

This Issue in Three Sections

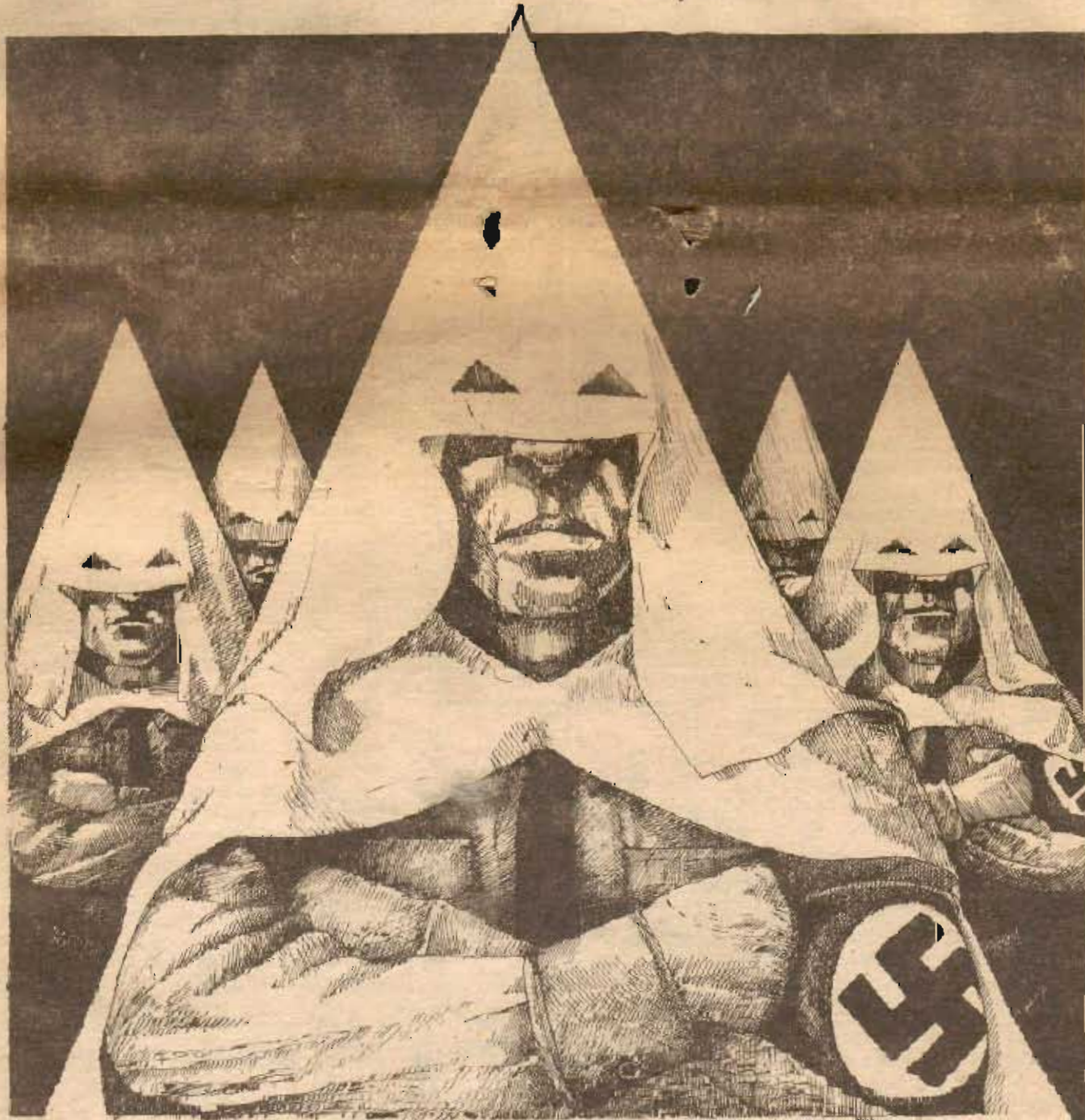
READER

Friday, June 27, 1986 Volume 15, No. 29

CHICAGO'S FREE WEEKLY

WHITE, RIGHT, AND LOOKING FOR A FIGHT

*Has Chicago been targeted by a
new alliance of white supremacists?*



*Illustration by
Kurt Mitchell*

By Chip Berlet.

As the 150 antiracist marchers turned the corner onto Belmont last Saturday they couldn't hear the cadence that was being called in gruff military fashion, but they could see a line of eight camouflage-clad neo-Nazis marching up the opposite sidewalk.

A handful of police, far too few to adequately control the tense situation, positioned themselves between the two

groups, but the marchers surged toward the eight young men wearing swastika armbands. The police tried to push the crowd away. Scuffles broke out. Arrests were made from among the angry, chanting demonstrators. The police escorted the Nazis safely back to their station wagon.

It wasn't the first time this type of confrontation has taken place on Chicago's streets. Last fall, the first "Paint Out Racist Graffiti" demonstration

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Council on Urban Affairs, the Chicago Covenant, and the American Jewish Congress, have held meetings to discuss the growth of organized racist and anti-Jewish activity in the Chicago area. A report on Illinois hate groups by the traditionally cautious Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith warns of "new disturbing developments and linkages."

Lorenzo Chew, director of the Chicago Police Department's Neighborhood Relations Division, is watching the situation with concern. He, too, is keeping a growing list of violent, racially motivated incidents in Chicago. He is aware that a new coalition of white supremacist groups is targeting Chicago-area teenagers. He recently told an audience at a north-shore temple that "not enough is being done to counter these groups. They are preaching violence to 16-year-olds who are watching movies like *Rambo*. One of these days their fantasies are going to carry them away..."

This weekend, Chicago's new coalition of white racists is preparing to test its theories of grass-roots support and media manipulation. The Illinois Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the America First Committee have mailed to their constituents a flier announcing the "1986 Klan Krosstown Klassic." Scheduled are two rallies:

"A White Pride Rally on the south side of Chicago in historic *Marquette Park* on Saturday, June 28th at 71st and Sacramento... at 2:00 PM.

"An Anti-queer Rally on the north side of Chicago in *Lincoln Park* to protest Gay Pride Week on Sunday, June 29th at 2:00 PM."

The flier is emblazoned with an American flag waving over the heading "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan." The bottom bears a heading "Klan on the March!" The slogan is "Racial Purity is America's Security."

An ironic footnote reads: "The Illinois Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is a White Christian and Patriotic Fraternal Order of the Fifth Era, which is not anti-Catholic."

The rallies are being built by a coalition with direct ties to the militant and racist Aryan Nations network, based in Hayden Lake, Idaho. Coalition members meet regularly around Chicago and several times a year at regional white-supremacist gatherings in Cohoetah, Michigan, where tactics are discussed. The retooled or "fifth era" Klan, along with many other white racist groups, has embraced a philosophy of hate built around a pseudoreligion called Christian Identity.

"Identity is based on the premise that the Jews are literally children of Satan—the seed of Cain—that people of color are 'pre-Adamic' mud people—God's failures before perfecting

Adam—and that white Christian Aryans are the 'lost sheep of the house of Israel'—God's chosen people—and therefore America is the biblical promised land," explains Lenny Zeskind, research director of the Center for Democratic Renewal (CDR).

The center, known formerly as the National Anti-Klan Network, is based in Atlanta, but Zeskind lives and works out of Kansas City, Missouri. "Some Identity members have begun to collect weapons and ammunition in expectation that the biblical 'end-times' are near," warns Zeskind.

Identity adherents believe Jews, blacks, Communists, homosexuals, and "race-traitors" have seized control of the United States. They refer to Washington, D.C., as the Zionist Occupational Government (ZOG). They read William Pierce's novel *The Turner Diaries*—published by the National Alliance, which Pierce heads—in which an underground white army leads a revolution against ZOG.

"Identity theology binds together a number of previously isolated groups," says Zeskind. "Important sections of the Ku Klux Klan, the neo-Nazi movement, the Posse Comitatus, the Aryan Nations, and other groups have adopted Identity theology."

