

**Beyond A Dead Man's Deeds:
The National Alliance After William Pierce**

**A Special Report
by the Center for New Community
August 2002**



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Chicago, Illinois ■ 2002

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The Center for New Community is a faith-based organization committed to building democratic communities for justice and racial equality. Founded in 1995, its commitments are carried out through its Building Democracy Initiative, which counters organized hate group activity, and through its Faith Based Organizing initiatives with congregations and communities across the country to address a wide range of social, economic, and racial justice issues identified by those communities.

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Executive Summary

William Pierce, founder and leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance (NA), died on July 23, 2002. Given his ideological dominance of the group, Pierce's death leaves some doubt about the NA's future viability. However the deceased leader seems to have made careful preparations against the inevitability of his demise. He has left the bulk of his personal property to the group. The National Alliance has a steady income of well over a million dollars a year from the sale of white power music recordings and related merchandise. This, along with the corporate-style hierarchical organization of the group, suggests that NA may well continue to play a strong role in the contemporary white nationalist movement, particularly by recruiting young people through its white power music distribution and merchandising. This relatively optimistic assessment of the group's future prospects is at least partially borne out by the fact that there have been no major defections from NA since Pierce's death and none of the public squabbles for power that often accompany the death of a leader in this milieu. His supporters have closed ranks and selected 38-year old Erich Giebe as the organization's new chairman.

With over 2,500 members and units or "proto-units" in forty-three American and five Canadian cities, the National Alliance remains the largest and best organized neo-Nazi group in North America. In the aftermath of 911, NA has intensified its activities, sponsoring or participating in nearly 50 actions. On August 24, 2002 NA will hold a "Rock Against Israel" rally and concert at the Capital building in Washington, D.C. This event has taken on increased significance in light of Pierce's death and may well attract a large audience of neo-Nazi and white nationalist activists and sympathizers from the U.S. and Europe. It will also be a test of NA's continuing viability.

This report is an attempt to come to terms with Pierce's legacy in the white nationalist movement. This legacy includes the creation of a profitable white power music business that nurtures a racist youth sub-culture and cultivates future movement leaders. It also includes the authorship of the infamous novels *The Turner Diaries* and *Hunter* which have inspired and served as the blueprint for acts of murderous terror such as those committed by The Order in the 1980s and by Timothy McVeigh, as well as many others less well known. Included herein are quotes from Pierce and his erstwhile colleagues, an examination of NA's structure, and a synopsis of acts of violence linked to the group and/or inspired by Pierce's novels, and recommendations for activists and community leaders concerned with hate activity and bigoted organizing in their areas.

Introduction

Behind the facade of "Taxpayers Against Terrorism", the largest, best organized and most dangerous neo-Nazi organization in the United States is preparing to bring hundreds of white nationalists to Washington D.C. for an August 24 rally at the Capitol Building.

The neo-Nazi group, the National Alliance, has organized the anti-Semitic "Rock Against Israel" rally and concert to spread their brand of bigotry, and to memorialize their late leader William Pierce.

The rally will take place on the west side, lower pavilion of the US Capitol Building from 11am to 1pm. Police and the Secret Service are braced for an estimated 800 to 1,000 white supremacists to converge on the Capitol. This may be the largest happening of this type since the 1920's-era Ku Klux Klan.

With the recent death of National Alliance founder William Pierce on July 23, the August 24 event has taken on greater significance for neo-Nazi leaders. Rally organizers have demanded that followers "join us there at the Capitol in his memory." Supporters from across the United States, Britain, and Germany plan to attend.

After the rally, the National Alliance and the violent skinhead group Hammerskin Nation plans a white power music concert—a move that will boost rally attendance by attracting young sympathizers.

Since the Oklahoma City bombing in April 1995, William Pierce's National Alliance has more than doubled its membership (now over 2,500 dues-paying members). Operations have expanded into a multi-million dollar worldwide neo-Nazi enterprise that now dwarfs anything Pierce's personal führer, George Lincoln Rockwell, had with the American Nazi Party.

Over the past quarter-century, Pierce and his National Alliance cadre have developed literature and leadership now internationally known throughout the white nationalist movement. Pierce seemed like a curmudgeon, but he skillfully tailored his message to the changing times. He transformed recruitment strategies and developed new organizational plans while never deviating from the traditional white supremacist mission—the eradication of Jews and people of color. Along his way, he forged an organization strong enough to withstand his demise (at least initially) and to continue to inspire acts of racist terror.

Pierce's neo-nazi multinational has yet to reach the levels produced by his hated rival Willis Carto, who in his hey day ran the Liberty Lobby, *the Spotlight*, the Populist Party and Institute for Historical Review before Carto's downfall. But unlike Carto, Pierce maintained tight control of his machinery, and he successfully hardwired it to a whole new generation.

White Nationalist Reactions to the Death of William Pierce's

"I really think that Dr. Pierce made a tremendous contribution to our cause. He helped people think straight about the Jewish Question and the other vital realities of race. After having read almost every word he wrote, I feel once more as though a family member was lost. I have been experiencing that a great deal recently! He was one of us. I learned a great deal from him, and it is very depressing to think that his voice is stilled" (David Duke, EURO).

"Dr. Pierce was not an associate, I knew him many, many years ago, but I never had any sort of relationship with him. As far as his organization goes, I'm looking with great interest to see who takes it over. He was an outspoken publicist and has a lot of followers around the country. But I never gave him any sort of support." (Willis Carto, *American Free Press*).

"The death of Dr. Pierce has opened a huge gap in the nationalist movement in the United States. We hope for the sake of the future generations of white children for whom he felt so strongly that it will not be filled by crude inferior copies of William Pierce—the man was unique!" (British National Party)

"As far as I am concerned, the Pierce episode in our history is closed" (Harold Covington, NSWPP).

"He had gotten many people killed, maimed and jailed, kind of like some Pied Piper from hell... Pierce had a penchant to make Skinheads appear as raunchy as possible. He pushed the Beatnik style in a way that debased the pure blood, pure skin and pure cause of the Skinhead movement" (Nationalist Movement).

"Regardless of what you think of the man or his ideas, you certainly cannot accuse him of not having STONES. Would to Yah more nominally "white" men had his fortitude. Would to Yah Pierce had emphasized the Israel-Covenant message, and our duty in the earth more. Would to Yah Identists had Pierce's love and concern for the racial camaraderie of Celto-Saxons!" (Dan Gentry, Christian Research).

"The White Aryan race has lost a great intellectual mind and a Noble Warrior for Gods eternal truth. We of Aryan Nations share the loss and pray that his legacy is not forgotten when Victory comes" (Richard Butler, Aryan Nations).

"I wish to extend, on behalf of creators everywhere as well as the WCOTC as an institution and an organization, our condolences to the followers of Dr. Pierce and the followers and adherents of the National Alliance.... We appreciate the comradeship of many National Alliance members over the years and undoubtedly his presence will be missed" (Matt Hale, World Church of the Creator).

Post-Pierce National Alliance Structure

National Alliance Chairman William Pierce died of cancer on June 23, 2002 at his West Virginia compound. Rampant external speculation about the future of the organization quickly vanished as leaders closed ranks. While it is too early to gauge the longevity of the National Alliance beyond the death of its only leader, the transition has thus far been seamless. To date, there have been no internal crises of leadership, hostile takeover attempts, or defections of significance.

Though Pierce's death came suddenly, he had carefully prepared the organization for his demise. During his talk to a 1999 leadership conference, Pierce reflected upon his advancing age and mortality and expressed concern about what would happen after his retirement or death. He said that the pattern of one-man organizations is for them to fade away when their leader passes. He cited the American Nazi Party's inability to survive Rockwell's assassination, and the collapse of the Christian Nationalist Crusade after Gerald L. K. Smith died.

At the same meeting, Pierce emphasized the hierarchical organizational structure he had developed. Such an arrangement, he believed, would ensure the vitality and continuity of the organization, and make it easier to bring new people in at the bottom and mold and assess them each step of the way towards top leadership positions.

After a private funeral on July 29, a select tribunal of National Alliance leaders choose 38-year-old former semi-pro boxer Eric Gliebe to run the organization. Though Gliebe was given the title of National Alliance Chairman, his position at the head of the organization is still precarious. But by retaining the current headquarters staffing and elevating Gliebe (from his position as editor of a white-power music magazine), the tribunal maintained organizational stability for the National Alliance and made a bow toward its biggest source of new recruits: the white power youth scene.

Structurally, the National Alliance consists of a National Office, Regional Offices, Local Units, and individual members. This structure was initially outlined in the 1993 *National Alliance Membership Handbook* and the growth in membership over the last two years has helped fill in significant chunks of the organizational hierarchy.

The National Office, staffed with 21 members working full-time for the organization, provides the overall planning and direction for the organization. From the National Office come all National Alliance publications, including the weekly radio program *American Dissident Voices*. The National Alliance is divided functionally into the following departments: Office of the Chairman, office of membership coordination, publications office, catalog sales office, radio and television production office, records office, business office, and physical facilities office. The organization has added the record label and a legal department alongside military and youth recruitment personnel. The organization is openly anti-democratic, with the Chairman functioning as ultimate authority.

The second level of the organization structure consists of the Regional Offices. These Offices oversee and coordinate the activities of Local Units in their respective regions. Regional Offices have been created in the Midwest (directed by Eric Gliebe) and the South (directed by Will Williams). There have not been enough National Alliance local units in the other regions as of yet to necessitate additional offices.

