

Library Copy

Vol. 1, No. 4



ISSUES
IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS

DAVID DUKE
A Nazi in Politics

KENNETH S. STERN



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations 165 East 56 Street, New York, NY 10022



ISSUES
IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS

DAVID DUKE
A Nazi in Politics

KENNETH S. STERN

Kenneth S. Stern is program specialist on anti-Semitism and extremism for the American Jewish Committee.

This publication was made possible by the Ernest Weiner Fund of the American Jewish Committee.

Copyright © 1991 The American Jewish Committee
All rights reserved

PREFACE

DAVID DUKE: A Nazi in Politics is the fourth in AJC's series, "Issues in National Affairs." As with issues two (*Dr. Jeffries and the anti-Semitic Branch of the Afrocentric Movement*) and three (*Crown Heights: A Case Study in anti-Semitism and Community Relations*), the current issue targets bigotry and anti-Semitism where it is of key importance: in our institutions. When prejudice and intergroup hatred appear on the campus, in the media, in the political process, or in government (neighborhood, city, state, or national), they are amplified and given a patina of respectability. AJC is concerned whenever it becomes acceptable to overlook any manifestation of hate. That is why we are publishing this volume. David Duke still holds Nazi, racist, and anti-Semitic beliefs. It is essential that people know the true facts about David Duke, just as it was essential, in two prior volumes of this series, for people to know the true facts about Dr. Jeffries and the anti-Semitic riot in Crown Heights.

The American Jewish Committee, as a non-profit, tax-exempt organization, is prohibited by law from opposing or endorsing candidates. Whatever elective office David Duke may seek in the future, nothing in this publication should be construed as either supporting or opposing his candidacy. This paper merely documents who David Duke is, and analyzes his impact on the political process.

Gary E. Rubin
Director, National Affairs
American Jewish Committee

DAVID DUKE: A NAZI IN POLITICS

David Duke is a Nazi. Ask him about Nazism on television, he says he is against totalitarianism of any kind. Ask him privately, his eyes light up. "Eichmann got a raw deal," he says. Ask Duke about the Holocaust on television, he says that there were atrocities on all sides. Ask him privately, he says that "there were no extermination camps," that Auschwitz was a "rubber factory," that Jews, who "control Hollywood," made up a colossal hoax. David Duke is also a fan of Nazi death camp Dr. Josef Mengele. A scientific "genius," Duke calls him.

David Duke is no friend of Blacks, of Asian-Americans, Mexican-Americans, Native Americans, or anyone else who is not sufficiently white (read Aryan), or likely to increase the white stock (read gays). According to David Duke, there is only one all-white country (Iceland), and that is "not enough." In 1984 his National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP) newspaper called for the division of the United States into separate race nations. "If the races are not separated soon," Duke's *NAAWP NEWS* wrote, "the Majority will have to fight for survival or go under." David Duke still believes in separate race nations. He reaffirmed that belief in an interview from his Louisiana legislative office in 1989.

David Duke is a Nazi. Through cosmetic surgery, three-piece suits, a sophisticated understanding of the media and use of sugar-coated code words that combine racial and economic fears, Duke has made himself into a national figure.

Many experts think that David Duke is going to run in the Republican presidential primaries in 1992, gain more exposure and money, and become a presence at the Republican National Convention. Then, in the fall, he will run for Congress in Louisiana. And win. David Duke seems destined to become an elected member of the United States House of Representatives in 1992. How will he have gotten there, and what can and should the political parties and others who care do about David Duke? And what can and should they do about the fact that hundreds of thousands -- if not millions -- of Americans, are willing to vote for a National Socialist in designer clothing?

WHO IS DAVID DUKE?

David Ernest Duke was born in Tulsa, Oklahoma, on July 1, 1950. He grew up idealizing his father, David Hedger Duke, an engineer and an officer in the Army Reserves. David's relationship with his alcoholic mother, the former Maxine Crick, was more complex. "According to their housekeeper," says Elizabeth Rickey, Republican State Committeewoman from Louisiana, "Duke once tried setting his mother on fire."

David Duke spent his early childhood with his parents and his older sister, Dottie, in Oklahoma. After a short time in the Netherlands (where his father was stationed), the family moved to the New Orleans area, first to Gentilly Woods, an all-white neighborhood, then to Metairie, a middle-class suburb.

David was an average student, and a voracious reader. In 1964, David "sided with the civil rights movement."¹ He was so ardent in his views that his teacher assigned him a civics term paper on the arguments for segregation. Duke devoured the topic, finding both the New Orleans Public Library and a Doubleday book store inadequate. His search lead him to a local Citizens Council.² Fourteen-year-old David Duke walked in, and asked if the group had any literature about integration.

"The lady behind the desk gave me a broad smile," he said, "and motioned me to look at the twenty-foot-long bookshelves behind her which were covered with books [with] credible evidence that there were genetic differences between blacks and whites."³ The book that made the greatest impression was Carlton Putnam's *Race and Reason -- A Yankee View*, which argued that societal disintegration was an inevitable consequence of an integrated society, largely because of alleged biological differences. That became the fundamental theoretical filter through which David Duke views the world, to this day.

David Duke also became an admirer of Dr. William Shockley (who argued that blacks were biologically inferior to whites), and others who articulated a race-based view of society. The adults at the Citizens Council supported Barry Goldwater in the 1964 presidential campaign, and David Duke spent his free time volunteering at the Goldwater campaign headquarters.

In 1965, David's father left the family for work in Southeast Asia, where he would be stationed for the next eleven years. James Lindsay, a local businessman whom young David met at the Citizens Council, filled the parental void. Lindsay was a well-know Nazi sympathizer. Soon, Duke began to vent Nazi-like ideas to his teachers and classmates.

Duke sometimes claims that he joined the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKKK) in 1967, sometimes in 1968. The KKKK was a collection of "real, live bigots ready to defend the rights of white people no matter the consequence," according to Duke biographer Michael Zatarain. Duke describes his induction as a "fantastic experience."⁴

¹ An excellent examination of David Duke's adolescence can be found in Michael Zatarain, David Duke: Evolution of a Klansman, Pelican Publishing Co., 1990.

² The White Citizens Councils were formed in the 1950s as a vehicle to fight integration. Their agenda and views were blatantly racist, and frequently anti-Semitic. One of the founders of the New Orleans group David Duke stumbled into was Judge Leander H. Perez, a figure nationally known for his racist and anti-Semitic views.

³ Zatarain, David Duke, p. 78, 80.

⁴ See: Julia Reed, "Hate With a Pretty Face," Vogue, November, 1991, p. 282.

The Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism disputes Duke's claim of joining the KKKK in the late 1960s. "Other sources," the Coalition claims, "indicate that the KKKK did not come into existence until 1971. There is little evidence of Klan activity on Duke's part until 1974. Contrary to Duke's [statements] most of his political activities between 1968 and 1974 were under the auspices of a variety of Nazi and Nazi-affiliated organizations."

The American Jewish Committee archives supports the Louisiana Coalition's conclusion.