Built around notions of white supremacy, a loosely knit network of organizations and individuals in the Chicago area has developed into what we at Midwest Research—the place where I work, it's a small, independent research foundation devoted to monitoring the Right—call the "white racist alliance." This alliance coordinates its activities with other racist groups in Illinois and throughout the midwest, as well as parts of the south, west, and Pacific northwest.

Identity is the glue. Coalition is the process. It's a new phase for the Klan and Nazis; they talk of learning from their mistakes and reaching out with new tactics and slogans. Zeskind and others from the Center for Democratic Renewal have visited Chicago several times in the past year. They've come to study Identity, because Identity has come to Chicago—Identity supporters are organizing in Chicago high schools, among street gangs, and in newly integrated neighborhoods.

These new racist ideologues think Chicago is a good place to organize the white revolution. They have said as much in their regional meetings, where they have discussed their plans in detail. The public campaign to win the hearts and minds of white Chicagoans starts Saturday in Marquette Park. The racists have been laying the groundwork for over a year. Almost no one has paid any attention.

Not long ago, there would be no more than one or two racial incidents a year in and around Chicago involv-

WHITE RIGHT

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called by the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee was attacked by another racist group—a coalition of the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazis that is planning two demonstrations this weekend in Chicago.

The popular view is that these are just hostile "extremist" groups battling it out on the streets of Chicago. Few people pay any attention to the charges by John Brown spokespersons that for the past year a wave of racist and anti-Jewish incidents has swept Chicago. The militancy of the John Brown Committee is used as an excuse to ignore their detailed press releases listing attacks, firebombings, and even murders. Last week the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee and the Ad Hoc

Committee Against Racist Violence placed a full-page ad in the *Reader* announcing last weekend's march to "stamp out racist graffiti" and a plan to "oppose the Klan & Nazis on Gay Pride Day" June 29 in Lincoln Park, where a Klan-sponsored antigay rally has been scheduled. Police say they will be better prepared for the Lincoln Park confrontation, and for another Klan-sponsored rally in Marquette Park on June 28.

While most Chicago media report the clashes between antiracist demonstrators and white supremacist groups as sports events, a number of mainstream groups, such as the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, the American Jewish Committee, the National Lawyers Guild, the Jewish

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ing organized right-wing groups. During the past 24 months, Midwest Research has counted about one a month. Meanwhile, according to *Chicago Reporter* studies published the past two Januarys, the number of random racially motivated incidents of violence or harassment also was climbing. Racial incidents logged by the Chicago Police Department this year are running 58 percent ahead of the number reported last year.

These include street assaults, death threats, attacks on persons and property, and firebombings, as well as graffiti painting. They range from the defacement with swastikas of a synagogue on West Foster to an assault on two gay men by persons who gave the Nazi salute when arrested, to the firebombing and swastika defacement of a Marquette Park two-flat recently occupied by blacks.

There are probably fewer than 70 hard-core white racist alliance participants in the Chicago area, but their potential for inciting racial hatred and provoking confrontations exceeds their numbers. Incidents and activities in

the Chicago area that have involved members of the white racist alliance include the following:

- A cross burning in 1984 on Chicago's north side. It involved street gang members and the Ku Klux Klan;
- An angry mob scene near the Chicago/Cicero border in 1984 after non-whites moved into a previously all-white neighborhood known as the "Island." At least one member of the racist America First Committee was observed inciting the crowd;
- A dramatic increase in the appearance of racially offensive and anti-Jewish graffiti, stickers, fliers, and publications in the Chicago neighborhoods of Uptown, Lakeview, Lincoln Park, and Marquette Park;
- The opening of the Old Sarge PX, a Cicero military surplus store that is, in fact, the headquarters of the American Nazi Party and a meeting place for racists and neo-Nazis;
- The establishment in a Chicago suburb of a remote-access racist computer terminal Bulletin Board System (BBS). It's tied to the Klan-Aryan Nations Liberty Network of BBSes,

which can be contacted by anyone with a computer attached to a phone line through an inexpensive device called a modem;

- The shooting death of a teenager, Kevin Zornes, by a member of a racist street gang, and the murder of an older black man allegedly by a member of a gang known for racial threats;

• Harassment of and assaults on interracial and gay couples at Chicago-area punk and rock nightclubs by adherents to a philosophy called "romantic violence" that began as a British neo-fascist phenomenon. They constitute only a small fraction of the Chicago punk-rock scene. One group that espouses romantic violence is called Chicago Area Skin Heads. Their band is called "The Final Solution";

- Harassment of, assaults and attacks on, and death threats issued to, black and interracial couples, and organizers of multiracial organizations in Uptown—by alleged members of the white-racist Rebels and Gaylords street gangs;

• Counter-picketing an anti-apartheid protest at the South African

Consulate; demonstrating against a forum calling for racial harmony and commemorating the Nazi genocide of Jews and slaughter of political dissidents, Gypsies, homosexuals, and others; and assaulting antiracist demonstrators at Aetna Plaza in Lincoln Park—all in a three-day period in September 1985;

• Disrupting a meeting of the multiracial Southwest Community Congress in Marquette Park last January;

• Picketing a Black History Month exhibit at the Museum of Science and Industry and demonstrating outside an antiracist meeting in Lakeview—both last February.

Over the past several years there have been a number of meetings involving representatives from constituent groups of the white racist alliance and their supporters. The first such meeting we are aware of was held in 1982 in Grayslake, Illinois. It was attended by representatives of over one dozen like-minded organizations

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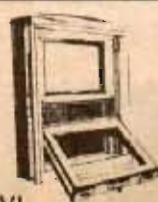
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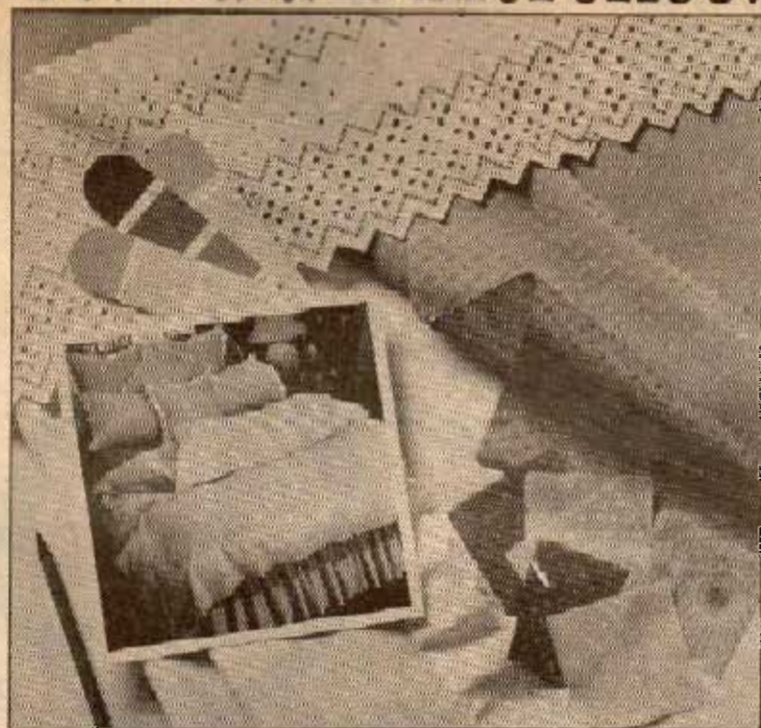
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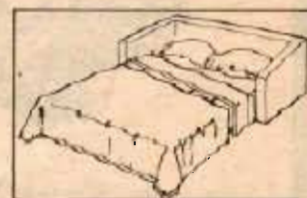
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WHITE RIGHT

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— ranging from the tiny and notorious, such as the National Socialist White People's Party, to the tiny and obscure, the ASP Christian Defense Force (of southeast Wisconsin) and the Euro-American Alliance (of Milwaukee) being examples.