A Local Unit consists of a Local Unit Coordinator and members, where a number of members are living close enough to one another for active collaboration. A Local Unit must be sanctioned by the National Office, and the coordinator appointed by the National Chairman. Groups of members that have met the other requirements, but have not yet been sanctioned by the national office, are called Proto-Units. A Local Unit may hold

regularly scheduled or special meetings, plan and carry out local recruiting activities, and engage in other activities approved by the National Office.

There are now 43 active Local Units and Proto-Units in 26 U.S. States, as well as 5 Canadian Units. Additionally, there has been significant National Alliance activity in another 14 cities. (See map, National Alliance Locations).

Card-carrying membership within the organization, requiring monthly dues payments of at least \$10 and strict adherence to National Alliance membership policy as spelled out in the *National Alliance Members Handbook*, has grown significantly in the past two years. It now tops 2,500 people.

Today's National Alliance members come from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds. They are engineers, mechanics, programmers, lawyers, carpenters, and students. They shun the brown shirts, Klan robes, and camouflage fatigues of their predecessors. As Leonard Zeskind of the Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights notes, "Their only uniform will be their white skins. They will seek to establish a white nation-state, with definable economic, political and racial borders, out of the wreckage they hope to create of the United States. And from Pierce they will have learned the arts and sciences of Aryan revolution."

What is more important than the size of its own apparatus is the tremendous influence the National Alliance has wielded over other like-minded groups with larger, less politically defined constituencies. Its cadres have participated in the fight against immigration, marched alongside others for the Confederate flag, and staged white-power music concerts and skinhead recruitment rallies. (See Post-911 National Alliance Activity, for a complete list of recent events).

The Estate of Hate

On August 1, 2002 William Pierce's Last Will and Testament (written July 19, 2002) was filed with the Clerk's office of the County Commission of Pocahontas County, West Virginia. In his will, Pierce bequeathed all the motor vehicles, including trucks, tractors, and other farm vehicles to Fred G. Streed. All the rest of his estate was left to the National Alliance. Streed was also named executor of the will, and given complete authority to sell off any of the items in Pierce's estate.

A look at the assets now under control of the National Alliance staff illuminates both the size of the multifaceted organization, and how difficult it will be to keep the organization together amid the centrifugal forces of movement politics.

Assets left to the National Alliance: Pierce left 290.66 acres of property, with an assessed value of \$19,133, to the National Alliance. This brings the total under National Alliance control to 357.31 acres plus 60 acres owned by the Pierce-created Cosmotheist Community Church, 2.23 acres owned by Victor Gerhard, 2.12 by Robert Wayne Sims, and 2.3 by Bob DeMarais.

There are 8 buildings on the compound: a warehouse equipped with a loading dock, two office buildings, a storage building, and 4 homes—one owned by Pierce, one by Gerhard, one by Sims, one by DeMarais.

The 4 main National Alliance buildings sit on land deeded to the Cosmotheist Community Church. Pierce had tried to avoid paying taxes on this property, but County Property Assessors ruled that the property was not tax exempt. Pierce had been listed as the trustee of that property since January 28, 1984. A new trustee has yet to be named.

There are at least eight different business entities connected to the National Alliance. Particularly after the setbacks encountered over the illegal purchase of the Church of the Creator property, Pierce was crafty about the construction of this set of corporate entities.

Associated entities:	Location Registered	Date
National Alliance, Inc.	Reston, VA	February 26, 1974
Cosmotheist Community Church	Hillsboro, WV	January 28, 1984
National Vanguard Books, Inc.	Hillsboro, WV	July 11, 1988
Cymophane, LLC	Hillsboro, WV	June 30, 2000
Resistance, LLC	Hillsboro, WV	November 29, 1999
Condor Legion Ordnance, Inc.	Hillsboro, WV	May 10, 2001
Unholy Records	<i>not registered</i>	
Johnny Rebel	<i>not registered</i>	

Pierce distanced himself from these various businesses, possibly upon witnessing the devastating impact of a civil judgment against Tom Metzger upon the operations of his White Aryan Resistance. Of the eight businesses associated with the National Alliance, including the Alliance itself, Pierce is listed only as the secretary for the National Alliance, the director and treasurer (but not president) for National Vanguard Books, and the manager for the various limited liability corporations.

His total ownership of stocks of corporations (National Alliance and National Vanguard Books), and his membership stake of the associated LLC's (Cymophane and Resistance) is unknown. Pierce's will left all of the stock he owned in the various corporate enterprises associated with the National Alliance to the organization, as well as all other stock holdings and personal assets. Membership stakes are treated under rules delineated in the company's by-laws (which are not public).

The transfer of these businesses to the National Alliance ensures that revenues will remain high, despite Pierce's demise. The Center for New Community estimates a National Alliance revenue stream of approximately \$4 million. The biggest moneymaker, CD and merchandise sales from Resistance Records and other affiliated labels, is expected to generate a profit of approximately \$1.3 million this year, with sales increasing steadily over the past 2 years. Membership dues will bring in an estimated \$300,000 to \$500,000 this year. Sales from National Vanguard books (including movement "bestsellers" *The Turner Diaries* and *Hunter*) and significant contributions from wealthy donors round out National Alliance income.

Pierce's attempts to obfuscate National Alliance business dealings by means of these multiple fronts may not have been as successful as he hoped. According to the West Virginia Dept of Tax and Revenue, National Vanguard Books and Cymophane, LLC are operating with valid business licenses (as required by state law, for all businesses operating in West Virginia generating more than \$4000 in sales) but neither the National Alliance; Resistance, LLC; Condor Legion Ordnance, Inc. nor any of the others have a business license.

The organization has also been mailing out *Resistance* magazine, the glossy flagship publication of Resistance, LLC under the bulk mail permit of the separately incorporated National Vanguard Books. This is a likely violation of postal regulations.

The Multimedia Empire

Resistance Records, the product of two enterprising young racists, began in 1993 with a handful of titles and a photocopied fanzine. They expanded rapidly by crafting hate into a professional business—eventually making more than a quarter million dollars a year in profits. By 1997, they were in trouble with tax collectors—and this set into motion the events that would hand Resistance over to the National Alliance. (For a complete look at the history of white power music, visit www.turnitdown.com).

Though Pierce initially kept a distance from the white power youth subculture, he couldn't resist snatching up the struggling music outfit called Resistance Records from his old adversary Willis Carto. (See *Soundtracks to the White Revolution: White Supremacist Assaults on Youth Music Subcultures* for more details on the Pierce takeover). Pierce made the purchase not because the label catered to his kind of music—his taste ran more to Wagner than to rock & roll—but because he understood the power of literature and music in transmitting ideas to the masses.

(Pierce's first foray into the culture-market had paid big dividends for the National Alliance, with the publication of the infamous *Turner Diaries*).

In explaining his rationale for the Resistance Records purchase, Pierce wrote in the revived *Resistance* magazine, "It will be music of defiance and rage against the enemies of or people: against the bureaucrats and the greasy ones. It will be the music of the great cleansing revolution which is coming. Enjoy it!" He also justified his action by correctly promising National Alliance members that the "acquisition" would attract new members in the 18-25 age range.

Since the acquisition of Resistance in the summer of 1999, the National Alliance has swallowed up several additional hate labels. Now, the National Alliance (or affiliates) control these record labels to use as fronts: Cymophane, Johnny Rebel, Condor Legion Ordnance, whitepowerrecords.com, and now also Unholy Records. They are also the exclusive distributor of Vinland Records, the American division of Nordland Records.

The various labels allow the National Alliance to target a variety of music subcultures. Cymophane and Unholy Records are designed to reach beyond the white power skinhead scene and appeal to the black and death metal fans. The Johnny Rebel acquisition provides a slew of racist country music titles for older bigots. And Condor Legion Ordnance and whitepowerrecords.com act as facades, creating the illusion of independence in a market dominated by Resistance.

With dozens of new titles in their ever-expanding catalog, a glossy color magazine, numerous websites, an Internet radio station, and new outlets for its CDs—foreign and domestic—Resistance has grown tremendously under National Alliance control. The Resistance Records catalog now includes 853 items: 610 CDs, 26 videos, 38 publications, 84 types of clothing and accessories, and 95 other items.

In addition, Resistance now has its own warehouse, recording studios, a video production suite, duplication equipment, videogame production operation, and book distribution center for National Vanguard Books at the West Virginia compound. (There are 581 different books, CDs, magazines, and pamphlets in the National Vanguard Books catalog.) They are already churning out news programs, music videos, and recruiting pieces.

Resistance also has hundreds of dedicated, dues-paying National Alliance members across the country willing to spread the word. Those volunteers were mobilized during the last tour of the popular Metal act Pantera. Encouraged by Pantera's singer, who once

wore a fascist t-shirt on stage, National Alliance members filtered through the crowds in several cities passing out recruitment flyers which read, "Remember when Heavy Metal was for Whites only? We do!" This month, they announced that they would again target Pantera shows, as well as the late-summer tours of the popular bands Danzig, Down, Slayer, and Arch Enemy.

White power music has become big business. This year alone, the National Alliance expects to sell over \$1.3 million worth of Resistance CDs. The funds generated from the highly profitable CD sales are being pumped back into the organization, to finance everything from recruitment videos, to comic books, to violently racist video games, and other initiatives of the National Alliance.

