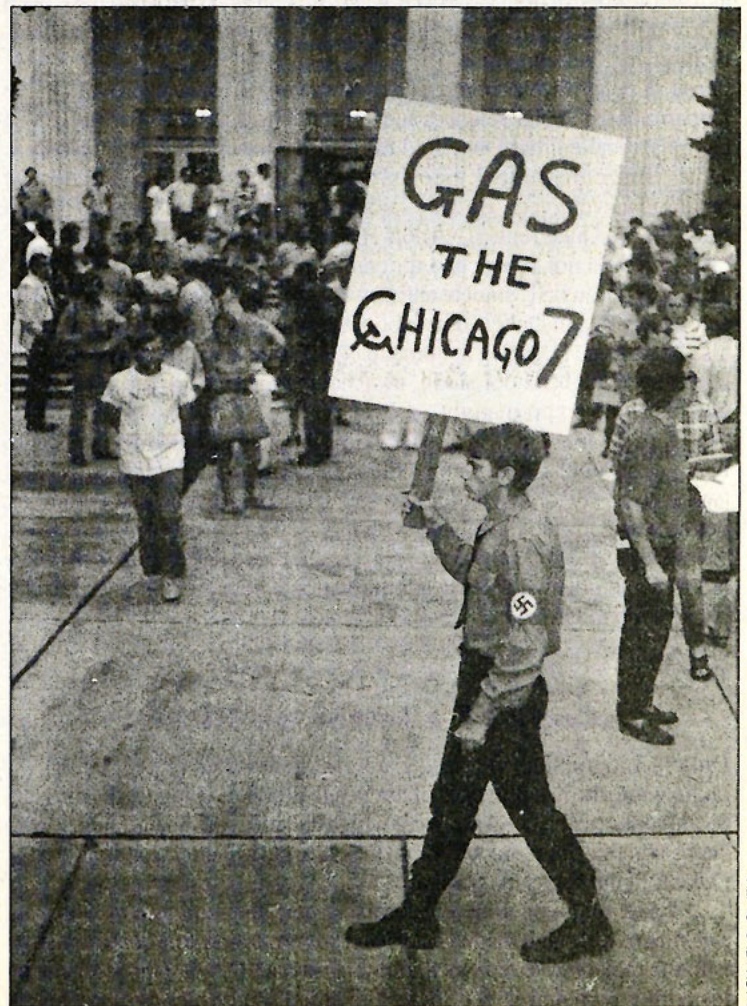
'I'm a fascist and you're a Jew pig!'

"In one incident, which he recalled with relish in a 1985 interview, Duke confronted Yippie leader Jerry Rubin after Rubin spoke at LSU.

"I said, 'Jerry Rubin! Aren't you that big, tough, Jew revolutionary?"

You think we've got to have a revolution in this country?... Jerry, you've got a fascist right in front of you!... I tell you I'm a fascist and you're a Jew pig!'"

— Bridges, "Duke working."



MICHAEL P. SMITH

Duke wearing a Nazi uniform while a college student.

Swastikas and Nazi flags

"While U.S. Senate candidate David Duke describes his involvement with Nazism as a '30-minute stunt,' he in fact kept a Nazi flag on his wall, regularly distributed leaflets bearing a swastika at LSU, and spoke at the Washington convention of a successor to the American Nazi Party, interviews and documents show.

"For at least two years at LSU, Duke worked with the National Socialist White Peoples Party (NSWPP), which succeeded the American Nazi Party after its founder, George Lincoln Rockwell, was assassinated in 1967....Duke worked closely with the NSWPP, voiced support for Adolf Hitler and blamed many national and international problems on Jews....

[An article in NS, the internal newsletter of NSWPP, said Duke was forming the White Student Alliance, about which it said:] "The WSA is open to all non-Jewish students who support the principles of racial idealism and a White America, and will allow for full National Socialist participation."

"The membership application in the fall 1970 special edition of the WSA's newsletter, *The Racialist*,featured photographs of Duke and articles by him, offered tapes of speeches by Rockwell and copies of *Mein Kampf*....On the LSU campus, Duke often handed out a pamphlet by Rockwell that featured a swastika on the cover, his classmates recall....

"Duke also proposed that no Jews be appointed to high government positions and that the 'negative influence of Jewish culture be eliminated,' [the *Daily Reveille* of Nov. 13, 1969] also reported.

"In a signed opinion piece six days later, Duke wrote, 'The Jewish people as a whole control both systems (capitalism and Marxism) and have been a driving force for the disintegration and degradation of Western Civilization and the white race.'...

"Fred Hawley, a classmate of Duke's who is now chairman of the Department of Social Sciences and Criminal Justice at LSU's Shreveport campus, recalled that Duke told his introductory German professor, S. James Hintze, that he took the class to read what Duke called 'the greatest genius that ever lived.' Hawley said that when Hintze asked who he was referring to, Duke replied, 'Adolf Hitler.'

"Hintze could not be reached for comment....

"Bill Joseph, an LSU student and now a Jackson, Miss., architect, said he saw a Nazi flag in Duke's dorm room the only time he visited him. Duke also had a huge Nazi flag at home in New Orleans while a senior at John F. Kennedy High School, said Chris Champagne, a classmate who visited Duke's home on prom night.

"Art Jones, a longtime Nazi who was photographed shaking hands with Duke at a Populist Party convention in February 1989, said....[Duke] 'was an NSWPP organizer for two years. He wasn't a full party member, but he was definitely affiliated with us.'

"'For Duke to say he was never a Nazi is a lie,' said Rick Cooper, a former NSWPP member who now heads the National Socialist Vanguard, a neo-Nazi group in Oregon."

— Bridges, "David Duke."

Copy of a letter on Hitler

Duke's biographer Michael Zatarain states that in August 1971, Duke wrote the headquarters of the White Student Alliance (that is, Nazi headquarters in the U.S.) a letter of which he sent a copy to his father, "who keeps it to this day." According to the copy of this letter, Zatarain wrote, Duke told the Nazis in Arlington:

"....I have told you that I cannot support the policies of National Socialism. Although Adolf Hitler was pro-White and anti-communist, he is to the racial movement as the Inquisition is to Christianity. Excusing his crimes by pointing out Soviet and allied war crimes does not lessen his culpability for crimes that were committed, exaggerated or not. The truth is that whatever his motives, he was the greatest disaster ever to

befall the white race....I am sorry if my opinion will cause our friendship to be severed...."

Zatarain, interviewed by the Observer concerning this matter, said the copy of the letter, which appeared to be on onionskin paper, was volunteered to him by David Duke's father. David Duke's Nazi activities at LSU had peaked in April 1971, and Colonel Duke, returning to the U.S. from Laos in August that year, leaned hard on his son to stop it.

Zatarain said David Duke told him, during interviews early in 1990, that he, David, wrote the letter to the Nazis later in 1971 in response to his father's pressure. "David said he would not have written the letter, that it was for his father. David still kept his contacts [with the Nazis]. He said he did it to appease his father, if it wasn't for that he woulda stayed in and kept on goose-steppin' around," Zatarain said.

The information in the preceding paragraph does not appear in Zatarain's biography of Duke

— Zatarain, *David*, p. 139; Observer interview with Zatarain (telephone), 1/9/92.

Duke's Plan for Minority Enclaves and an All-White U.S.A.

1976: 'You commie Jews!'

"...In September, 1976, Duke, sponsor of a conference of Klansmen and neo-Nazis at a Metairie hotel, was arrested after he and a group of conventioners harassed police officers trying to clear the hotel parking lot. The police report of the incident records Duke ranting much as he had several years earlier at Jerry Rubin: 'You commie Jews! Get out of here! We don't want you here,' as followers circled the police cruiser chanting, 'White power! White power!'"

— Bridges, "Duke working," Times-Picayune.

1976: Release Nazi war criminals

The occasion of the above incident was a meeting which Duke had organized in Metairie of the World Nationalist Conference, a loose confederation of Nazi and Klan groups. The conference passed a resolution supporting the German Nazi government and demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Germany and the release of all Nazi war criminals.

— LCARN, "Resource."

1977: Tax Credits for Kids of 'Productive' People

In her 1978 book, *The Klan*, Patsy Sims quoted Duke in 1977 as suggesting "a tax credit for kids for people who are most productive in certain areas." Sims asked Duke who would determine who received the tax credits and reported that he replied, "Somebody's got to....I imagine all this sounds harsh, but it's not meant to. I don't think you can have a high society without high people."

— Cited in Quin Hilyer, "A Biology of Intelligence," *Gambit*, 6/19/90, an article included in LCARN, "Resource."

1978: If a Nazi, Proud Of It

"I wouldn't be opposed to any group that stood up for the white race in this country, and if I was a Nazi, I'd be proud of it.

"The Jews consider themselves a separate entity in our society, always have. They're a very elitist group.

"White people in this nation and the world have got to unite."

— Duke, in a television clip aired by ABC News on "Nightline," 2/20/89.

1982: Jews Run Half the Media

"More than half of the major dailies in America are under direct control or in direct control of Jews, a minority that makes up only 2.9 percent of

the population....In every major city Jews have predominance in the mercantile trade....As Jewish mercantile power has increased there has been a steady decline in the numbers of newspapers— primarily as a result of selective advertising by Jewish merchants."

— Duke, in "Who Runs the Media?" published in NAAWP News, cited in ADL, "Dukewatch, pp. 16-17.

1984: 'The Superman'

An unsigned editorial in the NAAWP News, of which Duke was the publisher, advocated beginning "the creation of the Superman" by shooting "if necessary" illegal aliens entering the U.S. across the southern border, paying anyone with an I.Q. below 100 \$1,000 per point below 100 to undergo voluntary sterilization, government subsidies for the children of "white couples with high I.Q.s," and consigning Jews, blacks, Hispanics, and Orientals to separate enclaves and reserving the rest of the U.S. for "the white majority."

(See "The NAAWP's Plan for America," excerpting the editorial, at page 21.)

In the next issue of NAAWP News, Tom Wilson, Duke's young assistant who occasionally edited Duke's paper, wrote a piece envisioning a eugenics program which would create a race of blond-haired, blue-eyed "supermen" with an average I.Q. of 144.

— LCARN, "Resource," citing Newsletter #32.

1984: Jews and Colored Peoples, Out!

In its December 1984 issue, Duke's NAAWP News published a map of an all-white U.S. with its former minorities relocated in separated enclaves, mostly at the southern and southwestern edges of what is now the U.S. This program to separate the American people into separate territories by race had originally been published in the extreme right-wing magazine *Instauration* and was then reprinted in Duke's paper.

Under the plan, Mexican-Americans and illegal Mexican aliens would live in "Alta California," a strip from the Texas Valley to the lower tip of California. Once that was established, a 20-mile buffer zone or no-man's land would separate the U.S. from its new southern neighbor. "To stop the creeping Mexican invasion once and for all," according to the plan, "anyone who crossed into this buffer zone [that is, across the borders between the United States 'Alta California,' and Mexico] without permission from both countries will be shot on sight."

Blacks would be relocated into "New Africa," a new country put together from southerly parts of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. Jews would live in Long Island and Manhattan, renamed "West Israel." "Unassimilable minorities"—including Puerto Ricans, southern Italians, Greeks, and immigrants from the southern Mediterranean littoral— would be bunched into "Minoria," which would be brought into being from southern Connecticut and the rest of the New York City metropolitan area. Above "Alta California," a block of the Southwest would be reserved as "Navahona" for American Indians. Asians would be confined to the Hawaiian Islands, renamed "West Mongolia." Dade County, Florida, would be "New Cuba," the reservation for those who are now regarded as Cuban-Americans. Finally, "Francia," made from a strip of the northeast U.S. at the border with Canada, would be reserved for French-Canadians.

— See Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face*, pp. 148, 150-151.

1984: Again: 'Racial War'

The original author of the aforementioned plan to form separate enclaves for minorities, leaving an all-white continental U.S., Wilmot Robertson, was quoted in the NAAWP News: "If the races are not separated soon, the Majority will have to fight for survival or go completely under....Separation and the surrender of a great deal of our land and property may well be our only means of survival. The only other course is racial war."

— LCARN, "Resource."

1984: Racial War, or...

Duke's NAAWP News advocated that its followers temper their rhetoric and run for office. As to the ultimate purpose of this electoral activity, the newsletter said: "Where will it end....It can end in racial war, in mongrelization, or it can end only to make way for a new beginning, the beginning of an all-white nation on the continent."

— NAAWP News #34, cited in LCARN, "Resource."

'The Ultimate Issue Is Darwinian'

Mid-80's: Toasting Hitler

"Quietly, in his Metairie home, (Duke) celebrated Hitler's birthday every April 20 as late as the mid-1980s.

"David would call a few close friends and let them know that tonight was Hitler's birthday and that he wanted them to come over and have a few beers and chips to celebrate," (Gwen Udell, formerly a close friend who often traveled with him,) said.

"Duke would give a toast to Hitler, 'who was his idol,' she said. 'He believes he was the greatest man who ever lived.'

"Duke denied he'd had the parties and joked, 'Hitler's never showed up at my house for any birthday parties.'"

— Bridges, "Duke working," *Times-Picayune*.

Former Duke aide Karl Hand, speaking from prison, said he celebrated Hitler's birthday with Duke. Hand said on camera: "Had a few beers and gave a few Sieg Heils." Duke called the charges a "cheap shot."

— Transcription of "Special Assignment" with Art Harris on CNN, October 16, 1991; Duke's retort, *Times-Picayune*, 10/16/91.

Mid-'80s: 'Ugly Aliens'

In an editorial in NAAWP News, Duke condemned Congress for selling out to "a handful of ugly aliens in the national media" and not daring to oppose "the remaking of America into a black and brown country!"

— Zatarian, *David*, p. 262.

1985: On Nazi Germany

"I never was a member of any Nazi party, or anything...I wouldn't call (my philosophy) Nazi because I have a different viewpoint of government.(But) in some ways mine, too, (is similar), as far as many genetic ideas in improving the race....I don't believe in the same form of government. I believe in a much more democratic form of government....But as far as their attitudes are concerned, founding a really fantastic educational system and promoting the best and having vigorous physical fitness and having a real sense of unity with nature and believing in non-pollution and relocating factories to the countryside and creating a whole community around, you know, nature walks, and you know, that outlook on life, I would—I think I would agree. The idea of pursuing scientific excellence as they did so much during that period, being very literate people.

"I think they had a very—and that's another good example of the Holocaust being inconsistent. Because I think it was inconsistent with the German people during that period. Germany had one of the lowest crime rates in the world, per capita, probably the lowest per capita in the entire world. They had less crime. They had a greater sense of gaiety, national purpose and unity and true brotherhood among their people probably than any nation's ever had."

— Duke to Evelyn Rich, March 1985.



1985: On Jews

"If the Jews are so great, why do they have to be among us in the first place?..."

"If you want to talk about any sort of pornography, or you want to talk about organized crime, or you want to talk about the advocates of drug usage, or the obscene poets.....They have been consistently behind the kind of things that are against the traditions of the West, the values of the West, the spirit of the West....In the last 60, 70 years we've gone... into an increasingly Jewish minoritization of our culture. And I

don't like it, you know. Every time they've gotten into things, things have become more materialistic and less spiritual. Make—the more fast buck. Make something cheap, plastic that disintegrates upon using it twice, instead of something that lasts.

"It's the big, big, big guys who make the serious bucks and it's as Jewish as a \$3 bill. I mean it's Jewish from top to bottom. I mean the real top players—Jews, Jews, Jews and more Jews. They raped the country economically.

"I don't have any hatred toward the average Jew. I think I've got a lot of enmity towards the Jews as a whole. I resent what they're doing. I resent them....

"You know Barbra Streisand is the greatest singer of our age. There are plenty of Gentile singers who look better than her, sing better than her, but they're not Jews. They don't get the same coverage. In fact that's what the media does in this country—any time a Jew does anything, you know, he's lauded to the hilt....

"These Jews who run things, who are producing this mental illness—teen-age suicide...just read the modern novelists, read Philip Roth—*Portnoy's Complaint*—all these Jewish sicknesses in there, like that. Of course that's nothing new. The Talmud is full of it. The Talmud's full of things like sex with boys and girls....

"One factor is people simply have been bought off....They owe their power and prestige to the Jews. Like [President] Reagan, he's been working for Jews all his life, especially Jewish studio heads. And now he knows—he toes the line really well."

— Duke to Evelyn Rich, March 1985.

1985: On Unvaluable Humans

"I definitely think we have a wrong attitude about life, you know. I think that this idea that somehow everything that's living—that's, quote, 'human,' that can crawl under the line of a human being—is valuable and good is a very bad concept. It's not human life that's so valuable, it's good human life, productive human life, beautiful human life....I don't think the fact that somebody is human necessarily gives any, you know, is any great plus in their favor....I don't see any intrinsic value in that person because they crawl under the line as human beings...."

— Duke to Evelyn Rich, March 1985.

1985-86: On Racial Engineering

"(Welfare) is a biological problem....Let sterilization be an option, not a forced thing. Say you have a congenital case of welfare, where the women in the family have been on welfare for generations. You offer the mother of the moment a cash bonus—hypothetically \$10,000—excellent living quarters, and job training" [for not having children].

— Duke, in John Bowers, "Interview: David Duke," Gallery, reprinted in NAAWP News #38, 1985.

"I became convinced that the real answer to the world's problems was not in better tools of men, but in better men and women....Well, not only genetic engineering, but just promoting the best strains, the best individuals....Society has a very strong birth control against the most creative, the most productive, the most talented, because in general in society, they have the fewest children. Whereas your lowest elements, the way society is constructed, are encouraged. The more welfare payments for the more children they have, etc., etc., etc. In fact, most of them are too stupid to do anything else but have kids. That's the only way in life they can really entertain themselves, is through sex. They can't entertain themselves very well through intellectual pursuits. And so society already has a program, and I say simply reverse that...."

"What we're trying to do is pick out those certain elements—the most courageous, foresightful of the American people—and to do that you've got to go through the whole country and pick out—draw out like a magnet those people of true mettle...."

— Duke to Evelyn Rich, March 1985.

"There is no reason we shouldn't give incentives to welfare recipients, criminals, and mentally defective to go childless. On the other hand, there is no good reason why we shouldn't offer the gifted and successful incentives to have more children."

— Duke, "Letter of the Month," NAACP News #24, 1986, cited in LCARN, "Resource."

"Finally, there would be cash bonuses for sterilization—money that could make their lives more comfortable....So [now] our most productive people are being sterilized while the least productive, many of whom are feeble minded and practically in a state of mental retardation, have a multitude of children."

— Duke, in Michael Bane, "David Duke: Is the White Race Doomed?" Hustler, reprinted in NAAWP News #37, 1986, cited in LCARN, "Resource."

1986: 'Not good Americans'

"The media is dominated by Jews. You know it, and everybody knows it. They own the store....These Jews are not good Americans."

— Duke interview with Gallery, cited in LCARN, "Resource."

1986: "Like Hitler"

During a recorded interview on Feb. 17, 1986, in Culver City, California, Duke said the Jewish people "have been a blight" and "probably deserve to go into the ashbin of history." After likening the enemy to a magnificent tiger stalking you in the jungle, Duke said you must kill the tiger before it kills you, whereupon Duke added cryptically: "like Hitler."

— See extensive excerpts of this interview in this issue.

1987: Jews from Satan

Duke attended a Florida meeting of believers in Identity Christianity, which teaches that blacks are "mud people" and that Jews literally are descendants of Satan.

— LCARN, "Resource."

1988: His campaign manager

For his 1988 campaign for President as a Democrat, "Duke's choice for campaign manager was Ralph Forbes, who had been an officer in the American Nazi Party from 1959 to 1967....Forbes was also a minister in the Identity religion, which holds that Jews are children of Satan. Duke called Forbes 'a good Christian minister.'" In 1980 Forbes had told the Jackson Clarion Ledger, "the Nazi Party is doing God's work."

— Bridges, "The Men," Times-Picayune; 1980 quotation cited in LCARN, "Who's Who."

1988: 'Who Will Be Controlled'

"The ultimate issue is Darwinian...the choice is clear. You and your actions over the next few decades will decide who will propagate and who will not, who will control and who will be controlled."

— Duke article, "The Black Population Bomb," NAAWP News #48, 1988, cited in LCARN, "Resource."

1988: 'Zionist PACs'

"Zionist PACs have long ago bought Bush and Dukakis."

— Duke, quoted in Zatarain, *David*, p. 277.

1989-90: Israel 'a Nazi society'

During 1989-90: Duke told his biographer Zatarain concerning Israel, which he had visited in 1971: "They were building a Nazi society....By looking at the oppression of the Palestinian people in Israel, I saw what blacks had been through back home."

— Zatarain, *David*, p. 168.

1989: Eugenics and Political Power

"Duke said the growing rate of illegitimate children among welfare mothers should be stemmed by rewarding those who do not have more babies out of wedlock. 'If we don't do that, the demographics will change and the political power of the underclass will increase,' he said."

— Charlie Chapple, Times-Picayune, 12/6/89.

Beth Rickey: 'He's Not Telling the Truth....He is a Nazi, Posing'

1989: Hitler...and Mengele

Elisabeth A. (Beth) Rickey of New Orleans, a Republican state committeewoman in Louisiana and a co-founder of LCARN, is also a doctoral student in political science at Tulane University. She had many interviews with Duke during 1989.

On CNN's "Special Assignment," reported by correspondent Art Harris, Rickey said of Duke: "He's the ultimate con man. He's not telling the truth. And the truth is that he is a great admirer of National Socialism. He's a great admirer of Adolf Hitler. And he still believes—in the beliefs of racial superiority—that the white Aryans are superior, and that Jews are evil."

After Rickey exposed, in 1989, the fact that Duke was still selling neo-Nazi literature from his office, Art Harris continued his CNN report, "she says Duke asked her to lunch to try and convert her." [The transcription of the report continued:]

Rickey: One of his favorite topics is the Holocaust, and how it never happened. He also talked about some of his great heroes. Rudolf Hess...Adolf Eichmann...then he said, "And Mengele."

Harris: Josef Mengele, the Angel of Death. The death camp doctor who tortured and murdered children in savage experiments.

Rickey: He said he admired his genetic research on twins....I'm sitting in a restaurant with all these people. It looked so normal...and I'm sitting

here having a conversation with a Nazi.

Duke [in interview]: I'm opposed to Nazism, any totalitarianism, of any kind.

— Transcription of "Special Assignment" with Art Harris on CNN, 10/16/91.

1989: Sees self as 'this messiah'

"Beth Rickey, a New Orleans Republican, talked with (Duke) for 40 to 50 hours on the phone and in person during 1989 as he tried to win her over to his views. She said his conversation was a passionate diatribe on the primacy of race in culture, what he called 'the Jewish question,' and race mixing. In one conversation, he said he rattled on relentlessly for so long that she dozed off for a stretch—only to awake with a start to hear him still talking.

"He's a racial ideologue of a type that I have yet to encounter in my entire lifetime," she said. "He is not a George Wallace. He is beyond that. He is truly a type that one would find in the 1930's in Germany. He sees himself as this Messiah, that he's going to save the white race."

— Peter Applebome, The New York Times, 11/10/91.

1989: Jews Descend from Satan

"Once, Rickey said, Duke 'delightfully pointed out passages from the Talmud that he believes prove the Satanic qualities of the Jewish people.... He said they were the children of Satan because Eve had a relationship with Satan and produced Cain, whose father was Satan. So the line of the Jews coming down was Satanic. The war against the Jews is the war of good versus evil. That's what was scary about talking with him.'

"He says the chosen people are not the Jews," Rickey continued. "He says the ten lost tribes of Israel scattered and went to Germany and England; the chosen people are people of Northern European descent. He sees his group as a chosen lot....He would call sometimes and immediately launch into the Jews. It's like someone in the grip of an obsession. He sat here waving a Bible in my face, showing passages in the Old Testament that Jews were not the chosen people, that there's been a misinterpretation.

"He'd kind of shovel his food and lean over real low, and he's looking [at excerpts from a copy of the Talmud] and he'd say, 'Look, Beth, look right here, it says here that Jewish people say it's okay to molest little boys.'"

"But when asked about the story, Duke told Gambit it is 'totally off the wall. I've never said that. That's totally ridiculous.'"

— Quin Hilyer, "A Biology of Intelligence," Gambit, 6/19/90, a copy of which is contained in LCARN, "Resource."

1989/1991: Facelift as a Metaphor

In an opinion piece on Duke which she wrote for the Dallas News, Rickey stated:

"...David Duke has carefully repackaged himself. He is a Nazi, posing as a Klansman, posing as a conservative Republican. His plastic surgery is a metaphor for the makeover he has given his racial beliefs. While he looks different, David Duke has not changed. He merely appears more polished. He still believes in the tenets of Aryan superiority, African inferiority, and Zionist conspiracy. He has put a pretty face on his hate, mainstreaming his rhetoric and using carefully chosen code words....However....he openly espoused anti-Semitism well into 1990."

— Elisabeth A. Rickey, "The Duke Phenomenon," Dallas News, 11/24/91.

Duke, 1990: Jews are a Plague

1989: 'The Zionist-Jewish Conspiracy'

Writer Lucian K. Truscott IV reported that he was covering Duke during

a political symposium in Louisiana in 1989 when a diminutive woman named Ann Levy confronted Duke and told him: "I was in the Warsaw Ghetto and the concentration camps. I approached you at the Holocaust Memorial in Baton Rouge last week. I told you to go away. I'm the one who asked why you sell that vile Nazi literature from your office. How can you call yourself a representative of the people and sell that garbage? How can you?"

Truscott said Duke blanched as Levy began her statement to him and that when she asked her question, her voice rising, thereby causing people in the symposium audience to turn their heads toward them, "Duke headed for the door, mumbling that he needed to make a phone call."

Truscott reported that a week later he asked Duke why he had reacted to Ann Levy with such agitation. Truscott wrote: "Duke went white. He took a deep breath. 'She's part of the Zionist-Jewish conspiracy. I was set up. They sent her. Can't you see?... They sent her! It's the Jews! You either know about them or you don't! They don't want me to succeed!'"

— Lucian K. Truscott IV, "Hate Gets a Haircut," *Esquire*, November 1989.

1989: "I reject Anti-Semitism"

Morton Dean: I was looking at...a recent newsletter from your organization, the National Association for the Advancement of White People, and was stunned by some of the anti-Semitic literature that was for sale.... Why do you have so much literature in that newsletter for sale that condemns Jews?...

Duke: I reject anti-Semitism, and in fact, some of the prominent people that helped me in this campaign are Jewish.

— Transcript, "Nightline," ABC News, 2/20/89.

1989: 'The Jewish Establishment'

"At the core of Duke's thinking is the belief that Christian whites are responsible for society's advances—in art, literature, and technology. Jews, in revenge, are deliberately trying to adulterate the white gene pool by promoting ideas such as interracial marriage.

"I realized that the white species of humanity, that segment responsible for most of the world's great civilizations, was in grave danger of extinction," Duke told the anti-Semitic publication, *Instauration*, in 1989 in explaining the evolution of his views on race. "And I came to understand that the most crucial element in the well-being of any society was, ultimately, the biological quality of the people who compose it. I learned that once the gene pool was damaged, all hope and promise for the future would be lost irretrievably."

"The tool Jews are using to weaken American society, Duke believes, is control of newspapers, television networks, movie companies and publishing houses.

"I realize that the Jewish establishment has tremendous power over the media," he said. "They try to destroy the racial consciousness and value system of the average non-Jewish, white American. The same Zionists who control the media are busy trying to integrate white neighborhoods," Duke said."