The Gravelake meeting was sponsored by Robert Schloneger, who also participated in a similar though smaller November 1985 meeting. According to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, which monitors racist and anti-Semitic groups and individuals, "In 1982 Schloneger came to local attention when he formed a splinter Klan group known as the Order of the Fiery Cross, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Schloneger reportedly mailed notes with the message 'No more fake Holocaust, just Jew extermination' to some 480 Skokie residents in 1983."

On October 12, 1984, an Illinois Klan mailing announced a "private patriotic gathering" at a motel near Midway Airport. Scheduled speakers included Thom Robb, national chaplain of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Art Jones of the America First Committee, and Jim Burford of the American Nazi Party.

In the spring of 1985 the Populist Party held a major meeting in Chicago where the armed and confrontational activities of racist and anti-Jewish groups in rural America were saluted as "heroic." The Populist Party is controlled by the Liberty Lobby, which publishes the *Spotlight*, a weekly

newspaper circulated in the Chicago area. The *Spotlight* claims it is neither anti-Jewish nor neo-Nazi, but just last summer an article in its pages referred to the notorious Waffen SS as a "multinational anti-communist mass movement, which was, in fact, the largest all-volunteer army in history."

While not active participants in the white racist alliance, the Populist Party and Liberty Lobby/*Spotlight* serve as a cheering section and recruitment pool for it.

Last October, white racist alliance members attended an Aryan Nations meeting in Cohoctah. The meeting was hosted by "Pastor" Robert Miles, a former federal prisoner convicted of conspiracy to bomb school buses in Pontiac, Michigan, to prevent racial integration there in the early 1970s. Other nationally known white racist alliance leaders who attended were "Pastor" Richard Butler of Aryan Nations; former California Klan grand dragon Thomas Metzger (who now heads the White American Political Association); and Matt Koehl of the Virginia-based National Socialist White People's Party.

Chicagoans at the Michigan meeting included the America First Committee's Art Jones, who's the ideological leader of the white racist alliance in Chicago, Jim Burford of the American Nazi Party and Old Sarge PX, Ed Novak of the Illinois Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and several as-yet-unidentified younger persons introduced to the audience as from Chicago. Some of the younger Chicagoans were introduced as adherents of the skinhead-oriented romantic violence.

On November 2, 1985, according to the Anti-Defamation League, Klan leader Robert Schloneger hosted a "seminar" at the Holiday Inn-O'Hare. The seminar title was "Problems in the Middle East." Speakers included

Bob Miles, Gordon "Jack" Mohr of the Illinois-based Christian Patriots Defense League's Citizens Emergency Defense System, and Glenn Miller, national director of the White Patriots Party.

The pattern of white racist alliance activity suggests organized plans to violate the civil rights and civil liberties of individuals. To consider the white racist alliance to be solely a law-enforcement problem, however, is to ignore how the noncriminal and constitutionally protected activities of these groups can generate racial hatred and bigotry and encourage others to commit racially motivated acts of violence. This is the looming problem posed by this weekend's "White Pride Rally" in Marquette Park.

It is true that Chicago's white racist alliance enjoys the support of few people. It would be a mistake, however, to count only hard-core members and not examine the role of the alliance in the context of Chicago's social, political, and cultural milieu.

Following the 1985 firebombing of a Marquette Park two-flat into which two black families had moved, organizers of the Southwest Community Congress received repeated phone calls from someone with "Christians for Decency." Christians for Decency was originally formed to protest Chicago's Gay Pride Day march; it's a coalition effort of the American Nazi Party, America First Committee, and SS Action Group.

The caller wanted to know what the southwest-side community group was doing to "defend whites in Marquette Park." His group was eager to help organize whites.

Soon residents were reporting an influx of neo-Nazi and Ku Klux Klan literature and stickers, and a national Klan newspaper was applauding the

organizing efforts of its affiliate in Marquette Park. The distribution of racial hate literature in a racially changing neighborhood that had recently experienced a firebombing could only deepen the potential for more violence.

Uptown is another of Chicago's racially changing neighborhoods. But unlike Marquette Park, which has a solid working-class economic base, Uptown is a poor neighborhood with high unemployment and underemployment. In Uptown, as in many other Chicago neighborhoods, street gangs are part of the social fabric and the power relationships.

And in Uptown, and in other north-side neighborhoods as well, a core of Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazi adherents has been spreading notions of white supremacy. Members of the Gaylords and Rebels street gangs were actively recruited by a Cicero-based neo-Nazi group—the American Nazi Party. Gang members were apparently taken to Cicero and shown films or videotapes on Nazi ideology; and in at least one instance the basement of an Uptown apartment house was used for a public meeting laced with lectures on white racial superiority.

Stickers, posters, and literature from several Nazi groups have appeared in Uptown, including material from the National Socialist White People's Party, National Socialist White Action Party, and the American Nazi Party. Nazi groups periodically show up to organize. Now the Klan seems to be associating with the gangs and to be organizing members into Klan units. Two Uptown murders in the past year have been blamed on members of gangs influenced by the Nazis and Klan.

Historically, the dozens of various neo-Nazi splinter groups in this coun-

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try have failed to muster more than 3,000 active supporters. Their visibility has far exceeded their political influence, which is virtually nil. Most Americans still shudder in disgust at a swastika. However the racism and anti-Semitism of the Nazis and the publicity they receive can do social harm out of proportion to the group's numbers.

The activities of neo-Nazi leader Frank Collin received widespread publicity during the period in the 70s when he was calling for a march through Skokie. Then he could draw thousands to Marquette Park for a rally and counter-rally. Yet when his activities were not being exploited by the media, Collin regularly drew an audience of less than 20—many of them teenagers. There is a lesson to be learned from the Collin period—that a handful of organized bigots can embolden others in the community to act out their racial fears.

In 1977 my wife and I moved into the top floor of a two-flat in Gage Park near 51st and Western Avenue.

She commuted down I-55 to a job as an auto worker in the southwestern suburbs while I worked out of the flat as a free-lance writer/photographer or commuted to the Loop for part-time paralegal jobs.

We had decided on the neighborhood for three reasons: we could afford it, it was between our two commutes, and I wanted to study the phenomenon of Nazis and racism. What better place, I thought, than Chicago's southwest side: Dr. Martin Luther King had been stoned out of the neighborhood when he tried to lead a march to integrate nearby Marquette Park during the early days of the civil rights movement in Chicago.

Marquette Park, like many Chicago neighborhoods, was for many years an ethnic enclave. The area was composed largely of Lithuanians, Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks, many of them refugees from countries now under the Soviet sphere of influence. Marquette Park also had one of the highest concentrations of city employees, especially police and fire fighters, in Chicago.

To the east, the neighborhood is bordered by Western Avenue, across which black migration had halted. Blockbusters, exploiting racial fears and the threat of disastrous property-value losses, were at first unable to crack the Marquette Park area, and by the mid-70s had turned their efforts toward other neighborhoods.

It was in anxious Marquette Park in 1970 that Frank Collin, a young former follower of George Lincoln Rockwell, established the National Socialist Party of America. He figured he would receive widespread support. He was wrong. On his best day Collin could muster no more than 30 brownshirts at a rally, and many of those neo-Nazi were not from the Chicago area. His headquarters were in a small building on West 71st Street a few blocks west of Western Avenue. A huge flag bearing a swastika flew over the building.

Collin was precisely a rabble-rouser: his only constituency outside of party members consisted of several dozen street punks who hung out in Marquette Park. Even their loyalty was

doubtful.

"We hate the Nazis, they're assholes," one hefty dude in a "White Power" T-shirt told me several years ago. "But we hate the niggers more. We like to beat up the niggers, see, and the Nazis bring the commies and the niggers to the park for us to beat up, see. But you know, if there wasn't anyone else around, we would beat up the Nazis."

Collin's demonstrations in the Marquette Park area generally ended up in confrontations with police during the years from 1970 to 1976. Finally the Chicago Park District tried to put a stop to it by ordering Collin to post a six-figure insurance bond—an impossibility—before it would grant him any more park permits.