Resistance Records released the first of those videogames, *Ethnic Cleansing*, on January 21, 2002, Martin Luther King Day. The graphic and brutal game is a first-person Doom-style game in which the player shoots African Americans, Latino immigrants, and Jews. A review on their website describes the game play. "I made my way down some stairs and went outside, at once, I was being shot at by ghetto 'groids [sic], I swung into action and blasted the nig [sic], copius [sic] amounts of blood spewed from the nig and the sound of the nigs death left me in stitches! The sound is like a monkey being killed by asians [sic] for a meal of brains."

National Alliance Staff

The National Alliance's full-time staff of 21 has allowed the organization to make opportunistic use of current events, create publicity stunts, and still generate a steady income from book and CD sales. In addition to these staffers, there are typically a few younger Alliance members who live and work on the compound for a few months at a time.

National Alliance Chairman

Erich Gliebe. The hardworking Cleveland National Alliance unit leader managed Resistance Records, the magazine and various international affiliates until he was named Chairman of the National Alliance on July 29, 2002.

Gliebe's parent grew up in Nazi Germany where his father served in the *Wehrmacht* during WWII. He graduated from Normandy High School in Parma, Ohio, in 1981. Claiming to have grown up "racially conscious", Gliebe joined the National Alliance more than ten years ago. Within months of joining the group, Gliebe started a Cleveland Local Unit, prompting Pierce to brag, "Erich is a successful recruiter because he is committed and persistent. He is not afraid of hard work, and he is not afraid of failure" (*National Alliance Bulletin*, May 1991).

Gliebe was also a Regional Unit Commander, controlling National Alliance recruitment and organizing for southern Michigan, Indiana and all of Ohio. His influence extended beyond that region, into Canada and throughout the United States.

In 1995, under the name Life Rune Records, Gliebe sponsored the "New Year's Revolution" white power music concert in a Cleveland warehouse, attracting approximately 300 attendees. In 1997, 1998, and 1999, Gliebe, then operating under the name "European-American Cultural Society", hosted a series of "EuroFests" which combined white supremacist speeches with traditional European dancing and music. During the late 1990's, Gliebe also organized engagements for speakers such as William Pierce, Steven Barry, Tom Metzger, David Irving, Ernst Zundel and representatives of the NPD from Germany.

He speaks fluent German, and has made numerous trips to Germany on behalf of Pierce and the Alliance. It was Gliebe who facilitated the flight of neo-Nazi fugitive Hendrik Möbus from Virginia to National Alliance headquarters in August 2000.

West Virginia Compound Staff

Billy Roper. This former Arkansas high school teacher has stuck in place at National Alliance headquarters, despite various turnovers and fiascoes since his arrival over two years ago. As deputy membership coordinator, he manages recruitment and has also been the lead organizer for the series of demonstrations outside of the Israeli embassy in Washington, D.C.

Robert DeMarais. One of Pierce's closest staffers, DeMarais manages the business and marketing of the National Alliance. He is a former marketing professor at Arkansas Tech University, and received his PhD from the University of Oklahoma. He also selects books for the National Vanguard catalog.

Marta and Fred Streed. Marta Streed maintains the National Alliance membership lists and enters incoming orders for National Vanguard Books. Fred Streed has been with the

National Alliance since its inception in 1974. According to incorporation papers filed with the Virginia Secretary of the Commonwealth, Streed is listed as the president of the National Alliance, although in reality he is responsible for maintaining and expanding the infrastructure at the West Virginia compound.

Suzanne Flynn. Flynn was the executive assistant to William Pierce prior to his death. She joined the national office staff when she moved from Philadelphia, where she ran an Internet marketing company.

David Wayne Sims. Sims joined the Hillsboro staff in November 1999 and is in charge of print publications, magazines, books, etc. He is 42, divorced, and has a degree in astronomy from Valdosta State College in Georgia. Before moving to West Virginia, he lived in Alabama, where he worked as a defense contactor on missile systems. According to incorporation documents filed with the West Virginia Secretary of State, he is listed as the president of National Vanguard Books.

Bryan and Shai Ringer. He is a 28-year old former U.S. Army Military intelligence specialist and computer programmer from Orlando, Florida. He is the designer of the *Ethnic Cleansing* videogame, and works in the audio and video production facility. She is a 20-year old former retail manager who manages the recording and production studios at the national office. The two were married in the spring of 2001 and then moved to West Virginia to work at the compound.

Jeff Cotton. Cotton is a 30 year old civilian satellite technician from Washington D.C. He spent 11 years in the Army as a sergeant supervising a crew of military satellite technicians. He works on the headquarters as the staff's roving troubleshooter.

Ben Vinyard. This 37-year-old U.S. Navy veteran and former chess teacher was hired to help Marta Streed with data processing. He moved to National Office from San Diego.

Tom Martin: Martin is an 18-year-old from Orlando, Florida. He works in the warehouse and shipping department.

Bob and Amanda Hawthorne. Bob Hawthorne is a photographer and videographer from Texas. He works in the Alliance's video production facility. Amanda Hawthorne is the Alliance's receptionist. They were married on the compound in July 2001.

Jason McGhee. McGhee works in the order processing department, handling orders for both Resistance Records and National Vanguard Books. He is a 21-year old former Marine from Lumpkin County, Georgia.

Tim Scott. Scott is a 21-year old former Marine and ESL teacher. He is a flash animator, computer graphics expert, and assistant in the National Alliance video production studio.

Non-West Virginia Compound Staffers

Kevin Alfred Strom. Strom has been a National Alliance member since the 1980's. He lived on the compound from 1989 until 1995 when he and his family moved to Rochester, Minnesota. He presently resides in Charlottesville, Virginia. He runs Palladian Press, a publishing company with an address in Earlsyville, Virginia dedicated to Reivilo Oliver. He has been the producer of and has done voice-overs for the *American Dissident Voices* broadcasts since the early 1990's. Strom continues to edit the group's magazine and newsletter, and plans to begin producing Pierce's radio show, "American Dissident Voices."

John Murdoch. John Murdoch is a senior writer at *Resistance* magazine. He currently lives in the Minneapolis, Minnesota area. In addition to writing about concerts and interviewing white power bands for *Resistance*, Murdoch is also the author of the first white power skinhead-produced novel, *Nordic Front: The Storm of the North*. The pulp novel is a blueprint for white power skinhead harassment of anti-racist youth groups.

Chris Evans. The 29-year-old runs the Resistance web site, and is the Dallas local unit leader. Evans, a veteran of the United States Army started up two world wide web sites www.whitesurvival.com and www.unholyrecords.com. Evans is the marketing director of Resistance Records and the de facto coordinator of the Alliance's Internet cadres. As a teenager, Evans was close to the Confederate Hammerskins.

Lawrence Myers. The mysterious Meyers is the *Resistance* magazine staff photographer. Formerly with the Christian Patriot magazine, *Media Bypass*, Myers is still living in Indiana though he travels around the country capturing white power music events on film. With his experience in publishing, Myers will play an increasingly important role on the magazine now that Gliebe has been promoted.

Steven Barry. A former member of the Army's Special Forces, Barry currently serves as the Military Unit Coordinator for the National Alliance. His military career began in 1976, when he enlisted and attended the Airborne School and then the Special Warfare Training Group. He left the army in 1985, but returned to the Special Forces in 1989. In 1994, he began publishing *The Resister* and founded the far-right Special Forces Underground. By 1998, *The Resister* was publishing full-page ads for the National Alliance. Barry retired from the military in 1997 but continued to publish *The Resister*, which had become an unabashed white supremacist publication geared towards members of the military. In May 2001, Barry changed *The Resister* from a journal into the newsletter of the newly-founded Major General Edwin A. Walker Society, of which Barry is the director. Barry lives in Fayetteville, North Carolina.

Other Significant National Alliance Members

Under Pierce's autocratic rule, the National Alliance continued to strengthen despite amplified public exposure, internal setbacks, and increased law enforcement attention during the late 1990s. An energetic and well-organized leadership core combined with shrewd outreach has helped the National Alliance become the fastest growing and most dangerous white nationalist organization in the US.

Brett Andrews. The 31 year-old National Alliance leader originally from Michigan joined the National Alliance in 1996 when he moved to Austin to attend University of Texas. He received a degree in economics with a minor in German. He currently works as a stockbroker with Solomon-Smith and Barney. Andrews works closely with Bruce Vincent Breeding in Florida and Chris Evans in Dallas. Evans and Andrews have forged solid working relations with Hammerskin Nation, Camellia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and various other white nationalists and militia types. Andrews and his National Alliance crew gained much media attention when they strung a huge National Alliance banner down an overpass of one of Austin's busiest thoroughfares in 1999. Andrews also worked for David Duke, editing and compiling the footnotes to Duke's *My Awakening*.

Martin Bartlett. This 39-year-old fire and safety inspector took over leadership of the Houston Local Unit in December 2001.

Bruce Vincent Breeding. A former session musician for the satanic black metal band Acheron, Breeding currently serves as the national director of David Duke's European-American Unity and Rights Organization (EURO) and Duke's press secretary, in addition

to his role as a leader in the Tampa, Florida, unit of the National Alliance. Breeding has organized speaking engagements for David Irving. Lately Breeding has been traversing the South, promoting EURO through rallies and publicity stunts in support of the confederate flag. He also runs the White Nationalist News Agency and a website called MartinLutherKing.org.