After enrolling at Louisiana State University (LSU) in 1968, Duke was well known as a Nazi on campus. He argued white supremacy and anti-Semitism at the LSU free speech alley. In the fall of 1969, he advocated, on a local radio show, that blacks should be returned to Africa and Jews exterminated. According to the LSU newspaper, *Reveille*, Duke handed out Nazi papers on campus, and said, "I am a National Socialist. You can call me a Nazi if you want." Duke hung a Nazi flag in his dorm room. Duke had, according to Zatarain, "plunged" into anti-Semitism in 1968. He wrote his father that, although "I respect many who are Jewish," . . . so many Jews seem to dominate the forces I despise Martin Luther King's famous 'I Have a Dream' speech had a Jewish communist speech writer. . . ." Duke delved into what the neo-Nazi world calls "the Jewish question," reading books that blamed communism, integration, and "the control of the media" on Jews. According to a fellow LSU student, Duke regularly read *The Cross and the Flag*, a newsletter published by anti-Semite Gerald L. K. Smith. Duke would "read it, memorize it, then research what the paper said at the library."⁶ Duke became close friends with Father Lawrence J. Touns, a Catholic priest and member of the Citizens Council who was a notorious anti-Semite. They would visit often to discuss Jews. Duke later wrote to his father, "I don't want to be bigoted or judge people unfairly, but I can't close my eyes to what this group has done to the Western world. It seems to be boiling down to who will stand up to them or will raise their voice against the true intolerance they represent."⁷

Duke did "stand up," and he saw Nazism as the ideology on which to stand. On July 23, 1970, Duke paraded around the Tulane campus in Nazi uniform with a swastika arm band to protest a speech by William Kunstler. Duke held up a picket sign. One side read "Kunstler is a Communist Jew." The other: "Gas the Chicago 7." A month later, Duke was billed as a "party speaker" at a full-dress Nazi rally in Washington D.C. The party was the National Socialist White Peoples Party, also known as the American Nazi Party.

That fall, a chapter of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Liberation Front was formed on the LSU campus. Duke denies that he belonged to the organization, although he acknowledges he spoke on its behalf. He did, however, join the White Student Alliance (WSA), a group closely associated with the Nazi party. The WSA, under Duke, published a newsletter called "The Racist," which was Nazi-flavored, and claimed that whites were "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."

In February, 1971, Duke split with the WSA, and formed a new organization at LSU, the White Youth Alliance (WYA). Duke continued publishing "The Racist," which, now under the WYA banner, sported

⁵ Duke's Aunt May was married to a man whom Duke described as a "fine Jewish gentleman."

⁶ Zatarain, p. 109.

⁷ Ibid.

ads for *Mein Kampf*,⁸ *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, *The Biology of the Race Problem*, speeches of George Lincoln Rockwell (of the American Nazi Party), and Hitler-flavored depictions of Jews and blacks in cartoon form.⁹

That summer, the Army refused to commission Duke as an R.O.T.C. officer due to his "Nazi affiliations." Depressed at the rejection, Duke left LSU for six months, and travelled to Laos to visit his father.¹⁰

When he returned to LSU in 1972, Duke formed the National Party, which attempted to inflame racial tensions in Louisiana high schools. Duke also published a new "magazine" called *The Nationalist*. It had the same crass caricatures of blacks and Jews,¹¹ and called for "white unity" "white power," "white rule," and

⁸ In an LSU European history class, Duke told his professor that *Mein Kampf* was "the greatest piece of literature of the twentieth century."

⁹ Duke's paper even had racist fake ads that were supposed to be humorous. One touted "Coon-ard Lines" and promoted a "Boat Ticket to Africa" for "one nigger." The ticket entitled the bearer to a free trip to Africa on a boat "shaped like a Cadillac with fins." The menu was "all the bananas and choice cuts of missionary desired. . . chicken coop and watermelon patch on deck . . . plenty of wine, marijuana, heroine and other refreshments." One could "twist to Martin Luther Coon's jazz band."

Another ad on the same page promoted a jar of "instant nigger" for liberals, "white 'peace creeps,' race-mixers and nigger lovers," and "all those who would like to join the Coon-Ard Cruise, but can't . . . and must endure life in a town without any nigger friends." The instructions read: "Just sprinkle this dingy black dust on any sidewalk! Make water on it, & PRESTO! Hundreds of NIGGERS spring up!! Little niggers, big niggers! Fat niggers, Skinny niggers! Light niggers, midnight-black niggers! Communist niggers! Jew niggers!"

Another issue was largely devoted to a "comic" strip depicting Jews, from the Israeli embassy, hatching a plot in which garbage and sewage and welfare checks and the NAACP and television (the Jews' "propaganda tool") were mixed in a caldron to create a creature known as a "Bleak," which, of course, was a black person.

¹⁰ Duke claims this six month period as service in Southeast Asia. His "service" was teaching English to Laotians for a few weeks. As an added bonus to their English instruction, his pupils could learn Duke's race-based view of the world. One of his students -- a Laotian officer -- commented, "A black person must be like a water buffalo. Very strong, but very little brain." Reportedly, Duke did not disagree.

¹¹ For Duke's young cohorts, *The Nationalist* published "jokes" such as:

Ques: How do they take a census in Israel?
Ans: They roll a penny down the street and all the Jews go running after it.
Ques: What about the blind Jews?
Ans: They roll a quarter.
Ques: Have you ever seen a Jew chasing a penny down the street?
Ans: No, they are all pretending to be blind.

Ques: How many niggers does it take to pop popcorn?
Ans: Four, one to hold the pot and three to shake the stove.

Ques: How many pallbearers were there at Martin Luther Kings [sic] funeral?
Ans: Two, one for each end of the garbage can.

"A Christian, a nigger, and a Jew went to heaven. God told them that they could have anything they wanted. The Christian wanted a church where he could pray. The nigger wanted a Cadillac, a beautiful White woman, and three hundred and thirty-four thousand dollars in cash. The Jew wanted twenty-two dollars worth of costume jewelry and to know where the nigger went."

"Recently, a Jewish soldier in Israel won the highest decoration for meritorious service in the heroic act of wiping out an entire Arab grade school by himself. Izzy Finkelsteinbaum single-handedly [sic] shot 11 teachers, 84 schoolchildren, a cripple, three dogs, the principal, and a camel. Izzy was awarded the Kosher Cross with Dingleberry Clusters."

"white victory." "America for Whites, Africa for Blacks,"¹² it said. Through *The Nationalist* Duke sold "Books on Jews" including *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, *Behind Communism*,¹³ *The Conquest of the World by the Jews*, *Christian Sheep and Satan's Wolves*, *Newspaper Control in America*, *Jewish Ritual Murder*,¹⁴ and *Who Brought the Slaves to America*. Duke's offering of "Books on the Negro" included *How Classroom Desegregation Will Work*, *The Biology of the Race Problem*, *The New Mythology of Racial Equality*, and *Sex Versus Civilization* (described as a study of "Quality people versus quantity people.")

Twenty-two year old David Duke and his National Party became active in the 1972 presidential campaign on behalf of George Wallace, a segregationist. When police asked the New Orleans Wallace campaign office if it had anything to do with Duke and his party, the Wallace campaign disavowed any knowledge of them. Duke was arrested for fraudulently soliciting funds for the Wallace campaign. The charges were dropped, but shortly after, Duke withdrew from school, married a colleague in white supremacy named Chloe Hardin, and moved to Seattle to stay with his sister, Dotti.

In January, 1973, Duke returned to New Orleans and re-enrolled at LSU. It was then that he went headlong into James Lindsay's organization -- the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Duke rose up the ranks -- from organizer to national information director to grand dragon to national director, and eventually to grand wizard. A factional dispute disrupted the KKKK in 1974, however, when, according to the Louisiana Coalition, "some members suspect[ed] that Duke and Lindsay [were] part of a Nazi faction working within the Klan. Duke and Lindsay distribute[d] Nazi literature to new Klan recruits and staffed their organization with long-time members of the Nazi party."

Lindsay was murdered in 1975, and shortly thereafter Duke incorporated the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, with himself as grand wizard and corporate president.

For five years, Duke toured the country as the golden boy of the Klan. He appeared on national talk shows. He gained notice by running for a Louisiana State Senate seat in 1975, and receiving 33% of the vote. Although he did not deny his Klan affiliation, he portrayed himself as a moderate conservative. Once the election was over, however, his hateful rhetoric returned.

Duke was best known during this period for bringing the KKKK into the Boston busing controversy, and

¹² It even published "poetry," such as the following "with apologies to 'Enema Lazarus,'"

Give me your tired,
Your syphilitic masses,
Yearning for a free ride.
The wretched refuse of
Your teeming shore.
The sick, the lame, the lazy,
the frizzy-haired Hottentot,
The scum, the bum, the whore.
Anything that can crawl, swim,
Walk or make it by U.N. flight.
Anything, that is, except,
An intelligent, healthy Whiteman.