Meanwhile, various civil rights groups made several attempts to demonstrate against discrimination in Marquette Park, and virtually every attempt ended in violence, even when the Nazis stayed inside their headquarters near the park. The Nazis did not have a lot of support—but the

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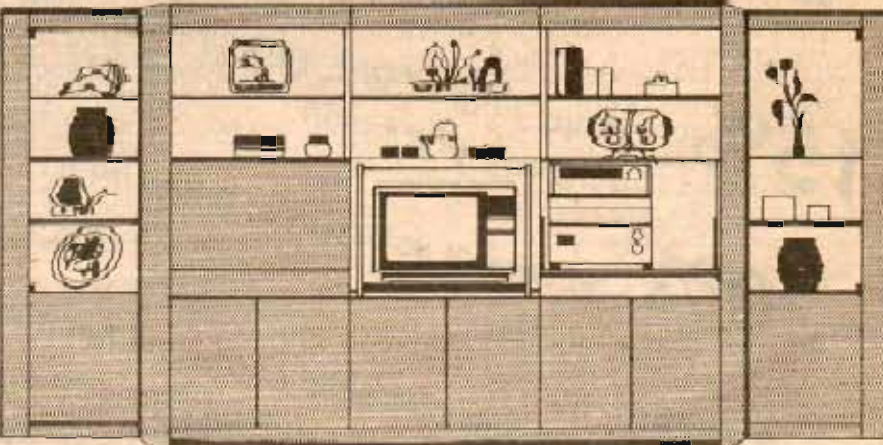
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WHITE RIGHT

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prejudice they exalted did.

In the summer of 1976, Collin was arrested on disorderly conduct charges for staging a park demonstration without a permit. Collin enlisted the aid of the American Civil Liberties Union in getting a park demonstration permit without having to post the massive insurance bond. But the city and Park District refused to waive the insurance requirement, and in March of 1977 Collin announced he would stage a rally in Skokie, whose large Jewish population includes many survivors of Nazi concentration camps.

Collin candidly admitted the threat of a Skokie rally was a ploy to force the Chicago Park District to allow him access to Marquette Park. But it was a marvelous organizing tactic.

At last fall's white racist alliance meeting in Michigan, a person introduced as "Tom Goodwin" and described as a member of a national socialist group in Chicago from 1971 to '78, explained how Collin and his supporters developed their campaign. Goodwin's remarks are taken from a transcript of a tape recording of the meeting made by someone there. What he said is abbreviated here, but no words have been changed.

"The group I was with was getting some very good success in reaching people. I'm very much in favor of reaching the younger generation. If we'd reached the high school kids 14 years ago, we would have many more people much more aware of what's

going on today than we already do.

"But we had a lot of success. We'd put up posters, we were speaking to people, and we were growing. But we only grew to a certain level.

"And somebody got the idea, let's start taking back the streets of Chicago for the white person. I was against it; I thought it would never work. But we tried. We put out a call and 200 people showed up. We were surprised. We started to march through the black area; we stopped. So we tried it again about a month later. This time about 1,000 people showed up. The idea was we were going to go in there and show the blacks who we were. The idea was to push them back in Lake Michigan. [Applause.]

"On the second march we got to the borderline and the police wouldn't let us go through. It was like a cat-and-mouse game, and the establishment just did not want us causing trouble. So we thought about it and decided that the best way to deal with it is to take control of the situation."

According to Goodwin, Collin's neo-Nazis started trying to provoke some black group into coming out. They tried to lure Jesse Jackson and PUSH, who refused to take the bait.

"We tried almost every group we could. We finally got a little group called the Martin Luther King [Movement] at a little storefront church. And they tried to march in, and the first time they tried the police stopped them. And right away all the different radical groups, the leftists, jumped on their bandwagon and said, 'You can't do that.' The next thing you know, they got a permit to march. Exactly what we wanted. Because what we did then, was...we went door-to-door knocking on doors and we organized a resistance.

"You have to understand that we prompted it in the first place by

goaded them to come into the area. But when they came in we were able to organize. I wouldn't say totally, but we had anywhere between 500 upwards...by rough estimation over 12,000 people meet them at different times. And these people were looking for leadership; they were looking for radical leadership. And we couldn't even provide all that leadership because we weren't qualified to do it. It got beyond our means.

"After that the people in Chicago, higher authorities, they said, 'Hey, this is getting out of hand.' So what they did is they went to the Park District—and we know this because people in the Park District were sort of friendly; they told us. And they came up with the idea that we had to have a million and a half dollars of insurance for every rally we held. There was no way we could ever get that kind of money. And we sat around and sat around; we wasted time and we lost time. We were losing people; we were losing momentum. And nothing seemed to work."

Then, said Goodwin, they thought of marching in Skokie.

"Now is there anyone in here in 1977-78 did not hear of when the Nazis tried to march in Skokie? Is there anyone who didn't hear of that? OK. It was something that pretty much attracted worldwide attention. These are just some clippings. I don't know if you can see them too well. The headlines on the papers, and TV interviews, etc., etc. The publicity, roughly for two years, going straight through on papers throughout the world. OK.

"Now all the things that happened in this thing in Skokie started with one leaflet, and one leaflet only. It was a very simply done item. But the point is, if you have an idea, if you implement it, if you have the backbone, if

you have the resources—it doesn't take a lot. When I had this leaflet, the idea really didn't take hold with a lot of people. And I had to pay for it myself; they wouldn't even pay for it. No big thing; I thought it would work. It worked beyond my wildest imagination."

Now someone else read aloud the triumphant leaflet:

We are coming. Many white Americans who have followed our movement over the years are distressed that we have confined our activities to Chicago's far south side and southern suburbs. We have always had the best support in the Marquette Park area and in suburbs like Park Forest. But recently there have been strong indications that we might do well to concentrate our efforts in areas previously deemed unsuitable for their development. Added to this consideration is the fact that we have been effectively banned from holding both public speeches and demonstration. Since we have been so banned, we have decided to relocate in areas heavily populated by the enemy—I mean the Jews. Where one finds the most Jews there also shall one find the most Jew haters. With this basic truth in mind we are now planning a number of street demonstrations and speeches in Evanston... north shore, Morton Grove, Skokie, etc. This leaflet is but the first of a number now being designed and printed for eventual mass distribution. A beautiful full-color poster 18 inches by 30 inches with nonremovable adhesive on the back is already in the works. The poster shows three rabbis involved in the ritual murder of an innocent gentile boy during the hatefest of Purim. Our propaganda will be large, with an exposé after exposé of the Talmud, Protocols of Zion, and many never before presented anywhere... In short, what we have done against the black revolution in Chicago's south side we shall now do against the



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Jewish enemy in our midst. All because we have been denied our rights to speak in Marquette Park. We are therefore compelled to seek new ground... and we shall find it, among the Aryan American masses of the Jewishized suburbs who have had enough of political manipulation, economic thievery, and public deception.

"As I said, it worked beyond our wildest imagination," Goodwin continued. "We didn't pick Skokie per se. They happened to be the first one to actually deny us the right. Most of the Aryan Americans gave us that right because we'd been through all that before."

"But what I wanted to point out is that what I and five other guys did with this, you and three or four or five other people can do anywhere."

"In conclusion, the thing that really brought me back here in the beginning is that I suddenly became interested in the Identity movement."

The protracted legal battle over the Skokie march eventually reached the U.S. Supreme Court and pushed Collin into the headlines. Tensions leaped after a July 23, 1977, civil rights march to Marquette Park ended up in a race riot.

Collin and his party members had been threatened with arrest if they set

foot on the street during the civil rights march, but a thousand mostly young whites gathered in the park anyway. The police stopped the 20-some marchers almost a mile from the park, but the emotional crowd in the park burst into the streets to do battle. Rocks and bottles were hurled at passing black motorists, at least two cars were overturned and demolished, and several blacks were roughed up before police forced the white teenagers back into the park, where they eventually dispersed.

Collin was arrested in June 1978 near Cleveland after a battle with members of the Jewish Defense League, who'd disrupted a Nazi meeting in a motel.