Ron Doggett. Doggett is a National Alliance veteran who has managed to slide in and out of various white nationalist organizations and the Reform Party. He works closely with Will Williams. A Council of Conservative Citizens member, Doggett maintains National Alliance loyalty throughout his ventures into more "legitimate" realms of North Carolina political activism.

Chester Doles. As the upper-middle-aged unit leader of the Lumpkin Country Georgia Unit, Doles has the financial stability to motor an energetic cadre in the old hardcore white supremacist stomping grounds of north Georgia. The area around the Atlanta skyline is deeply fertile ground for the Alliance—home to Ed Fields, J.B. Stoner, the National States Rights Party, Confederate Hammerskins, Invisible Empire KKK, Identity stalwarts, Council of Conservative Citizens leaders, neo-nazi Odinists, hardcore militias and Posse Comitatus players. Doles draws from this diverse crop much like Will Williams does just across the state line in North Carolina. Doles and Williams work closely and have coordinated their rallies and recruitment drives with reciprocity. Most recently, Doles has organized a series of well-attended anti-immigrant marches and rallies in Gainesville, Georgia.

Victor James Gerhard III. Victor Gerhard joined the National Alliance staff full-time in July 2000 as Chief of Staff, though he left that position in March of 2001. He is a graduate of State University of New York at Albany, where he received a BA in political science, and of Bridgeport School of Law. After graduating from law school he worked as a Republican legislative staffer in the Connecticut state legislature. Before moving to WV, he was an attorney with a law firm in Albany where he specialized in commercial and bankruptcy law. He is 38 and unmarried. He acts as the National Office General Counsel and assists with the Legal Unit. He is also listed as the head of the NA-affiliated Condor Legion records.

Erica Hardwick Hoesch. Erica Hoesch (aka Erica Hardwick) has been a key National Alliance recruiter who bounces between Roanoke, Virginia, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Hillsboro, West Virginia. She helped found the Alliance's Herndon, Virginia local unit. She has also traveled across the country, spending considerable time in Baltimore and Chicago, assisting local units with literature distribution and face-to-face recruitment.

Gerry Harbin. In his 50s, Harbin took the reins of the Arizona Unit in 2001, boosting membership that had lagged in the hands of Richard Coffman. Harbin was close to Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler in years past, and with that background he has been able to recruit ably among Identity, Christian Patriot and militia-types. The Arizona Hammerskins work with his local unit, and some Hammerskins hold dual membership.

Dave Neesan. Following the death of Eric Hanson in the summer of 2001, Neesan took leadership of the fledgling Chicago Proto-Unit and continued the expansion begun by Hanson. Over the past year, Neesan has managed to use everything from racially-tinged high school sports controversies to airport waiting lines as recruitment opportunities for the National Alliance, distributing tens of thousands of fliers across the metro area. Neesan has also made a concerted and successful effort to reach out to the white power skinhead scene on Chicago's Southwest side.

David Pringle. A longhaired libertarian-turned-national-socialist, Pringle moved to Alaska from New Mexico where he has become a model example for the new National Alliance

unit leadership, a dynamo publicist for the National Alliance who has given unabashed interviews to Alaskan media and welcomes cooperation with all racial nationalists—especially the WCOTC and those extreme libertarians who have wandered into the white nationalist camp. He is in the process of opening a white power record and bookstore in Anchorage called Uncle Whitey's.

Draghomir Stojkovic. This Sacramento National Alliance unit leader brought the unit back from near extinction when former unit leader Jim Ring was targeted by federal and state law enforcement during an investigation of a double homicide and synagogue arsons. Stojkovic arrived in the US from Czechoslovakia more than ten years ago, when he was 16. He has hosted a series of very successful events featuring traditional European dancers, white supremacist speakers, and local white power music acts.

Will Williams. The North Carolina National Alliance leader has worked the edgier sides of the American white nationalist movement for decades—the Klan, White Patriot Party, National Democratic Front, Church of The Creator—but his true home has always been under Pierce's wing. A Special Forces veteran of the Vietnam War and talented portrait painter, Williams is able to walk into any sort of white nationalist scene and make himself at home. He has navigated within Christian Identity groups, the Third Position, Odinists, bikers, anti-abortion zealots, skinheads, old Klansmen, and Reform Party organizers. Consequently the North Carolina National Alliance unit reflects this diversity and operates as a catalyst for diverse racist groups within North Carolina and throughout the South. Williams previously served as the National Alliance membership coordinator during the early 1990s.

William Pierce and the National Alliance: A Biography

William Luther Pierce III was born on September 11, 1933 in Atlanta, Georgia. As a youth, Pierce lived in Georgia, Virginia, and Alabama. He attended public schools until his final two years of high school, during which he attended Allen Military Academy in Bryan, Texas.

Upon his graduation in 1951, he received a bachelor's degree in physics from Rice University. After graduation, he worked at Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory in New Mexico. He attended CalTech and then the University of Colorado in Boulder during his graduate studies, eventually receiving a doctorate in physics from the University of Colorado in 1962.

In 1962, Pierce accepted an assistant professorship at Oregon State University. Also in 1962, Pierce joined his first political organization, the John Birch Society. He would soon leave, frustrated with their lack of a position on "the Jewish question". According to Pierce, it was during this time that he began to correspond with American Nazi Party (ANP)-head George Lincoln Rockwell.

Pierce and his spouse moved to North Haven, Connecticut in 1965, where he worked as a senior research scientist at Pratt and Whitney Advanced Materials Research and Development Laboratory—his final job outside the movement.

Pierce began weekend visits to Washington, D.C. to work at the ANP headquarters, eventually taking the unpaid position as editor of the fledgling ANP publication *The National Socialist World*. He moved his family to Fredericksburg, Virginia, in early 1967.

Following the death of Rockwell in August 1967 at the hands of a disgruntled follower, Pierce stayed with the group, which had changed its name to the National Socialist White People's Party, until 1970. Following a violent argument with the leadership, Pierce quit the organization and stopped publishing *The National Socialist World*.

Shortly thereafter, Pierce joined the National Youth Alliance. The National Youth Alliance was the spawn of Youth for Wallace, an organization founded in 1968 by Willis Carto to rally support on college campuses for arch-segregationist George Wallace's presidential bid. After the election, Youth for Wallace was re-named the National Youth Alliance and continued its campus recruitment activities.

Following a bitter power struggle between Carto and Pierce, the National Youth Alliance splintered in 1974. In a July 24, 2002 interview, Carto exclaimed, "I started the Youth for Wallace. After the election, the Youth for Wallace head Louis Byers, he took the mailing list and went to Pierce and made a deal. That's where the National Youth Alliance came from, then Pierce changed the name." Pierce incorporated a new organization, the National Alliance, on February 26th, 1974. Carto would go on to form the Liberty Lobby—whose tabloid, *The Spotlight*, had more than 300,000 subscribers in the 1980s. Carto also founded the influential Holocaust denial outfit, the Institute for Historical Review.

Thereafter, Pierce began publishing a weekly tabloid, *Attack!* (later changing its name to *National Vanguard*). From 1975 to 1978, the tabloid serialized what would become his most famous book, the *Turner Diaries*, which has now sold nearly half a million copies. The pulp novel is the fictional account of Earl Turner, a member of an underground white supremacist organization that starts a race war and then conquers much of North America. It was published in book-form by the Alliance in 1978. Perhaps most notable as the inspiration for the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, Pierce's book has influenced numerous acts of racist terror around the globe since its publication. (See National Alliance Violence Section)

Pierce would later explain his rationale for writing the book, "In 1975, when I began writing *The Turner Diaries*... I wanted to take all of the feminist agitators and propagandists and all of the race-mixing fanatics and all of the media bosses and all of the bureaucrats and politicians who were collaborating with them, and I wanted to put them up against a wall, in batches of a thousand or so at a time, and machine-gun them. And I still want to do that. I am convinced that one day we will have to do that before we can get our civilization back on track, and I look forward to the day." (ADV broadcast, March 29, 1997).

The First General Convention of the National Alliance was held on September 2-3, 1978 in Arlington, Virginia. The speakers for the event were William Pierce, Ted O'Keefe, and Mark Weber (the later two presently run the Holocaust denial outfit Institute for Historical Review).

Also in 1978, Pierce began holding weekly meetings of the Cosmotheist Community Church, a religion of his own creation that promoted white supremacy. Later that year, the IRS denied tax-exempt status for the National Alliance, rejecting Pierce's July 1977 claim that the organization was "educational". He had received tax-exempt status for his "Church" in 1983, but in 1986 the IRS revoked the tax-exempt status for all but 60 acres of the property that were to be used solely for "religious purposes."

At their September 5-6, 1981 Fourth General Convention, Tom Martinez (future member of the neo-Nazi terror group, The Order) conducted a workshop on street sales and public distribution of National Alliance material.

Another National Alliance member, Robert Mathews, developed a neo-Nazi terror cell dubbed The Order—based on the inner circle of racist revolutionaries in the *Turner Diaries*. After a series of dramatic crimes including murders, armored car robberies, counterfeiting and bombings, Mathews was killed in a confrontation with federal officers.

For \$95,000, Pierce purchased a large farm near Mill Point, West Virginia, in 1985. It has been suggested that some of the money used to purchase the farm came from The Order.

With the election of President Ronald Reagan, Alliance membership declined in the early 1980's. Pierce continued to build a membership and activist base for the National Alliance, constructed an infrastructure within his West Virginia compound, and expanded the Alliance's influence throughout the movement.