— Bridges, "Duke paints," *Times-Picayune*.

1989: 'Racial Science'

"I do believe in racial science. I believe we should be able to study that and learn about that...."

"I believe that in fact, nationality comes from genes...."

— Duke interview with Abby Kaplan, quoted in LCARN, "Resource."

May 1990: Jesus Started World War II

"David Duke said Jews are a plague on the white race during an interview [in May 1990]...only days after telling a crowd...that he no longer held extremist views.

"Duke also said in the interview with Scottish journalist Ros Davidson that Nazi Rudolf Hess, one of Adolph Hitler's closest advisers, should have won a Nobel Peace Prize, according to Davidson's report...."

"The interview with Davidson took place...on May 19 [1990].... "On May 19, 1990, Duke (said in a speech before 120 people), 'I certainly was too strident in my younger days.... But those in our society who have never been insensitive or said something they'd like to take back as they got older—let them throw the first stone at David Duke. I've grown and evolved.'

"In the May 19 interview, Duke told Davidson that Jews were responsible for drugs and immorality in modern society and that they should be held accountable for rape, civil rights and communism. 'Jews are trying to destroy all other cultures...as a survival mechanism.' Duke said, according to Davidson. Duke said that Jews started World War II to destroy Aryan culture and that Jews ran the Russian concentration camps. He spoke of the 'alleged' Holocaust in which the Nazis exterminated millions of Jews...."

"Davidson said she thought (Duke) felt open to discuss his views with her because she's Scottish. Duke's forefathers are Scottish.... The Scots are the most beautiful people in the world, he said, describing the shapes of their skulls.... 'You know the (Ku Klux Klan) fiery cross is a symbol adopted from Scotland,' he said.

"Davidson reported her interview with Duke in an article for 'Scotland on Sunday,' an Edinburgh newspaper. It appeared on Sept. 9, 1990."

— Bridges, "New reports," *Times-Picayune*.

1989-91: Pay to Reduce Welfare Babies

"In (his) interview with (Tulane freshman Abby) Kaplan, Duke said he favors the creation of a government program to give low-interest loans to the top 10 percent of university graduates to have children."

— Bridges, "Blacks more," *Times-Picayune*.

"We've got to reduce the welfare illegitimate birth rate." Preference in housing allocations, job programs, and other benefits should go to those "who go without having an illegitimate child over a certain period of time."

— Duke, announcing for President, as reported in *The New York Times*, 12/5/91.

April 1991: Sterilization for Welfare Recipients

In April 1991, State Rep. Duke introduced in the Louisiana legislature H.B. 1584 to provide cash government payments to welfare recipients who agreed to be temporarily sterilized through Norplant implants or equivalent long-term contraceptives. (Norplant implants are surgically-implanted long-term contraceptives that effectively sterilize the host persons for five years. Side effects include vaginal bleeding in one-third of the users.) Duke restricted the proposed grants to recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 74% of whom are black in Louisiana. The Duke bill proposed that the state pay a yearly cash incentive of \$100 to all AFDC recipients accepting the temporary sterilization for as long as the participants retained the implants.

The bill did not become law.

— LCARN, "Resource."

1991: Why Prefer the Nazis?

Tim Russert, NBC News: What was it about this country, this society, that you chose to become a Nazi? What did you find so offensive and so objectionable about the United States of America that you found Nazi Germany to be preferable?

Duke: All right, first off, I was never a member of a Nazi party or anything like that. My—what happened to me is, I was—.... I'll tell you what happened to me in my life. I became frustrated. As a young man. I saw our United States government not allowing our soldiers, sailors and Marines to win in the Vietnam war. I felt frustrated. I looked for answers.

I saw our schools declining with forced integration and forced busing, which hurt them. I saw our streets becoming seas of crime and disillusion. I was looking for answers, like many young people did in that period. I reject Nazism, I reject communism, I believe in less government. That's what I stand for....

Russert: Do you still think that Adolf Hitler is the greatest genius—

Duke: Listen now—

Russert: Excuse me. Do you think he's the greatest genius in the world?

Duke: I never said that—

Russert: Well, you did—

Duke: I don't believe that. Listen, I don't believe that. I think Hitler was a disaster for the western world.

— Transcript, "Meet the Press," NBC News, 11/10/91.

November: Jews, Become Christians

"Appearing on CBS News several days after the (1991) Louisiana election, Duke charged that 'America's fundamentally a Christian country' and that 'the Jewish people [should] become Christians.'"

— ADL, "Dukewatch," p. 12.

December: The Christian Europeans

"This country is overwhelmingly European descent. It's overwhelmingly Christian. And if we lose our underpinning, I think we're going to lose the foundations of America."

— Duke, announcing for President, as reported in the New York Times, 12/5/91.

III. Duke Says the Holocaust is 'a Hoax' and 'Didn't Happen'

1980: It's a Hoax

"In 1980 Duke sent a letter to fellow Klansmen (addressed 'Dear Patriot') in which he termed the Nazi genocide 'an historical hoax... perpetrated on Christians by Jews.'"

— Jason Berry, a New Orleans journalist, in the Washington Post, 5/14/89.

1980: It was the Jews

"If the American people learn that the holocaust is primarily an historical hoax and/or that the greatest holocaust was not against Jews, but (was) perpetrated on Christians by Jews, perhaps many will begin to use reason in their analysis of the Jewish impact into the mass media and the government."

— Duke, in a 1980 letter accompanying The Crusader, the publication of Duke's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, cited in ADL, "Dukewatch," p. 13.

1982: 90% from Jews

Hustler: Do you really doubt that the Holocaust occurred?

Duke: Let's put it this way. I question whether six million Jews actually died in Nazi death camps. There are two major sources of Holocaust stories. One is the Nuremberg war-crimes trial, which has been shown by all honest historians to be a farce of justice. Another source is the great body of literature and media works, and at least 90 percent of that material is from biased Jewish sources.

— Duke's interview with Hustler magazine, cited in ADL, "Dukewatch," pp. 13-14.

1985: 'An absolute lie'

"The fact that they (the Holocaust survivors) survived themselves is a tremendous argument for the fact that extermination didn't take place....

"Did you ever notice how many survivors they have? Did you ever notice that? Everybody—every time you turn around, 15,000 survivors meet here, 400 survivors convention there. I mean, did you ever notice? Nazis sure were inefficient weren't they? Boy, boy, boy!... You almost have no survivors that ever say they saw a gas chamber or saw the workings of a gas chamber.... They'll say these preposterous stories that anybody can check out to be a lie, an absolute lie....

"If they (the Nazis) were going to kill Jews they wouldn't have shipped them from Holland to Auschwitz to kill them. They can kill them in Holland just as well....

"That's what's so funny about the Holocaust...this stuff's so sloppy.... I mean, the whole thing comes down like a house of cards because it's just bullshit...."

— Duke to Evelyn Rich, March 1985

1985: '...it didn't happen'

Duke said further during taped interviews with Evelyn Rich in 1985:

"Here's the situation about the Holocaust....

"Today, I tend to believe that it didn't happen. And I really am trying to be open-minded about it. I've read many books, many more books by the Jews, but I have read the books that contest it, too, and I think there's a lot of holes in the whole theory...."

"All of the (concentration) camps had gas chambers: Zyklon B (gas) for disinfection of clothes, to kill lice so Jews wouldn't die. Every camp had crematoria for people that died. Every major city has crematoria. It takes Jewish Hollywood to make crematoria into, quote, 'ovens.'..."

"I don't talk about the Holocaust much.... If people bring it up I'm very careful with it because it's a non-productive thing for me.... First of all, people wouldn't believe it. It's too fantastic.... It's like saying the world's flat. Everybody knows. It's a historical fact....

"You know they had a soccer field at Auschwitz? They had a swimming pool at Auschwitz. They had an orchestra at Auschwitz. And then you read things in the paper like, well they had a band just to cover it up so people wouldn't know they were killing people.... I mean that's the most ridiculous thing in the world!... The band was for the prisoners' enjoyment—pleasure."

— Duke to Evelyn Rich, March 1985.

1980s: Many Bodies Don't Prove It

Duke's biographer Michael Zatarain attributes to him the editorial, "Thoughts on the Holocaust," in Duke's NAAWP News, which states in part:

"The Holocaust is the rock upon which Israel rests. Chronic Holocaust propaganda was the main justification used in the expropriation of Palestinian land to make way for the Jewish state.... So exactly what is the 'fact of Dachau'?.... There was very little food and fuel in the camps and...there were accompanying epidemics.... Finding a large number of emaciated, diseased bodies no more proves any deliberate extermination policy than the fact that there were many victims of the Chicago fire proves that the city administration deliberately set the blaze....

"One thing is certain. Every word written about the horrors of the Holocaust speeds money to Israel...."

— Zatarain, David, pp. 260-261.

1986: Just for De-Licing

"In 1986, Duke got a chance to see for himself when he visited the Mauthausen concentration camp in Austria with (a close friend of his, Gwen) Udell. He was bubbling over with enthusiasm as he played tour guide, Udell said.

"David would say, 'This could not possibly have been a gas chamber

because it was too small," Udel said. "In other places, he would say, 'This wasn't really a gas chamber, it was just to de-lice people.'"

—Tyler Bridges, "The Men," Times-Picayune.

1989: A Book He Was Selling

Morton Dean: Here's one book for sale [in the newsletter for Duke's National Association for the Advancement of White People], 'The hoax of the 20th century. The most important refutation of the Holocaust that demolishes the Holocaust fraud.' ... You don't believe in the Holocaust?

Duke: —wait, no, wait. Now, we—I sell the Bible, too, that doesn't make me one of the twelve disciples....

Dean: You have been quoted as saying that you don't believe that the Holocaust ever existed, that it's (*unintelligible*), that it never happened.

Duke: That's—that's an incorrect quote. I believe there are certainly atrocities in the war, but here—here again, I—what I've talked about is the fact that we've had so much attention on this thing, rather than the attention to what's going on in the Middle East. I think the Holocaust has been used as a political weapon to support the state of Israel. But that again is not the issue in this campaign. The issue really is the fact that whites are losing their rights in this country.

—Transcript, "Nightline," ABC News, 2/20/89.

1989: U.S. Wrong in the War

Swinging into position to run for the U.S. Senate in 1990, Duke made

remarks, during his interview with Tulane student Abby Kaplan in November 1989, which opposed U.S. participation in World War II while also seeming to shift his position on whether the Holocaust happened. He said:

"I think that we should not have gotten involved in the war. I think that the war cost tens of millions of lives—including the Holocaust.... It threw half the world into communist slavery, so I don't think the war was really fought over freedom.... How in the world are we fighting for freedom when our allies are the greatest mass murderers of all time—the Soviets. You know, they didn't kill six million. The Soviet Union killed 66 million.... So yeh, I think the Second World War was damaging to the West and to freedom, even though I don't agree with National Socialist philosophy."

—Abby Kaplan's interview with Duke, as quoted in Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face*, p. 156.

1991: Auschwitz and Quotas

Phil Donahue: "Do you think the Holocaust is exaggerated by Jews?"

Duke: Of course there were terrible atrocities in Europe and I condemn that and there were terrible atrocities as well in the Soviet Union. And, I oppose any oppression of people. And I think there is a lot of—. The closest thing that I know to the policies of Germany in this country is the so-called affirmative action or quota systems. They had quotas in Germany as well on the basis of race. I don't think you should have racial preferences.

—The CBS interview show, "Donahue," on 11/6/91, as reported in The New York Times, 11/7/91.

Duke's Stances Since 1989

Since 1989, David Duke has expressed penitence about his intolerance of Jews and minorities while adapting his basic ideas and dressing them up in the rhetorical uniforms of the brand of conservative Republicanism which has developed during the eleven-year presidential reigns of Ronald Reagan and George Bush. The first third or so of the Observer interview with Duke, an edited transcript of which begins at page 24, consists largely of many of his presentations of his ideas as of this month; here we give some other examples of his recent electoral stances.

It is widely agreed that Duke is now using "coded" language, but less well understood what the codes are. Lance Hill, director of the anti-Duke Louisiana Coalition Against Nazism and Racism, made one attempt, in an interview with the Times Picayune, to explain: "When Duke says welfare, everyone knows he means blacks. When he says New York, everyone knows he means Jews. When he says Western values, everyone knows he means whites."

"The rising welfare underclass is the main source of our economic and social woes," Duke says on TV. On that same medium he condemns the "cancerous welfare underclass," the "large, growing, parasitic and intractable welfare underclass."

He pins up this cancerous and parasitic group of citizens onto various targets and takes aim. He blames poor blacks on welfare for crime. In a money-raising letter in December 1989, he said that "the rising illegitimate welfare birth rate (is) fueling the brutal crime and drug wave on our streets." In DeRidder, La., he said, "Half of welfare children end up in jail." The "welfare system," he says, uses our taxes to "subsidize drug habits."

He proposes mandatory drug testing for welfare recipients and public housing residents, and he would enact stiffer penalties for drug offenses which are committed by residents of public housing than the penalties for the same offenses committed by other citizens. He proposes denying welfare benefits to families one of whose members is convicted of using or selling drugs, and he supports the death penalty for drug dealers.

"There is a wholesale refusal among the underclass," Duke says, "to go to school, keep a job, obey the law, and not conceive children they cannot afford." He would require "all able-bodied welfare recipients...to do some kind of work to get benefits." Despite his professions of concern about the

education of welfare recipients, in the legislature, on an amendment to make pursuing an education a valid exception to the Louisiana workfare law, he voted no.

"The vast majority of underclass children are illegitimate, and their rising numbers of ominous," he says. In Berwick, La., in 1990, he told 500 whites roaring their approval, "I don't mind them having illegitimate babies, ladies and gentlemen. I just don't think we should have to pay for them."

"The cycle of poverty can only be broken by slowing the welfare birth-rate," according to Duke. "Right now," he contended on another occasion, "the incentive is that if you have more children, you get bigger housing allocations, you get more food stamps, you get more payments, and it just goes on and on." He advocates "policies to encourage welfare recipients to practice birth control," and he implies that the more children there are in a family on welfare, the fewer benefits the family should get. "It is time," according to one of his campaign flyers, "to give welfare recipients who show responsibility [by not having excess children] first choice in the programs for the poor." In the legislature, as reported earlier, Duke unsuccessfully advocated a law to provide cash payments for welfare recipients who consented to be sterilized by Norplant implants.

Duke's assault against affirmative action programs is all-out (see the Observer interview). Believing that a property owner should be able to sell to whomever he or she wishes, Duke advocates repeal of the U.S. Fair Housing Act which was enacted in 1968 under President Lyndon Johnson. Duke opposes the national holiday on the birthday of Martin Luther King. Duke blames the country's loss of competitive position in the world on an emphasis on racial quotas instead of on excellence.

Complaining of "a sea of exorbitant taxes," Duke advocates a flat-rate income tax and eventually, in its place, a national sales tax (on this, too, see the Observer interview). He would give tax-money credits to parents who choose to send their children to private or parochial schools, and he supports "tracking," which, on the basis of tests, assigns abler students to faster and higher-aiming educational pursuits while assigning less gifted students to vocational and educational studies.

—R.D.

(Sources: Duke's statement announcing for President, 12/4/91; Letter, Duke to "Fellow Republican," 12/4/89; St. Mary and Franklin Banner-Tribune (Franklin, La.), 8/27/90; Beauregard Daily News (DeRidder, La.), 8/31/90; Shreveport Journal, 7/20/90; Times Picayune, 11/8/91; and LCARN, "Resource," citing various other sources.)

"Like Hitler"

Duke on Extermination, the Right Package, and a Bengal Tiger

IN 1988 Evelyn Rich received a doctorate in history from Boston University for her dissertation, "Ku Klux Klan Ideology, 1954-1988." Born in Great Britain, Rich now lives in California. She earned her BA in history from Lafayette College in Pennsylvania.

In the course of her research for her dissertation, Rich tape-recorded two interviews with David Duke on March 18 and March 20, 1985, in a room at La Quinta Motor Lodge in Metairie, La. Excerpts from these interviews, as published in the New Orleans Times-Picayune and in materials provided by the Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism, are to be found (under quotations dated 1985) in the Observer's presentations in this issue of Duke's statements on white supremacy, Nazism and the Holocaust.

Duke's 1985 interviews with Rich were remarkable, but his candor with her in Culver City, Calif. on Feb. 17, 1986, approached the unguarded. He was attending (as he had before) the annual conference of the Institute for Historical Review, the quasi-academic organization which denies that the Nazi Holocaust happened.

At the outset, Rich is interviewing Joe Fields, identified by LCARN as "a California-based neo-Nazi." There is a knock on the door, and Duke comes into the room, but Rich tells Duke that she doesn't want to talk to him, and he leaves. Soon Duke re-enters the room where Rich continues interviewing Fields, and gradually, with Rich's tape running, Duke is drawn into the interview by what Fields is saying.

Rich made the record of the interview available to LCARN, which provided the Observer with an 18-page transcript of it. We excerpt that transcript here. The few parts of the dialogue that are published inside parentheses facilitate condensations made by the Observer or seek to clarify meaning. Notes enclosed within parentheses are part of the transcript. Notes enclosed within brackets have been added by the Observer, as have been the explanatory footnotes which are printed at the end of these excerpts. We have chosen to publish certain passages in bold-faced type. For Duke's responses on questions about this event, see pages 30 and 31. —R.D.

Rich: Evelyn Rich

Fields: Joe Fields

Duke: David Duke

Fields: I've always been a National Socialist at heart.... We have kind of a loose-knit National Socialist Party here in L.A.... I'm just doing what I can to irritate the kikes, you know....

Rich: So, how did you get into this?

Fields:I used to watch—I'd see the Germans—watch those Hollywood movies and I'd root for the Germans.... When I'd see Adolf Hitler give a speech and I'd see the German people and the S.S. march, something inside of me said, "Yeah, that's what I like."...

(Knock at the door)

Rich: Yes? Who is it?

Duke: Oh, you're interviewing....

Rich: ...Close the door. Anyway, we don't want to talk to you. We've had enough of you for one year. *[Duke withdraws. Rich continues to*

Fields:] Anyway, how do your parents react?

Fields: (My mother's side) is more prone to it because they know what communism is, and they know the Jew is behind it.... But (my father is) a Reagan supporter and he doesn't like the niggers too much, but when you talk about the Jews, you know, you'd think....

Rich: So you were really out on your own?.... It must have taken a lot of guts to do this....

Fields: ...Usually, you know, I talk to people and they look at me like I'm nuts. I've had people tell me that I have a mental problem, that I should be locked up, you know, must because of my views.... People are so brainwashed that as soon as you talk about race or the Jews, they just turn off and they won't listen to you....

(Duke comes in again)

Rich: Yes, what do you want? Feel free, to put...

Duke: To put my three cents in?

Rich: Two-and-a-half cents.... *[To Fields:]* So how did it happen that you got the IHR [Institute for Historical Review] Free Press Award?

Fields:They gave me the free press award 'cause I didn't cave in.... I hear they're sorry they gave it to me now though, since I came out as a Nazi. They don't like Nazis.... I don't believe in total free speech for everyone. I think there are limits. I come from the position that what's healthy for the white race is the standard. And if it's going to degenerate the culture—if it's against your culture, if it's against your race, then I'd ban it. I have no qualms about that....

Rich: Well...we were joking last night, but you were the only person here who had a swastika on. Everybody else had business suits and dressed normally.

Fields: Oh, well, I didn't wear it upstairs.

Rich: Oh, you didn't?

Fields: No, I put that on at the bar afterwards.... *(To Duke:)* You know Stan Whittek, don't you? The local Nazi Party? He's coming over here.... McCaulden's having a meeting downstairs.

Rich: Oh, I'd love to meet him....

Duke: You don't want to meet McCaulden.... He's just a troublemaker against Carto.²...

Fields: Well, he's saying that the IHR is his....

Duke: Oh yeah, it was all Carto's money, Carto's brainchild, Carto's work to get it set up.... Whatever anyone can say about Carto, he's been the most effective and the most important publisher of anti-Jewish material, and Holocaust revisionism, and historical revisionism. And you know, the Jews—if McCaulden's not on the Jewish payroll, then he should be. If I was a Jew, I would send McCaulden money.

Fields (to Rich): Have you ever met McCaulden?

Rich: No.

Fields: He looks like a Jew.

Duke: Well, he may be...

Fields: He's got the profile.

Duke: Attacks by people like him do more for the Jewish cause and hurt Carto, more than any.... Look at it this way. If you're a right-winger, and the Jews want to cut off—all right, say you're like Carto and they want to cut off your support. All right, what happens? What is the most effective way for them to cut off your support? Is it by saying, 'Carto is a rabid anti-Semite? A terrible danger to the Jewish people?' ...Or is it not the most effective way—and these Jews are not stupid—the most effective way is to come along and say, 'He's not sincere!' [That] He's either in it for the money, or he's an agent.... That's cutting off his basic source of financial support, which in turn hurts him far more than anything else the Jews can do. These Jews—I mean, they got a multi-million-dollar—the ADL [Anti-Defamation League] has got a budget in the tens of millions of dollars....

[The talk turns to splits in right-wing organizations.]

Duke:But the right-wingers, what they do is, when they break off, they want to steal your mailing list....That's one reason I left the Klan, 'cause of—the Klan is just riddled—there's no essential organization, 'cause anyone can start a Ku Klux Klan.

Rich (to Fields): Would you join the Klan?

Fields: Sure, I love the Klan. I love the Nazi party better though. There's something about the swastika and the brown shirt that I just like better.

Rich: Tell me why...

Fields: Well, I told you how I feel about Hitler. To me he was the ultimate. There was no other person in history who came as close as he did to finally getting rid of the influence of the Jew over the white man. And if it wasn't for our intervention, he would have done it.

Duke: What did Hitler want to do with the Jews?

Fields: I think he wanted to break their influence...and he had a thing going with Madagascar.³ He wanted to...

Duke: He wanted to, I think he wanted to resettle them.

Fields: Yeah. Of course, they actually do deserve...(Duke laughs)...No seriously, they actually do deserve everything they get. And if it was extermination, they would have deserved it.

Rich: Well, David, what do you think?

Duke: I think, ummmmm....

Fields: They're a pest. You know, when your house is rotting, you have termites, you get rid of the pests.

Duke: Well, as I say—people generally deserve what they push on other people. I think they're trying to exterminate our race. I think probably in a moral sense, the Jewish people have been a blight. I mean as a whole, not every Jew. And, they probably deserve to go into the ashbin of history. But, saying that and actually shooting or killing people in masses are two different things. I'm not advocating some sort of extermination. I think the best thing is to resettle them some place where they can't exploit others. And I don't think they can live among themselves. I really don't. I think their numbers will dwindle rapidly and they'll have a great deal of problems.

Fields: A parasite can't live unless it's attached to a host.

Duke: And also, the answer to all these things, I don't think, is forced anything—forcing the Jews to get out. You know what the answer is? It's developing a higher consciousness of racialism among our people. Because you see, we are the majority, and we do create the great aspects of Western Civilization which both they enjoy and we enjoy, and if we ever developed a third of the racial consciousness and unity, solidarity that they have, there'd be no way they could challenge us in media, arts, anything. I mean, after all, we can certainly write TV scripts every bit as good as the Jews. I mean, look at the history of English literature. They run it now. It's bullshit.

Fields: Well, you know, our race is sick.

Duke: That's what Tom says, Tom Metzger [leader of the White Aryan Resistance],⁴ and I think he's right—we've all said that. Our race is very sick....I can't understand why (Tom) is so anti-aristocratic. Because even Hitler—everyone's always understood that the best of our race is the best of our race....Of course (in Europe) there were corrupt kings and nobility—no question. But look at the great flowering of Western Civilization, and that was almost exclusively autocratic....

Rich: Joe, what do you feel about a form of government?...

Fields: I really think we need a National Socialist government. If not—we probably couldn't have the same thing that Hitler did, 'cause his thing was tailor-made for the German people. We'd have to have a National Socialism that was made for the Americans, 'cause we have a different history. We have a different way of

life. We always have. We're not German. But we need a government where the threat of the Jew wheedling his way in again would be taken care of. Because, where you have a democracy, where anything that can call itself human can vote, then you always have the possibility of the shit getting in again.

Duke: But do you believe in a republican form of government, or a dictatorship?

Fields: An authoritarian republic type.

Duke: Kind of like what the founding fathers envisioned—Hamilton? You're not a little government advocate—you're big government for the race.

Fields:Big government for the white man, 'cause individual freedom's fine but...

Duke: Well, that's very similar to Tom Metzger.

Fields: Yeah, yeah. I really think Hitler had all the answers. I don't think there's anyone other than him...

Duke: Don't I make a good interviewer?

Rich: Shut up, David....

Duke (to Fields): I hate to be Machiavellian, but I would suggest that you don't really talk much about National Socialism on—not counting this interview—but in the future, publicly, too much. You need to leave your options open.

Rich: Once you get branded as a Nazi, you're branded.

Fields: Yeah, but the thing is, I mean, they call you a Nazi right?

Duke: Yes.

Fields: They call ev—everyone's a Nazi who doesn't go along with the Jewish line.

Duke: But there's a difference.

Fields: So why not say, 'All right I am. What are you going to do about it Jew?'

Duke: Well, there really is a difference. Of course, I'm on a different tactic. I'm trying to bring new people in, like a drummer. The difference is, if they can call you a Nazi and make it stick—tough, really hard—it's going to hurt. It's going to hurt the ability of people to open their minds to what you're saying. It's going to hurt your ability to communicate with them. It's unfortunate it's like that.

Fields: I think that most people aren't ever going to come over until things get tough—we have a depression, and people start losing their homes.

Duke: I think that's a very defeatist philosophy.

Fields: No, I look forward to it happening.

Duke: I think it's defeatist 'cause you have no guarantee of that happening. This government—it might take decades to bring it down....But here's the thing: We've got the truth. We've got absolute truth....If we've got truth on our side and we're the majority—that is, white people—then if we fail, if we're failing, it's something lacking in us. You know, they've got cults in this country for every weird philosophy and belief—you name it.

Fields: It doesn't take that many people though to start something rolling. Hitler started with seven men.

Duke: Right, that's what I'm trying to say to you...

Fields: And most people didn't want to have anything to do with him.

Duke: Right! And don't you think it can happen right now, if we put the right package together? Don't you think that there are millions of Americans that are alienated and are looking for something, and the truth is the truth, and give 'em something to believe in?

Rich: And Guru Duke will come along!

Duke: Not necessarily me—somebody—my God! I might have to do it because nobody else might come along to do it.

Fields: Well, maybe I wouldn't go out and say I'm a Nazi, you know, Hitler, National Socialism—but I'd never deny it. I'd never deny it. It's like a Christian—you know. When Christianity first started they were feeding them to the lions. They still wore their



Duke at Klan rally, 1970s.

crosses. They went to their deaths, but they never gave up. It's like a faith. It's not just politics. It's a religion—

Duke (interrupting): Well, I try to avoid it—

Fields (continuing): You have to feel it in your soul—

Duke (stepping over Fields' words): I wheedle out of it because I'm a pragmatist.

[After a few more remarks are exchanged, Fields suddenly introduces a new subject.]

Fields: I would have made a good inquisitor in the Middle Ages. I'm kind of dogmatic.

Rich: What, thumb screws?

Fields: Yeah, go after the heretics. Would have enjoyed that.

Duke: Well...I don't think I would have. That's just the difference that makes the world go 'round. *(Laughs.)* But apparently, our side might need a few of these if we're gonna survive. We're going to need a lot of fighters. We're going to need a lot of people that are very tough.

Fields: I'm so impatient. I can't wait for something to happen.