Collin had gone to Ohio to speak at a neo-Nazi rally in Parma, a part of his efforts to unify the many small neo-Nazi cells throughout the country under the banner of his National Socialist Party. The older National Socialist White People's Party, based in Arlington, Virginia, had been unsuccessful in uniting American neo-Nazis, especially after the splintering that followed the assassination of its founder, George Lincoln Rockwell.

In the mid-70s, however, Collin was able to forge a brief coalition with at least six neo-Nazi groups in the mid-west, south, and west. He worked

closely with Gerhard Lauck, who edited the *New Order*, which served as the National Socialist Party's official newspaper. Lauck worked out of Lincoln, Nebraska, and supplied neo-Nazi material to the growing fascist clubs in Germany, where Nazi and neo-Nazi material supposedly is banned.

Neo-Nazi organizing was on the rise nationwide in 1979. The prior year, an NSP leader in North Carolina had registered as a Republican for a state senate seat and campaigned openly as a Nazi. One-third of those voting in the Republican primary cast ballots for the storm trooper. In Canada, some 13,000 voters in Ontario signed petitions seeking official recognition for the neo-Nazi Nationalist Party of Canada. Racial and anti-Jewish incidents of vandalism and assault were on the increase.

Following the announcement that the network television miniseries *Holocaust* would be rerun, stations reported they were deluged with mail and phone calls protesting what was termed the "myth" of the genocide of the Jews.

During this same period, red-and-black posters bearing swastikas began appearing at bus stops and train platforms in Latino and black communities throughout the southwest side of Chicago. Several small Nazi rallies

were held in Chicago suburbs, and a rash of anti-Semitic activities plagued Chicago's north side, where one synagogue was vandalized—its wall defaced with swastikas and a Torah burned.

Now aided by the ACLU, Collin continued to publicize his Skokie march plans, but he agreed to wait until the court battles were over before staging the demonstration. There were two lawsuits: one against Skokie for its legal maneuvers to prevent the Nazi rally, and the original suit against the Park District over its impossible insurance bond requirements.

As the legal battles bounced from Cook County Circuit Court to U.S. District Court to the U.S. Court of Appeals to the U.S. Supreme Court and back, the hysteria over the proposed Skokie march grew to feverish proportions. Several groups vowed that blood would flow if the Nazis marched in Skokie. Collin finally hinted that he would trade Skokie for Marquette Park, and did so gladly when a federal judge ruled the insurance requirement unconstitutional.

Collin celebrated his victory by staging a demonstration in downtown Chicago. Several thousand counter-demonstrators awaited his appearance, many of them intending to attack the

continued on page 30

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WHITE RIGHT

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Nazis.

With police reinforcements standing by, Collin was led to the plaza via the basement of the Kluczynski Federal Building. Twenty-five brownshirts escorted him to a tiny platform. His speech was drowned out by the roar of the crowd. Eggs and tomatoes rained down on the Nazis, soon followed by rocks and bottles. The Nazis scurried back into the Kluczynski Building as police began dispersing the counter-demonstrators. There were a dozen arrests.

The counter-demonstrators were photographed and videotaped by police agents standing in the second-floor window of the Dirksen Federal Building across Dearborn Street. Although some of the counter-demonstrators were members of the Jewish Defense League, most were from civil rights, pacifist, religious, radical, socialist, and communist groups representing almost the entire spectrum of the leftist community. The fact was generally ignored by the press, which further sensationalized the already sensational by focusing primarily on the helmeted JDL.

A few weeks later, on July 9, 1978, Frank Collin finally staged his Marquette Park rally.

It was a bright, clear, hot, altogether typical Chicago summer day as thousands of demonstrators gathered in a quiet black neighborhood east of Marquette Park. They moved through the black community,

calling for its residents to join in the march to confront the Nazis. The procession swelled to over 1,500, but as the chanting crowd turned west onto 71st Street to head for Marquette Park, they were stopped by police who formed a three-deep human wall at the railroad underpass some ten blocks east of the park.

The anti-Nazi protesters were told they would be allowed no further. Police barricades blocked off every side street leading toward the park from Western Avenue. A hundred-square-block area was cordoned off. Persons entering it from the east were asked for identification and proof of residency.

In Marquette Park, some 2,000 people gathered to hear Collin make his familiar speech of racial hatred. Collin stood behind rank after rank of helmeted police. A few counter-demonstrators made it into the park and several scuffles ensued. Dozens of plainclothes police descended upon each of them and led the scufflers out of the park. There were 72 arrests.

After the rally was over, roving bands of young whites started attacking the counter-demonstrators who had managed to get into the area and hadn't left yet.

"Get the nigger," came the cry after the mob had forced a Jewish demonstrator to swim across a long, narrow pond to escape injury.

"Kill that nigger! Stomp him!" a young white punk yelled as a terrified black youth realized he had pressed his luck too far by staying around.

He ran well, dodging fists, but a leg snapped out and caught him in the shins and he fell. Face down in the grass of the pond-dotted park, he had only a moment to consider his plight before the first boot smashed into his ribs.

"Kill the nigger, kill the nigger,"

chanted the crowd. More boots, then fists, and as the black youth struggled, his shirt was reduced to shreds. Blood trickled from his nose, and the corner of his mouth was split.

A middle-aged white man rushed into the mob and grabbed the black youth protectively. He, too, became a target of attack, but other whites joined him. I stopped taking pictures and jumped in. We formed a tight knot of bodies, with the dazed black youth at its core, and pushed our way through the screaming crowd toward a line of police who had been watching the incident indifferently from several hundred feet away.

When the bleeding youth reached the police, they grabbed him and pushed him into a squad car. The car sped off toward Western Avenue. "I didn't think about it I just did it—I had to," said the older man, who said he attended the only synagogue in the neighborhood. "I had to be here to protest the Nazis, too," he shrugged. We shook hands. He walked off.

A few moments later, the unruly crowd surrounded a small group of protesters from the same synagogue.

"Go back to Skokie, Jew bitch," yelled one white youth at a young woman. "Do you sleep with the niggers? Why don't you go back to Africa with them?"

"Jews go home, Jews go home," the crowd chanted. "We don't want you here you nigger lover," shouted a teenager in a "White Power" T-shirt. The police moved in, but instead of dispersing the crowd they led the small band of Jews into a waiting paddy wagon to get them out of the park.

"Get the gas," shouted a young kid; young and old alike laughed heartily at the sight of the Jews being led into the paddy wagon. "Six million wasn't enough," someone yelled.

Slowly, the crowd dispersed. The

long-awaited Frank Collin demonstration in Marquette Park was now history. Ironically, the event was soon followed by the near-collapse of the Collin organization.

In the fall of 1979, Collin tried to regroup his forces. Signs appeared in our neighborhood overnight. "White Power Rally" said red type in inch-high letters. "Time 2:00, Sunday, Sept. 30th - Place: Gage Park, 55th & Western."

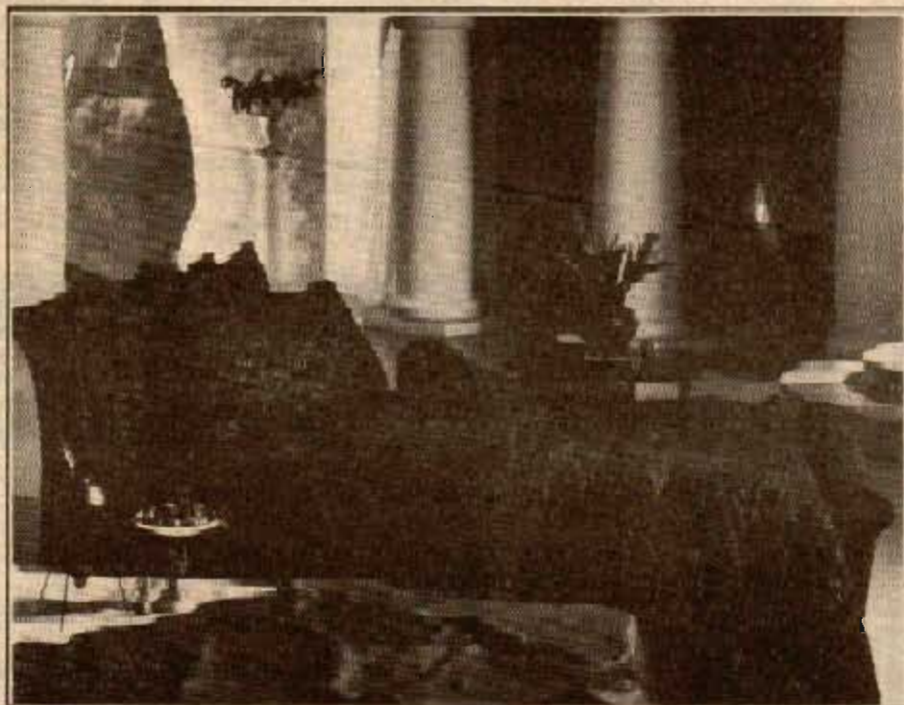
Gage Park High School had been the scene of violent racial incidents during the 70s, and in 1979, Western Avenue, which bisects the park, still separated blacks from whites. Another white-power rally promised more violence, especially given the recent ultimatum by the then Department of Health, Education and Welfare ordering widespread busing to desegregate Chicago's schools.