In 1987, Pierce created a media stir when he purchased 100 shares of AT&T stocks, using them to make stockholder proposals calling for an end to business ties with Israel. Though reintroduced numerous times, the proposal continually failed.

The National Alliance's publishing company, National Vanguard Books, was created in 1988. In 1989, National Vanguard Books printed Pierce's second novel, *Hunter*, which depicts assassinations of interracial couples, Jews and politicians. *Hunter* opens with the main character, Oscar Yeager, quietly sitting in his van awaiting an interracial couple, his first victims. With a smooth motion, Yeager reaches under a blanket on the seat next to him and brings a rifle to his shoulder. He braces himself and squeezes off two shots. He sees the couple's skulls explode into a shower of bone fragments, brain tissue, and blood, before calmly driving away. The book is dedicated to Joseph Paul Franklin, convicted of the sniper murders of two African-American men.

Pierce would later tell his biographer that he deliberately crafted *Hunter* as a motivational tool for individual assassins, "From the beginning with *Hunter*, I had this idea of how

fiction can work as a teaching tool in mind." (*Fame of a Dead Mans Deeds*, pg. 240). The book is also in part a response to an ongoing re-evaluation of movement weaknesses. Like *The Turner Diaries*, the book has inspired several real-life acts of racist terror. (See National Alliance Violence Section)

The beginning of the 1990's was marked by the expansion into new mediums of propaganda. National Vanguard Books began publishing audiocassettes in 1991. That December, the National Alliance began broadcasting a shortwave radio program, "American Dissident Voices," worldwide. By early 1992, the program was carried by several AM stations. To attract a younger audience, the National Alliance published its first comic book, *The Saga of White Will*, in February 1993.

When a Ryder truck filled with ammonium nitrate fertilizer and fuel detonated in front of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995, Pierce and the National Alliance were thrust into the national spotlight. The bombing which took the lives of 168 people was modeled after *The Turner Dairies*—a book that bomber Tim McVeigh peddled through the gun-show circuit in years prior.

On November 11, 1995, Pierce traveled to London to address the British National Party. Despite a relationship of long standing between the National Alliance leader and BNP-head John Tyndall (who had visited the National Alliance headquarters as early as July 3, 1979), this was the first time Pierce addressed the BNP. According to *Searchlight* magazine, chants of "Free the Order" broke out throughout the crowd of 150 neo-Nazis during Pierce's speech (December 1995). Though they differ strategically (vanguard cadre-building vs. electoral mainstreaming), the two organizations continue to be close. After this visit, Pierce was officially banned from England.

Pierce experienced a setback in 1996, when the Southern Poverty Law Center won an \$85,000 judgment against him for his role in a scheme to keep Church of the Creator assets away the family of a murdered African-American man.

In the summer of 1999, Pierce obtained a valuable youth-outreach arm when he took control of the largest white power music distributor in the United States. To quell dissent among older members, Pierce wrote, "As Resistance Records regains strength, that acquisition should add an increasing number of younger members, in the 18-25 age range, to our ranks." Pierce was right. The numbers of young people in his organization has swelled dramatically, and the National Alliance now maintains hegemony in the white power youth music scene.

The business acquisition also brought Pierce closer to the German neo-Nazi political party, the NPD. According to the German magazine *Antifaschistische INFO-Blatt*, Pierce traveled to Germany that fall, to solidify business arrangements and attend the NPD conference.

Throughout most of the organization's history, the National Alliance steered clear of public rallies—leaving those events to robed Ku Klux Klan members and assorted "right-wing hobbyists"—both because of the risk of personal exposure, and the inefficacy of the events. Instead, under Pierce's control, the organization sought to "build a revolutionary infrastructure." In other words, they worked to train dedicated cadres of activists outside the eye of the public.

The rapid expansion of the National Alliance in the late-1990's lead to a transformation of organizing structure. Encouraged internally by staff members such as deputy membership-coordinator Billy Roper, in the past year and a half the National Alliance has begun transitioning from cadre-style groupings to mass-base organizing. One of the first indicators of such a transition was the use of the public rally.

There have been five National Alliance rallies in Washington D.C. in the last year. Two earlier rallies were held in front of the German embassy to show solidarity with the German neo-Nazi party—the NPD. Additional anti-Semitic demonstrations have been outside the Israeli embassy. In addition, National Alliance members have held several smaller rallies and public events around the country. (see Post-911 National Alliance Activity list for complete details).

These events marked a growing organizational cooperation between the violent Hammerskin Nation and the National Alliance, and their affiliated labels Panzerfaust (Hammerskins) and Resistance (National Alliance). At the behest of Erich Gliebe, Panzerfaust joined the National Alliance in pulling out of the recent Klan-controlled NordicFest.

WILLIAM PIERCE QUOTABLE QUOTES

"But among the people who can think for themselves, the number who will understand where to place the blame will continue to grow. And the demand for a real solution, a final solution, will grow too. In this new era I won't be the only one pointing the finger of blame in the right direction and talking about final solutions to our problem" (Sept 15, 2001 ADV broadcast).

"If we are to solve them [problems] at all, we must tackle them with more determination, more tenacity, and more fanaticism than they have ever been tackled before. We must prepare ourselves mentally and spiritually for a very long, bloody, and agonizing struggle" (July 27, 2002 ADV broadcast).

"And we cannot survive if we permit the Jews and the traitors among us to remain among us and to repeat their treachery. Eventually we must hunt them down and get rid of them" (November 15, 1997 ADV broadcast).

"We are letting the Mexicans and Blacks wreck our country today not because the Blacks or the Mexicans are able to brainwash us but because the Jews are. Mexicans are not a menace to us because they breed fast and carry switchblades. Blacks are not a menace because there are a lot of them and they have a tendency toward violence. We know how to deal with people who breed fast and carry switchblades. We know how to deal with violent Blacks, no matter how many of them there are. Cleaning up America might be a bit messy, but there's absolutely no question about our ability to do it, if we had the will to do it" (August 8, 1998 ADV broadcast).

"People who are living comfortably now will resist doing anything to jeopardize their situations. Cowards will remain cowards. But a growing minority of serious, moral people will admit finally, at least to themselves, that we have tolerated the Jews for far too long and that revolution is the correct course for patriots" (*National Alliance Bulletin*, May 1999).

"The lesson is that when the time comes to deal with traitors, we will deal with them collectively and finally, not by picking off one or two of them with harebrained "leaderless resistance" schemes" (*National Alliance Bulletin*, July 2000).

"August 1, 1993. Today has been the Day of the Rope-a grim and bloody day, but an unavoidable one. Tonight, for the first time in weeks, it is quiet and totally peaceful throughout all of southern California. But the night is filled with silent horrors; from tens of thousands of lampposts, power poles, and trees throughout this vast metropolitan area the grisly forms hang.

In the lighted areas one sees them everywhere. Even the street signs at intersections have been pressed into service, and at practically every street corner I passed this evening on my way to HQ there was a dangling corpse, four at every intersection. Hanging from a single overpass only about a mile from here is a group of about 30, each with an identical placard around its neck bearing the printed legend, 'I betrayed my race'" (*Turner Diaries*, Chapter 23).

"Why should I not be able to do what is right and natural and kill those who commit such an abomination? [white women who date African-American men]" (ADV Broadcast March 25, 2000).

"We should be going from door to door with a list of names and slaying those who have engineered this assault on our people....And we know who the engineers are....They are, first and foremost, the media bosses and the other leaders of the Jews" (ADV Broadcast March 25, 2000).

National Alliance Violence

In broad daylight on January 4, 2002, a well-dressed young man wearing sunglasses and surgical gloves sat in a parked car across the street from a Nashville, Tennessee synagogue. Rifle butt resting on his lap, he pointed the AR-15 assault rifle at the synagogue and awaited a target.

More than coincidentally, accounts of the crime intended read like something out of the pages of Pierce's second novel, *Hunter*, in which a lone gunman goes on a white supremacist killing spree.

In fact, *Hunter* opens with the main character, Oscar Yeager, quietly sitting in his van awaiting his first victims, an interracial couple. With a smooth motion, Yeager reaches under a blanket on the seat next to him and brings a rifle to his shoulder. He braces himself and squeezes off two shots. He sees the couple's skulls explode into a shower of bone fragments, brain tissue, and blood, before calmly driving away.

Published in 1989 as the follow-up to *The Turner Diaries*, Pierce crafted *Hunter* as a motivational tool for individual assassins. He bragged to his biographer, "From the beginning with *Hunter*, I had this idea of how fiction can work as a teaching tool in mind" (*Fame of a Dead Mans Deeds*, pg. 240).

Fortunately, the Nashville plan was thwarted when a passing motorist saw the gunman outside the synagogue and called police. The well-dressed, well-armed man was 31-year-old National Alliance associate Michael Edward Smith.

Unlike the storyline from *Hunter*, Smith was not apprehended by a sympathetic FBI agent who would set him free. Nor was he able to keep his mouth shut. Smith was charged on January 7 with numerous federal and state crimes, after he divulged the location of his arsenal and his ties to the National Alliance.

Authorities discovered enough weapons to supply a "platoon" in Smith's apartment; in a storage facility; and also buried on rural land where his parents live. The array of weapons included an anti-tank rocket, eight firearms (including a sniper rifle), 13 grenades, 13 pipe bombs, over 2000 rounds of ammunition, smoke bombs, dynamite fuses, and two duffel bags filled with chemicals.