Duke: It's like you're out in the jungle and there's this magnificent Bengal tiger, which I think is the greatest, brave, beautiful creation of nature—magnificent machine—power, beauty, intelligence. And the thing's about ready to jump you. Well, it's unfortunate, but you've got to pull out your shotgun and do him in, or he's going to do you in when the time comes—like

Hitler. There's a lot of unfortunate and terrible things that are going to happen in this country, I'm afraid. I'm sorry to see it. I give the Jews responsibility for that.⁵ And I know, that if we don't succeed, there will be an even worse reality on this planet.

Fields: If the white race dies out then the Jew is going to die, the Nigger is going to die. They're all going to go. Without the white race, you don't have civilization.

Duke: The Third World right now is in a terrible shape, and they try to blame us for it. But the truth is, without the presence of the white world, the Third World would be massive plagues, disease, mass murders...

Fields: It would be nice if they could invent a disease that would be deadly only to the mud races and the Jews.

Duke: Well, they have diseases...

Rich: Talk to Ed Fields⁶ about that one.

Fields: Drop a vial somewhere and watch it happen.⁷

Rich: He has an article on that. What is it? "Ten Peculiar Jew Diseases"?

Duke: Well, the Jews have developed a disease and given it to us already. It's called race mixing, and they're being quite successful.

Fields: I saw it downstairs [in the motel] last night. We were talking about those white bitches and Niggers.

Duke (referring to a remark Ed Fields made the night before about it not being so bad when it was white men and black women): There's no difference. There's no difference with disease.... You know, beautiful men and women of our race, casting away their genetic inheritance which stretches back perhaps half-a-million years.

Rich: You know, we're really going to have to cut this short.

⁵David McCaulden was a British neofascist and founder of the racist British National Party. He came to the U.S. and became director of Willis Carto's Institute for Historical Revision (IHR), which denies the Holocaust occurred. McCaulden recently died.

⁶Willis Carto, whom Duke is here defending, is the central figure in the Liberty Lobby and its 100,000-circulation Spotlight. He founded IHR. He has been a member, since its inception in 1984, of the national executive committee of the far-right Populist Party, whose candidate for President in 1988 was David Duke. In 1988 ADL described Carto as "probably the most influential professional anti-Semite in the United States today." (ADL, *Extremism*.)

⁷The Madagascar project was a Nazi plan to relocate Jews on parts of that island under SS and police rule. It did not materialize. See, e.g., Hilberg, *The Destruction*, Vol. II, pp. 396-7.

⁸Metzger was Duke's man in charge of the California branch of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Now Metzger is the leader of the White Aryan Resistance (WAR), based in San Diego. He has had meetings with Louis Farrakhan and sees his WAR as "left-of-center with a racial concept ... We're getting people who used to be SDS." Ridgeway, *Blood*, pp. 24, 170-2, 175.

⁹Hitler in advance blamed the Jews for their own extermination. Addressing the Reichstag in January 1939, Hitler prophesied: "If international-finance Jewry inside and outside of Europe should succeed once more in plunging nations into another world war, the consequence will not be the Bolshevization of the earth and thereby the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe." In 1942, restating his earlier prophecy, he said "it would not be the Aryan peoples which would be exterminated, but Jewry." Hilberg, *The Destruction*, Vol. II, pp. 393, 407.

¹⁰Ed Fields was the leader of the National States Rights Party of the late 1950s, which Ridgeway describes as racist and paramilitary. Ridgeway, *Blood*, p. 64.

¹¹Hilberg describes the process in the gas chamber at Auschwitz: "An SS man, wearing a gas mask fitted with a special filter, lifted the glass shutter over the lattice and emptied one can [of the Zyklon B] after another into the gas chamber ... As the first pellets sublimated on the floor of the chamber the victims began to scream. To escape from the rising gas, the stronger knocked down the weaker, stepping on prostrate victims in order to prolong their own lives by reaching gas-free layers of air. The agony lasted for about two minutes.... Within 15 minutes (sometimes five), everyone in the gas chamber was dead." Hilberg, *op cit.*, Vol. III, p. 975.

Young David Duke on a Race War

BY RONNIE DUGGER

Wellfleet, Mass.; Baton Rouge, La.; Atlanta, Ga.
MICHAEL CONNELLY, an attorney in Baton Rouge and a former Republican Party official who argued and debated formally with David Duke during their student days together at LSU in the late 1960's and early 1970's, has told the Observer that Duke predicted to him back then that he would be governor of Louisiana by the time he was in his forties and would then lead the whites in a race war in the United States in which the blacks and the Jews would be wiped out.

In personal conversations Duke and Connelly often had together as fellow students, Connelly said, "Duke was up front about it. He said, 'Adolf Hitler had the right ideas about the Jews and everybody. He just didn't go about it in the right way in some respects. He just didn't solidify all his support before he started the extermination process.'"

Pressed on whether he clearly remembered Duke having said that during their student days, the attorney stood his ground. "That was the type of terminology he used," Connelly said. "He said, 'He (Hitler) dealt with the Jews too soon.'"

Connelly responded on the telephone to the Observer's questions spontaneously, rapidly, and without hesitation after the Observer had traced back to him a published statement that as a student Duke had advocated exterminating the Jews and sending the blacks back to Africa. The talk-show host, whom we also reached, had a significantly variant, but similar memory of the occasion.

Connelly has a general law practice in which he handles personal injury cases, and he also specializes in constitutional law. He is general counsel for the Council for Inter-American Security, a Washington-based group that is concerned with national security policy in the Western Hemisphere. Connelly is also a long-time board member of the national Citizens' Committee to Keep and Bear Arms, served two terms on the Louisiana Republican State Central Committee, and was in charge of ballot security for the Reagan campaigns for President in Louisiana.

In James Ridgeway's 1990 book, *Blood in the Face*, about the rise of white-racist politics in the U.S., Ridgeway wrote about Duke when he was a student at LSU: "During a local radio program, he argued that Jews should be exterminated and blacks sent back to Africa." Asked for his source (which was not manifest from the text), Ridgeway told the Observer that the information had come from Lance Hill and the Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism. The Observer asked Hill for his source, and on the telephone Hill read aloud from the Nov. 13, 1969, *Daily Reveille*, the student paper at LSU, from a story in that issue reporting Duke's declaration at Free Speech Alley on the campus that he was a National Socialist, the following additional paragraph:

"YAF (Young Americans for Freedom) President Mike Connelly took

the stand charging, 'Either you (Duke) are a liar or you have changed your beliefs since I debated you over the radio.' Connelly said when the debate took place Duke expressed full support with the beliefs of Frank Collins, president of the National Socialist Party. Collins' beliefs included the extermination of all Jews and political opponents in the country and the shipping of all blacks to Africa, according to Connelly."

Young Americans for Freedom is an organization of right-wing young conservatives which is closely identified with the Republican Party. Six days after the above story appeared, Duke said in a letter to the editor of the *Reveille*:

"Exterminate all Jews, and with more efficient methods than Hitler used! Ship all Negroes back to Africa in cattle boats! Exterminate all people who politically disagree. According to Mike Connelly these are the aims and objectives of the National Socialist Liberation Front. What has Connelly been reading—*Argosy Magazine*? If he or anyone else can prove that this is what I and the NSLF have advocated, I will quit.

"The NSLF has different views from the run of the mill groups on campus....National Socialism...is unique!....We believe that race plays a primary part in our civilization and our culture, and that a particular culture is a product of the realization of a race's inner soul and spirit."

"It was a real interesting little deal," Connelly told the Observer on New Year's Day, readily discontinuing his watching of two bowl games to tell the story. "I was a good friend with the fellow who ran the talk show on WJBO in Baton Rouge, John Camp. He was a liberal, I was a conservative, and I had been on his show a couple of times. He had had on the Vietnam Moratorium people, and he invited me on to take the victory-in-Vietnam position. But he said someone had phoned him and asked him to let him take that position on his show, and he said to me, 'Who is David Duke?'"

"I didn't know, so I asked him, 'Who is he representing?' and he said, 'Something called the National Socialist Liberation Front.' I laughed and told him, 'John, you're about to be up to your ass in Nazi.' He was amazed, and said for me to come on, and he'd have Duke on, too, without telling him I'd be there. He'd be on the left and I'd be on the right and we'd have Duke in the middle, and we'd have some fun. And we did!"

"The show got out of hand from the start," the host, John Camp, told Duke biographer Michael Zatarain. "Duke just jumped in, saying that Jews were causing all the trouble in the world." Duke believed, Zatarain reported, "that Jews, especially Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, had locked the country in an 'Asian war.'"

Referring to Frank Collins, a national Nazi leader at the time, Connelly continued: "I knew Frank Collins, because I had debated Frank Collins one time in Chicago. On the program, I started questioning Duke about his beliefs. I asked him how much he agreed with Collins. He said he agreed with him and admired him, on his anti-black, anti-Jewish, and anti-Catholic positions. (That's funny now," Connelly said in an aside, "since he has so many Catholic supporters now.)"

"I specifically asked Duke," Connelly said, recalling the event of two decades ago, "'OK, you're telling about all of these people needing to be 'dealt with.' Exactly what do you mean by that? Are you gonna start the gas chambers up again, or what?'"

"Duke replied," Connelly said, "that with the blacks, we could just send them back to Africa, but he said, 'As far as the Jews go, we're gonna have to take some decisive action.' We pressed him on what that meant; but he didn't make it clear.

"I said, 'Well, Collins believes in exterminating the Jews. Do you agree

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with Frank Collins on that?" He replied, "Oh, I agree with Frank Collins."

Connelly said that he used to have a tape recording of the talk show in question, and may still have it somewhere, but that he has looked for it without success.

"Duke and I used to talk together quite a lot after that," during their LSU days, Connelly went on. "Duke never could understand why I didn't agree with him, being a conservative. He didn't understand that I could be a conservative, but opposed to all totalitarianisms.

"Duke used to predict to me where he was gonna be the Aryan leader in a race war," Connelly volunteered, as he continued. "He said that there is gonna be a race war in the United States. He was going to run for office, and he talked about being governor of Louisiana by the time he was in his forties. Eventually, he said, after he was elected, 'I will be in the position of the leader of the Aryan race.' He never used the word 'Führer.' But I did!"

Duke believed that the blacks and the Jews would be the common enemy of the whites in this race war, Connelly said.

"Duke was absolutely certain that there would be a race war, and it would be black against white, but the blacks would have the support of the Jews in the war. Ultimately, he said, the Aryans would have to basically wipe them both out," Connelly concluded his recollection, returning then to his family and the bowl games.

John Camp, who is now senior correspondent on CNN's "Special Assignments" and works out of Atlanta, recalled that Connelly had identified Duke for him the day before the program, but it was Camp's recollection that Duke was on his program alone—that Connelly was on other programs of his, but not on the one with Duke.

Camp's recollections of the occasion were vaguer than Connelly's.

"He (Duke) probably was the most uncontrollable guest I had in five

years of doing those programs," Camp said by telephone from Atlanta. "He was kind of a raving Nazi racist kid Regardless of what the question was, he was going to give his answers, his Nazi beliefs and his racist beliefs. He was the only guest—even though I'd had on Robert Shelton of the KKK and Stokely Carmichael—that I actually apologized to my listeners for."

Asked if he could recall what Duke's message was, Camp replied: "Basically he took a point of view that Hitler was a much maligned individual, that he was a target of Jewish propaganda, that basically the Holocaust was a myth." And blacks? "Blacks—well, at that time he used the term 'nigger' in the course of his remarks." As for anything about exterminating Jews, "That was the general tenor, but I have no specific recollection," Camp replied. He does not have a tape of the program, either ("I wish I did!" he exclaimed).

Connelly, told that Camp had said Duke was on the program alone and asked if he, Connelly, had any doubt of his recollection, replied, "No, not at all. He (Camp) was doing a program a day—maybe he had Duke on alone another time. I remember it very clearly because I had to have protection to get out of the building. We were sitting in there finishing up when two of their engineers ran in and said, 'There are two real mean guys out there, they're Duke supporters,' and they wanted to see me after the program. The engineers got a couple of old wrenches and escorted me to my car, while Duke greeted the two men waiting outside and walked off with them. That's the kind of thing you don't forget."

(Interviews, James Ridgeway, Lance Hill, Michael Connelly, and John Camp; Zatarian, *David*, pp. 118-19, 124, 125-6. For Duke's comments on this matter, see page 30.) □

1984: The NAAWP's Plan for America

David Duke left the Ku Klux Klan in 1980 to found the National Association for the Advancement of White People and become the publisher of its newsletter, NAAWP News. A 1984 issue of NAAWP News, Issue Number 31, in an unsigned editorial entitled "Issues and Answers," presented in 13 paragraphs many of the points of view and programs with which Duke and the NAAWP have been associated for years.

Here are excerpts from that editorial:

"As a booklet available from the NAAWP entitled 'Who Runs the Media?' documents, the three major networks, many magazines and the majority of major newspapers are controlled by the Jewish minority....

"An estimated two million-plus illegal aliens entered the United States this year. With these Hispanic aliens' high birthrate—three times as high as whites—they are adding to the already bad problem of the nonwhite population explosion in America.

"The answer?...Create a narrow no-man's land on our southern border. Shoot interlopers if necessary and establish army bases all along the border and use soldiers to help patrol the border if the above measures don't meet with enough success....

"The black birthrate is twice as high as whites', the Hispanic birthrate is three times as high. Whites are fast becoming a minority in this country. The people whose forebears created this country are being replaced by those who won't be able to sustain our civilization.

"One of the answers to this problem is William Shockley's bonus sterilization plan. Any person with an I.Q. below 100 would receive \$1,000 per point below 100 to be voluntarily sterilized.

"In addition, white couples with high I.Q.'s should be given mar-

riage loans by the government. Each child they had in the future would substantially cancel out the loan. With both these solutions in use, dysgenics and eugenics—both negative and positive eugenics—would be practiced and evolution could continue, onward and upward.

"The ultimate answer to this racial quagmire is racial separation. The Jews, blacks, Hispanics and Orientals would each be given a portion of the present-day United States so they could have a nation all their own. The rest of America would be reserved for the white majority....This solution avoids the eventual result of present-day policies: violent racial civil war or mongrelization.

"With these solutions put in place, white Americans would no longer be haunted by the alien media, nonwhite immigration, or an explosive minority birthrate. We would be free to begin the creation of the Superman through eugenics and science, not the one from Krypton, the one from earth. Art would flourish as we returned to our rich racial roots. Our writers would be freed from the threat of minority censorship or competition. A new renaissance would no doubt occur. Whites could once again walk the streets of our large cities without fear of being assaulted, raped, or murdered. The tax burden would be reduced without minority welfare and other social programs....

"The first step...is an awakening racial awareness on the part of whites in America. We must inform fellow whites about the importance of race. Only as the number of racially aware whites grows will we have the political power to accomplish some of these answers to our problems," the editorial in a 1984 issue of David Duke's NAAWP News concluded.

Duke's Eerie Life and Work

BY RONNIE DUGGER

Wellesley, Mass.

DAVID DUKE WAS BORN in Tulsa on July 1, 1950. His father was a surveyor and an engineer; his mother was an alcoholic. Both the boy and his father appear to be characterized by a condition known as hyperactivity, and neither needs much sleep, according to Duke's biographer, Michael Zatarain.

When the son was 16 his father left the country on what became a nine-year stint as a civil engineer in Indochina with the U.S. Agency for International Development. At first Duke was packed off to a military school in Georgia. As a high school senior in New Orleans Duke disliked the presence of blacks and became active in far-right-wing politics. According to Zatarain, who can usually be assumed to be repeating whatever Duke told him as a fact, in the fall of 1967 at the age of 17 Duke, invited by a fellow student, was initiated into the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKKK) and met there James Lindsay, a successful New Orleans developer. Lindsay recruited high school students into the Klan, of which he secretly was the Grand Wizard. Young Duke, in the absence of his father, and with his mother chronically ill, turned to Lindsay for the leadership of an elder. Duke later gave one of his daughters, for her middle name, "Lindsay," in honor of James Lindsay.

However, the anti-Duke Louisiana Coalition points out that the KKKK was not formed until 1971 and that "there is little evidence of Klan activity on Duke's part until 1974." The Coalition deduces from the record that Duke has sought to deemphasize his early Nazism by claiming that he became a Klansman before he actually did.

Duke read *Mein Kampf* but, according to Zatarain, had a conversion experience upon reading *White Power* by George Lincoln Rockwell, the murdered leader of the American Nazi Party. Rockwell advocated the gassing of all traitorous Jews, whom he said numbered 80% of the Jewish population in the U.S. As recently as 1991, in an interview in *Vogue*, Duke called Rockwell "basically a conservative."

A student at Louisiana State University, Duke availed himself of Free Speech Alley, which was held each Wednesday afternoon from 12:30 to 1:30 in front of the Student Union. There he spoke, sold copies of *Mein Kampf*, and handed out copies of the newsletter of the National Socialist Liberation Front, a group supported by the American Nazi Party, which carried ads for such products as tear gas described as "negro control equipment." Duke formed the White Student Union (the mailing address for which was Nazi headquarters in Arlington, Va.), published the Union's newsletter called *The Racist*, and wrote a pamphlet, "The White Power Program," which was distributed by the thousands in Baton Rouge. He engaged in a variety of other Nazi and pro-Hitler activities, as reviewed elsewhere in this issue.

Duke was classified 1-A for the Vietnam War draft, but in the spring of 1971 he was given a student deferment and, according to his ROTC commandant, denied a commission in the ROTC because of his Nazi affiliations. His father got him a job with the American Language School in Vientiane teaching English to Laotian army officers. Duke was fired from this job after a few weeks, according to published reports he has not denied, when it was discovered that he had drawn a picture of a Molotov cocktail on a blackboard.

Duke told Zatarain that while in Southeast Asia he flew as a passenger on 20 CIA missions which dropped materiel at night to Laotian soldiers and that once the plane he was on was hit by mortar fire, a piece of mortar lodging in his belt. There appears to be no evidence corroborating this. Since 1989 Duke has been accused of inventing a military record because of many statements he made on the stump saying that he had fought communism in Southeast Asia.

During a world trip he took in connection with his job teaching language, Duke says, he believed that he was poisoned on an El Al jet by the Israeli secret service (see his comments about this on page 25). On that journey he also called on persons in the far-right movements in Germany and Great Britain.

In 1972, with the help of Lindsay and other far-right businessmen, Duke formed the National Party, styling himself "Party Leader." Local police maintained surveillance on this group, and Duke and two others were charged with making Molotov cocktails on the day of an anti-black march. Duke told Zatarain they were just putting kerosene in coke bottles and rags in the tops of the bottles to use as makeshift lanterns in the parade. The charge was dropped.

Campaigning door-to-door in white New Orleans neighborhoods for George Wallace for President, Duke and his fellow party members were charged with collecting campaign contributions for Wallace illegally and fraudulently. The National Party disbanded; the charge was dropped. In September that year Duke married an activist with whom he had been jailed briefly on the campaign-money charge, Chloe Hardin. They had two daughters, but divorced in 1986.

According to Zatarain, whose information should be assumed to have come from Duke, Duke increased the KKKK membership from several hundred to 3,000, organizing chapters in Monroe, Lafayette, Lake Charles, Shreveport, and New Orleans. Succeeding Lindsay, Duke became the Grand Dragon and national information director, published the Klan's newspaper, the *Crusader*, and began selling racist and Nazi books under the name, Patriot Press. Zatarain says Duke "initiated as part of the Klan oath pledges of non-violence."

Duke with a friend wrote for profit a book called *Finders-Keepers: Finding and Keeping the Man You Want*, variously described as a "how-to" book which among other things advises women on oral and anal sex techniques. More to the point for a young man who asserted that a race war of whites vs. blacks and Jews was inevitable, in 1973 Duke wrote and had published, under the pseudonym, "Mohammed X," *African Atto*, a book which advised blacks how to attack, hurt, and kill whites.

The best investigative journalism on Duke's 70-page manual promoting black violence against whites has been done by Ronnie Patriquin, a reporter on the Shreveport Journal, who examined a copy of it in the Library of Congress, where Duke (using his wife's name) had deposited it for copyright reasons. According to Patriquin's work, Duke's book advised black readers that "the basic truth about power" is that whether it is political or economic, "power...is based on physical power." After telling how to make a proper fist, Duke added: "Imagine it crashing into the face of a white racist." Duke in this book informed blacks that a "knife hand" blow to the Adam's apple "can often be fatal" and suggested striking the windpipe and temples of an opponent and using the heel of the hand to strike upward blows to the nose and chin. "When you attack Whitey," Duke wrote, "be sure that you racially insult and psychologically attack him in addition to your physical attack."

Duke also told blacks: "The best weapon you can make is to sharpen up the point of a metal umbrella....Regular playing darts make an excellent weapon you can carry legally with you....Use weapons whenever possible....Draw blood whenever possible....Carry a weapon whenever possible....Remember how vulnerable the neck is....Fight always as if there were no rules. There aren't any."

On the topic of hitting whites in the groin, Duke advised: "the rules of boxing do not permit hitting below the belt. A great deal of damage can be done to this area by an effective punch; also it can cause considerable pain. It's a very effective target of African Atto, the fighting method that wins."

Duke sold *African Atto* through ads in magazines for blacks in 1973. What is the meaning of this aspect of his career? The answer lies in the fact that Duke as a Klansman and a publisher was finding out who bought *African Atto*.

Patriquin quoted Duke's explanation during a 1976 videotaped interview he had with New York Times reporter Wayne King, in which Duke said: "What that book essentially did is to give us the names of the most radical blacks in the United States so that when the time comes we will know where they are, those who hate white people. That's essentially what it did, and it was successful in that endeavor." King asked him: "...so that when there's trouble you can go take care of those folks?" Duke replied: "Well, we know who they are. Let's put it that way. It's just a matter of intelligence....I know America is headed toward a racial conflict."

More recently, Duke has sought to explain away the manual as "a spoof," a satire, "an exercise in facetiousness." He told Patriquin: "There's nothing in that book that you don't get from any self-defense book." She replied that the book described the African Atto movements as "entirely offensive." He replied to her that basically it taught only karate-type moves and added, "We were taking stuff we heard and read about that was already going on."

In 1974 Duke received his BA from LSU. As the '70s advanced he spread the KKKK into other states, including Texas, California, and Florida. He was convicted of misdemeanor incitement to riot and fined \$500 in an incident during the "World Nationalist Conference" in New Orleans in 1976. In 1978 he went to England to meet with far-right-wingers and held a cross-burning Klan rally there. With fellow Klansmen he conducted the Klan Border Watch to stop Mexicans from crossing into the U.S. illegally. In the late '70s he tried to establish Klan cells in military camps and bases, leading, according to ADL's "Klanwatch," to a violent racial disturbance in Camp Pendleton, California.

In 1975, while well known to be an active Klansman, Duke first ran for office, for a Louisiana state Senate seat, on a promise that he would "stand up for the white majority," and got 33.2 percent of the vote. Four years later he tried again for the Senate, that time getting 27 percent. Then he fell out with the Klan (see Jim Cullen's story at page 39 of this issue) and formed his National Association for the Advancement of White People, which has been his ideological vehicle since then. In his new situation he continued selling racist and Nazi books under the title, Americana Books, through the NAAWP News.

Duke's booklists focus on racist and Nazi advocacy; they are not anything like ordinary booklists. He continued this business until mid-1989 when he was attacked on it and he stopped. His Americana Books list included:

A book on "the takeover of America by minorities"; a book on "the classification of man by race"; a book by the late racist Mississippi senator, Theodore Bilbo; a book that predicts the destruction of the white race in this century; *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, the notorious anti-Semitic forgery, which the Duke list describes as "uncannily accurate"; *The Hoax of the 20th Century*, which it is said "demolishes (the) Holocaust"; *The Holy Book of Adolf Hitler*; *The Myth of the 20th Century*, by Rosenberg, presumably Alfred Rosenberg, the Nazi Minister for the Occupied Eastern Countries, which Lance Hill of LCARN identifies as "the bible of the Nazi movement of the 1930s"; *The Talmud Unmasked*; *Mein Kampf*, "the only authorized translation"; *Who Runs the Media*, by David Duke, "documenting the Zionist control of America's mass media," "this alien domination"; *Hitler Was My Friend*; *The Hitler We Loved and Why*; *Hitler's Last Testament—The Hitler-Bormann documents*; *My Part in Germany's Fight*, by Joseph Goebbels; *Did Six Million Jews Die? The Truth At Last*, and *The Six Million Reconsidered*, which deny the occurrence of the Holocaust; *The Turner Diaries*, a novel about guerilla warfare against blacks and Jews and white women who mate with them; and, according to Beth Rickey, pamphlets advocating human breeding to produce a superior race.

Tapes Duke advertised and sold in 1989 included:

Olympiad and Triumph of the Will, movies that glorify the Third Reich; *Birth of a Nation*, which, as is said in the squib about it, "paints

(the Klan) as a chivalrous organization"; *The Eternal Jew*, which it is said "contains a study of Jewish types and stomach-turning sequences of Kosher animal slaughter" and is published in German; tapes of speeches and debates of the U.S. Nazi leader George Lincoln Rockwell, described as "stimulating and provocative" from "the extraordinary individual," Rockwell; and tapes of "humorous songs about blacks" and other minorities, including "Cowboys and Niggers," "Some niggers never die," and "Who likes a nigger."

As a candidate since 1989 Duke has defended selling these books and tapes as an exercise in free speech. He also emphasizes a standard disclaimer he ran at the top of his lists that "this listing does not mean that this publication endorses or agrees with every book listed." As the reader will have seen, the descriptions of the items themselves often endorsed them.

Concerning the anti-black tapes Duke sold, during his 1990 race for the U.S. Senate, after he had said on a TV show, "They were...funny tapes," the lyrics of two of them were published in two Louisiana weeklies and were described, more briefly, in dailies. Thus the lyrics of "Kajun Ku Klux Klan," which he sold, were shown to tell the story of "a nigger" civil rights activist whose hands are tied so that the Klan can torture him, and the lyrics of "Nigger Hatin' Me," which Duke sold, call the late Martin Luther King, Jr., "baboon mouth" and sing to a black the lyrics call "Jigaboo": "Stick your black head out and I'll blow it and the NAACP/Can't keep you away from/Little ol' nigger-hatin' me."

About this time Duke had his face lifted. According to Tyler Bridges reporting in the Times Picayune, one of New Orleans' most expensive plastic surgeons, Calvin Johnson, "reduced Duke's nose and gave him a chin implant. Later Johnson performed chemical peels to eliminate the crow's feet around his eyes. Duke also began dyeing the gray out of his mustache and hair."

In 1987 Duke ran for President in Democratic primaries, saying he was "a lifelong Democrat." In the New Hampshire primary he got only 264 votes, but was also listed in that primary for vice-president, for which post he got 10,531 votes. Overall he got 22,000 votes in the Democratic primaries. In the fall of 1988 he accepted the nomination for President of the far-right Populist Party and received more than 45,000 votes.

In 1989, as a Republican, he ran for the Louisiana House in the 81st district, bordering New Orleans, which is 99.6 percent white, and won over Republican John Treen with 51 percent of the vote despite opposition from Ronald Reagan, George Bush, and leading Louisiana officeholders. A challenge to seating Duke failed when a majority of the members of the House opposed it; an attempt to censure him in the Louisiana State Republican Committee failed, 120 to 8.