¹³ Duke described this as "Pictorial and photostatic evidence that the Communist Conspiracy is Jewish controlled."

¹⁴ Duke described this volume as "Human sacrifice and the Jewish religion."

for running a KKKK vigilante patrol of the US-Mexican border. But a review of his writings¹⁵ shows that his major themes were still Nazi-inspired, and his favorite targets still Jews and blacks.

Between 1975 and 1979, his new newspaper, *The Crusader*,¹⁶ ran articles, features and ads with headlines and introductions such as "Jews Say 'JUMP,' Congress Says 'How Far'," "Ship Those Blacks Back," "Zionist Treason," "Zionism Exposed," "Blacks Bankrupt New York," "The Media Masters,"¹⁷ "Jews Dominant in Hollywood," "Science Exposes the Equality Hoax," "European Journalist Condemns Race-Mixing," "The Auschwitz Lie," "Blacks Win -- Whites Lose," "The Jew Machine," "Jew Slave Dealers Brought Slaves to America,"¹⁸ "World War III before 1980? Israeli Land-Grab Predicted," "Jew Gas Shortage to Cause A Depression," "Racial Purity is America's Security," "Keep Aliens Out," "Anti-Semitism Justified," "Black Atrocities Mount," "Revolt of the Submen," "The Black Plague," "Genetic Race Differences," "Races Proven Different," "President Carter and his Kosher Crowd," "Brainraped white girl attends to her mongrel offspring," "Kosher Food Racket Exposed," "The Tragedy of Integration," "Was Jesus Jewish?"¹⁹ "Jewish Arrogance Revealed," "Zionism: Exclusiveness, Belief in Superiority, Hostility," "No More Cubans," "Jews Caught With Fingers in Cookie Jar," "Secret Jewish Tax Exposed," "The Aryan Family," "The Real Enemy [with emblem of hammer and sickle inside a Star of David]," "Gallery of Jewish Types [illustrated with caricatures]."

The Crusader had guest editorials by Nazis, such as William Pierce, a leader of the National Socialist White Peoples Party (formerly the American Nazi Party). It also quoted from, or promoted, neo-Nazi and anti-Semitic groups and individuals like Ed Fields and the Liberty Lobby's *Spotlight* newspaper.

For those not able to plod through *The Crusader's* genocidally-flavored political tracts, Duke's message was presented through other means.

The Crusader offered cartoons: A black man strolls past a white woman walking a black dog, then looks back. The black man gives a clenched fist salute, and says "Sorry, for a minute I thought he was a brother." . . . A weeping Uncle Sam imprisoned with barbed wire, chains, and a locked medieval metal collar with a Star of David upon it. . . . A hung-over Abraham Lincoln slowly awakening from a binge, asking an aide, "I freed WHAT?!!" . . . A two-paneled feature, reprinted often in *The Crusader*, entitled "WHO RUNS THE MEDIA?" One panel shows a television set depicting ABC, CBS and NBC chained to a ball which sports a Star of David; the second panel shows Uncle Sam sitting in a chair, transformed into a skeleton

¹⁵ Duke, under pseudonyms, also wrote two books. As Mohammed X he wrote *African Atto*, which encouraged blacks to assault whites. He also co-authored *Finderskeepers, Finding and Keeping the Man You Want*. This book suggests vaginal exercises, oral and anal sex techniques, and plastic surgery. A former Duke associate, Karl Hand, has also said that Duke had a "peculiar appetite for pornography . . . dealing almost exclusively with white girls having oral sex with blacks."

¹⁶ *The Crusader* was briefly called *The Klansman* in its first issues.

¹⁷ Written by William Pierce, alleging "Jewish control over American newspapers."

¹⁸ Reminiscent of the same nonsense taught at City College in New York in 1991 by Dr. Leonard Jeffries, Duke's *Crusader's* July 1976 issue explained that "Prior to 1661, all of the Colonies had laws prohibiting slavery. It was in that year that the Jews had become powerful enough to bring about the repeal of these laws, and slavery began in earnest."

Duke and Jeffries may blame Jews for slavery, but they disagree about another issue of race-based analysis: the racial character of ancient Egypt. Jeffries suggests that everything positive in Egyptian history came from black folk, and that Afrocentric history was stolen. He shows pictures of dark-skinned Egyptian pharaohs to "prove" his point. Duke wrote in volume 24 of *NAAWP NEWS* in 1983 that Egypt was "one of the greatest of white civilizations," and that "her glory is now lost . . . in a sea of the inferior." He illustrates his argument with a photo of a mummy of an Egyptian Queen, whose "hair, remarkably well preserved, is very light brown, almost blond."

¹⁹ The article, a reprint from a neo-Nazi publication called *Instauration*, suggests he was of "Proto-Nordic racial origin."

while watching a television imprinted with a Star of David.

The Crusader also offered a crossword puzzle. Clue: "inferior race." (ans: "NEGRO") Clue: "Sambo is rarely _____ for work." (ans: "ONTIME"). Clue: "A Negro in a White community." (ans: BLEMISH)

Duke's *Crusader* ran ads for tear gas, called "Negro control equipment."

And Duke's *Crusader* had a "humor" section:

"Why does Alabama have so many Negroes and New York so many Jews?"

Alabama had first choice.

* * *

Welfare office employee: "I'm sorry Sir, but dogs don't qualify for welfare."

White worker: "Why not? She is black. She never did one thing for society and she sits on her tail all day. She's pregnant to any one of a dozen males and nobody knows who her father is either. In addition, she can't get a job because of discrimination."

* * *

Black: "Would you like to contribute to the Sickle Cell Anemia fund?"

White workingman: "I sure would. Have they found a way for me to give it to all of you?"

The Crusader, like *The Racialist* before it, sold books. It was not only a business for Duke. "Books: Knowledge is Power!" read a colored masthead. There were the same old titles, along with some others, many with editorial descriptions to aid the discriminating shopper: "*The Hoax of the 20th Century* by Butz. "A college professor examines the holocaust." . . . *The Protocols of Zion*. "The Jews claim this is a fraud, but now you can read and judge for yourself." . . . *The New Mythology of Racial Equality* by Campbell. "An informative booklet that examines the effects of coloreds on the world's civilizations."

One book that Duke did not sell was "Roots." In an article he referred to it as "Weeds."

Anti-Semitism was central for Duke and his Klan. *The Crusader* had articles explaining the need for Jew-hatred,²⁰ and Duke's paper offered books for sale that were the standard for Nazis and neo-Nazis, including:

²⁰ In a "Questions and Answer" column in the May, 1977 *Crusader*, the Question posed was "Why is the Klan opposed to the Jews?"

Answer: We are not blanketly opposed to Jews, but we are opposed to many Jews because of what they do.

The Jews are the most racist people on earth. They cannot be faulted for their racism, for they stick together unyieldingly in a fashion we would wish upon our own people. It is only natural for a people to pursue its own interests, but what some people forget is that we, the non-Jewish majority, should have that right too.

Today, in many areas, the U.S. Government is run according to the wishes of a tiny Jewish majority of three percent against the best interests of ninety-seven percent of the American people. A simple illustration of this point is the U.S. Mideast policy. Pro-Israel Mideast policy alienates the once-friendly Arab allies and jeopardizes our importation of important petroleum resources while driving prices upward. A pro-Israel policy pushes our former friends further into the communist orbit seeking help in their struggle to regain their homeland, thus strengthening the nemesis of communism. The pro-Israel policy has stripped our own defenses of vital tactical

Judaism in Music, Plot Against Christianity, The Jews and their Lies, The Myth of the Six Million, The Talmud Unmasked, Did Six Million Really Die?, The International Jew, Mullins History of the Jews, The Original Mr. Jew, Jews Behind Race Mixing, The Hoax of the 20th Century, Herman Goering -- The Man and His Work, Hitler Was My Friend, My Part in Germany's Fight (by Dr. Joseph Goebbels), *The Testament of Adolf Hitler*, and *The Hitler We Loved and Why*.