The poster was keyed to the busing order. The text asked: "Is it fair to bus white kids far from their homes into black schools, where they are physically abused—all in the name of 'integration'? How can blacks live in luxury on welfare without working, while white workers can barely [sic] make ends meet? Do powerful Jewish organizations control what you see on television and read in the newspapers? Is the 'gas crisis' a phony stunt by the federal government to raise profits for the businessmen who bank-roll politicians?"

With the Marquette Park rally fresh in our minds, we met with several neighbors the day of the scheduled rally and made signs saying "Gage Park Residents Say NO to Nazis" and other similar slogans. At the appointed hour we arrived at Gage Park.

Small knots of residents stood in silence across the street from the park waiting to see what would happen. In

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the park itself were about ten anti-Nazi demonstrators, four pro-Nazi residents, three plainclothes police, and two photographers. According to the police, Frank Collin cruised by the park with a carful of Nazis, took a look, and decided to skip it. Without media hoopla stirring up the public, Collin seemed to be a paper tiger.

Finally a rival group of Nazis from the National Socialist White People's Party "barracks" in Cicero walked into the park followed by a crowd of young teenage boys, some on bicycles. These Nazis in mufti walked up the counter-demonstrators and a brisk argument ensued. Art Jones, then with the *NEWS*, would a handful of *White Power* newspapers as the Nazis threatened violence. Carloads of police materialized from side streets and the anti-Nazi demonstrators kept their cool. The police let the debate continue for a while and then announced the rally permit had expired. The Nazis left the park chanting "White Power! White Power!" and were followed by most of the teenagers.

Some of the local youth remained behind to talk quietly with the anti-Nazi residents and protesters, however, and afterward we all agreed the response to the rally had been a success.

Shortly thereafter, Frank Collin was made a guest of the state of Illinois—imprisoned not for his Nazi activities but for engaging in proscribed sexual activities with young males.

In October of 1980, the new leader of the Chicago neo-Nazi movement, Michael Allen, attempted to lead a march from Marquette Park into the adjacent black community of West Englewood. Luckily for him, police intercepted this suicide mission. Allen led a handful of supporters in a march around Marquette Park that ended in a riot and a violent rally. It was the last white racist rally to be held in Marquette Park.

The white racist alliance in Illinois is primarily a coalition between the remnants and new recruits of the Illinois neo-Nazi movement and elements of the Ku Klux Klan.

The Ku Klux Klan has a long history of armed terror in America, and its exploits need no retelling here. Northern Illinois has historically contained a concentration of small Klan cells, and they exist today.

At times in its history, the Klan in the U.S. could be found entwined with the political and law enforcement power structure of the communities it terrorized. This was especially true in the rural south. The new Christian Identity movement, however, is openly hostile to most law enforcement officers: they are seen as collaborating with the Zionist Occupational Government. But given the Klan's legacy, many black and radical groups remain suspicious that in confrontations between racists and antiracists, as the chant goes, "The cops and the Klan, work hand in hand."

The best evidence of past law enforcement collaboration with the Klan was recently revealed in two separate court actions in which the U.S. government was ordered to pay \$25,000 and \$25,000 respectively to civil rights activists Jim Peck and Walter Bergman. Peck and Bergman were beaten by the Ku Klux Klan in May of 1961 when buses carrying freedom riders were ambushed in Anniston and Birmingham, Alabama.

The suits were filed in the wake of the 1975 Senate testimony of former Klansman Gary Thomas Rowe Jr., who as an FBI informant had warned local police and federal agents that the ambush would take place.

But neither local police nor federal agents intervened, and in fact, according to an FBI memo, the Birmingham Police Department informally agreed to allow the Klansmen 20 minutes for assaulting the freedom riders before police would arrive on the scene.

Peck was beaten unconscious outside the Birmingham bus station and Bergman was assaulted in Anniston, where one of the buses was destroyed by a firebomb. Bergman, now 84, is confined to a wheelchair, in part because of injuries from the beating. Despite his injuries, Bergman believes his participation in the freedom rides was worthwhile, and contributed to "opening up the south to free travel by people of all races."

The relative success of the civil rights movement belied the racist ideology of white supremacy the Klan articulated. But as the south began to build a new society based on mutual respect, virulent racist groups began to forge a new coalition built around zealous hate. It is this new development that lies behind the Chicago alliance of Art Jones and Ed Novak.

The first widespread public awareness of this new coalition came when members of Ku Klux Klan and Nazi groups joined together in Greensboro, North Carolina, for a deadly assault on an anti-Klan rally on November 3, 1979. Five members and supporters of the Communist Workers Party were killed in the shootout.

Two days after a trial in which all the defendants were acquitted, one of them, Virgil Griffin, told the *Charlotte Observer*, "Every member of the Communist Party should be tried for treason and put in front of a firing squad and shot, or else sent to Russia to see how they like it there."

The tone of that trial was set when one defense attorney, Roy Hall, based his argument for acquittal on a twisted analysis of history. Hall told the jury his client was "a patriotic citizen, just like the Germans were."

"The Germans gambled everything and lost all in opposition to communism. Aren't they a lot more attractive now than they were 40 years ago at the end of the war? These defendants are patriotic citizens just like the German citizens. That's why they went to Greensboro—to stop communists," said Hall.

While the Klan and Nazis were beginning to work together, primarily in the south, another racist and anti-Jewish phenomenon was growing in the west and midwest. This was the Posse Comitatus (Latin for "power of the county"), which brought to the rightist fringe the constitutional theory that all governmental power beyond the county level is illegitimate. The Posse also helped popularize among organized racists an alluring and heretical theology. This is Christian Identity. It's based on a turn-of-the-century concept called British Israelism.

Christian Identity, in identifying God's true chosen people as white Americans and the United States as the true promised land, dismisses Jews as the devil's agents and blacks as slaves of the Jews. Here, in a stroke, was the answer to the contradiction that had tormented (and undermined) the Klan and other old-fashioned racists: if blacks are stupid, why are they succeeding? why is one mayor of Chicago? Blacks, it seemed, were advancing because clever Jews manipulated them. And Jews were clever not because they were even human

but because they shared Satan's wit.

No group has been more responsible for spreading the theological ideology of Christian Identity than the Posse Comitatus.

The Posse began in the late 1960s. In 1969, Posse charters were issued by H.L. "Mike" Beach in Portland, Oregon. The same theories were promulgated at the same time by one William Potter Gale, a retired Army colonel in California. Shortly after Beach began issuing "Sheriff's Posse Comitatus" charters and handbooks, Gale began issuing charters and a handbook called the "Guide for Volunteer Christian Posse."

The early 70s were marked by factionalism, but by 1974 the Beach and Gale forces in the Posse had formed an informal political and religious movement that began to grow. A manifesto was issued in booklet form. In late 1974, 200 to 300 persons attended an early Posse convention in Wisconsin.