Beginning in 1990 Duke has presented himself aggressively as an evangelical-style Christian. He said he belonged to Carrollton Avenue Church of Christ in New Orleans; subsequently the fact was published that he had not attended there for years. He then identified his church as the Evangelical Bible Church, which was found not to exist; then he said he attends a Bible group that meets in private homes, but would not identify its members. His former statewide campaign coordinator quit, accusing him of temporizing about this. "I've never seen him go to church or do anything along the lines of Christianity," the former Duke staffer, Bob Hawks, told the Times Picayune.

Running against incumbent Bennett Johnston for the U.S. Senate, on October 4, 1990, Duke lost, but received 44 percent of the vote, including 60 percent of the whites who voted. A year later, on Oct. 19, 1991, he came in second in the Louisiana gubernatorial primary, knocking the governor out of the race and getting 31 percent of the vote among the three leading candidates. Last November 16th, David Duke lost the governorship to Edwin Edwards, 61 to 39 percent, but received 55 percent of the votes cast by whites.

(Principal sources: Zatarain, David, *passim*, and LCARN, "Resource." On *African Atto*, the cited work is Ronni Patriquin, "Duke poses as black to pen book," *Shreveport Journal*, 8/14/90. The numerous other sources are available on request.)

An Interview with David Duke

Metairie, La.

I ASKED DAVID DUKE for an interview through his press secretary, Laura Otilio. I explained to her that the Observer, a liberal bi-weekly journal, was doing a special issue on Duke and asked that I be allowed to tape the interview and bring a photographer. I invited Duke to tape his end of the interview, too, if he wished.

We agreed on a date and time, but before Otilio confirmed that the event would definitely take place, she asked that I fax her, not the questions I would ask Duke, but the topics I wished to cover. I did this the morning of January 7th.¹ That afternoon Otilio confirmed the interview for 11 a.m. on January 10th at Duke's home and headquarters in Metairie, Louisiana, a suburb which lies immediately west of New Orleans between Lake Pontchartrain where the causeway takes out across the lake and the Mississippi River at its northerly bend at Nine Mile Point, just before it forms the spouted bowl the Big Easy fills.

Duke's house is located in a somewhat run-down middle- and lower-middle-class white neighborhood a few blocks from Airline Highway, where the Texas Motel advertises "HBO XXX Movie," you can trade at Hubcab Heaven or the Metairie Pawn Shop, and the Garden of Memories Cemetery is adorned with a cumbrously flapping American flag that is as big as a bedsheet. The night before the interview, while having a couple of beers on Airline in a bar with pool tables, I heard the white patrons talking about "Niggerville" down the road, as distinguished from the white section for which one of them was setting forth.

At the intersection of Cypress and North Arnoult, embedded among the smallish homes of his neighborhood, some of them in bad need of paint, but smack up against the institutional-looking "Kingdom Hall of Jehovah's Witnesses," Duke's low-slung two-story house squats. During the interview he said he bought it for \$20,000, but did not mention when. It is a plain structure of white clapboards and white-stucco facing, dominated by a peaked second-story front. At the side were parked six or eight cars belonging to people who are working on Duke's presidential campaign, which he is conducting from here. This same house has served as the headquarters of Duke's National Association for the Advancement of White People—its newsletter is run off in his basement—and as the "bookstore" from which Duke was selling pro-Nazi books until he was exposed for still doing it two and a half years ago, when the house was also his state legislative office.

Through a door where the cars are parked one enters, at what can be thought of as the basement level, a small reception room wherein one is greeted from her desk by the secretary and receptionist, a slender dark-haired young woman named Brenda. Three doors lead off the room to work areas but are kept closed and signs on them warn visitors not to intrude before knocking. There is a worktable along the back of the room, and from time to time Mark Ellis, who carries the title, "director of research," in the campaign, comes in and uses the phone there. The walls are bedecked with five large, different photographs of Duke, "Duke for President" signs, and a painting of the American flag sandwiched between the words, "It Wasn't Earned/To Be Burned." Tacked onto the walls, too, are two flyers advertising Duke Records' Album, endorsed by a signed statement from Duke, on which album can be heard, "The Ballad of David Duke."

Otilio led me and the photographer, New Orleans freelancer A.J. Sisco, back out of the reception room around the outside of the house and up the front stairs into what would normally be, in such a house, the small living and dining rooms, but instead serves as Duke's public office area. Duke greeted us at the front door in shirtsleeves, but, upon



A.J. SISCO

Duke during the interview on January 10th.

understanding that he would be photographed, went back into another room to dress for the pictures. What would be the dining room is furnished with a large standard-issue office desk stained mahogany and a flowered couch in front of and to one side of the desk, and rugs decorated with geometrical designs. I sat at the corner of the couch near the desk and positioned my small tape recorder on the corner of the desk. Duke's Samson wordprocessor and Packard printer are positioned to the right of his armchair at the desk.

When, dressed in a blue suit and a figured blue tie, Duke rejoined us, I gave him a copy of my book about Lyndon Johnson, *The Politician*, by way, I explained, of introducing myself. He paged through it, laughingly saying it was rougher than J. Evetts Haley's *A Texan Looks at Lyndon*, eh? No, I said, not that rough. He asked me to sign it, and I said I would. He inquired how much time I needed, and I said as much as he would spare. Since by then it was about 11:20, he said perhaps we'd just go on into the noon hour and have lunch together. Fine, I said. Just before I turned on my tape recorder, he said something like, "So tell me about the Observer."

The interview continued for about an hour and a half. The transcript of it which follows, edited and somewhat shortened, presents all of substance that was said.

— R.D.

I: Duke's Life and Strategy

Dugger: The Observer is an independent liberal paper, it comes out every two weeks, we're puttin' out a whole issue on you, some folks are going to go up to New Hampshire—

Duke: I'm not gonna be up in New Hampshire.

Dugger: I know—

Duke: Liberal? What do you mean, liberal?

Dugger: Well, I mean, Populist. Of course that covers a wide variety of things these days. But, for example, Jim Hightower used to be editor of the paper.

Duke: Uh huh.

Dugger: And we're doin' a special issue. We're not gonna say vote for you or against you, the purpose is educational. And I want to print the text of the interview—

Duke: Oh, you're gonna do a question and answer format?

Dugger: Yeah.

Duke: Well that'll be interesting....Now, when we do this it's like a first draft. I'm a writer like you are, a journalist somewhat, I've written I guess a million words....So when you do this I don't mind your editing in the sense of cleaning up the grammar or the syntax, or whatever.

Dugger: Sure, and if you like, what I could do, whatever transcript I come up with I'll fax it over to you.

Dugger: That'd be fine. Whenever you're ready I am. Let me get my tape recorder goin'. (Duke opens a drawer in his desk and activates his recording system.)

Dugger: Where'd your folks' families come from? You've got Scottish forebears.

Duke: If you go back that far enough, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and I've got English forebears as well. And then my family lived in the Midwest, on my Mother's side Missouri, my father's side Kansas, kind of straddled north and south, and I had forebears on both sides in the Civil War. Actually as a very young child I've lived in Texas, Wichita—

Dugger: Wichita Falls?

Duke: Wichita Falls, yeah, I also lived in Wichita, Kansas. And I lived in Texas as a young man for a while visiting my sister and brother-in-law in Abilene.

Dugger: In Zatarain [the biography of Duke by Michael Zatarain], I read about how your father inspired you about having integrity, stickin' by what you believe no matter how lonely you get.

Duke: Yeah (laughing a bit).

Dugger: I wonder what you remember his saying and how that affected your concept of integrity.

Duke: He used to teach Sunday school, and one of his lessons he used to always give me a lot was that if the crowd goes the wrong way, you are absolutely obligated to go the right way. That's something that I remember very clearly.

Dugger: And it stuck with you?

Duke: Yeah.

Dugger: You think it shaped you?

Duke: It was one of many things. It was one of many things.

Dugger: I have the details of your illness after you went to Israel from Zatarain.² How close did you come to dyin'?

Duke: I don't know. I was out for a few days, and the doctors told me I had about 106 fever for a while.

Dugger: 106? That's very dangerous.

Duke: Very close. The doctor told me—his words were—it was a very "sophisticated" form of food poisoning. He said that if I had not made it to the naval hospital in Athens, more than likely I would have expired.

Dugger: With how much certainty or conviction do you believe

Mossad might have poisoned you?

Duke: I don't know. That's just pure conjecture. I do know that the Israeli intelligence came to my room 24 hours before I left Jerusalem because the lady at the desk at the hotel told me that they had let people into my room, that they had been from the government. I didn't know what to make of it at that time. But of course at that age I was already in the ADL [Anti-Defamation League] files in this country, extensively, because of the Kuntsler incident in my speaking out at Free Speech Alley [at LSU], and that type of thing. It might have taken them some time to correlate my entry into Israel—they didn't have the computer systems that they do now—with their files.

Dugger: But they could have known about your activities in the U.S.?

Duke: I think they probably did... But I mean, who knows? All I know is that I'm just lucky. I almost—I was in Istanbul, I was very sick, and I was able to get to the airport and kinda collapsed and made it! Still here!

Dugger: Losin' elections doesn't seem to bother you. Eight elections since 1975. And I wonder if you'd discuss running for office as a way of building a movement. Isn't that one of the things you're doing?

Duke: I don't know about that. Any election I've run—except when I ran for president in 1987, '88, in some states, this was really a protest thing, that wasn't a serious election; but when I ran for the legislature that was obviously serious, my races for Senate and governor were serious, I was trying to win. The '75 and '79 races were serious: I got a third of the vote in both those elections.

Dugger: But it doesn't bother you to lose?

Duke: Abraham Lincoln lost eleven times! People say, "Well, how do you have a right to run for president?—you lost the gubernatorial race in Louisiana." Well, here's the situation: I won the vast majority of Republican votes, I defeated a Republican incumbent governor, the sitting governor. President Nixon lost a race in California before he started his comeback trail for President. I mean, I've got a lot of support. And that was in spite of being outspent [by Edwards] 10-1 in media expenditures and massive media opposition and the tremendous power arrayed against me.

They used the economic blackmail argument on us, which was very, very effective. They kinda hit on this by accident. They started getting letters and these started building upon each other. They would get letters from corporations and tourisms and conventions saying, "Well, if David Duke is elected, we won't come." They just pounded on this—the newspapers had front-page articles day after day after day. People said, "I agree with David Duke's ideas. I even agree with David Duke! But if I vote for him, you know, I lose my job."

A perfect example to illustrate that is United Cab Company here in New Orleans. United Cab Company, you know, is an all-white cab company, it's very conservative, you know, working white people. They've had victims of a lot of crime. They really are about 100 percent for my policies, David Duke, and they like me. They polled them after the election and found that only 56 percent of them had voted for me. Of course that's still a majority, but it should have been 100 percent. The pollsters asked them, "Well, why didn't you vote for him?" And they said, "Well, because I'd lose my livelihood—I wouldn't be able to feed my family, because the tourism and convention business is gonna be cut out."

That's not an argument they can use in the presidential race. But it was used very effectively in the race for governor.

[Ed. note: a spokesman at United Cab Co. in New Orleans said the company did not support Duke.]

Dugger: If you don't win the Republican nomination, which I guess most of the oddsmakers will say you won't, might you run for president as an independent or third-party candidate in November?

Duke: I leave that option open, but I'd rather not. I'd rather see George Bush come more our direction, the Republican Party more embrace the middle-class working Populist Republican position on these vital issues.

Dugger: You told Zatarain that if the deterioration of the white middle-class continues you'll be elected President. How would you describe that continuing deterioration—what would happen? In other words, what are the elements of it?

Duke: I think what we're witnessing in America is the decline of a great country. We're in decline, and that saddens me. We passed from one of the best education systems in the world just three decades ago, to the last place in the Western world in educational standards. We passed from a country that was one of the safest in the world, one of the most law-abiding in the world, to a nation that has the highest crime rates in the Western world, the highest drug rates in the Western world, some of the highest illegitimacy rates in the Western world. We have gone from one of the best per-capita manufacturing nations in the Western world and one of the highest standards of living to about mid-range in standard of living and certainly no longer pre-eminently the manufacturing giant that we were. We're really losing it in our society.

I don't know if I'll be president, necessarily, if the decline of the middle class continues, but I hope that we can effect change....

II: Racism Against Whites

Dugger: Affirmative action is defended as government policy to correct historical wrongs against minorities. You believe it's racism against whites, right?

Duke: I absolutely think it's racism against whites, it *is* racism against whites, clear racial discrimination. If you notice, tyrants, I guess governments, always give good reasons to suppress, good reasons to deny rights. But denial of rights is simply denial of rights. If racial discrimination is wrong or evil when exercised against blacks or other minorities, then it's my contention that it's just as evil or wrong when exercised against white people. Whites have feelings, too. Whites have aspirations, too. There are whites who are poor as well as blacks who are poor, there are whites who have broken families as well as blacks who have difficulties in their lives. Human rights must be for everyone. If someone wants to tell me that we should have programs to help the poor, I will say fine, good, we can—do—have many training programs and other programs to help the poor. But those programs should be color-blind.... You have a black that comes from a middle-class family, a lot of opportunity, being given preference over a white who comes from a broken family, a much poorer environment, and who's actually working harder and studying harder and scoring better. I mean, how can anybody justify that?... That is one reason we are having this decline, because we're retreating from excellence in America.

Dugger: I read that you're for abolishing the IRS and having a flat income tax rate of eight or ten percent and a national sales tax. Wouldn't that amount to a transfer of wealth from the poor and the middle class to the rich?

Duke: Not at all. In fact, I would exempt the poor or those in poverty from any taxation along those lines, which also would help them continue to go forward. Plus the truth is with the trusts and all the other loopholes that we have in our society, the people with lots of money get out of paying taxes anyway, there are so many different ways to do it, corporately and privately.

So I think everybody'd pay a fair share, and I think we could all live in this country with a ten or 12 percent tax rate. [A House committee of] the United States Congress investigated the whole process, and they found that a flat rate of eight percent would bring the same government revenue as the current graduated progressive tax

system does with current exemptions. If you made that to ten percent, you could take the two percent extra and use that to exempt all poor from any taxation at all....

All the studies have shown that somewhere in that range between eight and 15 percent would cover all present revenue. If that's true, we could probably have like a 15 percent national sales tax in America with a rebate for the poor, some sort of a system where they would be exempt. You could use a credit-card system for them, and some sort of an electronic card, or whatever, when they make purchases. But a 15 percent sales tax—and you eliminate income tax altogether, and that would be a tremendous boon to this country....

Another aspect of that national sales tax would be, we'd finally find a way to tax organized crime operations, the gambling operations, because everybody makes expenditures.

Dugger: But wouldn't you have to have an ID card for the poor there?

Duke: Well, we already do—the poor already are identified because they qualify for welfare and other aspects. I don't think that's a civil libertarian problem....³

Dugger: You said in Florida, Ban immigration from Haiti, and maybe severely limit it. I wonder, do you have something in mind like banning all Third World immigration, or what about Israel, or what about Europe.

Duke: I would sharply curtail all immigration, period. We have more pressure on our natural resources all the time. I don't want to see us become a crowded land. Our options are limited—right now we can't even fit into some of the national parks because of the crush of people. We have severe water problems in the Southwest, and the state of Florida, for instance, big pressures on our natural resources, our fossil fuels and our oil resources.

Dugger: But how would you distinguish, would you just have a general prohibition or would you have national quotas?

Duke: There's gotta be allowed some degree of immigration. Every nation in the world has a degree of immigration, and there are some special cases of political persecution or some special reasons to have some immigration. That's not a problem. Or family members, a person goes overseas and marries, or he's got relatives overseas that come over. I think that's allowable. A certain amount of immigration is permissible, and I think we should return to the levels we had in the middle part of this century, which were sensible and decent—you know, a couple of hundred thousand a year is plenty good.

But we've got to really act and defend our borders and stop the illegal immigration.

Dugger: You mean, especially the southern borders?

Duke: Absolutely.

Dugger: I know you did a Border Watch. How would you do it now?

Duke: Well, first of all we only have about 3,000 agents on the Mexican-American border, and that's ridiculous. I think we should at least double that, maybe triple it. Along with the electronic devices that we now currently have available, not even counting a fence—I've talked to many people in INS about it—we could probably stop the flow to a trickle, just by those two actions. It would cost a few million dollars, but you would save billions of dollars in terms of social welfare, education, and medical costs that are incurred by the whole process....

Dugger: Would you just talk about Western and Christian values as part of the American idea or the American idea or the American ideology?

Duke: I think it is part of our ideals, let's be honest about it, and I think that we've got a crisis about that today. Jesse Jackson goes to Stanford University and says, Heigh Ho, Heigh Ho, Western Culture Has To Go. All the immigrants that come in today just don't share the basic values that we have. That's just the reality of it. That to me is a great danger for the country in the future.... We were wide open, we needed

the frontiers...but what's good for one period of a nation's history is not necessarily good for another period of a nation's history. There's never been a society in the history of the world that's ever been preserved, its basic value system, that has not maintained the integrity of its borders. We really have a problem.

Until recent American history the overwhelming immigration we have had has been of European Christian origin. They came in to become part of the American dream and part of the American process and to absorb into our way of life and to become part of the national consensus that we call America. Part of the elements are not assimilated, nor do they want to assimilate, and ultimately they come in actually hostile to Western culture and values, and that to me is a clear and present danger.

Dugger: What kind of a system of government do you believe in?

Duke: I believe in the Constitution of the United States. I think it's the best system ever devised by man so far.

Dugger: And that includes democracy?

Duke: Yes, and I believe in less government. I believe we have not followed the Constitution in recent years. The government has grown out of control in this land. It's kind of ironic that while they seem to be moving toward more individual freedom and less government in Eastern Europe we seem to be moving toward more government in America. I think people are much better off making their own decisions in their lives than government making the decisions for them. I think they can make better decisions about how to spend their money, I think they're more economical, they look for better deals, they're thrifter.

Dugger: But majority rule is a part of the system and you go with that at every level?

Duke: Absolutely.

III: The Talents of Races

Dugger: Do you believe in racial science? I don't know what racial science is.

Duke: Well, I don't know if I believe in racial science, it depends on what you—

Dugger: I believe you said recently you believe in racial science.

Duke: I believe in science, not necessarily racial science. I do believe that the racial competition or composition of nations affects the nations. That's obvious in the world. We are part of where our heritages are, our cultures, our values. I don't know if that's racial science. That's just an acknowledgement of what's real.

Dugger: What is the role of race in civilization and culture?

Duke: I think different races create different cultures and different societies. Overwhelmingly—not completely, 'cause there certainly have been other influences as well—but overwhelmingly, we have been a product of European culture, values, and civilization. That is being called into question. There are a lot of people now who are trying to remove even the Western classics from our universities, Goethe and Shakespeare and the rest of them, that's not in vogue, they'd rather have Baldwin and Malcolm X.

Dugger: Do you think there are genetic differences between men and women that go to traits like intelligence and nurturing?

Duke: Science every day says to us that genetics has a big role in our lives. Recent studies even suggest that the tendency toward homosexuality is to a great deal inherited. Through identical twin studies there's a lot of evidence that IQ is certainly affected by genetics as well as environment. What we are is a combination of our environment and our heredity.

We acknowledge the fact that there are differences in the abilities of individuals or even in talents of races, I mean, some races might have certain talents in certain areas. We must acknowledge whatever the differences—the best system is one that makes sure

that the person who is best qualified gets the job promotion or the scholarship gets advanced according to their individual merits or abilities, and that's what I believe in.

As far as men and women, there may be emotional differences between men and women that are ingrained, that are created by genes or hormones or differences in values. My family has had a lot of women who have been really exceptional intellects. I had a grandmother who was a chemistry instructor/professor at the University of Kansas and my great-aunt was one of the first great female doctors in Chicago. I think a woman should go as far as her talents and her ability warrant, just as a man should, just as a black person should, just as a white person should.

Dugger: After the governor's race, the Dallas News quoted you saying, "I won my constituency. I won 55 percent of the white vote." That made me wonder, do you think of yourself, really, as the candidate of the white race?

Duke: Well, I consider myself as really a person who wants society to advance and make society better for everybody. I think that my policies have been good for the black majority. But I got a higher percentage of the blacks' votes than the previous Republican incumbent got, four percent to two or three percent. But generally speaking, whites have voted for me in a majority in statewide elections two times. So that's been my voting constituency over the last two elections. That doesn't mean I don't have any black constituents, because I do. But I won my white—I won my constituency.

We have the largest black vote of any state in the country except for Mississippi, I think. Louisiana is about 30 percent. I didn't get many votes there (*laughs slightly*).

Dugger: In 1985 you said it's a very bad concept that everyone who is human is valuable—that you "don't see any intrinsic value" in a person just because the person is human. How do you feel about that now?



David Duke on Jan. 10, 1992.

A.J. SISCO



Duke: Well, if a person's a murderer, I don't see much value in him. In fact I agree with the death penalty. I think just because we crawl under the wire as a human being doesn't give us any special rights....

Humankind has been responsible for terrible atrocities, and the world is full of it, whether you talk about Attila, whether you talk about Hitler, whether you talk about Stalin, or whether you talk about the tens of thousands of wars that have scarred this globe over the last 50 milleniums. We have been guilty of despoiling the environment, we have been guilty of terrible things, and what makes humankind valuable is what's noble in man and woman, you know, what's justice, and freedom, and great and beautiful art and music and architecture and science and medicine and achievements. And the accomplishments of the heart....

IV: All-White America

Dugger: On WSMB radio in New Orleans in 1989, and earlier, you said you would like the U.S. to be all white.

Duke: No, I said—

Dugger: Well, what did you say, or what do you think?

Duke: Well, they said, what was the thing, if you had your ruthers, or if you have your preferences, if you could just have a wish and you could wish it was all white, would you want it to be all white. And I think I said, "Yes," you know, if we're gonna fantasize, I said, fine. I don't think America has to be all white. I'm not advocating making America all white. But, you know, generally speaking, I'm proud of Western heritage and European heritage, and if we were all white, which is impossible, 'cause it could not happen and will not happen, we wouldn't be experiencing some of the difficulties we are experiencing today.

Dugger: I think about '89 and earlier you were quoted that possibly we

should send the American blacks back to Africa. If it was practical, would it be good for the government to do that? —You said that about two years ago.

Duke: Yeah. Well, that was opening a question, I didn't advocate that. No, I don't think that's practical, nor do I think it's good.

Dugger: Zatarain, who was interviewing you in 1989 and 1990, says you believe now—he means '89 and '90, 'cause he quit his interviews in early '90—that the Klan stands for noble and just causes, and you said the Klan "is a living instrument for the ideals of Western Christian civilization and...the white race."⁴ Would you explain that a little more?

Duke: When was that said?

Dugger: Well, that would be in '89 and '90.

Duke: I didn't say that; '89 or '90 I didn't say that. I don't think he quotes me as saying that.

Dugger: Yes. I've got the book with me.

Duke: Yeah, show me where he has me saying that in '89 and '90. I'd like to see that.

Dugger: Well, no he didn't say '89 and '90, but he's quoting and I assumed he was in interview.⁴

(Dugger got out his copy of the book, but the interview proceeded too rapidly for him to be able to give Duke the references during the course of the interview. They were faxed to Duke with a copy of this transcript. For further information on this please see reference note 4.)

Dugger: In the early '80s you said, "We don't want Negroes around," that they can't hack it on math and science, and that they are much closer to the jungle than European people. Would you add anything to that, or change it?

Duke: No, I don't agree with that. That's an intolerant statement that I would certainly regret. If I said that in a moment of anger or in response to something out of context or whatever, I don't endorse that.

Dugger: On racial segregation, what races should be segregated, and should the Jews live in segregated areas?

Duke: No, I don't think so at all. I don't believe in segregation for anybody. I think we shouldn't have forcible integration or forcible segregation or separation. I think people should basically be able to do what they want to do.

Dugger: You're not for enforced segregation?

Duke: Right. I'm not for enforced integration either! The government should be out of all that.

Dugger: Okay. Wilmot Robertson, you remember, in *Instauration*, which you reprinted in your newsletter in '84, advocated establishing separate racial nations made up of what are now American minorities and the Jews—you remember that plan. The year after, you said you were for "the geographic segregation of the races, within either this country or on an extracontinental basis." What about that?

Duke: Okay. Well, I didn't advocate that. That may have been written in the publication—

Dugger: You said, the next year that we—we—have an idea which may not be practical or it may be, for "geographic separation of the races, within either this country or on an extra-continental basis."

Duke: At one point I talked about the possibility of that. I didn't specifically advocate that. I'm not advocating that today, and I don't advocate that.

The Wilmot Robertson article in particular was a guest article, and we run all kinds of things in the publications, and that did not reflect the editorial position of the NAAWP, or mine. And by the way, that article was pretty much tongue-in-cheek, anyway.

Dugger: Oh, was it?

Duke: It's very satirical. Talked about Manhattan becoming New Israel. What it was was an intellectual exercise to prod the thinking in the mind, not to seriously advocate those things.

Dugger: One of the things in it was that if anybody went into that buffer zone for the Mexican-Americans, they should be shot on sight. Was that tongue-in-cheek, too?

Duke: I don't remember that.

Dugger: In 1988 in NAAWP News you wrote, "The ultimate issue is Darwinian....who will propagate and who will not, who will control and who will be controlled." Would you add anything to that?

Duke: It's hard for me to take a sentence out of context, out of a long soliloquy or dialogue, and then say what's your context? I think there are certain Darwinian aspects to society. In society today we seem to put a premium on making sure that welfare recipients reproduce in numerous numbers whereas middle-class people, married couples, seem to have all sorts of reasons economically why they can't afford children. We have the most productive people in society having the fewest children. We have got probably the least productive people in society and often the least talented having the most children. There may be a Darwinian impact there over the years.

Dugger: What are eugenics, and should the government have a policy on eugenics?

Duke: Eugenics means using science to help improve the quality of humankind, and we have now a lot of medical work being done in the genes and DNA to correct hereditary diseases and hereditary defects. That is a very admirable thing. If we can help alleviate sickness or lessen birth defects, I think that's good. That's purely in science, and that's not advocating in any way controlled mating or anything like that.

Dugger: Should the government encourage some people to have kids and discourage others and how do you tell which is which?

Duke: I don't think the government should get involved in all that, but we have a welfare system now where we basically encourage welfare recipients to have illegitimate babies. Because we give them more food stamps and more welfare.

Dugger: So government policy shouldn't have that effect, but should it have the other effect, I believe you have a plan for loans that—

Duke: The only thing government should have in terms of encouraging productive people to have children is simply by allowing the fruits of one's labor to ascribe to them. If people are able to work and be productive and make money, allow them to use that for their own family. Right now the hard-working taxpayer is simply paying taxes to provide for people who won't work and don't work and are a social drag, they can't feed or support a child of their own. And that's unfortunate.

Dugger: What do you think about the National Socialists' eugenics policy before the war? Do you know much about it?

Duke: I don't know much about it, but I'm opposed to any sort of controlled systems, which apparently I think they advocated.

IV: Jews: 'I Didn't Say That'

Duke: You had those interviews with Evelyn Rich in '85, and you called Jews then "ugly aliens" and said, "I've got a lot of enmity toward the Jews as a whole....I resent them." I wonder if you'd tell me what's behind that?

Duke: Those sentiments I regret. At one time as a young man I saw a lot of Jewish involvement in Marxism, for instance Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman, these kind of people, and I tended to blame the Jews as a group for the activity of a number of Jews in those activities. I think that's not the right way to be. My deeper understanding and my deeper Christian beliefs tell me today that that's not the way to be, that there are some Jews who are liberals and some Jews who are conservatives, and you can't condemn the whole race for the actions of a few.

Dugger: Now, Ros Davidson said in a Scottish periodical that you told her in May 1990 that the Jews are a plague on the white race.