The genocidal implications of such works were not to be viewed as purely theoretical. Other works Duke offered were: *Unconventional Warfare Devices and Techniques, Incendiaries, Improvised Munitions Handbook, Booby Traps, Field Fortifications, Chemistry of Powder and Explosives, Explosives and Demolitions, and Chemical Magic*.

Duke's fascination with Nazism is a constant that cannot be easily missed or dismissed. In 1975, the *New Orleans States-Item* quoted Duke as saying, again, that Hitler's *Mein Kampf* was "the greatest piece of literature of the 20th Century, " and, accordingly, "I think we should have been fighting with [Germany]. . . ." In 1976 Duke attended a Nationalist Congress. Its agenda was summed up in a speech given by a West German neo-Nazi named Manfred Roeder, who proclaimed that the Third Reich "never surrendered, only their fighting forces were destroyed."

Duke wrote that the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials "violated almost every basic principal of justice." Duke also lamented the death of neo-Nazi George Zapparo in his *Crusader*. Duke reprinted, as a tribute, a letter he received from Zapparo which read: "I learned a long time ago that the man most reviled is usually the man closest to our hearts. Look at many of the great men of history: Galileo, Copernicus, Caesar, Plato, Napoleon, and even our Lord Jesus Christ. And if I may say so, Hitler . . . Did not these powerful, intelligent men have formidable enemies. . . ?"

Duke also invited James Warner (a former National Secretary of the American Nazi Party) to be his "Klan National Information Director." Warner was best known during the late 1970s for publishing a monthly called the *Christian Vanguard* which sold pro-Nazi books, including *Hitler Was My Friend* and *With Hitler On the Road to Power*. Apparently Warner's Nazism endeared him to Duke.

While Grand Wizard of the KKKK, Duke organized a World Nationalist conference. Held in Louisiana in 1976, the group passed a resolution supporting the defeated Nazi government of Germany, and demanded freedom for all Nazi war criminals. During this meeting, Duke was arrested and charged with assaulting a police officer. He was later convicted.

weapons both in Europe and America, and has cost us untold billions in outright aid; money America needs. Finally, our involvement in the Mideast could possibly lead to another Vietnam-type of conflict or even nuclear war, which certainly is not in our interest.

Many Jewish Zionists hold allegiance to Israel before that of the United States. If we did not oppose them, could we be good Americans?

The mass media of America is thoroughly dominated by members of the Jewish community who set their own standards and values upon us, expecting conformity to them.

The mass media always portrays the Jews as a poor, persecuted minority, who, although always innocent, have at some time been expelled from every European nation. Whether the persecution was justified or not, there is no argument as to its occurrence, it did happen. Because of it the Jews as a community evolved stark hatred against the Christian West. Their newspapers, books and other writings consistently reflect a malevolence toward Western ideals, values, and interests. Today, these basically alien people occupy the very nerve centers of our culture -- the mass communication media!

There is no argument against the fact that Jews have been the primary financiers and missionaries of communism, that they brought into being and have directed the major black race-mixing organizations, like the NAACP, that they have dominated the "New Left" revolution occurring right now in the back rooms of government.

Organized Jewry has consistently worked against the West. We have an obligation to resist. While we should not hold innocent Jews in contempt, we cannot close our eyes to the truth. There is a Jewish problem. In the Western world it may just be the most important issue of our time.

Despite all his Klan and neo-Nazi activity, Duke's rising star began crashing in 1979. Bill Wilkinson, the leader of a rival Klan faction, accused Duke of trying to sell the KKKK mailing list for \$35,000. His reputation inside the Klan was falling -- he was seen as an opportunist. Outside the world of hate groups, he was also suffering. His political strategy failed again. Campaigning as a moderate conservative, he ran for the State Senate seat from Metairie, Louisiana, receiving only 26 percent of the vote.

"I thought I would never run for public office again," Duke said,²¹ after this second political defeat. After a few months of reassessment, Duke decided that the Klan image was a hindrance. He resigned, bequeathed the organization to Don Black, his long-time associate, and formed a new organization, the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP).

It was vintage Duke: changing images in order to advance the same hateful neo-Nazi messages.

Duke's new publication, the *NAAWP NEWS*, looked like the old *Crusader* in format. Between 1980 and late 1989 the headlines were toned down a notch or two, but with the same message. From *The Racialist* to *The Crusader*, Duke had changed from "niggers" to "negroes" and "blacks." Now headlines and other notable parts read: "Genocide by School Busing;" "The Tragedy of Integration;" "Illegal Aliens Destroy Los Angeles Neighborhood;" "The White Race: An Endangered Species?;" "Black Welfare is Bankrupting America;" "Black Drug Cult Terrorizes New York;" "Preserving our Nordic Heritage;" "Professional Boxing: How Blacks Ruined a Once-Great Sport;" "The Most Powerful Minority;" "Plessy vs. Brown;" "Nature vs. Nurture, Twin Studies May Hold the Answer;" "Racial Inequality;" "India, My Racial Odyssey;" "Who Runs the Media?;" "A School Without Blacks;" "A Town Without Whites;" "Black Servicemen Unpopular in West Germany;" "ABOMINATION: Race-mixer gets custody;" "Prophetic Hero . . . Charles A. Lindbergh did all he could to keep America out of WWII;" "Insatiable Israel;" "The Black Plague;" "The Truth About Race;" "The Belated Truth About Black-on-White Crime;" "I Am Your Future -- Color Me Dark;" "The Racial Basis of Poverty;" "A Biological Basis for IQ;" "Civilization [printed in white letters] or Cesspool [printed in black letters];" "Race-mixing: symbol of decadence in a once proud people;" "What do we do about the black birthrate? Stop paying for it;" "Why We Must Support South Africa;" "Apartheid Does Not Go Far Enough For South African Whites;" "Churches Give Sanctuary to Non-White Aliens;" "Aliens Bring Disease;" "The Biology of Race;" "Black Population Bomb Ticks;" "Liberals Fear the Truth About Genetic Research;" "Outlook for America Becomes Dark as Third World People Enter;" "Join the NAAWP now. Do the White Thing;" "The Israeli Assault on the USS Liberty;" "New Hispanic VD Disease;" "Blacks, Jews and CBS to Write Vietnam History Into Primetime" "The Kosher Food Racket Exposed;" "The Difficulty in Mexico Today is With the Genetic Makeup of Its People;" "Michael Dukakis' Wife is a Jew!"

Nazi-like eugenics was still a favorite topic for Duke's *NAAWP NEWS*. It applauded an organization called "The Repository for Germinal Choice," which made "available the sperm of Noble Prize winners and other creative, intelligent people. . . . With innumerable factors working against eugenics and quality in our society, it's good to find something on the side of excellence and intelligence for a change." The sperm banks helped "nature create better people," according to Duke's newspaper. If anyone missed the point, the paper made clear that none of these "better people" could be black. On the same page Duke ran an article about the "genius" Dr. William Shockley, who "proved" that "the intelligence level of blacks was 15 to 20% lower than that of whites."

The David Duke of the 1980s may have shed his Klan costume in favor of three-piece suits, but his message was the same.

²¹ Zatarain, p. 248.

Subscribers to his *NAAWP NEWS* would receive Christmas cards from David Duke. They appropriately depicted what Duke described as a "thoroughly Aryan Santa." Duke's holiday message was "Merry Christmas: And May They Forever Be White."