The most visible and active branch of the Posse for many years was in Wisconsin. The press gave much attention to Wisconsin leader James Wickstrom, although his claims of holding some vague national leadership post were flatly contradicted by the autonomous and anarchistic nature of the Posse itself.

The most violent Posse confrontation involved the mishandled 1983 attempt to serve legal papers on Posse activist Gordon Kahl in North Dakota. Two federal marshals were killed and several persons wounded. Kahl fled underground and was later killed in another mishandled attempt to flush him from a fortified bunker. Kahl has since become a martyr to Posse adherents and to many other like-minded groups.

After the Gordon Kahl incident, many Posse members decided to carry out activities to secure or strengthen their groups. Some members began buying large quantities of grains, canned goods, and vitamins in anticipation of the economic and political collapse they were predicting and inevitable racial rioting.

The Posse has attempted to recruit current or former members of the various Klans and Nazi parties, but has also ranged further afield, approaching supporters of the National Democratic Policy Committee and

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WHITE RIGHT

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National Caucus of Labor Committees, both groups led by Lyndon LaRouche; organizations formed to resist taxes and farm foreclosures; and the recently formed and militant American Agricultural Movement and the older National Farm Organization. Toxic activity has been reported in the last few years in Pennsylvania, Illinois, and 16 other states west and northwest of Illinois.

Following the Greensboro shootings by the Klansmen and Nazis, and the death of Gordon Kahl, a number of previously antagonistic racist groups in America began to make contact with each other, and began to establish informal means of communication and information sharing.

Not all Klan groups accepted the new coalition; those that did began to call themselves the "fifth era" Klan, to demark what they hoped would be the fifth period of growth by the Klan since its inception. Fifth era Klan adherents sought to forge ties with other racist groups across the nation.

This move toward cooperation was enhanced by the establishment of the computerized bulletin board system (BBS). Groups began to work more closely and stage joint activities, sometimes built around "survivalist" encampments. As this cooperation became more formalized, what emerged was a white racist alliance.

The alliance is not entirely homogeneous, and not everyone shares all the related beliefs. Many are widely held, however. As usual, the world has been divided into "us" and "them." Evil conspirators control world events. A special few have been given

knowledge of this massive conspiracy and their solemn duty is to spread the alarm across the land.

More specifically, "alien conspirators" have seized control of America away from "white" or "Aryan" Christian patriots. "Aryan" is given a mythological reality, referring to persons of northern European (or at the very least, middle European) stock. Alien conspirators include Jews, blacks, Latinos, Asians, Indians, all other non-Aryans, elected politicians above the county level, law-enforcement officials above the level of county sheriff, politicians, game wardens, Internal Revenue agents, government employees, judges, lawyers, journalists, network television employees, unionists, leftists, socialists, communists, the Rockefellers, the Trilateral Commission, the Bilderberger Group, the Council on Foreign Relations, Federal Reserve Bank officials, and all other bankers.

Persons who maintain these enemies customarily: believe in black genetic inferiority; possess romanticized notions of Aryan culture; are virulently anticommunist; manifest a jingoistic patriotism; see media coverage of non-Aryans as a Jewish-communist plot; resent black job gains; think black politicians are pawns of Jews; believe black activism is directed from Moscow or Tel Aviv; and practice armed survivalism as a defensive necessity.

This paranoid worldview was nicely described by historian Richard Hofstadter in his book *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*.

"The central preconception of the paranoid style," wrote Hofstadter, is the belief in "the existence of a vast, insidious, preternaturally effective international conspiratorial network designed to perpetuate acts of the most fiendish character."

Paranoia has enjoyed a niche in American political life since the Salem witch trials and the anti-Mason hysteria of the 1700s. Small, paranoid political groups have formed and disbanded, gaining influence only during periods of economic or social up-

heaval. In rural America, the growth of the white racist alliance marks a period of crisis.

Unfair produce- and stock-pricing structures, mortgage foreclosures, excessive loan rates, disruptive commodities speculation, and inequitable federal agricultural policies have all torn at the social and economic fabric of rural America. Desperate people have listened to desperate solutions.

The growth of Christian Identity paralleled the growth of the Posse Comitatus and other paranoid survivalist movements, and generally the armed paranoid right wing in America has adopted Identity as its religion/philosophy of choice. On the common ground of Christian Identity, traditionally hostile and competing elements of the armed right wing have found unity. Here such groups as the American Nazi Party, Posse Comitatus, units of the Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations, the Christian Patriots Defense League, and the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord have met and discussed ideology and alliances.

The members of the group variously called the Order, White American Bastion, or the Silent Brotherhood, who were recently convicted in Seattle for staging armed robberies and murdering Denver talk show host Alan Berg in 1984, are predominantly adherents of Identity. The name "Silent Brotherhood" is drawn from one used internally by members of Hitler's Waffen SS.

According to the *Klanwatch Intelligence Report* of the Southern Poverty Law Center:

"A look at the backgrounds of some of the 23 Order members prosecuted in Seattle illustrates the cooperation between radicals that now permeates the extremist right: five had Klan ties, one had been a Nazi party member, a half-dozen were Aryan Nations, one was a veteran tax protester, four USA's (the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord), five National Alliance members. . . Many of the 23 were

united by Identity. . ."

The impetus for the establishment of the Klan/Aryan Nation computer network was the opportunity to spread the Identity message, and the controversy over the Kansas radio station that broadcast anti-Jewish and anti-black programs started when the station began playing records of Identity leaders William Gale and James Wickstrom. The latter is the spokesperson for the Posse Comitatus in Wisconsin.

Organizers for Christian Identity and groups such as the Posse Comitatus have attempted to gain recruits in the farm belt since the late 1960s. But it was not until the devastation of America's rural economy that angry and desperate rural families began to pay serious attention to the scapegoating theories being peddled. In the past few years, Identity philosophy and anti-Jewish conspiracy theories have gained a disturbing level of acceptance in rural America.

Not everyone is anxious. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, in a report researched out of the Chicago office titled *The American Farmer and the Extremists*, takes the position that "the overwhelming majority of America's farmers are, at present, not buying what the extremists are selling."

"Many farmers feel desperation over their economic plight, to be sure, and understandably so, but neither the effusive self-puffery of the far-right propagandists nor the shrill cries of certain alarmists can gainsay the lack of evidence of any truly significant mass radicalization of rural America at the present time."

But Leonard Zeskind of the Center for Democratic Renewal disagrees. He acknowledges that most farmers are not turning into Nazis, but he thinks there is a larger problem of growing bigotry that results from letting far-right racists speak out without opposition—and a physical danger posed by armed clandestine groups.

According to a report written by Zeskind, "Exact numbers on the vari-

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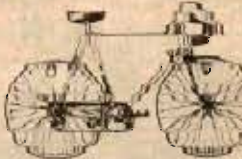
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ous organizational efforts do not exist. It is our estimate that the racist and anti-Semitic movement has between 2,000 and 5,000 hard-core activists in the great plains-Midwest, and between seven and ten sympathizers for each activist. . . . Stockpiling of weapons and ammunition is an increasing phenomenon."

Zeskind thinks the racist and anti-Semitic organizations that are attempting to win a following among farmers have been relatively unaffected by the arrests and convictions among criminal racist groups such as the Order. "Instead," says Zeskind, "their growth is more heavily affected by their own political savvy and the economy and politics of the farm protest movement as a whole. For example, the success of democratic organizations who have pioneered efforts to combat the racists, like the Prairiefire-Iowa Farm Unity Coalition and the North American Farm Alliance, has provided distressed farmers with real alternatives to the racist and anti-Semitic."

Left unchallenged, the Identity movement could leave a legacy of hatred in rural America that would take generations to combat. What we are seeing in Chicago is the emergence of an urban component of the rural Identity phenomenon.

Last fall, reporter Seth Rosenfeld of the *San Francisco Examiner* obtained a confidential report on white supremacists prepared by the California Department of Justice. The report warned that "a loose coalition of 'ultraconservative' organizations active in California could spawn a new wave of white supremacist violence."