Duke: Oh, I didn't say that.

Dugger: You didn't? That's a misquote?

Duke: That's a misquote, yes.

Dugger: Okay. And in '86 you were saying the media is dominated by Jews, those Jews are not good Americans, but that would be a part of the previous stuff that you've pretty much jettisoned.

Duke: Yeah. Right.

Dugger: Davidson said you said May a year ago that the Jews started World War II to destroy Aryan culture and "are trying to destroy all other cultures."

Duke: I didn't say that.

Dugger: Didn't say that. Okay.

Duke: That Davidson said a bunch of things—

Dugger: You think she made up those quotes?

Duke: Yes. Yeah. I've been interviewed by thousands of journalists and not all of them have been (*unintelligible*).

Dugger: Now in 1989, according to Rickey—and of course she's a Republican here (in New Orleans)—

Duke: Yeah, she's a liberal Republican. She's in favor of affirmative action.

Dugger: She is?

Duke: Yeah. Very leftist on all subjects. She's a very biased individual.

Dugger: Okay. So the question really comes down to, did she misquote you when she said that you were saying basically that white Aryans are superior, Jews are evil...

Duke: That's just malarkey. And she taped me for many different things, and it's amazing she's never come up with any tapes on these things. She's got plenty of tapes of conversations she's had with me. So I mean, you know, that's just malarkey.

Dugger: Well, that's a very pertinent point. But let me run through very quickly. She said you said that Jews are the children of Satan—this was two years ago—

Duke: I never said that.

Dugger: Because Eve had a relationship and produced Cain.

Duke: I never said that.

Dugger: And that you expressed admiration for Hitler, Eichmann, and Mengele.

Duke: Never. That's just total garbage. In the recordings that she's presented and the (Louisiana) Coalition (against Racism and Nazism) has presented, you look at all of them, you go through all of it, there's many places where I condemn (*unintelligible*) and Hitler, as I do today.

Dugger: You condemn who?

Duke: Hitler. He was a disaster for the European people and for the Western Christian civilization that I love and represent. In their own stuff that they distribute they have me quoted as saying those things.

Dugger: Okay. And Mengele and Eichmann? When you see a CNN broadcast and Rickey is saying that Eichmann and Mengele—

Duke: Yeah, she—

Dugger: —are heroes of yours according to your interviews with her, you understand why somebody ought to sit down and ask you about that?

Duke: Yeah. I understand.

Dugger: That was two years ago.

Duke: That's just one person's word. Nobody's ever corroborated anything like that. And again she doesn't have any tapes to back that up, but she did many tapings of many conversations with me.

Dugger: The Times Picayune reported you celebrated Hitler's birthdays in your home here in Metairie as late as the mid-1980s. Is that right?

Duke: Absolutely untrue.

Dugger: Did it ever happen?

Duke: No. Totally uncorroborated. They always do this, you know, they don't give any sources, they don't give any names, any places, they just say things, you know.

V: Concerning the Holocaust

Dugger: Of course, Willis Carto's Institute for Historical Review and other revisionists have been saying the Holocaust is a myth. Now in '80 in a letter you said it was a historical hoax, you told Rich in '85, "Today, I believe it didn't happen," Zyklon B was used not to kill Jews but to kill lice, and "the whole thing comes down to a house of cards," and in '89 you were referring to the alleged Holocaust, apparently to Abby Kaplan. Well, did it happen or not? What did happen, how many people were murdered, by whom? Where are you now on this question?

Duke: Obviously I didn't refute the Holocaust in that interview with Kaplan. I think there were terrible atrocities in Germany, I don't know how many, but I think there were terrible atrocities, whether there were six million or 600,000 or 60,000 and whether it be Nazi or whether it be Communist or whatever, that kind of activity is reprehensible.

Dugger: Well, do you have any opinion on how many folks the Nazis—

Duke: I'm not any expert on that.

Dugger: You're not. You don't have any new sources.

Duke: I've read Jewish books that had quite different numbers, different ideas....So there are different opinions about different eras. But I do think that Solzhenitsyn said 66 million people were murdered in the Soviet Union, I think we should give at least as much coverage about that as we do about the six million, and I think the constant reiteration, the chronic repetition of the atrocities that took place in Europe—

Dugger: You mean in the Holocaust?

Duke: Right. —have an effect of aiding Israeli policy in the Middle East in terms of the Palestinians.

Dugger: You think that's maybe the purpose?

Duke: No, I don't think it's the purpose, but the constant reiteration of it is something that helps lessen the moral indignation about what's going on in terms of the Palestinian rights and values in Israel. No one can deny the terrible atrocities that took place or [not] condemn them, but this constant referral to it certainly helps insulate the Zionist state from criticism.

VI: A Race War Coming?

Dugger: Now we're goin' back 20 years. Mike Connelly over in Baton Rouge told me on the phone that way back when you were a student at LSU you told him you were certain we would have a race war in the United States, the whites versus the Jews and the blacks, and that by the time you were in your forties you'd be governor of Louisiana, he said you said this at the time, and that you'd lead the race war. I don't know if you remember that and want to go back that far. My question is, do you think we'll have a race war in the United States?

Duke: First of all I'll refute that. It's so easy to go back 20 years, your political opponent, and they suddenly have a memory of what you say.

I don't think there'll be a race war. I certainly hope not. I pray not. If the present policies of immigration continue and some of the liberal social policies, that may produce one.

Dugger: By having more of the people disagree with Western Christian values?

Duke: Yeah, more of the fragmentation of American society. And it's not gonna be something that, uh—it would not be something that the American majority would start. It would be something that—you know, the largest Mexican-American group is called La Raza



Unida, the united race, and they talk about their allegiances, and about how the Southwest part of the country was taken away illegally from Mexico—

Dugger: Is that the largest?

Duke: One of the largest. And that's the prevailing sentiment. There's a lot of that. There's more black radicals along those lines as well. So, yeah, I'm concerned. Unless we have English as the language of the United States of America, that may add to the fragmentation and the ultimate problems that we might have along those lines.

Dugger: There might be a civil war, you think, along racial lines? Or it could happen.

Duke: It's happened before in history in many countries, and I don't want to see that happen here. It would be horrible if it happened. I don't think it will happen, but if the present policies continue, it could happen.

VII: Certain Remarks Explained

I would like to, finally, show you three excerpts from a 1986 transcript that the Louisiana Coalition puts out, and as you know Evelyn Rich has put in the library, said it's open to the press. This is an excerpt from that '86 interview with Joe Fields and you that Evelyn Rich had. My question is simply, What do you mean here? Or is it a correct—do you doubt the transcript?

(Duke reads the excerpt, which—though it is to be found in larger type in the excerpts printed earlier in this issue—was presented to Duke as follows:)

The First Excerpt Shown to Duke :

Duke:If we've got truth on our side and we're the majority—that is, white people—then if we fail, if we're failing, it's something lacking in us....

Fields: It doesn't take that many people though to start something rolling. Hitler started with seven men.

Duke: Right, that's what I'm trying to say to you....

Fields: And most people didn't want to have anything to do with him.

Duke: Right! And don't you think it can happen right now, if we put the right package together?

Fields: Well, maybe I wouldn't go out and say I'm a Nazi, you know, Hitler, National Socialism—but I'd never deny it. I'd never deny it. It's like a Christian—you know. When Christianity first started they were feeding them to the lions. They still wore their crosses. They went to their deaths, but they never gave up. It's like a faith. It's not just politics. It's a religion—

Duke (interrupting): Well, I try to avoid it—

Field (continuing): You have to feel it in your soul—

Duke (stepping over Fields' words): I wheedle out of it because I'm a pragmatist.

Dugger (as Duke continues reading): You're welcome to keep that, by the way.

Duke (reading): I've seen this before. (*Finishes reading.*) First of all, let me say what this was. This was a late-night conversation, and this man was very radical, and this was out of context as well. I was tryin' to move him over to a more moderate position. And when you talk to someone who is very radical and you're trying to mitigate, to move him over, you don't say to someone, "You're full of crap," you say, "Well, yeah, yeah," and that's all that was all about, just saying, calm down, that's all it was about.

Dugger: Okay. The second one.

The Second Excerpt Shown to Duke:

Duke: What did Hitler want to do with the Jews?...

Fields:No seriously, they actually do deserve everything they got. And if it was extermination, they would have deserved it....They're a pest. You know, when your house is rotting, you have termites, you get rid of the pests.

Duke: Well, as I say—people generally deserve what they push on other people. I think they're trying to exterminate our race. I think probably in a moral sense, the Jewish people have been a blight. I mean as a whole, not every Jew. And they probably deserve to go into the ashbin of history. But, saying that and actually shooting or killing people in masses are two different things. I'm not advocating some sort of extermination. I think the best thing is to resettle them some place where they can't exploit others. And I don't think they can live among themselves. I really don't. I think their numbers will dwindle rapidly and they'll have a great deal of problems.

Fields: A parasite can't live unless it's attached to a host.

Duke: And also, the answer to all these things, I don't think, is forced anything—forcing the Jews to get out....

Duke: Yeah, I've seen this before. And that's kinda the same thing I was talkin' about, too. The guy was very radical and I was trying to say to him, you know, don't be so radical, don't be so—And here it says very clearly I don't advocate extermination, it says very clearly I don't think you should force people to do anything—

Dugger: It does.

Duke: —And that was a way to try to begin to move him toward a more moderate position.

Dugger: My question about it is, by my reading of this you said the Jews deserve to be exterminated, because they are trying to exterminate the white race. That's the logic of it. But that you were not advocating that, you want to resettle them, and believe that if this is done, "their numbers will dwindle rapidly." Have I got that right? —Shall I repeat that?

Duke: I don't agree with that. It was out of context, and I don't agree with the sentiment or the way I expressed that.

Dugger: I've got the context here.

Duke: I don't agree with the sentiment, I don't think that's adequate to the way I expressed it at the time, in terms of what I said.

Dugger: And you don't mean that?

Duke: No, I certainly don't advocate that.

Dugger: Okay. This is the last one.

The Third Excerpt Shown to Duke:

Duke:We're going to need a lot of fighters. We're going to need a lot of people that are very tough.

Fields: I'm so impatient. I can't wait for something to happen.

Duke: It's like you're out in the jungle and there's this magnificent Bengal tiger....And the thing's about to jump you. Well, it's unfortunate, but you've got to pull out your shotgun and do him in, or he's going to do you in when the time comes—like Hitler.

Duke: Yeah, well, this quotation, I was referring to Hitler—that

Hitler had to be stopped.

Dugger: Okay, that's what "like Hitler" meant?

Duke: Yeah. Exactly.

Dugger: Finally, what about this—I know you're having to deal with it all the time. Some people are saying you're a racist, right, some people are saying you're an anti-Semite, and some people are saying you're a Nazi. How do you respond to that? That's right there on the table.

Duke: First off, I'm not a racist. I love my heritage but I believe in equal rights, and I don't think you have to put down the races to defend your own. I'm not an anti-Semite. I respect the Jewish people, and I think I respect the fact that they have made great efforts to preserve their heritage and their way of life. I think we can learn a lot from them. And third, I am the absolute antithesis of what a Nazi is, I believe in less government all the way across the board, I believe in more individual freedom, and my voting record in the Louisiana legislature completely reflects that. Less government, less taxation, less government control, and more freedom. Nazism is kind of repressive politics and tactics which are somewhat reminiscent of the affirmative action programs, which have some degree of resemblance to the Nuremberg type laws, where you limit people by professions or by quotas. So that's my answer.

[*In the Louisiana governor's race last year, Duke, in his broadcasts asking for votes, also asked people to telephone a 900 number and to subscribe to the Duke Report for a fee. This was unusual since 900 numbers cannot be used to solicit campaign contributions. The closing question of the interview concerned this.*]

Dugger: Finally, I have one topic that I did not tell Ms. Otilio about, so I'm not trying to ambush you on it....It's simply your 900 number, and the Duke Report. [*Duke indicates he will answer the question.*] How did that work? I guess that's a private business since you can't use a 900 number in politics. How much money did you make out of it?

Duke: Well, didn't make as much money as it cost us to put it out, but it was a way to get more names that we could use politically.

Dugger: You didn't net anything?

Duke: Naw, I didn't net anything personally.

Dugger: Do you have any other business interests?

Duke: No, I own this one house. I don't own any other houses. I have no stocks and bonds, no savings accounts over a few hundred dollars, I have an IRA and that's it.

Dugger: Just a few savings accounts at a hundred or so?

Duke: A few hundred is about the most I've saved.

Dugger: They can't accuse you of pilin' up dough.

Duke: Well, I'm not.

As the interview ended it was about ten minutes to one. Nothing more was said about lunch. I thanked Duke and we shook hands, I signed my Johnson book "To David Duke, with thanks for the interview today," and the photographer and I left.

¹The pertinent part of the letter said: "I would like to conduct a serious taped interview with (Duke) about his Scottish forebears; the role of his father in his formation of his concept of personal integrity, however lonely (which I read about in Zatarain's biography); his brush with death in Israel; his beliefs now, with reference to his earlier views, on immigration, affirmative action as discrimination, the income tax and a U.S. sales tax, meritocracy and political systems, encouraging procreation in productive people and fewer children for the welfare underclass and related Darwinian considerations, the importance of racial genes in civilization and culture, segregation and geographical separation of the races, American values of Christian and European origin, and Jews, the America media, Israel, and the Holocaust; his strategy concerning running for office as a way to build a movement; whether under some circumstances he might run for President as an independent next November; and his analysis of factors which will determine whether he becomes President."

²In 1971, traveling after work in Laos, Duke visited Israel. By this time he was a well-

known student organizer for the Nazi cause at LSU. According to what he told Zatarain, on an El Al jet flight from Tel Aviv to Istanbul he had a chicken salad sandwich and a soft drink; he became deathly ill in Turkey; and he caught a flight a naval hospital in Athens, where he was treated. Zatarain quotes Duke's father quoting the doctors that the 21-year-old David "had a very rare and sophisticated poison" and almost died. Zatarain quotes David Duke: "I don't know if the Mossad poisoned me, but I think it is very possible." Zatarain, *David*, pp. 169-170.

³Duke was quoted in Alexandria Daily Town Talk of Aug. 12, 1990: "I think you need some sort of magnetic card for welfare in this country.... I think you need to consolidate the welfare programs, and that kind of system could do that. And it would help the government keep track of that welfare recipient." (Cited in LCARN, "Resource.")

⁴On January 9, Zatarain told Dugger on the telephone that he had more than 200 interviews with Duke, lasting from 20 minutes to four or five hours, all occurring during the 16 months beginning in January 1989.

At page 193 of his biography, Zatarain directly quotes Duke:

"I wanted to get away from the stereotype of all Klansmen being ignorant bigots.... However, the Klan today doesn't exist simply as a memorial to the past accomplishments it made, but as a living instrument for the ideals of Western civilization and the one element that makes them possible, the white race."

Zatarain told Dugger on the telephone Jan. 15, concerning the above quotation: "I remember when he told me that, we were sitting in a little diner not far from his office. It was November 1989. That was the first time when we really began to talk."

At page 101, Zatarain wrote that Duke "enjoyed the rituals and the secrecy surrounding Klan meetings. 'Most of the members were businessmen,' Duke said. It consisted of people who wanted to protect white, Christian values in a non-violent way.'" Zatarain said Duke said that to him probably later in 1989.

The passage at page 101 also contains Zatarain's own sentence: "[Duke] believed then, as he does now, that the causes the Klan stood for were noble and just."

In an interview with the Dallas Morning News, published Jan. 17, Duke said he was "proud" of his years as a Ku Klux Klan leader and he still believes in "genetic differences" based on race. "Fundamentally, yes, I haven't changed," from his days as a grand wizard of the Klan in Louisiana, he told the newspaper. □

Beth Rickey Replies to Duke

BY RONNIE DUGGER

New Orleans

ELISABETH (BETH) RICKEY IS a comely, 35-year-old Louisiana Republican who supported Ronald Reagan unwaveringly in all his campaigns starting in 1976. When David Duke was a member of the legislature, Beth Rickey began to expose what she regarded as his racism and neo-Nazism. She is single and Duke is divorced, and he responded to her opposition to him by trying to charm and convert her. They had meals out together, and Duke had her join him when he took his children out for ice cream. "The whole time," she says, "we talked about nothing but race and the Jews." After about 50 hours of talk with him, in person and on the phone, she decided to continue opposing him by leading an attempt to have the Louisiana State Republican Central Committee, of which she is a member, censure him. The week before the fight on censure, she said during an interview in her apartment last week, an anonymous caller threatened her with death by gunfire, and when she rose to support the censure motion before her assembled fellow Republican officials she was so frightened she could not speak.

Last week, in his interview with the Observer published above, Duke attacked Rickey personally for attributing neo-Nazi statements to him which he denies he made. He called Rickey a leftist on all issues and a biased person, and he derided her for failing to come forward with taped recordings she has of conversations with him. Listening, on the afternoon of the same day, to a playback of what he had said about her, Beth Rickey said quietly in the direction of no one, as if speaking to him: "Sweetie, I've been too nice to you." Making some coffee in the kitchen, she suddenly exclaimed: "It's just amazing how he will absolutely flat-out lie about stuff. It's something else."

Beth Rickey's have been among the most damaging of all the accounts of Duke's recent statements of his beliefs, not only because she said he declared to her his admiration for Hitler, Eichmann, and Mengele, but also because she is a Ph.D. student in political science at Tulane and a true-blue Louisiana Republican, the daughter of a successful builder. Telling the Observer the personal story of her experiences with Duke, she remembered with a laugh that in the opinion of her father, a lieutenant colonel in the Corps of Engineers who participated in the liberation of Europe, "the Nazis and Franklin Roosevelt were the lowest forms of life."

In her twelfth year Rickey became a fan of Reagan's when, while governor of California, he visited the Rickey's home. She was an alternate delegate to the national conventions for Reagan from Louisiana

in 1980 and 1984 and worked as a paid member of Reagan's Louisiana staff during the 1984 campaign, concentrating on voter turnout. She was elected to the GOP central committee in 1988.

She was worried, she said, that if Duke was not repudiated by conservatives, conservatism would suffer from association with Duke's ideas. A spunky woman, she secretly attended the meeting of the Populist Party in Chicago which he addressed in 1989. "I snuck in with a tape recorder," she said. "The American Nazi Party provided security for him there. What he was telling them was, 'My victory was a victory for you people.' And here are two Skinheads on my right, and Klansmen. I'm horrified! Here I am, a Republican Party official, hearing him saying his victory in Louisiana was a victory for them!"

Rickey said she alerted the state and national GOP to what had happened in Chicago, and Duke, returning to Baton Rouge, apologized for having attended the meeting while minimizing the importance of the event, she said. During the last two weeks in May 1989, Rickey decided to see if she could buy pro-Nazi books from Duke's legislative office at his home in Metairie. "If he's changed, he wouldn't be selling this stuff still," she reasoned. She telephoned his office, she said, and asked if she could buy *The Turner Diaries*, a novel which is a cult book among neo-Nazis, and a book entitled *Hitler Was My Friend*. She said the woman responding on the phone said, "We have *The Turner Diaries*, but we're out of *Hitler Was My Friend*. We do have *Mein Kampf*." At that, she went over to the basement level of Duke's office home and bought about \$40 worth of books of that kind. Then she had a press conference denouncing Duke's book sales, and he stopped them at once.

Why did Duke begin paying court to Beth Rickey? "He knows that I am a rock-solid Republican," Rickey mused, when this question was put to her. "I'm single, and I'm a woman and he can flatter me. I'm Scotch, and I'm Northern European, and he thinks I'm just confused. I'm an educated person. He wanted to convert me — it would give him credibility.... He wanted to shut me up, too." Perhaps, it was suggested to her, Duke had fancied her as a possible wife. "I think he liked me," she replied, "and it's possible he saw me as — but he never made a pass or anything like that."

Often Duke would phone Rickey to discuss something that had upset him. During one of these calls, she said, he said the Jews started World War II. He claimed that the death of four blacks in the bombing of a Birmingham church during the civil rights movement was caused by Jews stirring up the blacks, Rickey said.

Once, Rickey said, as the two of them sat together talking in the Louisiana House chamber, she asked him, "David, what is the bottom line?" and he replied: "Race is the defining element in civilization." He

had discovered that is what life is about, the quality of life revolves around race, if there's any mixing of race then the quality of life declines."

"It was very clear," Rickey said, "that he's a racist, whatever you want to call it — he's not a conservative like I am.... This man is an ideologue. That's why I felt compelled to continue this speaking out against him, because it's like I am a witness, and I feel I owe it to say what I thought. I think he's crazy, to be honest with you."

On August 4, 1989, Rickey said, she and Duke had lunch together at the Ming Palace in New Orleans. Duke told her on that occasion, she said, that Rudolf Hess, Hitler's confidant who flew to England early in the war, should have received the Nobel Peace Prize, and that his imprisonment was a travesty of justice. Reading from notes she put into her computer the next day, Rickey recounted the following conversation about Captain Josef Mengele, the SS doctor at Auschwitz who conducted "selections" for the gas chambers at the railway station and the camp infirmary and killed many prisoners in brutal medical experiments on them:

Duke: "And then there is Dr. Mengele."

Rickey: "Oh, you like him, too?"

Duke: "Beth, the man had a Ph.D."

Rickey: "Oh? OK." (Rickey said she was stunned by what was being said to her.)

Duke: "Do you think he would have jeopardized his career with so many witnesses? Come on."

Rickey: "It would seem illogical."

Duke was defending Mengele, Rickey stressed, not as a monster who performed hideous experiments on captive twins. All that, Duke regarded as propaganda. "He admired his genetic research on twins," she said. "He didn't mean the horrible experiments. He saw him as a great scientist."

From memory, for she had not put down a note about it, she said Duke said Adolf Eichmann had gotten "a bad rap, I think was the term he used, in his trial in Israel. He wasn't such a bad guy, was sort of his view of Eichmann. He thought the whole kidnapping of Eichmann and the trial was a propaganda thing."

During this same lunch, Rickey said, Duke said the stench in the air around Auschwitz was caused by the fact that it was a rubber manufacturing plant. "So I'm talking to a man who believes all this. I don't know if I can relay to you the horror when I realized that he believed all this stuff...." He said, "You see, all these camps were not extermination camps." And he gets real excited about it, he said they were labor camps, there were no death camps. He said, "There were no gas showers." And he does a lot about Zyklon B, a pesticide, Zyklon B was used to disinfect the inmates, all these people, they're enemies of the state, Jewish, communists, they were interned just like the Japanese here.

"I said, 'Well, my father went to a camp and saw all those bodies, what were they?' and he said, dismissively, 'Oh, they just died of starvation and typhus. They weren't exterminated.'" Reading directly from notes she said she had made on her word-processor the day after the conversation, Rickey said out: "He said that the Final Solution was merely a plan to segregate the Jews from the rest of society, that there was never any evidence of Hitler ordering extermination. He (Duke) said, 'Don't you think that transporting the Jews to Poland and other locations would be stupid if Hitler wanted to kill them? Why would he transport these people all over the place, make a big deal out of it, if they were going to be killed. They were just going to labor camps.'"

"To me," Rickey said, "that's what's the most chilling thing: why would a man like this—it speaks to the very soul of this man—deny, why would anyone want to deny this happened to anybody?"

The last conversation they had, Rickey said, occurred before the September 1989 meeting of the state GOP committee. "He had tried to co-opt me, it had worked to some extent. I was very uncomfortable about doing all this.... I'm wavering. He asks me, 'Are you gonna go with the censure motion against me?' I say, 'I dunno, if I censure you

it's because of your ideas, not because of you as a person.' I mean, he's got me all mixed up. So then he said, 'I won't be able to talk with you any more if you do this.' So I was faced with a choice, and I decided to do it. And then I broke off with him."

"The first death threat came the week before the censure move," Rickey said. "I'd gone on radio, saying that I was going to be part of the censure move. There were two threats, back to back, they were phoned in, that if you get up and do this, you're gonna be sorry, and I said, 'Who is this and what do you mean,' and they said, it was something to the effect 'You're gonna get a bullet through your head.' It was very specific. And then called back and sort of reiterated that same message."

At the state committee meeting, Rickey said last week, "I was so nervous, and so upset about that, that I couldn't talk. In fact, another



member of the state committee, Neil Curran, had to read the censure resolution. I stood next to him, and people said later, 'Why didn't you say anything?' I didn't really want to say why. I stood with him because I wanted to be with him for moral support, but I couldn't talk, and I was thinking, watching this chamber going, 'Is anything gonna happen to me?'"

After that, she said, she had "countless" harassment calls, a lot of hang-up calls at night during the 1990 Senate race, and then, during the governor's race, "it was like all day long—it was crazy." People followed her from her home; one night, she said, a car tried to run her off the road, off Western Boulevard. After that, for a week, Beth Rickey was protected by a hired former policeman, and "things stopped."

The state committee voted, not on censure, but on whether to consider the motion of censure. The outcome was announced, but not the vote, which, Rickey said, was 120 against and only eight for. The prevailing argument against censure was that it would only give Duke publicity and make him a martyr. "My argument, Rickey said, "has always been that if conservatives don't speak out, then they're going to be smeared with the label of being racist.... It's a moral question. It's not something you say, oh, politically there may be a backlash. Some issues are beyond that. There are some things you have to say. Only eight people voted with me. I was stunned when I found out later." □

Giving the Devil His Due

BY JAMES CULLEN

THE REST OF AMERICA watched in morbid fascination this past November as Louisiana voters agonized over their choice for governor. The primary election had divided the electorate among the more moderate candidates, leaving a runoff featuring David Duke, the former Ku Klux Klan leader and admirer of Adolf Hitler, and Edwin Edwards, the gambling and womanizing former governor who was acquitted of federal corruption charges but was turned out by reform-minded voters in 1987.

Louisiana has a colorful and checkered political history, but the potential embarrassment of having a governor who drew his political inspiration from *Mein Kampf* was too much for the business establishment, which joined organized labor, blacks and Jews in a bipartisan coalition that managed to beat Duke back with slogans such as: "Vote for Duke — Create a Führer," and "Vote for the Crook — It's important."

After Edwards rolled to victory with 61 percent of the vote in a record turnout, many national observers dismissed Duke, even after he announced plans to run for the Republican presidential nomination. But those who track white supremacist groups warn that Duke is a symptom of an attempt by white supremacists to exploit middle-class frustration with government that they feel is unresponsive to their needs. Although Duke was defeated, he received 55 percent of the votes of whites. He also appeared on at least eight national TV programs in the closing weeks of the campaign, and approximately half the contributions he received came from outside Louisiana.

While leaders of both of the mainstream political parties distanced themselves from Duke, both parties have some owning up to do as Duke prepares to take his show on the road.

Democrats and Republicans share the blame for allowing a candidate such as Duke to exploit economic and political unrest. Republicans are to blame for exploiting racial issues since the passage of civil rights legislation in the mid-1960s. Duke was repudiated by Republican leaders even as some Louisiana Republican leaders wondered what the fuss was about. After all, Duke had adopted some of President George Bush's favorite themes on race-based quotas, welfare and crime.