Through the *NAAWP* one could still buy the books Duke promoted,²² including *Race and Reason*, *The Importance of Race in Civilization*, *Teutonic Unity*, *Our Nordic Race*, *The New Mythology of Racial Equality*, *Why Civilizations Self-Destruct* (described as "The biological basis of social decay."); *New Science of Man* (described as "Quotations for sociobiology."); *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (described as "The most important refutation of the Holocaust ever written. This is the scholarly, intensely documented book that strips away the fraud of the 'Holocaust.'"); *Hitler's Last Testament; Jews Must Live* (described as "A study of Jewish business practices . . ."); *The Holy Book of Adolf Hitler*, (described as "National Socialism as a new religion."); *White Power* (described as Rockwell's "Complete overview of racial question and Jewish issues by the assassinated leader of the Nazi Party."); *Twilight Over England* (described as "The betrayal of England to the International Zionists."); *Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?* (described as "Evidence of the falsity of the Anne Frank Diary."); *Anti-Zion*, (described as "Hundreds of quotes by famous men on the Jewish Question."); *Germany's Hitler*, (described as "Biography of Hitler from birth to Chancellor."); *An Inquiry Concerning Racial Prejudice* (described as "Is racial prejudice the sin we're told it is, or is it a natural defense?"); *Dealing In Hate* (described as "The development of anti-German propaganda."); *The Plot Against Christianity* (described as "Actual excerpts from the Talmud."); and the old standard, *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* (described as "Zionists claim it is a forgery, but it has been uncannily accurate since its publishing in 1905.")

This was, of course, the 1980s. Duke's *NAAWP NEWS* also advertised films and tapes, including *Birth of A Nation*, *Race: A Time For Truth*, *The Jewish Question (Part I)*, *The Jewish Question (Part II)*, *David Duke on Race*, *Charles Lindbergh at Madison Square Garden*, and Nazi films such as *Olympiad I and II*, *Triumph of the Will*, *The Eternal Jew*, and *Jud Suss*. It also offered tapes of George Lincoln Rockwell, the Nazi Party leader: "Rockwell at Brown," "Rockwell vs. the NAACP," "Rockwell vs. Stokely Carmichael," "Rockwell vs. Michael Jackson," "Nazi Rockwell I" and "Nazi Rockwell II." Rockwell was described in the ads as an "extraordinary individual" whose speeches were "powerful" and "dramatic."

Duke's readers could also buy material from other pro-Nazi organizations throughout the 1980s. For instance, Duke sold "The best of *Attack*." *Attack* was published by the neo-Nazi National Vanguard. Duke's paper described *Attack* as "some of the best articles on race and Zionism ever."

The *NAAWP NEWS* also offered its readers the most fashionable of neo-Nazi ideas: Holocaust denial -- the premise of which is that conspiratorial Jews made up the story of the Holocaust in order to gain world sympathy. Duke's paper ran a major story on the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), the premiere Holocaust-denying outfit in the world. While the "NAAWP takes no official stand on the Holocaust," Duke's paper said, the IHR was described as a group "which has published some very convincing facts refuting the supposed Holocaust. . . . The IHR is doing groundbreaking, vital work in its search for historical truth." Not surprisingly, Duke also attended an IHR convention.

Duke's paper also advocated "The National Premise." It argued the United States should be separated into

²² Duke put a disclaimer on some of his issues, saying the books he was selling were "suppressed," and offered not as an endorsement, but as a service to "your right to freely read both sides." But the choice of books, and their descriptions, clearly showed that they were being offered precisely because they supported Duke's neo-Nazi view of the world. Many offerings were the same as those Duke used to promote under the banner "Knowledge is Power."

individual race nations. Indian people would be forced to move to Navahona (Oklahoma); Asians to East Mongolia (Hawaii); Blacks to New Africa (Most of Florida and a strip along the eastern Gulf Coast); Mexicans to Alta California (a strip contiguous to the Mexican border); Jews to West Israel (Long Island and Manhattan); Cubans to New Cuba (Miami and Dade County); French Canadians to Francia (a strip along northern New England); Puerto Ricans, Southern Italians, Greeks, immigrants from the eastern and southern Mediterranean area, and other "unassimilable minorities" to Minoria (New York metro area minus Manhattan and Long Island). "If all this sounds impractical," Duke's paper noted, "we ask our readers to consider the alternatives. If the races are not separated soon, the Majority will have to fight for survival or go under. Already we have lost many of our largest cities. . . . Let blacks control their own area, let whites control theirs. As long as this country is majority white -- and I hope to God that that is so for a long time -- then this country should be run for the values of the white majority."

For those who needed Duke's neo-Nazi message printed in a lighter vein, Duke's newspaper offered cartoons and pictures. Cartoon: Black man with Afro, boom-box on his shoulder, saying, "I be mugging 12 percent more honkies each year to keep up with inflation." The same cartoon ran in a later edition with this caption: "It ain't de charges of racial differences dat bother me. It's de proof."

A photograph of a white baby crying, over a caption: "By the time he's out of high school his race may have run out of time. Join the NAAWP."

A photograph of young white woman with the caption: "This white woman has a 1 in 7 chance of being raped during her lifetime by a Negro."

A photograph of a young black man whose body was grotesquely twisted, captioned: "The missing link? No, missing Ronnie MaGee, 14, who hangs upside down by a trapped leg in an elevator shaft at a Chicago housing project. . . ."

And a bit of poetry: "White minority, white minority; All the rest gonna be the majority; Gonna breed inferiority; We all gonna die."

DAVID DUKE AND ELECTORAL POLITICS

David Duke was not a well known figure outside his Klan and neo-Nazi circle for most of the 1980s. Despite Duke's KKKK wizardry and media savvy, the general decline of the Klan in the 1980s was reflected in his own low profile.

That changed in 1987. Duke and a group of white supremacists went to Forsyth County, Georgia, to block a civil rights march. Duke, wearing a button reading "Keep Forsyth White," yelled to a frenzied crowd that he supported the right "to live in communities without the black plague of crime, murder, and terror of our citizens." Duke was arrested and convicted for parading without a permit. He raised \$20,000 for his legal defense. He was fined \$50.00. According to the Louisiana Coalition, "the balance of the funds are unaccounted for."

By the end of 1987 Duke had another plan to raise funds and spread his message. A lifelong Democrat, Duke decided he would run for president in 1988. He envisioned himself as a white counterpart to Jesse Jackson, debating this "Black racist" on behalf of white folk -- "anti-White discrimination, minority plague of violent crime, destruction of their schools through forced integration and busing, the massive non-White immigration that causes crime, takes jobs, and that will one day leave us an oppressed minority in our own nation." His platform would be against "a welfare system that only rewards illegitimacy and spawns

increasing numbers of welfarites who inevitably . . . produce more illegitimate offspring." On foreign policy, Duke would be for "our true friend in Africa," South Africa. For health care, it would be to control AIDS by "a return to rigidly segregated blood supplies. It has been established that Black blood is at least ten times more likely to be contaminated as White blood."

Duke wanted to be part of the presidential debates. Democratic National Committee Chairman Paul Kirk would not even let Duke into DNC headquarters. Duke might have a legal right to call himself a Democrat, but Kirk termed Duke's campaign "a fraud and a sham on the political process."

Because he was shunned by the Democrats -- who refused to allow him to participate in the presidential debates²³ -- Duke did not have the visibility needed to get on the thirty-three state ballots necessary for federal matching funds.

Duke hoped to do well in the New Hampshire primary. Michael Dukakis received 44,112 votes, well ahead of Congressman Richard Gephardt of Missouri and Senator Paul Simon of Illinois. Duke managed only 264 votes.

New Hampshire, however, allowed candidates to run for vice president as well. In a small field of unknowns, Duke received 10,531 votes -- nearly 60 percent of the total. But, in the Democratic party's presidential campaign, he was finished.

What Duke's campaign did not attract among the general populace, it made up for among the professional racists and anti-Semites. Ralph Forbes, a former commander of the American Nazi Party, was a leading figure in his campaign. Skinheads, Klansmen, and former Nazi party officials gravitated to him.

Duke's long-time associate, Don Black,²⁴ was on the board of directors of the anti-Semitic Populist Party. He encouraged Duke to run on the Populist Party line. Duke agreed.