After the arrest, the FBI quickly classified Smith a "domestic terrorist." BATF agent James Cavanaugh added, "Basically, we've got hand grenades, we've got assault rifles and we've got a mind full of hate and a recipe for disaster."

Yeager, the fictional character in *Hunter*, discovers a group called the National League, which kindles his aspirations of racist violence. In his real-life apartment, officers uncovered Smith's source of revelation—materials from the National Alliance—including the *Turner Diaries* and *Hunter*. According to the arrest affidavit, Smith told investigators that he has ties to "the National Alliance and the Ku Klux Klan." He also discussed how these groups "trained him how to make and how to use explosives, [and] trained him in sniper and combat training."

Smith also told investigators that he "disliked Jews." That hatred of Jews may have motivated him to travel over 650 miles for an anti-Israel rally in Washington D.C. last year. Local anti-bigotry activists place Smith in the crowd at a November 10, 2001 National Alliance rally, outside the Israeli embassy.

Over the past quarter century, numerous individuals have been inspired to commit acts of racist and anti-Semitic violence by the National Alliance propaganda.

The mound of materials unearthed in Nashville bears striking similarities to a 1997 failed National Alliance bomb plot. Like Smith, Florida National Alliance member Todd Vanbiber had assembled over a dozen pipe bombs. Though the full extent of Smith's plans are still uncertain, Vanbiber had a clear mission.

Vanbiber and three others planned to start a race war by planting bombs and robbing banks, two years after the Oklahoma City bombing (a *Turner Diaries* inspiration). The plot was botched when a bomb blew up in Vanbiber's face. In 1996, he robbed banks before visiting Pierce at his West Virginia compound and donating \$2,000 to "the cause." Vanbiber was sentenced to 6 1/2 years in federal prison.

The Nashville arrest came less than six months after another National Alliance member, Eric Hanson, died in a shootout with police in Illinois. He had been stopped about gunrunning.

In New York in October 2000, police arrested National Alliance member Steven McFadden after a search of his apartment turned up an arsenal of weapons.

Six months before in London, England, nails and shards of glass shot through a crowded Brixton market, injuring 39 people on April 17, 2000. The Brixton bombing was followed by a series of organized and malicious racist attacks directed at London's multicultural communities. The second attack on London's ethnic communities took place in Brick Lane, the center of London's Bangladeshi community. The third explosion devastated a crowded gay pub in Soho, killing three people and injuring 73, 13 of them seriously. The "London Bomber" David Copeland confessed to being greatly influenced by *The Turner Diaries*.

In March 1998, Federal authorities in East St. Louis, Illinois, thwarted an alleged plot by a group patterning itself after the neo-Nazi terror group, The Order. In the early 1980's, Northwest National Alliance member Robert Mathews created The Order—based on *The Turner Diaries*—the group committed murders, armored car robberies, counterfeiting and bombings.

According to federal documents, "The New Order" leaders boasted to one another "The building in Oklahoma, when we get moving, that ain't nothing." The group also allegedly planned to rob banks and armored cars to fund a race war. The group sought to raise \$20,000 to finance their terror campaign, turning to the National Alliance for help. On May 15, 1997, an Aryan Nations associate met with Pierce to discuss The New Order plans, according to federal documents. Pierce allegedly stated that he would not fund the group but would look for a press to print counterfeit money for the group.

Just one week before the first anniversary of the Oklahoma City bombing, in April 1996, Larry Wayne Shoemake opened fire on a black neighborhood in Jackson, Mississippi, killing one person and wounding seven others. Shoemake was a reported admirer of *The Turner Diaries* and other National Alliance literature.

On April 19, 1995, another *The Turner Diaries* devotee, Timothy McVeigh and James Nichols detonated a truck filled with ammonium nitrate fertilizer in front of the Murrah Federal building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 people. The attack was jarringly reminiscent of the bombing scene in the Pierce's novel.

Two U.S. Army soldiers stationed at Fort Bragg in Fayetteville, North Carolina, were convicted and sentenced to life in prison in December 1995 for gunning down an African-American couple. They were avowed neo-Nazis and reportedly read National Alliance propaganda.

Members of the Aryan Republican Army were required to read *The Turner Diaries*. Between 1992-1996, this group of Midwest bank robbers committed 22 bank robberies and bombings across the region.

Given the rapid growth of the National Alliance in recent years, there are certainly more Pierce protégées looking to emulate Oscar Yeager or *Turner Dairies* character Earl Turner.

Post-September 11 National Alliance Events

Marching two-by-two out of the covered parking garage into the sunlit streets of a quiet Washington D.C neighborhood, the long line of nearly 250 white supremacists carrying flags and placards stretched down the block.

The May 11 event was the fifth National Alliance rally in Washington D.C. in just the last year. Two earlier rallies were in front of the German embassy to protest the arrest of fugitive German white power musician Hendrick Möbus and to show solidarity with the German NPD. Since September 11, they have held three anti-Semitic events outside the Israeli embassy.

Unlike previous rallies which consisted of mostly older shirt-and-tie neo-Nazis, where attendance never climbed beyond 70-80, the May 11 event drew not only the older crowd, but approximately 200 heavily tattooed, t-shirt clad white power skinheads—including Eastern Hammerskins, Keystone State Skins, and members of the World Church of the Creator and Aryan Nations.

They gathered outside the Israeli embassy to “protest U.S. support for Israel.” While Roper and others bleated into the megaphone, others waved signs with slogans like “Smash Jewish Supremacism,” while aggressive young Nazis pumped their arms in the air in unison and yelled continual barrages of “Sieg Heil!” at the counter-demonstrators.

To fulfill his promise of a huge rally turnout, Roper allowed only those who attended the anti-Israeli rally to attend an after-rally concert featuring the white power bands Max Resist, H8 Machine, Definite Hate, Hammerhead, and the requisite six kegs of beer. To get even more people to the event, the New Jersey unit of the National Alliance held a special meeting featuring British Holocaust denier David Irving, in order to raise travel funds.

One promise Roper wasn't able to fulfill, however, was participation of Arab or Muslim groups in their protest against Israel. Despite Roper's failure, some members continued to feign support for the Palestinians, waving Palestinian flags (adorned with National Alliance symbols) and chanting, “Two, four, six, eight, we don't want your Jewish state.” Particularly since September 11, numerous National Alliance local units have attempted a variety of anti-Semitic stunts (see Post 911 National Alliance Activity list).

After the event a National Alliance member, commenting on Roper's failure to garner Arab or Muslim support, noted, “This ought to remind everyone that arabs [sic] are niggers too and will never see White folks as anything other than a mortal enemy. If arabs [sic] were not so muddle-headed they would have succeeded in their drive to invade the rest of Europe to rape and murder the White race out of existence.”

After shouting until their megaphone ran low on batteries, the group of white nationalists headed off to Virginia for a white power gig. The well-attended concert at a firehall was sponsored by the Eastern Hammerskins, Resistance Records, and Panzerfaust Records.

The May 11 event is just one example of the dramatically intensified level of activity since the tragedy of September 11. The following is a listing of National Alliance activity since September 11:

2001

September 11

Within moments of the collapse of the World Trade Center Towers, and while fires still burned at the Pentagon, deputy membership coordinator Billy Roper emailed National Alliance members to cheer about the tragedy that took the lives of 2,800 people, "Anyone who is willing to drive a plane into a building to kill Jews is alright by me...I wish our members had half as much testicular fortitude."

September 15

The National Alliance Northern New Jersey Unit distributed fliers deriding Israel.

October 6-7

As part of their annual "Leif Erickson Day" literature drive, more than 30,000 fliers are distributed in California, Maryland, Texas, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York.

October 14

The Sacramento Unit hosted a "European Heritage Festival" that featured Russian and Ukrainian dancers and a speech by William Pierce. Over 100 people attended the event.

November 10

The National Alliance conducted a rally outside of the Israeli Embassy in Washington D.C. The protesters blame the events of September 11th on Israel.

November 16

National Alliance members demonstrate outside of the Israeli Embassy in Prague, Czech Republic.

November 18

Two National Alliance members distributed 900 fliers to homes near Frederick, Maryland.

November 28

National Alliance fliers advocating "shipping Jews to Israel" are distributed in Columbus, Georgia.

December 2

Two members of the Philadelphia Unit of the National Alliance are arrested and charged with ethnic intimidation, institutional vandalism, criminal mischief, defacing property, and desecrating objects. The two were caught placing National Alliance stickers on public and private property.

December 15

The National Alliance held an anti-Israel rally in Washington D.C. The 50 white supremacists in attendance are drowned out by over 150 anti-racist protesters.

December 17

A large billboard near Florida and Fowler avenues in Tampa, Florida, was erected that read "WTC, R.I.P. Stop immigration". It also provided the web site address to the National Alliance. By 8 p.m., Lamar Advertising, the owner of the billboard, had taken it down.

December 13

National Alliance literature was taped to the doors of Temple B'Nai Israel and Synagogue Agudath Achim and a 12-foot high menorah knocked over in Little Rock, Arkansas. The incident is being investigated as a hate crime.

2002

January 9

The Chicago Proto-Unit of the National Alliance distributed literature in New Lenox, Illinois.

January 10-11

The Chicago Proto-Unit of the National Alliance distributed literature outside O'Hare airport.