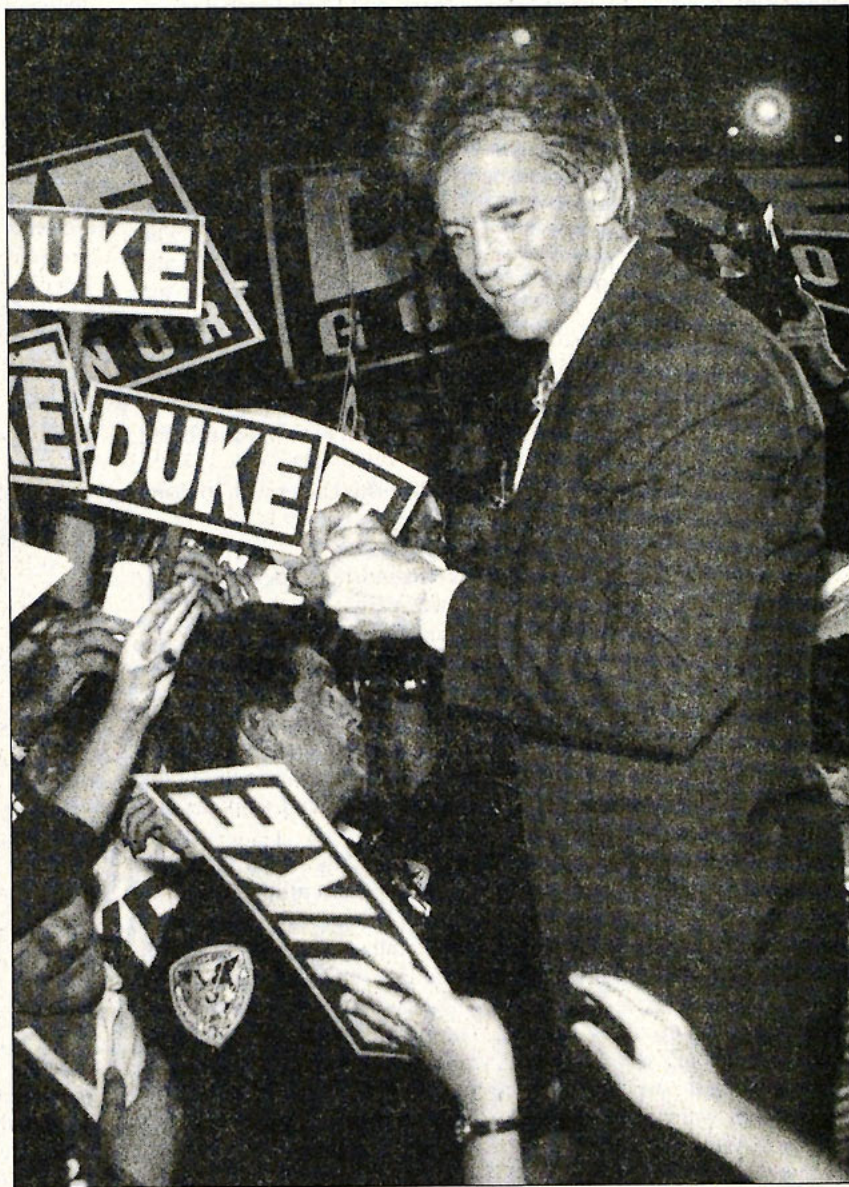
Democrats share the blame for not calling the GOP on its use of racially-charged "code words" and for failing to justify civil rights initiatives in the minds of white middle-class voters. Democrats also should feel no smugness about the damage Duke might do to the GOP image. After all, the Democrats have been fighting attempts by Lyndon LaRouche and his far-right followers to gain Democratic leadership posts, an effort that reached its peak in 1986 when a LaRouche candidate won the Democratic primary for secretary of state in Illinois, forcing the regular Democratic gubernatorial candidate, Adlai Stevenson, to head an alternative Democratic slate as a "Solidarity Democrat."

Duke's emergence may have ruined a good thing for Republicans who have been refining the use of thinly-veiled attacks on Democrat-sponsored civil rights initiatives ever since Richard Nixon's implementa-

tion of the "Southern Strategy" in 1968. Earlier in the year, GOP strategists crowed that hiring quotas would be the "wedge issue" in the 1992 election. They had a success in the 1990 California gubernatorial race when Pete Wilson, a Republican U.S. senator, put Diane Feinstein, the Democratic mayor of San Francisco, on the defensive by saying that she would impose racial quotas on state hiring. (Wilson, of course, won.)

Republican U.S. Sen. Jesse Helms successfully played the race card when a black Democrat, Harvey Gantt, pressed him in the closing days of the 1990 Senate race in North Carolina. Helms' TV advertisements showed a white person saying affirmative action had cost him a job for which he was qualified. Gantt supported the 1990 civil rights bill, which President Bush had vetoed.

In Alabama, incumbent Republican Gov. Guy Hunt successfully re-



Duke signing autographs before Louisiana runoff election.

A.J. SISCO

sorted to TV ads that showed his challenger with a black executive of the Alabama Education Association.

In Texas, TV ads by Rick Perry in the last few weeks of the election, attacked incumbent Agriculture Commissioner Jim Hightower's endorsement of Jesse Jackson. Perry upset Hightower.

President Bush has cynically played the race card, from his use in the 1988 campaign of the image of Willie Horton, a black murderer who was released on a furlough during the administration of Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis, to Bush's veto of the 1990 civil rights act and his nomination of black, but marginally-qualified federal Judge Clarence Thomas to replace Thurgood Marshall on the U.S. Supreme Court.

Bush also welcomed, as proof of the GOP's strength in the South, Kirk Fordice's upset victory over Democratic incumbent Gov. Ray Mabus in Mississippi this past year. Bush found no need to distance himself from Fordice, who had run a campaign more racially divisive than Duke's. Fordice started with attacks on hiring quotas, claimed welfare abuses with a TV spot that closed with a picture of a black welfare mother holding a baby, accused Mabus of trying to buy the black vote and on the eve of the election called for repeal of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Some Republicans would like to finish Duke off so they can resume talking about those issues without the distraction. Beth Rickey, Louisiana GOP committeewoman from New Orleans who helped to form the anti-Duke coalition in Louisiana, would like the GOP to face up to its race-oriented rhetoric. "I think we need to do some serious soul-searching," she said, although she believes there is hope that the GOP's national leadership can regain control over the monster.

Meanwhile, the best hope of progressive Democrats is for a resurrection of the Roosevelt coalition of minorities and working-class whites who will respond to a good, old-fashioned populist appeal based firmly in economics, rather than race.

Hightower, a former Observer editor, said Duke's message should not be confused with that of legitimate populists, and neither should progressive populists condemn Duke's supporters out-of-hand.

"We as progressives make a bad mistake when we say all those people are pigs because they vote for Duke, because there are just some mad people," Hightower said.

"There is a sizeable percentage of people who are voting for David Duke who are not neo-Nazis, racists and anti-Semites and whatever other ugly banner can legitimately be hung around David Duke. Instead, these are people who range from disillusioned to disgusted with the political process and the economic process. So they see in a vote for Duke an opportunity to rebel against the American establishment.

"This same thing happened in the late '60s and early '70s with George Wallace, and liberals back then made the mistake of thinking that anyone who voted for Wallace was a pig, when in fact many of them had previously been Bobby Kennedy supporters and were economic populists who saw no other outlet for their frustration," Hightower continued.

"In no way is this a defense of Duke or his candidacy. I am saying that if there is no legitimate populist outlet, then there will be false populist outlets. But we as progressives can't fault all people voting for Duke. Those people are shouting at us, saying, 'Give us something else.' So while we are correct to denounce all the vileness that David Duke represents, we are incorrect to say that everyone who votes for him is equally vile, because many of those people would support our positions, if we were offering them a clear channel to take a progressive path."

The answer, then, is that populists should mount their own progressive candidate, Hightower said. "Why do we blame the people? Politics is failing America. Americans are not failing politics."

Travis County Atty. Ken Oden, who organized phone banks in Texas to solicit contributions for the anti-Duke campaign during the Louisiana gubernatorial race, said he started out on instinct, since the gover-

nor in Louisiana has the authority to name department heads, including the state police. Oden later realized it would take more than beating Duke in Louisiana to defeat what he stood for.

"There is a lot of resentment out there. And it is not all so easily dismissed as simple white racism. Virulent racism from Southern 'Bubbas' is still alive and well, no doubt. However, there seems to have developed more widespread dissatisfaction among whites who resent what they see as affirmative action programs and social service preferences which they see as policies sponsored by the Democratic Party which unfairly discriminate against white people on the basis of their race," Oden said.

Oden agreed with Hightower that Duke "represents a wakeup call to progressives and to people who want to see us continue on a road of racial reconciliation in this country."

Oden said progressives have stuck their heads in the sand and not faced issues that Republicans have raised. "We need to be unashamed to face the challenge of the Duke rhetoric," he said.

So can any good come out of the Duke phenomenon?

Gary Bledsoe, state chairman of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told the Observer he believes the exposure Duke has received may help to open a dialogue between minorities and whites who see through the racist rhetoric.

"I've had the chance to sit down with all kinds of conservatives, some of whom might consider themselves rednecks, and they're coming around to where they don't have the same hostility," Bledsoe said. "But when people hear buzzwords without the facts, because of their fears and their anxieties, they react."

Bledsoe hopes to make known the facts that, even with affirmative action and other civil rights programs, the black unemployment rate is still three times that of whites and black income on the average is 58 percent that of whites.

The movement of jobs abroad threatens all working-class people, Bledsoe said. "Blacks and whites have so much in common; we're seeing our jobs taken away. Somehow we need to transcend these barriers and forge an economic coalition."

Rickey, a former member of the conservative Young Americans for Freedom, said the emergence of Duke and conservative commentator Pat Buchanan in the presidential race may restrict President Bush's use of racial issues. "Ironically I see Duke as doing something positive in a way by forcing politicians, or at least the President, to maybe be real careful about these issues," she said.

"If anything positive comes out of this," Oden said, "David Duke may bring these issues out front enough so that a great majority of people will realize there's a way to bring about racial justice without harming the white middle class."

But Hightower refuses to give the devil his due. "I don't give Duke anything. I don't think he's contributing anything; he's siphoning off legitimate anger. My worry is that if we, as progressives, do not work with these people and appeal to their good instincts and legitimate anger, then the David Dukes are going to take advantage of the moment." □

Duke: 'If...Then'

"The idea of becoming president of the United States is a goal that Duke thinks is attainable. He will not turn 50 until the year 2000, so he has a long time to convince voters that racist politics are good for America. 'If the ideals that I stand for are addressed, then I will only be a footnote in history,' Duke says. 'But if the deterioration of the white middle class continues, then I will be President.'"

— Michael Zatarain, *David Duke*, p. 297.

Louisiana's lesson: Don't take Duke for granted

BY JAMES CULLEN

TEXAS REPUBLICAN LEADERS profess little concern over the potential impact of David Duke's presidential campaign, but a Louisiana Republican official warns that the former Klansman and Nazi ideologue will surprise them if he is taken for granted.

Texas Republican Chairman Fred Meyer said Duke, who sent his \$5,000 filing fee and was approved as a candidate, was welcome on the ballot. "This is a free country," Meyer said. "I just don't see [Duke] as a significant force in Texas.... Duke is a single-digit candidate in the Texas Republican primary. The group that tends to support him is a less-educated group, and that is not a Republican strength," the Dallas businessman told the Observer.

"Louisiana is not Texas. They've got quite a political tradition over there," Meyer said. Duke got 700,000 votes, 39 percent of the total in the runoff for governor against Democrat Edwin Edwards, the former governor who had the support of an unusual coalition of business leaders and minorities alarmed at Duke's white supremacist views.

"Remember President Bush ran against three real Republicans in 1988 in Texas and...carried every single congressional district and won every delegate. Duke, in my opinion, is not going to be (a factor) in the Republican primary," Meyer said.

Karl Rove, an Austin-based Republican political consultant, also plays down the Duke threat. "To the extent that there are Nazi sympathizers and unreconstructed Klansmen in America today, they are not in the Republican Party," he said of Duke's white supremacist supporters. "Take a look at where he drew his votes. His votes were from traditionally Democratic areas such as Northeast Louisiana," Rove said.

Rove also said Louisiana's unique election law helped Duke by putting Democrats and Republicans in a nonpartisan election, with the top two votegetters facing off in a runoff. "To equate Louisiana politics and the weird law they have there, which encourages bizarre activity by political figures, with the rest of the United States is to equate Guatemala with Pasadena," Rove said. "That's a nutty state with nutty politics and a nutty set of rules."

Rove also is confident Duke's support will net out in single digits. He said the former Klansman might have done better in the Democratic primary. "The Democratic Party rules reward these kinds of extremists and the Republican party rules punish them," he said.

In the GOP primary, a candidate must get 20 percent of the vote in a congressional district to qualify for a delegate, but only if no other candidate gets 50 percent of the vote in that district, in which case [what? the majority candidate takes all the district's delegates?]. "In 1988, people with far more mainstream views than David Duke were in the single and low-double digits. David Duke is not going to get any better," Rove predicted.

Rove also dismissed the "spoiler" threat of an independent campaign by Duke in the general election. "He's been an independent candidate once before and he didn't pose much of a threat," Rove said. "I see it as very marginal. If it slims down to an 1876-style presidential election, which is decided in the electoral votes by a handful of states, yes [Duke could pose a threat], but our system, especially when it comes to presidential elections, is calculated...to weed out these lunatics."

Rove noted that John Anderson, a former Illinois congressman, got nowhere in 1980, when Ronald Reagan defeated Jimmy Carter.

"David Duke will be the same way," he predicted.

The professions of unconcern extend to the highest levels, at least on the record. Charles Black, a national consultant for President Bush, played down the Duke threat. "I don't think the guy is going to do much. He might get a scattered protest vote," Black told the Dallas Morning News.

George W. Bush, the president's eldest son and one of his campaign advisers, said he expects that Texas and other Southern states will clinch his father's renomination on March 10, as the "Super Tuesday" round of primaries clinched his nomination in 1988. (That assumes, of course, that the Texas primary is not delayed.)

Take Duke Seriously

But Beth Rickey, a member of the Louisiana Republican Central Committee from New Orleans who is a central figure concerning Duke, said Texas Republicans should not take the Duke threat lightly.

"People underestimate his appeal," said Rickey, who helped organize the Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism to counter Duke's attempt to win a mainstream political following. Bush may have an advantage in Texas because of his past ties to Midland and Houston, she said, but she believes Duke will surprise Republicans with the size of his following. "I see, from talking to people in other states, that he has a lot of appeal," she said.

While Meyer and Rove dismiss the Duke threat, Rickey said they should work to get the word out about what Duke stands for. "It took us two years to get the message out in Louisiana about his extremism, and what scares me is that there is a short amount of time and people in other states are not going to have access to the kind of information that people in Louisiana had," she said.

She added that a simple majority for Bush will not defeat Duke. "Duke is not about winning elections; he's about building a movement," she said. "He would love to win an election, but he's building a mailing list, he's building a money machine and he also wants to profoundly change the ideas that America is founded on, and he wants to change them to racial ideas. To Duke, winning is not everything."

It probably is a mistake, Rickey said, to try to prevent Duke from getting on ballots. "I'm very sympathetic with the parties in other states that are trying to take a stand against him, but I fear that will only help him out in terms of publicity and so forth, so I think he should be allowed to participate in the process and be soundly defeated at the polls."

She believes the media should pay more attention to Duke and detail his background rather than attempt to ignore him, as the Louisiana media did in the early stages of his political career. "The genie is out of the bottle. If there were some way the media could all get together and black him out, that would be the ideal situation. But since you can't...I think the media should focus on him, because if you shine a light on that man, what he is about will shine through."

Rickey, who has been a Republican activist for 20 of her 35 years, also believes the Republican Party needs to examine what it stands for in the wake of the Duke experience. She was disappointed that even after President Bush and the national Republican Party disavowed Duke, the Louisiana GOP Central Committee refused to denounce him. After Duke's defeat, she noted with chagrin, the Central Committee appointed a Duke supporter to represent on the Committee a predominantly black district in Shreveport-Bossier City.

Rickey said she did not learn about the appointee's Duke ties until after she was seated. "It's not a big issue to [a majority on the committee], as it should be. I was lax on that one, but it didn't seem to be a major problem to a lot of people. They didn't seem to care," she said. That sends strong signals, she said. "Unfortunately the party is controlled by a sort of extreme element. The perception is that they are sympathetic to Duke because of their silence." She also noted that some of the party officials, including leaders of the large evangelical Christian wing of the party, endorsed Duke, "which I think is morally reprehensible." She also found it ironic that the group elected in 1988 as Louisiana supporters of Pat Robertson, a strong supporter of Israel, would side with Duke.

"I just don't understand. I guess maybe I don't want to face the fact that they agree with him on some level, but these are people I've worked with for 20 years, and it's been a major break for me with a lot of people. I had no idea that they had these strong feelings about racial things. It's sort of separated the men from the boys," she said.

"I think the Republican Party has to return to a true conservative base, which is minus racial issues," she said. "True conservatism is not racial, and Republicans have indeed used racial issues to get votes, as did President Bush in 1988. I don't think that is right. I don't want to lay the blame for David Duke at the Republican doorstep, because David Duke is a symptom of broad dissatisfaction that crosses party lines. However, we are indeed responsible for using these issues in order to get votes," she said, adding that it was no wonder blacks do not feel comfortable in the Republican Party.

"Opposition to affirmative action is on the one hand representative of less government, which is what government is supposed to be for, which is why I'm a Republican. But it has come to mean something more racially loaded and I think we have to face that," she said.

Rickey is an instructor in political science at the University of New Orleans. "We feel like we did what we set out to do, which was to defeat him soundly. I think he'll never be elected to statewide office... So I'm going to sit back and watch, but stay vigilant."

The Texas Stakes

At stake in Texas are 121 delegates, including three from each of the state's 30 congressional districts and 31 selected at large.

Duke's best chances may abide in East Texas or in urban minority districts, where the relatively small numbers of Republican primary voters make them more susceptible to takeover by a determined group.

Duke has surprised pundits ever since 1975, when as grand wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan he gained 32 percent of the vote against conservative Republican state Sen. Ken Osterberger in east Baton Rouge, whose voters are relatively wealthy and well-educated.

In June 1987, Duke announced his candidacy for president as a Democrat. His campaign manager was Ralph Forbes, an officer in the American Nazi Party from 1959 to 1967 and later a minister in the Identity religion, which holds that Jews literally descended from Satan. Duke

won no Democratic delegates, but in March 1988 he accepted the nomination of the right-wing Populist Party. In his campaign he denounced blacks and Jews and ended up with more than 45,000 votes in the 12 states where he was on the ballot.

His political career got a boost in 1989 when a Metairie state representative became a state judge. Duke switched to the Republican Party, announced his candidacy in the white middle-class New Orleans suburb and, toning down the racist rhetoric, embraced traditional Republi-



Duke with troopers and media, 1991.

can themes of opposition to taxes, government spending, crime and welfare. Both Louisiana U.S. Senators, almost all the local officials, and Ronald Reagan and George Bush endorsed conservative Republican John Treen. Duke won the runoff by 277 votes.

Since then Duke has worked hard to distance himself from his past. In 1990, He stunned political observers when he got 44 percent of the statewide vote in a race against incumbent Democratic U.S. Sen. J. Bennett Johnston. Last January he announced for governor against incumbent Buddy Roemer, who had won election in 1987 as a Democratic reformer, but had switched parties in 1990. Roemer ended up in third place in the primary election.

After the 1989 Senate race, the Center for National Policy commissioned a study by the Garin-Hart Strategic Research Group that found Duke's strong showing had been caused less by racism than by widespread political alienation. Voters believed government had abandoned the middle class, many of whose members perceived affirmative action to be reverse discrimination.

The study concluded that a progressive populist could compete for these votes, but only by establishing an image of support for the middle

class and opposition to special interests and by addressing the perception that affirmative action has become the functional equivalent of reverse discrimination.

Mark McKinnon, an Austin-based Democratic political consultant, worked on Buddy Roemer's successful gubernatorial campaign in 1987, when Roemer ran as a reformist Democrat. McKinnon told the Observer Duke can "play" outside Louisiana. "It's certainly scary to see what's going on," he said. "Louisiana is a very angry state and sometimes it is a very ugly state," particularly when, in the 1980s, oil and gas revenues, which had long subsidized state government, dried up. "It left an economically depressed state and a class of people who were very angry and upset," McKinnon said. In such an environment, the government and minorities make convenient scapegoats, he said.

"I think this is a cancer that knows no state boundaries," McKinnon said of race-based demagoguery. "I've taken tapes of Duke and played them before groups in other states, and I notice that at some point at least one-half of the heads are nodding in agreement.... He connects with people everywhere, and that's the scary part. His racist appeal is not contained in Louisiana. A healthy majority may recognize David Duke for what he is, but through the media he has the ability to exert a great deal of influence by fanning his version of racist populism." In Texas and other states, McKinnon said, "I don't think he'll have the same broad-based support, but David Duke flies under radar. People don't want to admit it, [but] prognosticators in Louisiana have learned their lesson."

The most effective response to Duke is one based on economics, McKinnon said. "To try to run at Duke as a racist or as a Nazi is preaching to the choir; that's old news. The news is that his election as governor (or as president) would have economic consequences on everyone. This is a man who, while preaching a new economics, would devastate the state, or the nation, or whichever region he's serving. He's an economic witch doctor."

Roemer won in 1987 because he was an angry young man, McKinnon said. "That kind of message really resonates, and the rest of the country is now going through the same situation as Louisiana. During times of economic stress, these kinds of messages have more appeal."

McKinnon said the successful campaigns in 1992 will focus on pocketbook issues, as Democrat Harris Wofford did in Pennsylvania last

November as he upset the Re-publican former governor and U.S. attorney general, Richard Thornburgh, in a U.S. Senate race.

Republicans may have more trouble running on "wedge issues" such as gun control or moral values, McKinnon said. "It offers great opportunities for people such as [Democratic presidential candidate Tom] Harkin who preach economic populism," said McKinnon, who has not taken sides in the presidential race.

McKinnon also expects President Bush to embrace populism. "He's got Duke and Buchanan and what I consider to be a really strong field of Democratic candidates," he said. "I think we're going to see a situation where everyone is going to try to out-Populize each other."

"It's often said that any successful Democratic campaign returns to populism in the last two weeks of the campaign," he added.

Leonard Zeskind, research director of the Center for Democratic Renewal, which monitors white supremacist activity, sees the possibility of an alliance of the political forces between Duke and Pat Buchanan, the nationalist conservative commentator. Zeskind noted that Duke brought together far-right Republican activists and former Klan leaders in his gubernatorial campaign, and one of Duke's most important supporters was Billy McCormack, head of the state's evangelical Christian coalition, which became a force among Republicans with the 1988 presidential campaign of televangelist Pat Robertson.

Zeskind said the fact that Duke will not win the Republican presidential primary is not the issue. "If we only measure the problem in conventional political terms, we're going to be missing it," Zeskind said. "[Duke has] said he doesn't think he can win.... He said he wants to use the campaign to send 'them' a message. I think he knows he's something of a role model. He knows he's building a political movement."

Zeskind noted that while Duke received only 39 percent of the statewide vote in the Louisiana runoff for governor last November, he won more than 50 percent of white voters, including a majority among white Catholics south of Baton Rouge, although it was a smaller majority than his margin among white Protestants. "So his ability to draw among white ethnics — Italians and Irish in southern Louisiana — shows he has the potential for a national following. So I don't think Duke is regional. He could have won the mayor's race in Yonkers [New York] or Cicero [Illinois]."

Behind the pretty face

The White Supremacist movement lives

BY JAMES CULLEN

DESPITE DAVID DUKE'S protestations that he has matured from his "youthful indiscretions" when he openly embraced Nazi ideology as a college student, many observers who have followed his career and his associates believe he has merely toned down the racist rhetoric to make the white supremacist movement more palatable to the general public.

The white supremacist movement in the 1980s grew out of its historic stereotype of the white-robed Southern Klansman, according to the Klanwatch Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center. While Klan membership is believed to have declined during the decade, more militant groups, such as the Order and the Posse Comitatus, expanded in places such as California, Idaho and Connecticut. While the new groups still featured hatred of blacks and Jews, they exploited a variety of issues, such as taxes, immigration, foreign aid, crime rates, the farm crisis and AIDS, to draw sympathizers to their cause. The movement

diversified and "was able to tap veins of bigotry among a wider mix of people than ever before," Klanwatch reported in December 1989.

Two strategies

Klan membership in the United States dwindled to an all-time low of 1,500 in 1974, according to Klanwatch, but rose again in the late 1970s as various groups diversified their appeals. Some Klan leaders pursued military strategies. Texan Louis Beam led the paramilitary training of white men opposed to Vietnamese immigrants who were fishing in Galveston Bay, and Beam said white people must reclaim the country "by blood." After several Vietnamese fishing boats were burned and the fishermen were threatened, a federal judge, citing a Reconstruction-era state law banning private militias, issued a permanent injunction against private paramilitary training in Texas.

Beam, who became ambassador-at-large for the Aryan Nations in 1981, set up a nationwide computer bulletin board, along with what Klanwatch said was a point system for scoring the assassination of fed-

eral officials, law enforcement officers, civil rights leaders and key business figures. When he was indicted on seditious conspiracy charges in 1987, he fled the country and was placed on the FBI's Ten Most Wanted List. Captured in Mexico, Beam later was acquitted of the charges. Klanwatch lists Beam as one of the leaders in the white supremacist movement today, producing some of its most militant writings in his newspaper, *The Seditiousist*.

Others pursued political strategies. Duke, who in 1975 became the grand wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, made the talk-show circuit as he attempted to distance the Klan from its violent image while he maintained the racist ideology. According to Klanwatch's December 1991 Intelligence Report, "[Duke] steered the group away from secrecy, violence and extremism and toward public disclosure, political activism and moderation, hallmarks of what he christened 'the new Klan.'"

In the new rhetoric, hatred of minorities became "white pride." Racists became "racialists," a term Duke uses to refer to people who believe there are biological differences between races. Duke opened membership in the Knights of the KKK to Catholics, who traditionally had been targets of Klan bigotry, as well as to women and children, whose presence enhanced the Knights' family-oriented image. But behind the facade, Klanwatch contended, the group "was still unified by a common obsession — white, Christian, heterosexual supremacy and, within the inner circle, Duke continued to advocate radical, violent racism."

A new start

Duke left the Knights abruptly in 1980 after Bill Wilkinson, leader of a rival Klan group, arranged for reporters to secretly videotape Duke trying to sell Wilkinson the Knights' secret membership lists for \$35,000. Duke said he was leaving the Klan to form the National Association for the Advancement of White People, which he described as a white civil rights movement.

Duke's NAAWP had the organizational support of the Liberty Lobby, a right-wing group founded by Willis Carto in 1955. Duke used the 100,000-name mailing list from Carto's *Spotlight* newsletter to help raise

funds for his 1988 presidential campaign, *Newsweek* reported, and Duke attended meetings of the Institute for Historical Review, a Carto-funded operation that underwrites scholarship designed to disprove the occurrence of the Holocaust.

Duke's successor as leader of the Knights of the KKK was Stephen Donald Black, who moved the group's headquarters from Metairie, La., to Birmingham, Ala. Black had worked on Duke's 1979 state senate campaign and he was an articulate spokesman for the "new Klan" until his return to covert activities.

On April 27, 1981, Black was one of 10 men arrested by federal authorities on charges that they plotted to overthrow the democratic government of the Caribbean island of Dominica. Nine of the plotters were convicted of violating the Neutrality Act and were sentenced to terms of up to three years. Duke at first denied involvement, but two years later, after the U.S. invasion of Grenada, he told the *Vicksburg, Miss., Evening Post* he had played a role in the coup, which he said was conceived as a prelude to a Klan operation to liberate Grenada from communist rule. He also told the *Associated Press* of his involvement, which he later denied.