The Populists promoted him and his vice presidential candidate, Bo Gritz,²⁵ with a half-million dollars.

Duke spent much of his campaign time on talk radio, with only minimal television coverage. He aired one thirty-minute program, during which he argued that "Zionist PACS have long ago bought Bush and Dukakis," that the banking system (which he believes is controlled by Jews) should be reestablished so that it would "be committed only to the people of the United States and their welfare," and that "foreign aid and military assistance must be based solely on the direct interests of the majority of the American people. We should review our Mideast policy and make it more evenhanded so that our economic and strategic interests are served, rather than [those] of the tiny minority that has such excessive influence in the media and in government." He also argued that sanctions against South Africa be lifted, in order to benefit "our kindred people."

Duke, of course, lost the election. But he had succeeded in getting his message of hate to millions through

²³ Duke filed suit to be allowed to participate in a New Orleans presidential debate. The suit was filed too late, however, and the debate went on without him.

²⁴ After Duke and his wife Chloe divorced, she and Don Black married. Duke and Chloe had two daughters, Erika and Kristin.

²⁵ Gritz is a Vietnam Vet about whom the film character Rambo is allegedly based. Gritz is the Populist Party Presidential nominee for 1992. During the Gulf War crisis in 1991, Gritz tried to bring extreme left groups under his extreme right wing banner. The "bridge" issue was hatred for Israel.

the electoral process. On Super Tuesday he received 42,778 votes in eleven states -- 23,000 of which came from Louisiana. It was only a matter of time until he would run again.

Duke, who later commented "Republican and Democrat to me means nothing. And if it means something, we're in trouble," switched to the Republican party. He then announced his intention to run in 1989 in Louisiana's open primary²⁶ for the 81st District State Representative seat.

True to his two prior attempts at Louisiana politics, Duke changed his rhetoric to that of a moderate conservative. He used buzz words, and campaigned on a platform against affirmative action, welfare spending, and increased taxes.

The Louisiana media focused primarily on Duke's Klan activities in the 1970s. Duke, in response, noted that he left the Klan in 1979. Few members of the media mentioned Duke's neo-Nazi views, activities, and associations in the 1980s.

Duke's primary opponents did not consider him a serious threat. Polls showed Duke way behind. But Duke's style and oratory were better than any of his opponents. He also had polished his message of playing to white economic fears through soft-peddled appeals to racism. According to Zatarain, many Louisiana politicians were "afraid to speak out on the specific issues of poverty and crime because they fear they might be labeled racists, something that has never bothered Duke. He was actually able to use his Klan past to advantage in the election. People who might never have considered voting for Duke were now listening to him denigrate affirmative action and minority set-aside programs, as well as promote his plans to reduce the illegitimate birthrate by rewarding welfare mothers who practice birth control."

Duke was also lucky. Five days before the primary, on January 16, 1989, a near riot occurred during a Martin Luther King Day parade. TV images were those of blacks chasing and assaulting whites. Some Louisiana political experts suggest Duke paid some black youths to create the ruckus. Duke won 33 percent of the vote in a field of seven. John Treen came in second, with 19 percent.

The February runoff between Duke and Treen was a clash in styles. Duke was the consummate campaigner. Treen was not. Duke was lucky. Treen was not.

Mordechai Levy, head of the violence-prone, New York-based Jewish Defense Organization, went to Louisiana to speak out against Duke. Levy hates anti-Semites, but lacks the political sophistication to think beyond feeling good about venting his rage. It showed.

Levy insulted Louisiana voters, coming in as an outsider, telling them how they "had to vote" under threat of violence. Duke was given extra media time -- prime time -- to respond to Levy's charges. Levy's performance made "David Duke look like a saint," according to the Treen campaign.

Levy's final unintended assist to Duke came during a television interview on the 5:00 pm news. Levy mistakenly thought the camera and microphone had been turned off. The voters in the 81st district heard Levy describe them as "asshole-idiot white devils."

Duke won 8,459 votes to Treen's 8,232, 51 percent to 49 percent, a margin of 227. Without Levy's help, Duke might have lost.

²⁶ Louisiana allows members of political parties (both officially endorsed candidates and others) and independents to run in an "open primary." If no candidate receives a majority, the two top finishers run against each other in the general election.

Even with the official title of State Representative, Duke continued working toward his neo-Nazi goals. In March, 1989, he attended a Populist Party meeting in Chicago. He shook hands with Art Jones, a leading Nazi. He told this collection of Skinheads and neo-Nazis and Klansmen that he won this election "for you."

What Duke did not know was that newly elected Republican State Committeewoman Beth Rickey had followed him to the Populist Party meeting. She was aghast. Here was the most recently elected Republican in Louisiana meeting with a group of Nazis, saying he "did it" for them.

Rickey released the story in Louisiana. Duke denied knowing Jones. His denial was proved to be a lie. He apologized to his colleagues in the Louisiana House.

But Rickey was not satisfied. She sent a friend into Duke's legislative office in March, 1989, after hearing that Duke was still selling Nazi books. The report was correct. Rickey was able to buy *Mein Kampf* (not just any edition, the Hitler enthusiast's edition), Holocaust-denying books, and *The Turner Diaries*. Although it is hard to choose between them, the sale of *The Turner Diaries* is probably the most troubling.

Written by William Pierce, a former leader of the American Nazi Party and long-time contributor to Duke's newspapers, the book is a fictionalized account of a white supremacist takeover of the United States. "If the White nations of the world had not allowed themselves to become subject to the Jew, to Jewish ideas, to the Jewish spirit," Pierce wrote, "this [revolution] would not be necessary. . . . [w]e had chance after chance to save ourselves -- most recently . . . when the Germans and the Jews were locked in struggle for the mastery of central and eastern Europe."

The book, with ghoulish glee, details how a small group called The Order takes over the government, and in the process cuts, slashes, shoots, poisons, radiates, eviscerates, and hangs from lampposts anyone who is non-Aryan. It refers to Hitler as "the Great One" and speaks of "the dream of a White world finally [become] a reality."

In the 1980s a real life neo-Nazi group in the Pacific Northwest fashioned itself after "the Order," using *The Turner Diaries* as a blueprint. It robbed banks. It counterfeited. And it murdered Denver talk radio host Alan Berg.

State Representative David Duke sold *The Turner Diaries* from his legislative office in 1989. Was this Duke's real vision for America? He had also sold the book through his *NAACP NEWS*, with the description "Novel of white revolution, race war . . . Gripping."

Duke finished his first year as a legislator in July, 1989. From the point of view of passing legislation, he was a flop. He introduced ten bills on race-related issues. All failed. Yet, according to the Louisiana Coalition, Duke succeeded "in shifting the house agenda to legislation which targets blacks."

He also failed to convert his nemesis, Beth Rickey, into a supporter. Duke took her to lunch, and tried to convince her that the Holocaust never happened, that Auschwitz was a rubber factory, that Nazi Rudolf Hess should have received the Nobel Peace prize, that Dr. Mengele was a scientific genius. Beth Rickey -- whose father had been among the liberators of Dachau -- left lunch feeling ill.

In November, 1989, Duke announced his plans to run for the United States Senate in 1990.

On December 7, 1989, Beth Rickey and her newly formed Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism (created to oppose Duke) released more proof that Duke still believed in Nazism. Just one week beforehand, Abby Kaplan, a Tulane student, interviewed David Duke in his legislative office, pretending she

wanted to form a Tulane group supporting Duke's agenda. Kaplan, shocked by what she heard, gave her taped interview to the Coalition.

About Hitler's racial theories, Duke said "the idea that races are different I would agree with. [There are] genetic differences between races. . . . I do believe in racial science." Specifically, he believed that blacks, through inheritance, "have more of a tendency to act in anti-social ways." He still believed in eugenics, and suggested "a low-interest loan program . . . [to] the top 10 percent graduates of the universities . . . to [encourage them to] have children." David Duke on pluralism?: "There's only one country anymore that's all white, and that's Iceland, and Iceland is not enough."