January 12

Over 200 white supremacists, including many National Alliance members, gathered at the Martin Public Library in York, Pennsylvania. Deputy Membership Coordinator Billy Roper was scheduled to be a featured speaker at the meeting, but was unable to make it inside the library.

January 21

The Austin Unit distributed literature deriding the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday in Austin, Texas. Similar fliers are distributed in Bearsville, New York, Fayetteville, North Carolina, northern New Jersey, and St. Louis, Missouri.

January 27

Representatives from the Ohio network of National Alliance chapters and the Indianapolis Unit of the National Alliance met to coordinate tactics and communication.

February 10

Representatives from the Ohio network of National Alliance chapters and the Indianapolis Unit of the National Alliance met again to coordinate tactics and communication.

February 15-16

The Gainesville Proto-Unit held a pro-confederate flag rally in White Springs, Florida, to protest an NAACP confederate flag demonstration in Lake City, Florida, that same weekend.

February 15-19

In conjunction with the Winter Olympics, the Salt Lake City Unit of the National Alliance distributed over 2,500 fliers in downtown Salt Lake City, Utah. Fliers and stickers are also distributed in Boise, Idaho, and Anchorage, Alaska.

March

The Chicago Unit of the National Alliance, with assistance from members of the Twin Cities unit, distributed fliers reading, "Billy Graham has apologized for his statements. Was he right in 1972 or is he wrong now?" in Wheaton, Illinois; the home of the Billy Graham Museum at Wheaton College. After citing Graham's 1972 statements, the anti-Semitic fliers go on to bemoan Jewish "control of the media and by extension the U.S. Government."

The National Alliance also handed out fliers at Edison State Community College in Piqua, Ohio, in late March. Edison has requested that the National Alliance cease distributing literature on campus.

March 2

The Lumpkin County, Georgia, Unit held a meeting that drew 115 attendees. The meeting featured William Pierce, who spoke on the need for self-discipline, and Hans Schmidt, a veteran of the 1st SS Panzer Division, who spoke about his new book *SS Panzergrenadier*.

March 14

National Alliance members attended and disrupted a meeting of a Human Relations Commission forum in Framingham, Massachusetts.

March 17

National Alliance fliers appeared outside of an anti-hate event sponsored by the Aish Hatorah Society at a synagogue in Clayton, Missouri.

March 23

Billy Roper spoke to a North East Regional Leadership Seminar hosted by the Northern New Jersey Unit.

A Spring Solstice celebration was held in Mountain State Park, North Carolina.

The Orlando and Tamps Local Units held a "Central Florida Alliance Barbeque". *Resister* editor and National Alliance military unit-head Stephen Barry was the featured speaker.

March 27

National Alliance literature was distributed in downtown Boston, Massachusetts.

April 20

The National Alliance hosted a semiannual Leadership Conference at their headquarters in Hillsboro, West Virginia. In total, 90 representatives from Local Units around the country attend the invitation-only event.

May 4

The Northern New Jersey Unit of the National Alliance held a special meeting featuring the British Holocaust-denier David Irving. The event was a fundraiser for the travel expenses of National Alliance members to attend the May 11th demonstrations in Washington, D.C.

May 11

The National Alliance held a rally outside of the Israeli embassy in Washington, D.C. Over 250 attend the "anti-terrorism" rally and concert.

May 18

The Austin Unit of the National Alliance distributed 5,000 fliers deriding an education-funding plan in Austin, Texas.

May 19

Ohio National Alliance Units gathered in Middletown for a statewide meeting.

June 8

National Alliance activists disrupted a meeting of the Melrose Human Rights Commission in Melrose, Massachusetts.

June 9-15

As part of a National Literature Drive, local units from St. Louis, Missouri; Southern California; Anchorage, Alaska; Fairbanks, Arkansas; Chicago, Illinois; northern Georgia; Boston, Massachusetts; the Bay Area, California; Sacramento, California; Idaho; and Houston, Texas, distributed over 70,000 fliers. The literature drive's dates correspond with the death of Eric Hanson.

June 22

Deputy Membership Coordinator Billy Roper and Salt Lake City Unit-head Shaun Walker traveled to Anchorage, Alaska for the first National Alliance Alaskan Regional Conference.

June 24

The National Alliance used a new façade calling itself the Anti-Globalism Action Network (AGAN), to protest the G8 meeting in Canada. AGAN circulated a press release about a "cycle of violence" at the protests of the G8 meeting in Kananaskis, Canada, on June 26-27. The group's website www.g8activist.com was registered to and hosted by the Canadian branch of the National Alliance.

July 8

National Alliance fliers were distributed in Damascus, Maryland.

July 13, 2002

The Lumpkin County (Georgia) Unit of the National Alliance hosted an anti-immigrant march in downtown Gainesville, Georgia. Over 90 supporters took part in the march, chanting slogans such as "What do we want? Mexicans out! When do we want it? Now!" According to local National Alliance head Chester Doles, the rally was held to protest "the Mexican takeover of America."

Over 150 people attended a white power music concert sponsored by Heritage Press in Arvada, Colorado, (just outside Denver). National Alliance members distributed materials and membership applications to the concertgoers.

Members of the Detroit Unit distributed Resistance Records sampler CDs outside of a Danzig concert at the State Theater.

July 15

Members of the Kalamazoo Unit distributed Resistance Records sampler CDs outside of a Danzig concert at the Orbit Room in Grand Rapids, Michigan.

July 24

The Aptos neighborhood of Santa Cruz, California, was littered with National Alliance fliers.

July 27

Four National Alliance members staged an anti-immigrant demonstration on the corner of Hover St. and Nelson Road in Denver, Colorado. Two of the men held signs while the other two acted as bodyguards.

July 29

National Alliance literature was distributed throughout the Denver suburb of Longmont, Colorado.

August 1-3

National Alliance fliers were distributed in Livonia, Michigan.

August 3

The northern Georgia Units of the National Alliance held a memorial service for William Pierce. Speakers included members of the Georgia and Southeast Tennessee Local Units. Following the service, the white power bands Hammerhead and Definite Hate performed.

August 4

The York-Baltimore Local Unit of the National Alliance held a "family picnic" with over 70 members of the National Alliance, Eastern Hammerskins, and Keystone State Skinheads in attendance.

August 5

Virginia National Alliance members placed a large banner reading "just say no to diversity!" listing the organization's website, on a Chesapeake, Virginia water tower/tank.

A National Alliance front-group, the Anti-Globalism Action Network, attempts to infiltrate the anti-globalization movement again, this time by distributing literature promoting the Canadian National Day of Action to protest a potential U.S. attack on Iraq. The literature lists AGAN in a long list of progressive endorsers.

August 9-12

The Denver Unit distributed literature in Castle Rock, Colorado Springs, Florence, La Junta, Pueblo, and Walsenburg, all in Colorado. They distributed more than 2,000 leaflets reading "Stop Immigration." While in La Junta, they were arrested and cited for "Throwing Dangerous Missiles or Stones".

Recommendations

The following are suggestions for communities concerned about National Alliance activity.

For additional information, resources, and organizing support, contact the Center for New Community.

Encourage youth peer-based anti-bigotry organizing. Groups like the National Alliance increasingly target young people for recruitment into the white nationalist movement. Young people need to be equipped with the tools and skills to enable them to develop their own creative ways to challenge organized bigotry. Youth organizing youth is far more effective than adults trying to organize young people. To aid young people in the fight against the newest hate recruiting tool, white power music, the Center is pleased to announce two new publications:

The *Turn It Down Resource Kit* is a hands-on manual for those who are responding to white power music. With sections geared towards parents, teachers, record industry personnel, and, most importantly, youth, the *Resource Kit* emphasizes the importance of creating a culture free from hatred. It includes advice on everything from how to host an information table at a concert to what to do if your daughter or son is recruited by white power music.

The *Turn It Down CD-ROM* is a multimedia guide for responding to youth recruitment by white supremacists. It covers how organized bigotry works to recruit youth through the use of music, as well as what parents, teachers, bands, the record industry, and youth can do about it. Included on this CD is the complete text of both *Soundtracks to the White Revolution* and the *Turn It Down Resource Kit*, as well as information on how you can join with the campaign by opposing white supremacy in your community.

Prepare your community. National Alliance members have distributed racist and anti-Semitic flyers in neighborhoods all around the country. Distribution occurs in the middle of the night, with drive-by leafleting. To find out if your community is a potential target, learn about the group and spread the word before it happens. Obtain additional copies of this report and distribute them to local community leaders including government officials, law enforcement agencies, community groups and religious leaders. Additional copies of this report can be obtained from the Center for New Community. It is also available at our website—www.newcomm.org. You can also organize a neighborhood night watch to spot potential trouble.

Break the silence. If literature is distributed in your area, let people know. Contact local law enforcement, anti-bigotry organizations like the Center for New Community, the Northwest Coalition for Human Dignity, the Southern Institute, the American Jewish Committee or other groups in your area, and your neighbors. National Alliance members and other white supremacists view silence as a green light to conduct further organizing.

Speak out. Just as groups like the National Alliance have a “free speech” right to spew their message, it is the free speech responsibility of those who care about human dignity to challenge the bigotry spread by the National Alliance and all such similar groups. Develop and distribute your own literature. Hold your own public events.