When Black entered federal prison, he entrusted the KKK to Stanley McCollum of Tuscumbia, Ala., and Thom Robb of Harrison, Ark., but while Black was serving time, Klanwatch reported, the lieutenants wrested control of the group from Black. When McCollum quit the group in 1989, he named Robb as his successor.

'New Klan' revived

Robb, formerly the self-appointed chaplain and editor of the *White Patriot*, the Knights' newsletter, revived the "new Klan" philosophy. Membership has grown under Robb, Klanwatch said, although the *Invisible Empire*, based in Shelton, Conn., is believed to remain the largest Klan group.

Total Klan membership in the United States is estimated at 5,000, but another 17,000 persons belong to other racist organizations. And Robb has said Duke's agenda, which he follows, is no longer simply to get

Varieties of Hate: A Primer on the Far Right

In studying the exploits of white-supremacist figures like David Duke, readers are confronted with a bewildering array of groups and beliefs on the extreme right wing of the American political spectrum. It can be difficult to sort out just who represents what in this netherworld, so we have provided this superficial guide to some of the more prominent far-right philosophies in the United States.

These are just some of the most active of many far-right groups in this country. Though none can claim a large number of followers, they do exist all across the U.S. Many of these hate groups overlap membership and belief, and gatherings of one often draw members of others. Members of identifiable groups such as the Posse Comitatus and the Ku Klux Klan (a/k/a The Order) may hold one or more of these beliefs. The following information comes from Klanwatch Intelligence Report No. 47, December, 1989.

• **Identity.** A religious movement that holds that Jews descend from Satan and that white Anglo-Saxons are God's true chosen people who will be the sole survivors of an impending worldwide race war. The Identity movement, which lists churches

in at least 33 states, provides a theological basis for unity among diverse groups such as the Klan and neo-Nazis. Offshoots include Creationism and Dualism.

• **Separatists or Nationalists.** Advocates of separate nations for whites and other races. Some would expel minorities from the old Confederacy, some from the Northwest, reserving those enclaves for whites only. Many Klan members and neo-Nazis advocate some form of separatism.

• **Third Position or Aryan Socialism.** A political philosophy, espoused by White Aryan Resistance leader Tom Metzger and aimed at the white working class, which rejects liberalism and conservatism in favor of radical racism. Believers insist that existing political parties are a facade and the U.S. government is run by race traitors. They advocate violence against Asian and Hispanic immigrants as well as blacks.

• **Neo-Nazi Skinheads.** A group of these youths gained prominence in Dallas a few years ago. Not really an organization (though some subscribe to Third Position beliefs), these neo-Nazis share an intense ideology of hatred and resentment of non-

whites, who they believe are turning the U.S. into a "banana republic."

• **Racial Survivalists.** Adopting the Identity belief on forthcoming race war, they live in communes and study survival techniques, especially weapons and even paramilitary training.

• **Fifth Era.** A KKK offshoot that contends the Klan should abandon its public activities and revert to a secret, militant group of hard-core believers in the violent preservation of white supremacy.

• **Posse Comitatus.** Especially active in rural areas, Posse members reject all government authority other than county sheriff and so have run afoul of the IRS and federal government. Many are Identity believers or survivalists and engage in paramilitary training. They target economically distressed farmers for recruiting.

• **Populists.** Not the Tom Harkin/Jim Hightower variety, this anti-Semitic party thinks that Jews run the media and government and oppose U.S. ties with Israel. Populists often run for local office, seldom successfully. David Duke made his first run for the Presidency with this party in 1988.

—BRETT CAMPBELL

people to join the Klan. "Our goal is to reach people we won't ever see, but who will vote for a person who backs our philosophy," Klanwatch reported him as saying. These new supporters include young, educated and middle-class people who are "more likely to circulate a petition than burn a cross, more apt to express opinions with votes than weapons," Klanwatch wrote.

"With the congenial, cooperative demeanor he displays in public, Robb could be the neighbor next door, the Cub Scout leader down the street, the president of the local high school PTA," Klanwatch said. "Listening to him patiently explain that the (Knights) just want equal rights for whites, it's easy to forget that he compares blacks to rabid animals, hates 'race-mixing Jews' and favors executing homosexuals ... That's one thing that makes him a very dangerous man."

Klanwatch speculated that Robb and other white supremacist leaders have a practical reason for publicly disavowing violence and hatred, since courts in the past decade have ruled that Klan leaders are legally liable for the actions of their followers. Nevertheless, Klanwatch noted Robb was one of the first Klan leaders to associate with skinheads, the youths identified with random acts of violence, when he recruited SS of America Skinheads to provide security during the 1989 annual Klan march in Pulaski, Tenn. Klanwatch also noted that Robb's colleagues include Edward Fields, "a notorious hate monger with far-reaching neo-Nazi ties," who often shares the bill with Robb at rallies (and who figures in Duke's 1986 interview with Evelyn Rich — see p. 19 this issue); Aryan Nations head Richard Butler; convicted bomber J.B. Stoner; and Louis Beam.

Robb also is identified with the Identity Church, which promotes an extreme racial ideology based on the belief that the survival of the white race depends on purging the U.S. of minorities or exterminating them in a race war. Robb established an annual Identity conference in Harrison, Ark., near the camp where he recently served as host to the first KKK National Congress. Robb promised the more than 100 members attending the three-day meeting that he would use his "Soldiers of the Cross" camp to "train a thousand David Dukes."

Duke represents 'sea change'

Leonard Zeskind of the Center for Democratic Renewal, which also monitors white supremacist activity, said Duke's success has eclipsed the old-style Klan and neo-Nazi organizations, but Zeskind is not sure what will take their place. "Even the National Alliance, which spawned the terrorist 'Order' in 1983-84, ran radio ads in Louisiana for 'white unity' during Duke's campaign for governor," Zeskind noted in a Center publication. National Alliance leader William Pierce told the press that Duke's campaign represented a "sea change" among whites.

"Of course, not all neo-Nazis support Duke's effort to paint hard-core white supremacy as mainstream traditional conservatism. Tom Metzger of the White Aryan Resistance denounced Duke and urged his followers not to support the mainstreaming strategy," Zeskind wrote. "Neo-Nazi skinheads are not likely to abandon their penchant for street violence in order to ring doorbells for Pat Buchanan," Zeskind added.

C.T. Vivian, chairman of the Atlanta-based Center, last November wrote that white supremacists have been looking for ways to penetrate the political mainstream at least since Mississippi Klansman Bob Weems gave up his Klan robe to become chairman of the far-right Populist Party in 1984.

The Populist Party fielded local candidates in New Jersey, Florida, Colorado, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, but Vivian said the nation's strong two-party tradition has prompted politically minded racists to move to the Republican or Democratic ballots. In addition to Duke, who got only 45,000 votes as a Populist presidential candidate in 1988, Duke's manager in that campaign, Ralph Forbes, a former member of both the American Nazi Party and the Klan, got 33,000 votes, or 46 percent of the total, in the Republican primary for Arkansas lieutenant governor in 1990. In the runoff, Forbes sank to 15 percent of the vote against a

conservative black Republican.

John Nugent, a Duke campaign worker and a former member of the National Alliance, which is identified by the center as "a hard-core neo-Nazi outfit," got 30 percent of the vote in a Republican primary for U.S. Congress in Murfreesboro, Tenn. Roger Kelly, grand dragon for the Invisible Empire Klan in Maryland, ran for Frederick County commissioner as a Democrat and Edgar Harris Jr., a former Klansman, ran for the Frederick County Democratic Party Central Committee. Warren Folks, an avowed "Christian patriot" whose campaign literature contains reprints from neo-Nazi newspapers, ran as a Republican for Florida state senator from Jacksonville.

Duke's greatest impact may be on a generation of youth. "Duke is providing a role model for the most articulate and the most sophisticated of the young racists who are in the process of forming up," Zeskind said. "The ones who are speed freaks and drunks who get into random violence will rapidly wind up in jail and the other ones are going to start moving over in Duke's direction.... I think this is a phenomenon we're going to see all this decade."

Looking for opportunity

Klanwatch noted that hate-group recruiters capitalize on controversies sparked by racial tension. These groups have been particularly active in high schools and colleges, particularly when there are moves to curtail the use of the Confederate flag and other symbols related to the Civil War.

This past May, a principal announced that Robert E. Lee High School in San Antonio no longer would use the Confederate battle flag on uniforms or in school displays. The decision sparked protests, and 150 former students gathered to demonstrate their displeasure. The following week a far-right Georgia tabloid was distributed in the predominantly-white northside neighborhood, along with a letter from the grand dragon of the "Kings" of the KKK of the Realm of Texas, inviting recipients to "support the local Christian patriot who distributes this newspaper" and to attend a rally in Hico with members of the Knights of the KKK, including new Grand Dragon Michael Lowe and California state chaplain Gene McCrory. (See "Banner of Resentment," TO, 9/6/91.)

Similar conflicts over Confederate symbolism occurred in Midland, Austin and Tyler. Two members of the Fort Worth chapter of the Knights of the KKK attended a Midland school board meeting to show support for Lee High School's Confederate flag symbol. In a compromise recommended by a community task force, the board kept the nickname "Rebels" for the school, but removed the flag from the school logo. (A similar outcome was reached in Austin.) The flag remained on display in the school "in a historical context." In September, a KKK rally in Midland was preceded by a "unity parade" of more than 500 people, most of whom heckled and jeered the handful of Klansmen attending. Robb, of the Knights of the KKK, spoke.

The white supremacist movement, in its efforts to rise from obscurity, also has manipulated the media and technology. Cable TV channels, governed by provisions for public access, have made airwaves accessible to white supremacists in many communities. White Aryan Resistance leader Tom Metzger of Fallbrook, Calif., pioneered the use of cable TV for racist recruiting in 1984 with his "Race and Reason" talk show. Five years later the show was still being broadcast to millions of cable subscribers in more than 35 cities. Other white supremacist leaders have begun to produce similar programs.

Austin is one of the cities where "Race and Reason" is aired. The city's cable operator defends the program on free-speech grounds, but counters the message with minority-oriented programming.

Beam has pioneered the use of computer bulletin boards, which allow Klan and neo-Nazi members to trade white supremacist messages by computer and to communicate with each other by code names. Klan members also have installed telephone answering machines which offer regular diatribes against blacks, gays, Jews and other targeted groups.

The Klan in Texas

Texas is home to three separate KKK organizations, the ADL reported this past year.

DFW is home to a klavern of the Invisible Empire, which was led until recently by Titan Bill Latham, a dog groomer by trade. ADL said the klavern also has operated as Texas Rescue Service and has been involved in picketing abortion clinics in Dallas. In February, it was reported that three Invisible Empire members were involved in the Tarrant County Sheriff's Department, including a volunteer reserve officer, a jailer and a dispatcher. The two paid employees were fired. Five Invisible Empire members were found to be security policemen at Carswell Air Force Base, a Strategic Air Command Base. All were discharged from the Air Force. Latham later was banished by the Klan.

In Waco, Michael Lowe, a carpenter, is grand dragon of the Texas Knights of the KKK, affiliated with Robb's Arkansas-based group. Lowe, who has served time for convictions for burglary and bomb possession, is considered to be one of the KKK's most

active recruiters. He claims to have at least 100 members. Under his leadership, the KKK has developed ties with the Confederate Hammerskins, a Dallas-based gang of skinheads, ADL reported.

In the Houston area, an independent Klan group, the White Camelia Knights of the KKK, has exploited interracial crimes. Previously headed by Charles Lee, the White Camelia is now led by John Coulson of Raccoon Bend, near Belleville, although Lee is still active in the organization.

Despite placards at the Houston Economic Summit in July 1990 that proclaimed, "Watch Out Niggers, the Texas KKK is Getting Bigger," ADL reported that the Klan in Texas is substantially weaker than it was during the 1980s, when it was under Beam's leadership. "However, while the Klan in the Lone Star State is not really 'getting bigger,' neither is it losing strength any longer, as it did during the past decade," the ADL reported.

By 1989, 46 states had passed some type of law designed to combat crimes of bigotry and a national bill was introduced to mandate the collection of data on such crimes. (In Texas, institutional

vandalism or desecration of a place of worship or burial is a criminal offense.) The U.S. Department of Justice stepped up its prosecution efforts. "But as their crimes put the most militant white supremacists in prison," Klanwatch reported, "the prisons themselves became prime recruiting ground for organized racists. And the intensive counterattack from authorities fueled the fire of the most militant white supremacists who believed they were victims of a federal conspiracy.... Their zeal received an unexpected boost when the most ambitious counterattack of the decade failed." Thirteen white supremacists, including Order members who had already been convicted of racketeering and the three top leaders of the movement, had been indicted on charges of trying to overthrow the government. In April 1988, all 13 were acquitted by an Arkansas jury. "The sedition acquittals provided another set of heroes for the movement, and white militancy continued to spread," Klanwatch said. —J.C.

Revisionist history

Zeskind said revisionist attempts to play down German Nazi atrocities during the World War II era are part of the attempt of white supremacists who share Nazi ideology to find a place in mainstream politics. Authorities at the University of Texas at Austin recently wrestled with the question of whether the Daily Texan, the student newspaper, should publish an advertisement questioning whether the Holocaust, the systematic killing of an estimated five million Jews and six million others during World War II, really took place. The student publications board eventually decided the advertisement should not be published. The revisionist Bradley R. Smith told The New York Times the refusal of some college newspapers to publish his ad was due to a "conspiracy among organized Jewry to suppress revisionist theory."

An increase in violence and harassment of blacks, Jews and gays has accompanied the efforts of the extreme right to rewrite the history books and to join the political mainstream.

The mid-1980s marked a turning point in the history of the white supremacist movement in America. During an 18-month span, a group of men who called themselves the Order carried out a string of crimes in preparation for what they believed would be a white revolution. Order members were charged with killing a state trooper, two FBI agents and a sheriff, and their leader, Bob Mathews, died in a police shootout. By late 1985, 23 Order members were convicted of or pled guilty to racketeering crimes and were sentenced to long prison terms.

The Order members became martyrs among sectors of the white supremacist movement and gave diverse white supremacist groups a point of unity. Neo-Nazis, Klansmen and Skinheads called the convicted Order members "prisoners of ZOG, which stands for "Zionist Occupational Government" in the anti-Semitic underground. The more traditional Klan groups began to absorb the revolutionary and Identity beliefs popularized by the Order and turned the force of their hatred toward the federal government, Klanwatch reported.

Barbara Harberg, regional director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in Houston, has noted increases in the numbers of anti-Semitic incidents in the past two years, and said the hard economic times apparently have helped recruiters of "hate groups."

Violence still figures

The late 1980s saw the emergence of the Skinheads, "a group just as violent, but not nearly as calculating as the Order," Klanwatch said. They made headlines with random attacks on minorities and gays, but they also attracted the intense scrutiny of the law, Klanwatch reported. A federal investigation in Dallas led to 16 indictments of Skinheads this past year.

- Among the homicides tied to white supremacist groups which Klanwatch has monitored in Texas was an Oct. 5 death of a man in Port Arthur. Two Skinheads, both 17, were accused of killing the man in a Skinheads initiation ritual.
- A white teenager in August pleaded guilty to juvenile charges in the June 7 drive-by shooting death of a black man in Arlington and was sentenced to 15 years. Two Skinheads charged in the murder were to be tried as adults.
- Ten young men were indicted Aug. 1 in Houston in connection with the July 4 beating death of a man outside a gay bar. Two other men were injured.

"The message of the 1980s is that organized hate is not limited to a certain area, or region, or a certain class of people. It is a national problem with no easy solution," Klanwatch concluded its report. "Without the proper defenses in place, the hate that inspires such crimes can destroy communities. Building those defenses — through law enforcement, education, police training and community action — is the challenge of the 1990s." □

Resources for this article included reports of The Klanwatch Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center, based in Montgomery, Ala.; the Center for Democratic Renewal, based in Atlanta, Ga., and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, which has an office in Houston.

Duke and Economic Discontent

BY DEBORAH LUTTERBECK

New York City

“ALL PROPAGANDA has to be popular and has to adapt its spiritual level to the perception of the least intelligent of those towards whom it intends to direct itself,” Adolf Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf*, 1933.

David Duke obviously heeds the advice of his mentor. You be the judge. Which of the following statements on U.S. Japanese trade policy aims to rouse your heart? David Duke's, “We must go to the Japanese and say, you no buy our rice, we no buy your cars.” Or President Bush's vow, “to fight for open markets and more opportunities for American workers, because exports abroad mean more jobs right here at home.”

In the vernacular this is known as different strokes for different folks.

Though David Duke may be capable of translating economic issues into emotion-grabbing one-line sound bites, the content of Duke's economic platform is unclear. Of course, a mainstream candidate from the Grand Old Party may find himself in the uncomfortable position of being on the same side of an issue as a former Grand Old Wizard. “It will be awkward for people who happen to agree with him,” William Niskanen, Chairman of the libertarian Cato Institute said. Until now, the free-trade talking Bush has been able to sidestep Duke. But if campaign pressures force the President to embrace Japan-bashing, he may find himself in the same bed as the other would be Republican presidential hopeful, Pat Buchanan. “On economic matters (Duke's Platform) sounds very much like insular protectionist populism,” Niskanen said. Buchanan has vowed, “I'm not going to walk away from views simply because David Duke takes them.”

But what politicians would want to walk away from the Japanese trade deficit? There it is, all \$41 billion of it, and it is Japan's fault. Oh Godzilla—you've come back.

Even the size of the Japanese trade deficit has not inspired Duke to put pen to paper to come up with a formalized position. His legislative assistant, Glenn Montecino, says Duke has just been too busy. Let others wrestle with the bilateral mumbo-jumbo. Duke would rather leave the diplomatic wiggling to contenders like Bush. And you will notice that while Bush may tap out the drum beats of “jobs, jobs, jobs” when he heads for Asia, the President knows not to bite the hand of the people that buy so much of this country's debt.

If you let the statistics talk, you will find out that by the end of 1990 alone, the Japanese had invested about \$83 billion in the U.S. Thus Bush says things like, “Foreign Investors should not be treated differently from domestic investors. This policy provides the means for economies to grow and prosper.”

Here is where Bush is most diplomatic. He is all free trade in his talk, but he lets the chieftains from the big-three auto makers escort him on his Asian tour. Those three (wise) men were his big stick. In contrast, Duke has not even advanced to the good-cop bad-cop phase. He's all fist pounding and red-faced indignation. It is this type of approach that underscores the difference between the shoot from the lip Duke approach and the seasoned prose from Bush. According to Stephen Hess, who was the editor-in-chief of the party platform for the Ford Administration and is now with the Brookings Institute, about the most Duke will do to the overall campaign is make Bush look more moderate.

At least in this sense the rank and file of the GOP seem to think that moderation is best. About 86 percent of the Republicans polled by Gallup

said they would back Bush. That compares with 6 percent for Duke and 5 percent for Buchanan. However, when you take a look at the voting preferences of the people who are worried about their jobs, all of a sudden one out of five voters would cast their lot with Duke or Buchanan. These are the people who may have clung to the coattails of the Reagan Revolution only to face the pinkish shears of the Bush Administration.

It is for these have-nots that Duke has saved the plainest talk of all. Like the Great Communicator himself Duke revels in images. Just watch him drum up motherhood—as in Welfare Mother: “Middle class families have difficulty affording children of their own right now and yet we are financing a very high illegitimate birth rate.” So what is the Duke solution? In Louisiana he introduced a bill that would provide financial assistance grants to public assistance recipients for the voluntary use of the Norplant contraceptive. Now, according to Montecino (who was to be leaving the Duke fold in mid January to join the private sector), this plan would not only save the state the expense of providing for more babies but it will save on future incarceration costs.” Talk about voodoo economics.

The facts do not support Duke's obsession with welfare mothers. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that the government spent \$1.377 trillion in fiscal 1991. Of that about \$118 billion, or 8 percent, was spent on Welfare. Compare that with what the government spends to finance its deficit. That figure was estimated at \$196 billion, or 14.6 percent.

As for Texas, we are hardly a welfare state. For example, the maximum amount any person can receive under the Aid for Families with Dependent Children is \$184 a month. That compares with the top rate of \$663 a month in California.

While the facts that Duke bases his economic strategy on may be murky, the facts that are responsible for giving him a voice are not. The fuel for his fire is the overall state of the economy. Nationwide unemployment hovers just under 7 percent. Blue-chip companies like GM and IBM have slashed their payrolls. Everything from the nation's largest banks down to the neighborhood savings and loan is either risky or downright insolvent.

The government itself is scrambling for solutions. The reason President Bush is waffling between tax rebates, and trade policy, and credit card caps, and new rules for bank examiners, is that no one in his Administration is quite sure what to do. And the clock is ticking. Bush has promised his blueprint in his State of the Union address, at the end of January.

In the meantime, Duke is fanning the fires of discontent. When Duke talks about the bad times he like to summon up his old friend the Louisiana school teacher who takes home less than \$400 a month. That's the teacher who can't afford to turn on the air-conditioner while prisoners—murderers and rapists—have central air, heat and color TV. According to Duke a lot of people are feeling economic grief. And a lot of them will line up behind him on his way to the Oval Office. At least that is what he implied when he proclaimed on national TV, “I think there are millions of Republicans who agree with me.”

But there were hardly millions in Massachusetts. Duke's supporters could not even muster up 2,500 people's signatures to get a place on that state's ballot. This just underscores what Bob Stein, of the Political Science Department of Rice University had to say on the topic. Stein notes that people will have to do more than “hold their noses” to vote for Duke.

But Duke mustered 39 percent of the vote in Louisiana. That will hardly be enough to send him in the White House, but it does give him the opportunity to do what he does best—attack. Once again, returning to *Mein Kampf*, Hitler said, “Strength lies not in defense but attack.” □

Deborah Lutterbeck is an economics writer in New York.

How to Cover the Dukester

BY LANNY KELLER

Shreveport, La.

THE GRAND WIZARD of Louisiana politics moves to a larger arena in the presidential primaries. Our experience in Louisiana — and at David Duke's National Press Club debut in November — suggests that, if the press is not very careful, he is going to use American journalists like matches at a cross burning.

At the most basic level, journalists are questioning the rationale for aggressive coverage of Duke. Duke gets press attention, win or lose, griped Fred Barnes in the *New Republic*. "It's time for this to stop," he wrote. "Duke is largely a media creation in the first place, and now he's being perpetuated by the press. In reality he is a rapidly declining political resource."

Well, George Wallace was supposed to finish sixth in the Wisconsin primary; Duke is a proven vote-getter, if not a conventional political success. "Duke has proven his electoral strategy to mainstream racism and bigotry can work," said Leonard Zeskind of the anti-Klan Center for Democratic Renewal. "He has radicalized the white electorate and others will follow in his footsteps."

Duke's name recognition is already higher than most of the 1992 presidential candidates; there's no basis for arguing that noncoverage will make Duke go away. Most Louisiana newspapers tried the "less is more" strategy when Duke ran for the U.S. Senate in 1990. Faced with the dilemma of covering him aggressively and therefore having to deal with the complaints and subscription cancellations of his suburban followers, most of the press avoided more than basic coverage — and the editorial silences were deafening.

Duke nevertheless stunned the political establishment with 44 percent of the vote, and a runoff was avoided only because the official Republican Party nominee withdrew at the last minute. "David Duke has shown the fear that the news media here [in New Orleans] have of tackling a big story," said freelance writer Jason Berry in the May 1991 *St. Louis Journalism Review*.

In 1991, Duke rolled into the gubernatorial runoff despite wide press endorsement of a Democrat-turned-Republican incumbent. In the runoff, virtually every newspaper began editorial campaigns against Duke as the short-term economic interests of publishers (cancellations from Dukies) were overridden by the larger threat of boycotts of industry and conventions in Louisiana.

This lurching back and forth wasn't exactly *Profiles in Courage*, but it produced some lessons about covering Duke.

1. *He isn't a normal candidate.* The National Press Club was filled with journalists last month at Duke's announcement, and it was virtually a C-SPAN advertisement for the Dukester. He quipped his way past complex issues, and rarely were there follow-up questions that could have demonstrated his virtually complete ignorance of the facts. It was as if the Louisiana race had been

totally ignored by a Washington press corps that showed up to poke at this new jellyfish washed up on the political beach.

Duke does not arrive at a position on, say, immigration, from a values-neutral context. He comes at the issue from a lifelong commitment to eugenics and white supremacy. To cover Duke in a values-neutral fashion is to play into his hands.

2. *He is a normal candidate.* At least in the very specific sense that he should be asked to explain his program, justify his numbers, show some specific knowledge of issues. Panelists on "Meet the Press" stumped Duke by asking him to name the three largest employers in Louisiana. John Maginnis, editor of the *Louisiana Political Review*, suggests that reporters ask Duke trick questions, like: "What is the capital of Alabama?"

Such glib Duke campaign promises as a flat 10-percent income tax are not backed up by logic or reason. There is much news to be mined here, especially glaring inconsistencies between the Duke right-wing platform and the economic interests of his low-income supporters.

3. *He must be taken seriously, because he is dangerous.* This is not the two-headed baby of the political carnival. In fact, Duke's success is built on almost 20 years of experience inflaming racial disputes, from burning crosses in Forsyth County, in Georgia to organizing vigilante squads against Mexicans on the Southwest border. His contributors are not only harmless suburban bigots. Various Duke staffers have graduated from notorious groups such as the Liberty Lobby. Further, covering Duke can be a harrowing experience; some reporters are spat upon, some threatened physically.

Editors must assign reporters who can follow Duke at length. The Dukester suggests Joe McCarthy in the 1950s, with his ability to make outrageous and unsubstantiated allegations and then skip town before the facts can catch up. "He's like a mushroom that grows in the dark," said Lance Hill of the Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism, an effective anti-Duke research organization.

"There is no silver bullet in covering this guy," said Jim Roberts, of KTBS-TV in Shreveport, who covered Duke in the 1991 race. Roberts said the one-shot question that will expose Duke as a phony does not exist. He requires journalistic follow-up.

4. *Don't feel sorry for the guy.* David Duke works himself up into a lather of indignant self-pity at the criticisms of the "liberal media." Duke told the Society of Professional Journalists in April that reporting about his iniquitous background represents a "double standard" compared to Robert Byrd of West Virginia, who was only briefly a Klan member in his youth; comparatively, Duke is a 41-year-old senior citizen of hate groups.

Duke courts media attention, then whines about critics. "Sometimes I just get in the shower and let the hot water wipe away the tears," he said.

When I felt a glimmer of pity for the guy this year, I just thought about friends of mine in Shreveport who will carry to their graves the tattoo of Auschwitz. That was motivation enough to explain and editorialize about Mr. Duke. □

Lanny Keller is editorial page editor of the *Shreveport Journal*. He won the 1990 Walker Stone Award for distinguished editorial writing about the Duke Senate campaign. He covered his first David Duke rally for the *Daily Reveille* at LSU in Baton Rouge in 1975.

The Positioning of David Duke

BY JAMES PRESLEY

W E'VE HAD THE EARL of Louisiana, as A.J. Liebling so characterized the flamboyant Earl Kemp Long toward the end of his career in the 1950s, and now we face the prospect of having the Duke of Louisiana, a.k.a. David Duke, on the American political scene for some time.

How did it happen that Buddy Roemer, the former Democrat switched to the Republican Party and the incumbent governor of Louisiana, didn't even make the gubernatorial runoff? How did state representative David Duke pushed Roemer out of the runoff?