David Duke was still a Nazi. He even had, working on his staff, a man named John Nugent, who was not only a neo-Nazi, but also had translated a story entitled "The Voice of Our Ancestors" for the *National Vanguard*, a neo-Nazi publication. According to the *National Vanguard*, the story had first been published "at the behest of . . . Heinrich Himmler," and had been "on the list of recommended reading for the SS."

David Duke was still a Nazi working with Nazis. But the message was not coming across. Despite the best efforts of Beth Rickey and the Louisiana Coalition, the media was not telling the full story of David Duke. Even on national television, interviewers were ill prepared. They would ask Duke a soft-ball question about his past. He would dismiss his behavior as a "youthful indiscretion," say he now believes in "equal rights for everyone," sugarcoat his race-tinged issues, and come away looking clean, respectable, and polished. The interviewers could easily have showed that Duke's belief in Nazism was not a one-time indiscretion, but a lifelong pattern, and that his concept of "equal rights" is inextricably wedded to his belief that races are inherently different, and that white folk cannot survive in a pluralistic society.

The national Republican party, through Lee Atwater, denounced Duke, but the local Republican party was not as forthcoming. They saw Duke appealing to the voters with his message of hate and economic scapegoating. They were afraid they'd lose support if they took Duke on directly. The national party should have stepped in behind the scenes, and helped empower local officials to speak out. It didn't.

Duke almost became a United States Senator. He won 44 percent of the total vote, and 60 percent of the white vote, losing to J. Bennett Johnston.

Most recently, in November, 1991, Duke ran for Governor, coming in second in the primary, and losing to Edwin Edwards with 39 percent of the vote in the general election, and 55 percent of the white vote.

Duke lost the governorship because, finally, the media listened to the facts, and showed Duke for the Nazi that he was. It even interviewed former Nazi colleagues of Duke, documenting that he celebrated Hitler's birthday with ice cream, cake, and a few "Sieg Heils" until the late 1980s. The troubling thing was that voters did not reject him because he was a Nazi, but because having a Nazi governor would not be good for business. Duke succeeds in merging two emotional buttons around what are called "wedge" issues. He combines an appeal to race hatred with a call for economic betterment. Whether on affirmative action or welfare, Duke says to whites that blacks are hurting them economically. That message works well during a recession. But the business community's fear of loss of conventions and other income drove a wedge between Duke's twin issues. There was an economic downside to blaming blacks. That was enough to cost Duke the election.

DAVID DUKE IN 1992

Many people believe that Duke will run in the Republican primaries for President. He will have nothing to lose, and everything to gain. He will be able to spread his message, attract supporters, increase his

computerized mailing list. He might even become eligible for federal matching funds. Duke would not expect to win. But he would expect to bring his issues into the fray, and perhaps bring delegates, especially from southern primaries, to the Republican National Convention.²⁷

The strategy that worked against Duke in the governor's race could not be replicated. The fear of economic boycott would not be applicable to a national election. Duke could argue race-tinged economic issues to white voters without fear of having his twin emotional issues divorced from each other again.

Duke also creates problems for President George Bush. Bush, and Ronald Reagan before him, also used racial wedge issues. The difference, of course, is that Bush and Reagan used the issues to attract white voters through fear so that they could win an election; Duke uses the issues as a sword for his National Socialist ideals. President Bush may have reservations about the need for and wisdom of affirmative action. But he does not believe, as Duke does, that blacks are genetically inferior to whites.²⁸ And while President Bush understands that affirmative action exists to counter real life, present day racism against blacks, Duke's life work is to promote racism. Ultimately, President Bush and both political parties, regardless of their disagreements on affirmative action, want a level playing field for all people. Most mainstream politicians recognize that racism leaves many Americans disadvantaged. Duke sees the *status quo* of racism as the level playing field, because he believes racism is justified by genetics.

How these issues will play out during the campaign is anyone's guess. But the matter is not being made any clearer by partisan politicians who are gloating about how Duke will disrupt the Republican campaign. Certainly, George Bush's use of race-tinged messages in 1988, especially the Willie Horton ad, caused more than one Democrat to kick the Republicans while they are down, gagging on Duke's recent success. But as deplorable as the 1988 tactics were, it only clouds the issue of Duke's purpose and agenda to minimize the real distinctions between President Bush and David Duke. David Duke is a Nazi. President Bush is not.

Perhaps, this time around, the media will be more prepared to expose Duke. Too often he is asked only one question about his Nazi agenda, and he gives his stock answers. For example, when asked about the Nazi books he sold from his legislative office, he sometimes flippantly explains it as "old stock," and at others wraps himself in the First Amendment, suggesting that because he sold unpopular books doesn't mean he agreed with them. But the fact of the matter is that he did agree with them. His descriptions of the books in his newspapers proved the point. The media need to do their homework on David Duke -- especially in those primary states where they are encountering Duke for the first time.

Also, many tax-exempt, non-profit organizations would be more than willing to help educate the voters and the media about the real David Duke and his program, and explain that even though people can have honest disagreements about affirmative action and other social issues, Duke's agenda is not about how to end discrimination against anyone, but rather how to promote bigotry against those who are, to him, not sufficiently white. Because of Internal Revenue Codes and Federal Election Laws, however, tax-exempt organizations cannot become involved in political campaigns. If the laws were changed to allow a voice to

²⁷ Old issues of Duke's *Crusader* show that his electoral goals have not changed. He considered running for president in 1980. Duke's paper commented: "Whether he takes one delegate or 800 to the Democratic convention, the race will give him and the Klan a tremendous platform to bring the message to the American people. . . . The campaign will provide a sounding board for the vital issues facing America including the illegal alien immigration problem, anti-White discrimination, the high taxes and inflation caused by massive minority welfare programs, forced integration, and foreign policy, including the pro-Zionist, anti-American and old Mideast policy now being pursued by the government. . . . The idea being . . . to begin building a political power base for stronger efforts in 1984 and 1988."

²⁸ Duke sometimes denies that he thinks blacks are inferior to whites. He explains that he wouldn't say that worms are inferior to horses either -- worms are better for fishing.

the millions of Americans who belong to tax-exempt organizations such as the American Jewish Committee, which exist to fight anti-Semitism and bigotry, more light would be shed on David Duke.

It is going to be especially difficult for these groups to remain silent during a Duke presidential run. New issues of Duke's bigotry will arise, especially concerning Duke's foreign policy ideas, which were not well examined in his Louisiana races. His historically vitriolic anti-Israel position comes from his anti-Semitism and Nazism, and can become a major problem if the Middle East peace conference overlaps with his presidential bid.

Despite the restrictions on national tax-exempt organizations, certain individuals may also have more of an impact during a Duke presidential campaign. There was only a small group of Holocaust survivors in Louisiana. There are still many survivors around the country. Confrontations with Holocaust survivors make Duke nonplussed.

An *Esquire* reporter followed Duke during his 1989 campaign for Senator. She reported the following interaction at a symposium on racism at a local radio station, where Duke was one of the speakers:

A diminutive woman signaled Duke to come talk. Thinking she was a potential constituent, he scooted over and crouched behind her.

"You don't remember me, do you, Mr. Duke?" Her smile was thin. "My name is Ann Levy. I was in the Warsaw Ghetto and the concentration camps." Duke blanched. "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 could you?"

Duke stood, fumbling in his pockets, and came up with a scrap of paper. Ann Levy stood too, her voice rising. Heads turned and the room buzzed. Duke headed for the door, mumbling that he needed to make a phone call. The symposium resumed, sans Duke.

Ten minutes later he returned. He looked flushed, though little splotches of white marred his cheeks. He avoided eye contact and seemed to breathe in little gasps. He picked at his briefcase. Finally he lowered his head, as if trying to clear it. Five minutes later, as the symposium was ending, he stood and asked for the mike. . . .