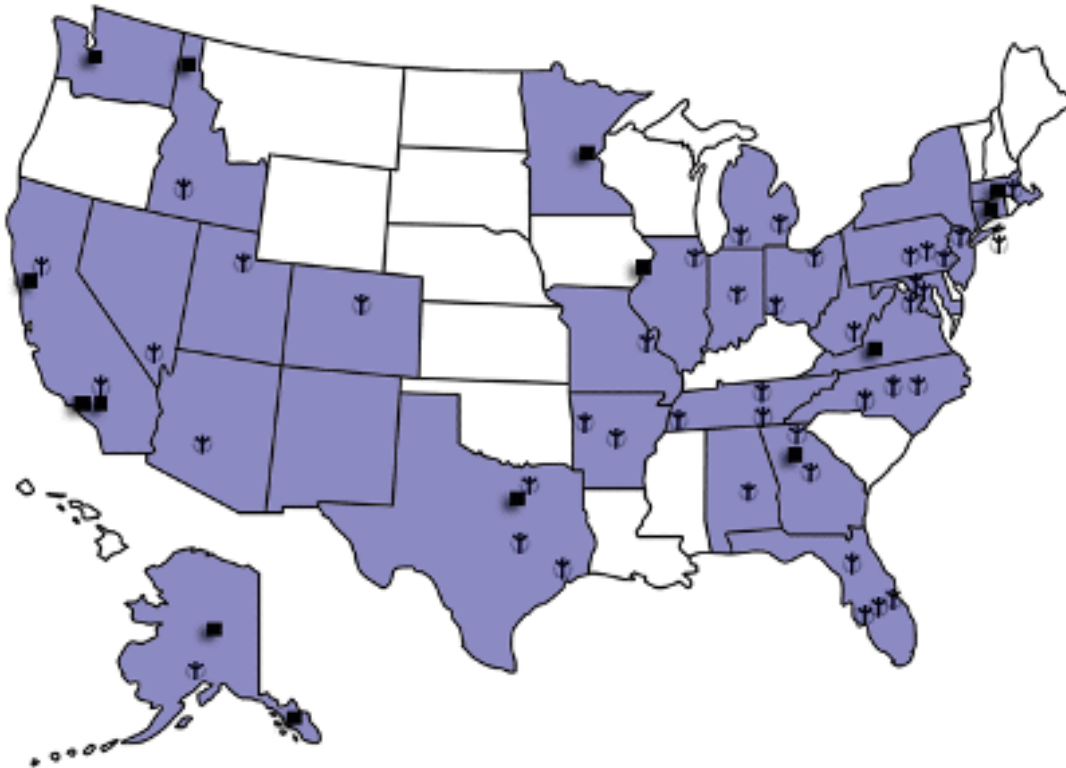
The National Alliance weekly radio show called "American Dissident Voices" has also aired on several AM radio stations over the years. If you live where the show broadcasts, let the radio station know how you feel about the program. If you feel that the language violates community standards, you can report this violation to the Federal

Communications Commission: Mass Media Bureau, 2nd Floor, 445 12th Street SW, Washington DC, 20554. 202-418-2700.

Face the fear together. Although the primary purpose is recruitment, another reason why white nationalist groups distribute flyers is to intimidate and isolate community residents. When literature is distributed in your community, get together and go door-to-door to pick up the literature. This allows community members to know how many homes received the hate literature. It also provides an opportunity to get to know your neighbors better and to have a dialogue about hate activity and how you can work together to stop it.

Organize for the long haul. Organizing is the process of relationship building that coalesces community response in creative and effective ways, resulting in action. Organizing is a long-haul commitment and responsibility. White supremacist activity is a symptom of a chronic illness that does not go away quietly or quickly. The tendency of communities, however, is to respond reactively when hatred makes a “public appearance,” and then to assume that the problem is resolved once it disappears. However, a deep commitment to community and to community life means that every such “public appearance” is seen as an opportunity to enlarge the table at which leaders from all walks of life grapple with the daily realities of bigotry and racism in their midst.

National Alliance Locations



Active U.S. National Alliance Units And Proto-Units - 43

Anchorage, AK	Dallas/Fort Worth, TX	Indianapolis, IN	Raleigh, NC
Austin, TX	Denver, CO	Kalamazoo, MI	Reading, PA
Baltimore, MD	Detroit, MI	Las Vegas, NV	Sacramento, CA
Boise, ID	Forsyth, GA	Little Rock, AR	Salt Lake City, UT
Boston, MA	Gainesville, FL	Memphis, TN	St. Louis, MO
Charlotte, NC	Hagerstown, MD	Montgomery, AL	San Bernardino, CA
Chattanooga, TN	Harrisburg, PA	Nashville, TN	Siler City, NC
Chicago, IL	Herndon, VA	Orlando, FL	Staten Island, NY
Cincinnati, OH	Hewitt, NJ	Philadelphia, PA	Tampa, FL
Cleveland, OH	Hillsboro, WV *	Phoenix, AZ	Uniontown, AR
Dahlonega, GA	Houston, TX	Plant City, FL	



Additional U.S. Cities With National Alliance Activity - 14

Atlanta, GA	Hardy, VA	Moline, IL	Sitka, AK
Coeur d'Alene, ID	Hartford, CT	Oakland, CA	Thousand Oaks, CA
Fairbanks, AK	Keller, TX	Riverside, CA	Yelm, WA
Framingham, MA	Minneapolis, MN		

Canadian National Alliance Units – 5

Calgary, Alberta	Halifax, Nova Scotia	Toronto, Ontario	Vancouver, British Columbia
Edmonton, Alberta			

National Alliance Local Unit And Proto-Unit Leaders

Anchorage	AK	David Pringle
Austin	TX	Brett Andrews / Jim Reid
Baltimore	MD	Randy Balderson
Boise	ID	Rick Monbarren
Boston	MA	Robert Freeman
Charlotte	NC	Josh W.
Chattanooga	TN	Victor Max
Chicago	IL	David Neesan
Cincinnati	OH	William Sinkhorn
Cleveland	OH	Erich Gliebe
Dahlonega	GA	Chester Doles
Dallas/Fort Worth	TX	Chris Evans
Denver	CO	Roger Williams
Detroit	MI	Matthew Harris
Forsyth	GA	John Micheal
Gainesville	FL	Brad Forbes
Hagerstown	MD	Craig Jackson
Harrisburg	PA	
Herndon	VA	Jason Gnatowsky
Hewitt	NJ	Tripp Hendersson
Hillsboro	WV	(National Office)
Houston	TX	Martin Bartlett
Indianapolis	IN	Dan Shreffler
Kalamazoo	MI	Scott Neighbours
Las Vegas	NV	
Little Rock	AR	Robert Crockett
Memphis	TN	Raymond Barrett
Montgomery	AL	Dwight Connor
Nashville	TN	Justin Milling
Orlando	FL	Frank N. Anderson, aka Malcolm Young
Philadelphia	PA	
Phoenix	AZ	Gerry Harbin
Plant City	FL	
Raleigh	NC	Robert Arnett
Reading	PA	Robert Hunt
Sacramento	CA	Draghomir Stojkovic
Salt Lake City	UT	Shaun Walker
San Bernardino	CA	Ryan Hagen
Siler City	NC	Richard Vanderford
St. Louis	MO	Aaron Collins
Staten Island	NY	Anthony Stoffo
Tampa	FL	Ruel "Rudy" A. Rhone Jr
Uniontown	AR	Chris Quimby

About the Center for New Community's Building Democracy Initiative

From the Great Lakes to the great Plains, from the rolling prairies to the southern mountains, in village, small town and city alike, the Building Democracy Initiative is developing a lasting commitment to counter organized racism, anti-Semitism, homophobia, and other forms of organized bigotry in the Midwest, through exposure, education, and organizing.

Exposing... The Building Democracy Initiative researches and monitors white nationalist activity throughout the Midwestern United States. To expose organize bigotry and to educate about the dangers of far-right activity in the region, we publish the Midwest Action Report. This monthly update provides alerts and pinpoints trends in Christian Identity, Christian Patriot, Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazi and racist skinhead, and white power music activity. The Midwest Action Report also highlights community responses to building democracy and constructing effective barriers against hate. We also publish a number of special reports, such as *Soundtracks to the White Revolution: White Supremacist Assaults on Youth Music Subcultures*, and our annual report, *The State of Hate*.

Educating... To raise awareness about the nature and scope of far-right activity, we also conduct workshops, public presentations, and other training events with civic and religious leaders throughout the Midwest. Working in close cooperation with Christian, Jewish, and other religious communities throughout the region, our education and training events equip community leaders to respond effectively to the racism, anti-Semitism, homophobia, and other forms of bigotry accompanying white nationalist activity. By providing consultation and organizing support to communities responding to far-right activity, and by working with other organizations to address public policy issues related to such activity, the Building Democracy Initiative is helping to build strong, democratic responses to this danger in our midst. The Initiative also seeks to build democratic participation in the affairs of communities and institutions, and to redefine public dialogue and discussion on democratic values.

Organizing... The Building Democracy Initiative works closely with communities to help them respond when organized bigotry comes to town. We are actively engaged in building a regional network of individuals and organizations from civic, religious, educational, labor, business and governmental sectors dedicated to countering hate. To bring people from across the region together, and equip them with the tools to effectively construct moral barriers against hate, the Center holds its Building Democracy Conference. In addition to our work to develop a vibrant network we work closely with a number of other international, national, and regional organizations working to promote democracy and civil rights.