Duke had several things going for him that the pollsters seem not to have measured early in the race. Here are the Duke advantages:

- He benefits from the Four-Letter Factor. That is, his surname has only four letters. Easy to remember, easy to advertise, easy to say. In a local or even a statewide election this is often not a huge factor, for name recognition can be achieved by other means over a limited geographical space. But it's always politically better to have a short name than a long name. The name DUKE loomed larger on political placards and on the TV screen than did ROEMER and EDWARDS.

- Duke is relatively young, telegenic, photogenic, and thus appealing to those who rarely trouble themselves with deeper issues anyway. There are a lot who vote like that.

- Duke may have gained name recognition for the wrong reasons in some minds, i.e., because of his Klan connections, but the fact remains, he has name recognition. Everybody in Louisiana and millions well beyond that state, it seems, know his name.

- His negative baggage is spruced up by the Six-Year Rule, which says that the voters' memory slates are wiped reasonably clean every six years, changing the significance of even embarrassing losses and other unfortunate past history. Thus, under this rule, Duke's dark past is ignored by many who once might have penalized him for it.

- Duke's name recognition was enhanced by a losing, but respectable showing against the senior Senator from Louisiana, J. Bennett Johnston, in Duke's earlier statewide race. Though Duke was only a state representative, the race against Johnston "qualified" him in the eyes of many as a figure of statewide stature and thus deserving to run for governor.

- Though his "law-and-order" and anti-welfare stands are little more than veiled or transparent appeals to racist emotions, of white against black, they have proved effective for others in the past, as R. Reagan and G. Bush have demonstrated.

- Finally, Duke profits immensely from an advertising approach that has become one of the more dominant factors of the 1980s and 1990s not only in business but perhaps even more in politics. This is the concept of positioning. The Positioning of David Duke is a major factor in his swift climb from relative obscurity. Let's examine it more closely.

The concept of Positioning in advertising refers to "positioning" a product — or a candidate — in the mind of the buyer — or the voter. If the candidate has no "position" in the mind of the voter, he will get no vote. It doesn't much matter what the candidate has done or will do if he doesn't gain top rank in the voter's mind by election day.

To "position" himself at the top, he must have a quality or qualities that the voter likes, and he must communicate this simply and forcefully. The easiest way is to link his own image with a favorable image already in the voter's mind, by comparing himself with that image already in place. We live in an over communicating society, where we are bombarded with ad-

vertising constantly. Making a place in the voter's mind is far from easy. Piggyback rides facilitate the solution.

In one instance Duke hitched a ride on another politician's place in American minds. When Duke proclaimed himself to be "the Boris Yeltsin of American politics," he was doing more than making an outlandish claim to link himself with the Russian foe of Old Guard Communist Politics in the Soviet Union. He was trying to say: 'That Klan business is all behind me; I'm really rebelling against the stagnating, oppressive system like that man over there is doing, so when you think of me, think of what he is doing — instead of what I used to do.' In effect, Duke is trying to reposition himself in the public's mind, wiping out the older images, white sheets, swastikas and all, and replacing them with the reformer's symbol, ready to do battle with Mean Ol' Gov'ment that's Keeping the People Down and Taxing 'Em.

Now, in the process, nobody — and surely least of all Duke and his advisers — expects the voter who liked the Courageous Klansman image in the first place to bother shedding memories of those now-controversial ties. After all, Klan leader Duke is the one that attracted them in the first place. In the play for the Boris Yeltsin role, those voters assuredly will go along with the charade, for most of all it gives them a perfectly respectable rationale for supporting him, even lending respectability to any of their own prejudices. He is in no danger of losing these voters. But he stands to gain most by cosmetically blurring racist policies with code names that most Americans by now understand all too well — they go beyond vintage Reagan. Then by rechiseling his image to position himself in the public mind as a defender of the forgotten middle class — well, there's a bonanza of votes there.

Then there is a minor positioning ploy, a kind of defensive backup for those not impressed by the Yeltsin image. Duke has also been compared to Huey Long, the man who once controlled the state lock, stock, and barrel. The plays upon many emotions in Louisiana, including those who still revere the name — and those who still vote for the one most likely to wear the mantle of the long-dead Kingfish.

Politically positioning has proved effective time after time, apparently often without its victims' being aware that it existed. For instance, George Bush repositioned Michael Dukakis, and to some extent, the Democratic Party, with, among other things, the Willie Horton ads in the 1988 campaign. Racism aside, the ads sought to reposition Dukakis and his party as caring not for the safety of middle-class white constituents, but for the well-being of criminals — and black criminals, to boot.

In an ironic twist of justice, Duke himself was repositioned by the Edwin Edwards campaign, which dredged up his American Nazi and Klu Klux Klan past. The publicity may have given him a level of national exposure almost impossible for a lowly state representative, but it also put him in a hole in Louisiana he could not dig out of in his race for governor. One may be certain this repositioning of Duke that was begun by Democrat Edwards will be expanded by Republicans Bush and Buchanan, while Democrats will use Duke to reposition the Republican Party. The Duke factor has triggered panic, much of it unjustified, in both parties.

The professional, well-coordinated Duke campaign, using the most sophisticated techniques of modern advertising, may not have been deeply understood by the Louisiana electorate, but the voters there are not much different in this respect from their counterparts elsewhere. Relatively few — too few — outside their state recognize the refinement that positioning has brought to American politics, and how effectively it may become, often to the detriment of the political process, without the average voter's conscious knowledge.

We have become a nation of consumers, with advertising agencies calling the shots. Our ultimate tragedy will come when the politics that we "consume" has been devalued to merely another manufacturer's "product," with the voter a manipulated minion of the slickest, often subtle thinking of "consultants" who care little about anything but winning. □

James Presley is a writer who lives in Texarkana.

David Duke's Astounding Record

BRIEFLY, now, readers, after you have studied David Duke's record published in this issue as intensively as you have wished to do, please permit me to review with you his past and present on his two major organically-related preoccupations, racist bigotry and Nazi ideas.

In the 1970s, drumming up racist hate as a Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, Duke called a civil rights leader "a nigger," said "Niggers are basically primitive animals," and called African-Americans "the black plague." Swinging into the eighties, he said, "We don't want Negroes around." Blacks "just can't hack it" on mathematics and science, and they are "much closer to the jungle than European people." The problem about Spaniards, he said in 1985, is that most Mexicans entering the U.S. are Indian-Mestizo. Furthermore, other South-Americans are "a mixture of Negroes." In 1989 he said, as he had before, that the U.S. should be "all white" and that possibly blacks should be shipped back to Africa. In November 1991—two months ago, is that not?—he said, "I won my constituency. I won 55 percent of the white vote."

In Duke's college days at Louisiana State University he was a Nazi organizer who said Hitler's ideas were right and Hitler was "the greatest genius that ever lived." In public he declaimed that "whites are the master race," and according to a Republican attorney we reached in Baton Rouge who was in college with him, Duke predicted a race war in the U.S. in which the White Aryans would wipe out the blacks and the Jews and said he would lead that war. He screamed at Jerry Rubin, "I'm a fascist and you are a Jew pig!" He kept a Nazi flag on his wall and distributed literature with swastikas on it to his fellow students.

Just college pranks, right? Or: "Well, he was just a youngster." Wrong. Duke's alleged break with the Nazis, which a copy of a letter purports to show, may have been just a son's propitiation of his father. In any event, in 1978, four years out of college, Duke said on TV, "if I was a Nazi, I'd be proud of it." Seven years ago in his racist newsletter he published, and later spoke approvingly about, a proposal to establish separate geographical pales for Jewish, African, Mexican, Indian (that is native), Cuban, Cajun and French Americans and a heterogeneous collection of "unassimilable minorities," leaving the mainland continental U.S. "all white." This is a classically Nazi proposal which

necessarily requires the classification by race and religion, the branding by one means or another, the rounding up, and the forced relocation of huge portions of the American population of the United States by police-state power.

Well, but that was seven years ago! Surely David Duke wouldn't have the audacity to run for President if he had kept beating his Nazi drums right up to the present! Wrong.

Into the mid-80's Duke was inviting his friends over to his place to celebrate Hitler's birthday, to toast the Führer—his close friend Gwen Udell said that Hitler was "his idol" and that Duke "believes he was the greatest man who ever lived." In 1985 Duke called Jews "ugly aliens" and damned "Jews, Jews, Jews and more Jews," voiced a lyrical paean of praise for life in the Third Reich under Hitler without the flicker of an eyelid for Nazi Germany's persecuted and mass-murdered Jews, said President Reagan toed the Jewish line, and exclaimed, "I've got a lot of enmity towards the Jews as a whole....I resent them."

That year, too, Duke advanced one of the purest of all Nazi ideas, an open-ended idea that can be used to lead the *Volk* anywhere. The idea that everyone who is human is valuable is "a very bad concept," Duke said. "I don't see any intrinsic value," he said, in a person just because the person is human. Evidently inspired by the sterilization and mass euthanasia programs in the Third Reich, Duke made a start implementing this ideology, from 1985 through 1989, when he advocated breeding incentives for whites and sterilization incentives for welfare recipients (read: blacks).

Five years ago, Duke said, "The media is dominated by Jews....These Jews are not good Americans." With the change of one word, the last one, those sentences could have come out of the mouth of Joseph Goebbels.

Five years ago, neo-Nazi Joe Fields said to Duke, "It doesn't take that many people, though, to start something rolling. Hitler started with seven men." "Right," Duke responded, and Duke added, evidently in great excitement: "And don't you think it can happen right now, if we put the right package together?"

Duke's fellow neo-Nazi remarked that if the Jews were exterminated, they deserved it, upon which meditation David Duke commented: "Well—as I say—people generally deserve what they push on other people. I think they're trying to exterminate our race."

Logically it follows from this statement of Duke's that the Jews should be exterminated. Duke said he was not advocating that, but rather the Jews' resettlement, whereupon "their numbers will dwindle rapidly." But his reasoning that the Jews should be exterminated and why is the very same reasoning by which Heinrich Himmler at Poznan justified the Nazis' actual extermination of the Jews.

In 1986, Duke went on to add, in the tape-recorded hearing of the young investigative scholar Evelyn Rich, that the Jewish people "have been a blight" and "probably deserve to go into the ashbin of history," and after likening Jews to a magnificent tiger stalking you in the jungle, David Duke said you must kill the tiger before it kills you, and he added cryptically: "like Hitler."

Three years ago, this man who is running for President of the United States said: "The ultimate issue is Darwinian....who will propagate and who will not, who will control and who will be controlled."

Two years ago Duke made the mistake of trying to convert a leading Louisiana Republican, Elisabeth (Beth) Rickey, to his views. She has since said—she has since told the world, is anybody listening?—that David Duke is not telling the truth, that he is a Nazi, that he believes white Aryans are superior and Jews are evil, that he greatly admires Hitler, and that his heroes include Adolf Eichmann and Josef Mengele!

A year and a half ago, on May 19, 1990, to be exact, Duke entrusted a Scottish journalist, Ros Davidson, with his most virulent and still quite current Nazi opinions evidently, Davidson thought, because his forebears are Scots and he admires, as he said, the shapes of their skulls. Duke told Davidson that the Ku Klux Klan's burning cross was a symbol adopted from Scotland and proclaimed to her that the Jews started World War II to destroy Aryan culture, that Jews ran the Soviet concentration camps, that "Jews are trying to destroy all other cultures...as a survival mechanism," and that Jews are a plague on the white race who are responsible for drugs and immorality in modern society and should be held accountable for rape, civil rights, and communism.

Duke in Interview

Duke, in the course of our extensive presentation in this issue of my interview with him in

Metairie on January 10th, has his way on the formulations that he has chosen for his campaign for the Presidency and further has his full chance to say he's sorry about many things, to deny what he chooses to deny, and to attack the integrity and reliability of persons whose testimony or work are the evidence of his racist, anti-Semitic, and pro-Nazi fulminations during the last two years.

In my opinion, Duke is running for President on a formula which embodies his great contempt for the people as a dumb beast. Let's call it the David Duke formula: that people (especially the people he is looking for, the open or hidden racists, the open or hidden anti-Semites, and the poorly informed) will forgive him for anything which he can say is part of his distant past and apologizes for, but that in the case of anything he's caught on recently he has to blacken the source—to call the source, in effect, a liar. That is why he went for Beth Rickey, that is why he went for Ros Davidson, and that is why he was so alarmed that his statements in interview with Michael Zatarain can be dated, because he had to learn then whether Zatarain would date his, Duke's, statements glorifying the Klan in 1989-'90. That is exactly what Zatarain then did.

So, Duke says about everything he stood for in the distant past that he's outgrown it, he's matured, he's sorry, it was late at night, he was trying to convert an extremist, he shouldn't have said that, he didn't say that well, he didn't say

what he meant, he meant it then but he doesn't mean it now, he doesn't take that position any more; and he asks his fellow Christians to remember that redemption is the basis of Christianity, so be a good Christian and let your fellow Christian be redeemed. How far back is the distant past? People's memories are short—say, anything three or four years old? And as to anybody who says he's said anything racist or anti-Semitic or Nazi since then—go for 'em, touch 'em up, they're leftists (even a lifelong Reaganite is a leftist on every issue!), they're biased, they made it up.

This is what David Duke said and did in my interview with him, with only one kind of exception. When what he said or did in the allegedly distant past was too terrible for even the lied-to public to tolerate, he denies that, too. While Duke did not quite deny what Mike Connelly remembered—Duke's saying he would lead a race war in the U.S. in which the whites would wipe out the blacks and the Jews—he denied it in effect. (Four years after Duke's vision of a race war he was writing, publishing, and selling a book that taught blacks how to hurt and kill whites so the Klan would know who and where the blacks who bought it were.) Furthermore, if we believe Duke concerning the reports about the parties he gave celebrating Hitler's birthday into the mid-1980's, his former friends who said they attended these parties must have been hallucinating.

Anyone who wishes is free to believe everything David Duke says. I do not believe him when he implies he did not expect and plan to lead a race war against blacks and Jews, I do not believe him when he says he repents of the Nazism, anti-Semitism, and racism of his past, I do not believe him when he says he did not give parties celebrating Hitler's birthday, I do not believe him when he denies he said what Beth Rickey and Ros Davidson and Michael Zatarain quote him as having said since 1989, and I do not believe him when he says he is not a racist or an anti-Semite or pro-Nazi now. And in any case, why should he be forgiven? Such a person who is reaching for power over us should not be forgiven for all these things he has said and done.

In this issue we have given Duke the benefit of any doubt whether he is a Nazi by describing him as a neo-Nazi. But "neo-Nazi" is a term of improvisation, and in Duke's case it means a person who was a Nazi activist in college and is a Nazi intellectual now. As Lance Hill, a doctoral candidate at Tulane in history and the director of the Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism, says in a paper he has given, "Nazi Race Doctrine in the Political Thought of David Duke": "Throughout the 1980's David Duke continued to embrace the Nazi tenets of biological determinism, white supremacy, anti-Semitism, and government-sponsored relocation and eugenic programs."

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Is Duke a Hitlerian Nazi Now?

Duke says he is not a Nazi because he believes in American constitutional government. That may be true. (Period. That may be true.) If we choose to disbelieve Duke on that, too, there is another possibility, which Lance Hill has limned. Permit me to quote further now from Hill's paper, which he presented at a conference on Duke in Louisiana in the fall of 1990:

"Duke's journey across the political spectrum parallels Adolf Hitler's. Like Duke, Hitler began as a revolutionist but acquired power constitutionally as a 'jobs and bread' conservative. As did Hitler, Duke has adapted Nazism to the prejudices, fears, aspirations, and political culture of the nation, thus representing himself as part of the national political tradition. This process has culminated in Duke's new political image in which his designs for profound inequality and autocracy are clothed in the rhetoric of equality and democracy.

"Evidence indicates that the first organization which Duke joined was the neo-Nazi National Socialist Liberation Front (NSLF). The NSLF was the college-youth organizing section of America's largest neo-Nazi organization, the National Socialist White Peoples Party, commonly known as the American Nazi Party.

"Nazi politics went through three distinct stages following its founding in 1919. Until 1923 Nazism put forth a revolutionary, illegal image. It openly advocated the overthrow of the fragile German democracy. In its second stage, 1924 through Hitler's ascent to power in January 1933, the Nazi Party represented itself as a legal party which pursued power through constitutional means and de-emphasized its anti-democratic goals. Nothing in its program suggested that free elections and civil liberties would be suspended. Nor did the Nazi Party offer any hint of its designs to exterminate the Jews. It was not until the third stage, commencing with the Nazis' consolidation of power in 1933, that the full horror of Nazi doctrine came to light. David Duke's racial doctrines, for the most part, have been drawn from Hitler's writings in the second stage of Nazism—the period of opportunism during which the Party attempted to legitimize itself through a law-abiding, conservative image, counterbalancing its extremist reputation."

Comparing Duke's doctrines to Hitler's, Hill finds them strikingly similar. We confine ourselves here to several of Hill's examples. To continue quoting his paper:

"Hitler's influence on Duke's thinking regarding Jews is...evident. Duke portrays Jews as a powerful, manipulative, alien elite bent on corrupting white civilization. That anti-Semitic portrait of Jews closely resembles Hitler's. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler tells us that 'nine tenths of all literary filth, artistic trash, and theatrical idiocy can be set to the account of a people [Jews], constituting hardly one hundredth of all the country's inhabitants....'

"Duke's theories on 'race mixing' reveal an adherence to National Socialism that extends to its most minute detail. For instance, Hitler dedicates a special section of *Mein Kampf* to refuting Mendel's 'hybrid vigor' theory. Mendel believed that crossing species tended to promote the best traits of both species. Hitler argued against Mendel in *Mein Kampf*:

"If, for example, an individual specimen of a certain race were to enter into a union with a racially lower specimen, the result would at first be a lowering of the standard itself; but in addition, there would be a weakening of the offspring as compared to the environment that had remained racially unmixed."

"Duke makes the same argument in a 1986 signed editorial in NAAWP News entitled, 'Why I Oppose Race Mixing,' to wit: '...Hybrid Vigor only exists for one generation....If general mixing is allowed, there is always degeneration in the population.' And as late as 1986 Duke ardently defended Hitler's opposition to European inter-mixing, [Duke] writing: '...racial mixture leads to many physiological anomalies that can be very damaging....For instance, braces and orthodontic work are needed much more commonly in the U.S. than in Europe because there is much more mixing here of different European sub-races...but the dentition problems may be minor compared to say the physiology of the brain and the vital organs.'

"To accomplish racial separation, Duke draws inspiration from Nazi relocation schemes. In the past five years Duke has repeatedly proposed dividing America into separate racial nations and ending immigration from the Third World. Duke also advocates many of the Nazi eugenic programs promoted by Hitler in the 1924-1933 period, while attempting to legitimize them by suggesting that they would be voluntary....As early as 1924 Hitler advocated sterilizing the 'incurably ill' and 'defective people'; Duke has also advanced similar voluntary sterilization programs for welfare recipients, criminals, and 'mentally defectives.'"

Please follow, to its conclusion, Lance Hill's analysis:

"Duke adamantly denies that he is a Nazi because, as he points out, he is not a totalitarian, nor does he advocate government force in his racial programs. It is also true, however, that National Socialists seldom advocated dictatorial policies during their ascent to power. Massive relocation and eugenic plans, even if legislated by the majority, would meet widespread resistance by minorities. The effect would be mob rule through the ballot box. It would be impossible to implement these draconian policies without resorting to authoritarian coercion.

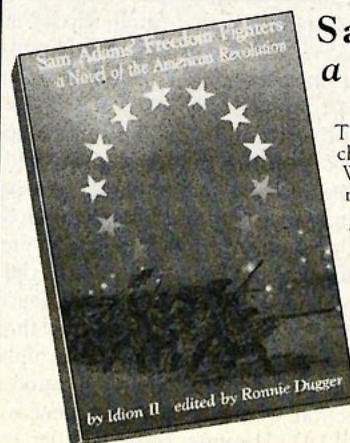
"But," Hill continued, "there is a deeper authoritarian strain in Duke's thinking. In his world view, the only solution to crime is biological: reduce the number of people of color. It is doubtful that minorities will submit willingly to such a policy. Their only defense is political equality. Yet political equality contradicts Duke's 'natural' principle of biological inequality. For Duke to share political power with people of color is to commit racial suicide for the 'white race.'"

How Can He Not Know?

On the balmy Southern afternoon of January 10th, in her apartment in an upper-class neighborhood in New Orleans, seated at the console of her wordprocessor reading directly from notes she said she made there the day after her lunch with David Duke at the Ming Palace on August 4, 1989, Beth Rickey told me:

"He said that the Final Solution was merely a plan to segregate the Jews from the rest of society, that there was never any evidence of Hitler ordering extermination."

Oh, God. How can David Duke not know, or dare to contend that he does not know, that Hitler's Final Solution was the mass murder of the Jews? The fact that the Holocaust is not a part of required history or civics in every American high school is precisely what enables college-educated charlatans like Duke to run for the highest office among us denying, in ignorance or malevolence or both, that it happened at all. Oh, God! — do we really have to assume, 50 years after Auschwitz, that a danger-



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ously high number of Americans don't know?

In 1922 Hitler told a German who wrote it down that he would see every Jew in Munich hanging from a lamppost. In 1926 in the second-published volume of *Mein Kampf* Hitler wrote that "if 12,000 or 15,000 of these Jews who were corrupting the nation had been forced to submit to poison gas....probably the lives of a million decent (German) men...would have been saved." In January 1939 Hitler said publicly that if the Jewish financiers started a world war the result would be "the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe!" That November Hans Frank, the Nazi governor in Poland, told Nazi officials, "The more (Jews) that die the better.... We have no use for Jews in the Reich." In December Frank told his officials: "Gentlemen, I must ask you to arm yourselves against all considerations of pity. We must destroy the Jews...." In March 1941 Hitler told his military leaders, according to General Halder's diary, that Germany's invasion of Russia was a war of extermination. Heydrich reportedly gave a verbal order to the *Einsatzgruppen* in Berlin on June 17 to kill all Russian Jews; on July 2, in writing, Heydrich ordered the killing in the Soviet Union of "Jews in the service of the Party or the State." On July 16 *SS-Sturmabführer* Höppner wrote Adolf Eichmann: "Serious consideration must be given as to whether the most humane solution might not be to finish off those Jews who are incapable of work with some quick-acting preparation." Eichmann said in Israel in 1960 that about August 1941 Heydrich, "with a little speech beforehand," told him: "The Führer has ordered the physical extermination of the Jews." Rudolph Hess, the first commandant of Auschwitz, wrote in 1946 that in the summer of 1941 Himmler "said to me in effect: 'The Führer has ordered that the Jewish question be solved once and for all....The existing extermination centers in the East are not in a position to carry out the large actions which are anticipated. I have therefore earmarked Auschwitz for this purpose.'" *Obersturmbannführer* Dr. Otto Bradfish wrote in 1958 that in Minsk in mid-August he asked Himmler "who was taking responsibility for the mass extermination of the Jews" and "Himmler answered me in a fairly sharp tone that these orders had come from Hitler as the supreme Führer of the German government, and that they had the force of law" and that Himmler then repeated this in a speech to the members of *Einsatzkommand* 8. In October the commander of *Einsatzgruppe* A wrote in a report, "in accordance with basic or-

ders, the cleansing operation of the Security police had the goal of the most comprehensive elimination possible of the Jews. Extensive executions were thus carried out by special units in the cities and the plains." In November *Einsatzgruppe C* reported "about 75,000 Jews have been liquidated." On January 20 1942 at the Wannsee Conference on "the Final Solution of the European Jewish Question," according to minutes of the meeting Heydrich personally sent to the Nazi Undersecretary of State, Heydrich said (in a speech written by Eichmann) that the deportations of Jews to the East was only a temporary solution and that: "The Jews who are fit for labor will...build roads, whereby a great many will unquestionably die off through attrition. The eventual remainder will have to be dealt with accordingly, since this will doubtless be the more resistant lot, representing a natural selection, which, if released, would constitute the germ of a new Jewish revival....In the course of the practical realization of the Final Solution, Europe will be thoroughly combed, from west to east." Ten days later on January 30 Hitler, speaking at the Sports Palace in Berlin as recorded by the Allied monitoring service, said, "the result of this war will be the complete annihilation of the Jews....The hour will come when the most evil universal enemy of all time will be finished, at least for a thousand years." On March 27 Goebbels wrote in his journal about the Jews sent to Poland: "Roughly speaking, ...60 percent of them will have to be liquidated, while we will be able to put only 40 percent into labor detachments." On May 31 Goebbels confided to his diary: "The more of this filthy race we eliminate, the better...." On December 29 Himmler reported to Hitler that 363,211 Jews had been shot in the Ukraine, South Russia, and Bialystok. *SS-Sturmabführer* Alfred Franke-Gricksch, in an account dictated to his wife after his release from British captivity in 1948, said that in the spring of 1943 Himmler told him, "I was with the Führer a short while ago....He told me, practically word for word,Himmler, I have after much deliberation decided to blot out once and for all the biological bases of Judaism, so that if the Aryan peoples emerge weakened from this conflict, at least a crippling blow will have been dealt to those other forces. I am determined, out of a higher responsibility, to translate this recognition of mine into action, whatever the consequences." About April 1943 Himmler showed Hitler a report prepared as of Dec. 31, 1942, for Himmler

by a statistician, Dr. Korherr, which in its original version contained the information, "Total evacuation inc. Theresienstadt and inc. special treatment...1,873,539." The report was returned to Eichmann bearing the remark: "The Führer has taken note: destroy.—H.H." According to the official German transcript of a discussion on April 17, when Admiral Horthy, the ruler of Nazi-occupied Hungary, asked what he was expected to do with the Jews, "he could not after all kill them," Hitler replied: "If they couldn't work they had to perish. They had to be treated like tuberculosis germs....That was not cruel if one remembered how even innocent creatures like hares and deer were being killed in order to prevent damage. Why should these beasts who wanted to bring us Bolshevism be spared any more?" At Poznan on October 4, 1943, Himmler told his senior SS officers: "I mean...the extermination of the Jewish race....We had the moral right, we had the duty to our people, to destroy this people which wanted to destroy us ... we have exterminated a germ....we have fulfilled this most difficult duty for the love of our people." According to the three-volume study by Raul Hilberg, who rounded his figures to the nearest 50,000 in some cases and to the nearest 100,000 in other cases, European Jews died from the following causes in the following numbers: ghettoization and general privation, more than 800,000; open-air shootings, more than 1,300,000; the death camps, mostly in the gas chambers, of Auschwitz, Treblinka, Belzec, Sobibor, Kuylmhof, and Lublin, up to 2,700,000; other camps, under 300,000; total, 5,100,000. The Holocaust scholar Martin Gilbert estimates that the Nazis also murdered more than ten million other noncombatants, including several million Soviet prisoners of war, a quarter of a million Gypsies, tens of thousands of homosexuals, and tens of thousands of "mental defectives."

Beth Rickey, who has stood up to anonymous threats of a bullet in her head to confront David Duke in Louisiana, should have the last word, and she does. Why, she asks, would David Duke deny such a tragedy? "It speaks," she said, "to the very soul of this man." — R.D.

(Sources: Noakes and Pridham, *Nazism*, Vol. II, pp. 1049, 1055, 1086, 1091-5, 1103, 1105-6; Fleming, *Hitler*, pp. 50-1, 107-8, 111, 114-5, 135-9, 140-156; Gilbert, *The Holocaust*, pp. 28-9, 155, 280-2, 285, 614-16, 824; Wasserstein, *Britain*, p. 135; Hilberg, *The Destruction*, Vol. I, p. 390, and Vol. III, p. 1219. I am sorry, but I have not had time on this occasion to find my source on Hitler's 1922 vision of Jews hanging from lampposts, which I have recounted from my memory of reading it.)