Duke talked all about the boys who'd died for "this great country." His words revived him. He got a big hand, but looked around for Ann Levy, and when he saw her ready to pounce again, he picked up his briefcase and hurried for the door.

Ann Levy followed, her face set:

"Mr. Duke! Mr. Duke! Why will you not answer my questions? How can you say the Holocaust did not exist?"

Duke descended the curving staircase, and Ann Levy was standing above him, all four feet eleven inches of her. Duke paused on the bottom step.

"Because I believe in freedom of speech, dear," he yelled over his shoulder. He didn't even turn his head. He kept going. . . .

A week later I brought up Ann Levy and his abrupt departure.

"Anytime anybody says anything negative to you, it hurts," Duke said.

"But I've seen you in action in the legislature," I said, "handling all of those black representatives; and you were a regular Panzer tank earlier at the symposium. You wouldn't let anyone get a word in. Why run away from a little old lady?"

"I didn't run away!" Duke said. "I had to make a call."

"You looked like you were hyperventilating. You've answered these Nazi literature charges a thousand times. What was it about her?"

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?"

"The Zionists sent her to Baton Rouge?"

"Yes! And they sent her to harass me at the symposium!"

"Listen, Dave, I talked to her. She lives around here. She says she was on her way to pick up groceries when she heard you on the radio and decided to drive over."

"They sent her! It's the Jews! You either know about them or you don't."

When Duke encounters Holocaust survivors he becomes disoriented because it strips his National Socialism to its bare essentials. Despite his explanations and disclaimers, Duke honestly believes that the Holocaust is a hoax, made up by evil, conspiratorial Jews. Even a diminutive older woman who says "I was there" throws him, because, in his eyes, she must be a part of this evil conspiracy. David Duke can tap dance around his Nazism with reporters. What can he say to a survivor?

Such confrontations are more likely during a presidential campaign. With television cameras close by Duke, the reality of his Nazism might be captured by the human drama of Duke meeting a survivor.

After the presidential convention, Duke is likely to run for a seat in the United States House of Representatives in the fall of 1992. There are two districts he is said to have identified, either of which lacks the black voter base that denied him both a Senate seat and a governor's chair. Chances are, this time next year, David Duke will be a newly elected member of the United States House of Representatives, with a national platform and a constituency back home that will be tickled pink to see its congressman all over the airwaves.

Between now and then both political parties must develop a more sophisticated approach to Duke and the other potential Dukes around. The White House did the right thing by disowning him during the recent gubernatorial race. But it showed its lack of clear vision when White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater was asked if a Governor Duke would be invited to the White House with the other 49 governors if he won. Fitzwater said they had not thought of that. They had better think of that. What will they do with a Representative David Duke? Will people in both parties say today that they will find him anathema -- they won't associate with him, won't sign onto his legislation, won't let him sign onto theirs, and will simply let him sit by himself in the corner of Congress with his dunce/Klan hat? Leaders must say clearly

that hatred and bigotry will not be tolerated. David Duke has a political future, and the leaders must plan for it and speak out about it now, not just after the fact. Leadership against bigotry is essential.

Just as basic is a commitment to realizing that we, as a human race, have never come to grips with ideas of prejudice and diversity and anti-Semitism. People throughout history have always divided themselves up and found reasons to hate others. It is happening in Europe today. It is happening here. America holds the best promise of any society for overcoming this most disastrous tendency in human history that afflicts us all, but holds especial dangers for Jews and racial minorities.

Look at all the things we demand the state teach our children in school so that they can become productive citizens. How to read. How to count. How to think. How to reject the societal evil of drugs. Even, in some places, how to use a condom properly. We don't, however, demand that schools teach communal literacy, how to live with each other without hating each other, how to reject stereotypes, how to avoid being taken in by hatemongers like David Duke.

That hundreds of thousands of people think of David Duke as a hero and savior should stir us to action. Combatting bigotry, anti-Semitism and intergroup hatred are issues that go well beyond economics and poverty, beyond Republican and Democrat. As we approach the year 2000, what are we as a society going to do about the personal hurt, economic disruption, and potential political upheaval fueled by issues of race and bigotry? David Duke has thought this through and has an answer. Our government, our political parties, our schools, our clergy, and we as human beings must have an answer as well.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

HEADQUARTERS
Institute of Human Relations
165 E. 56th Street
New York, NY 10022
212 751-4000

**GOVERNMENT AND
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**
2027 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20036
202 265-2000

ISRAEL
16 King George Street
Jerusalem, Israel 91014
22 88 62/23 35 51

AREA OFFICES

ATLANTA
One Securities Ctr. #1310
3490 Piedmont Rd. NE
Atlanta, GA 30305
404 233-5501
BALTIMORE
829 Munsey Bldg.
7 No Calvert St.
Baltimore, MD 21202
301 539-4777
BOSTON
One Lincoln Plaza, #316
Boston, MA 02111
617-330-9678
BUFFALO
3407 Delaware Ave.
Kenmore, NY 14217
716 877-6234
CHICAGO
55 E. Jackson Blvd. #1870
Chicago, IL 60604
312 663-5500
CINCINNATI
105 W. Fourth Street #1008
Cincinnati, OH 45202
513 621-4020
CLEVELAND
625 Hanna Bldg.
Cleveland, OH 44115
216 781-6035
DALLAS
12890 Hillcrest Rd. #103
Dallas, TX 75230
214 387-2943
DENVER
300 S. Dahlia, Rm. 201
Denver, CO 80222
303 320-1742
DETROIT
163 Madison Ave.
Detroit, MI 48226
313 965-3353
HOUSTON
2600 SW Freeway, #714
Houston, TX 77098
713 524-1133
KANSAS CITY
2200 W. 75th Street #218
Prairie Village, KS 66208
913 236-8313
LONG ISLAND
165 E. 56th Street
New York, NY 10022
212 751-4000
LOS ANGELES
6505 Wilshire Blvd. #315
Los Angeles, CA 90048
213 655-7071
MIAMI
3000 Biscayne Blvd. #412
Miami, FL 33137
305 576-4240
MILWAUKEE
759 N. Milwaukee Street
Milwaukee, WI 53202
414 291-2140

MINNEAPOLIS/ST. PAUL
17515 Wayzata Blvd. #201
Minneapolis, MN 55426
612 545-7001
NEW JERSEY
303 Millburn Avenue
Millburn, NJ 07041
201 379-7844
NEW YORK
165 E. 56th Street
New York, NY 10022
212 751-4000
ORANGE COUNTY
1100 Main Street, #D1
Irvine, CA 92714
714 660-8525
PHILADELPHIA
1616 Walnut St. #2106
Philadelphia, PA 19103
215 732-4000
PHOENIX
3443 N. Central Ave. #906
Phoenix, AZ 85012
602 248-8845
PITTSBURGH
300 S. Craig, #224
Pittsburgh, PA 15213
412 683-7927
PORTLAND
1220 SW Morrison #930
Portland, Oregon 97205
503 295-6761
ST. LOUIS
7750 Clayton Rd. #103
St. Louis, MO 63117
314 647-2519
SAN DIEGO
8950 Villa LaJolla Dr. #2210
LaJolla, CA 92037
619 546-8777
SAN FRANCISCO
121 Steuart Street
San Francisco, CA 94105
415 777-3820
SARASOTA/TAMPA
12902 A National Drive
Tampa, FL 33617
813 985-9145
SEATTLE
1411 Joseph Vance Bldg.
1402 Third Avenue
Seattle, WA 98101
206 622-6315
SOUTH CENTRAL FLORIDA
900 N. Federal Highway
Boca Raton, Florida 33432
407 368-0499
WASHINGTON D.C.
2027 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20036
202 265-2000
WESTCHESTER
235 Mamaroneck Avenue
White Plains, NY 10605
914 948-5585

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022-2746

December, 1991

Single copy \$2.00
Quantity prices on request