It said, "There is a nationwide coalition which is organized in a major conspiracy toward the overthrow of the United States government. Elements of this coalition have shown an

increased unity in action. We predict that if left unchecked this coalition will continue to grow . . . and may become involved in crimes similar to those perpetrated by the White American Bastion."

Rosenfeld explained that the White American Bastion, also known as the Order, was "rendered inactive by the arrest of almost all of its members on charges of armed robbery, arson, racketeering, and murder. But the report warns that the loose alliance of groups that gave rise to the Order is alive and well."

Federal prosecutors in the Seattle trial of the Order members charged that the Order "funneled money taken in robberies to the Aryan Nations, the Ku Klux Klan, and other hate groups around the country," wrote Rosenfeld.

Other law enforcement officials have voiced similar concerns regarding the potential for violence of such groups as we see in the white racist alliance.

Last fall a peaceful demonstration by Chicago citizens who organized to paint out racist graffiti was attacked by a group of neo-Nazi and members of the Ku Klux Klan led by Ed Novak. The demonstration had been called by the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, which has been keeping tabs on the growth of organized and random racist violence in the Chicago area for several years.

The volatile situation at Aetna Plaza in many ways paralleled the incident in Greensboro, North Carolina, where armed neo-Nazis and Klan members left several antiracist demonstrators dead.

Both incidents occurred in a period of increased activities by racist and neo-Nazi groups. Both times, an initial assault was followed by the attackers returning to their cars to obtain weapons. In Greensboro guns were used.

In Chicago, at least one attacker, Ed Novak, was videotaped by a local TV station returning from his car brandishing a heavy tire jack and running toward the demonstrators. It was at this point, after the attackers had been assaulting the demonstrators for a reported ten minutes, that police arrived.

The police failed to arrest Novak, despite his deadly weapon. Police explained that no arrests were made because no complaint was filed. No complaint is necessary under such circumstances, according to several civil and criminal attorneys.

Several organizations, including the National Lawyers Guild and American Jewish Committee, asked that the police handling of the Aetna Plaza incident be reviewed by either the mayor's office or the superintendent of police. Instead, the commander of the district where the incident took place brushed aside criticisms. The version of events summarized in writing by Commander Joseph DiLeonardi is flatly contradicted by a videotape aired by WMAQ TV.

According to DiLeonardi's letter to the American Jewish Committee, only two groups were involved in the Aetna Plaza incident, the "John Brown Society" and the "Neo-Nazis," with no involvement of the Ku Klux Klan. In fact, while the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee sponsored the graffiti paint-out, many other groups and individuals were involved in the anti-racist demonstration.

Persons aligned with the American Nazi Party apparently did participate in the assaults, but the counter-demonstration was sponsored by the Illinois Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, with additional participation by punk rockers associated with romantic violence. The WMAQ videotape, which was made available for viewing by

DiLeonardi via the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, clearly shows signs identifying the Illinois Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

According to DiLeonardi, an officer observed a Nazi removing a jack from his car to protect himself, and that at no time was this jack used as a weapon. The videotape clearly shows Klan leader Ed Novak with the jack raised over his head running forward for dozens of yards across Aetna Plaza.

The same group of neo-Nazis and Ku Klux Klan members involved in the Aetna Plaza assaults staged two other demonstrations with a clear potential for violence two days before the Aetna Plaza assault. They picketed a meeting of several hundred individuals concerned about the rise of neo-Nazi activity in the Uptown area; and earlier that same day, they staged a counter-demonstration in support of South Africa in front of that country's consulate, where anti-apartheid demonstrators had gathered for months.

Other racially motivated incidents in the Chicago area are part of this pattern of escalating racist activity that the neo-Nazis thrive on. From the beginning, the Marquette Park Klan rally has been tactically designed to force a confrontation with counter-demonstrators. The confrontation will be used to build support for a racist organizing drive in Chicago, with the goal of launching a racist campaign against Mayor Harold Washington next year. This is not supposition. This is what the Klan and its allies have discussed explicitly at meetings of the white racist alliance.

True to form, last week Bishop C.H. Turner, president of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Movement, announced plans for an anti-Klan march into Marquette Park.

continued on page 34



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WHITE RIGHT

continued from page 33

Turner's tiny group is the one Tom Goodwin mentioned at last fall's meeting of racists in Michigan, the one baited into crossing Western Avenue back in the 70s.

The leader of the Marquette Park Klan rally, Ed Novak, discussed this Saturday's rally and other plans of the Illinois Knights of the Ku Klux Klan at a regional meeting of white racists held last April on the Michigan farm of white supremacist leader "Pastor" Robert Miles.

A tape recording of Novak's remarks was provided by an investigator with the Public Eye Network, a national group of researchers who attend meetings of far-right organizations. Novak was introduced as "Ed Maleconian," but Novak told WBBM TV reporter Mike Flannery that he was in fact the speaker.

According to Novak, the Klan in Chicago recently decided "to go public to reach the people... to spread a message of white unity and ultimately white victory. The key to the future is to reach our young people," said Novak.

Novak recounted details of five Chicago demonstrations coordinated by the Illinois Knights, including the Acoma Plaza incident. He then turned his attention to the summer plans of the Illinois Knights.

"On June 28th, in Chicago's white power area—Marquette Park—the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan will sponsor a white unity rally—the first of its kind in Chicago. That area right now is having a very tight race be-

tween a white alderman and a black candidate of Harold Washington. It is a runoff election....

"I'm sorry to say folks, since they've redistricted the boundaries, the ward is now 75 percent black. So it looks very slim for Alderman Brady. We're out there actively campaigning for Brady—not as Klansmen, but as residents of the ward.

"We're hoping for the best. And if it happens that we wind up with a black alderman, we're still going to have our rally at Marquette Park. And if the mayor comes and decides he is going to have a rib barbecue alongside our Klan rally—that's fine with us.... We're sure that the people of Marquette Park will give him a very warm reception.... [Laughter.]

"The following day kicks off the lesbian and gay pride week in Chicago. [Laughter.] We are going to have an antique rally in Chicago's Lincoln Park." (Applause.)

According to Mike Flannery, who interviewed Novak, "Kleagle Novak made it clear that they think they will have a lot to gain from next year's election for mayor that they think will be racially tense. They think they can stir the pot this summer, and they think it will all help them recruit new members."

Flannery also interviewed the Public Eye researcher who recorded the Novak speech. "My impression," said the researcher, who wants to remain unidentified for security reasons, "is that they believe that this is going to create a major incident in which thousands of Chicagoans will be pitted against each other."

Counter-demonstrators are again in the bait—but unlike a decade ago in Marquette Park, now dozens of blacks live west of Western Avenue. Alderman Marlene Carter, who defeated Brady, told the predominantly black audience of radio station WVON this

past week to remember that the repercussions of a confrontation could well be physical danger to those black families. Several predominantly white leftist groups have announced plans to support the anti-Klan counter-demonstration. If they do, they will become part of a conscious plan by white racists to drive a wedge between the predominantly white working-class community of Marquette Park and the predominantly black working-class community of West Englewood.

In general the media, civic groups, and city officials play into the hands of the neo-Nazis and the Klan. The media have an obligation to report on racially motivated confrontations, but when they do so to the exclusion of more analytical and thoughtful coverage of Chicago's racial problems they perpetuate racism here. Community and religious groups that should be intervening more aggressively in situations where racial tensions are high tend to look the other way, consigning those tensions to the inevitable confrontations that the police will handle.

On the days of confrontations, the police protect the racists' rights; the rest of the time the racists are perceived as being allowed to threaten and intimidate, assault and firebomb. News of the few arrests are buried on the back pages of the newspapers. And in Chicago, the police response to racial incidents can depend on who is answering the call. Is it really the "official" position of the Chicago Police Department that anti-racist demonstrators "are the trouble, not the Nazis," as police officer Donald Eichler told the *Tribune* after last Saturday's confrontation? If this is not the official position, why have there been no other statements issued by the police or the Washington administration. Looking the other way to avoid controversy perpetuates racism.

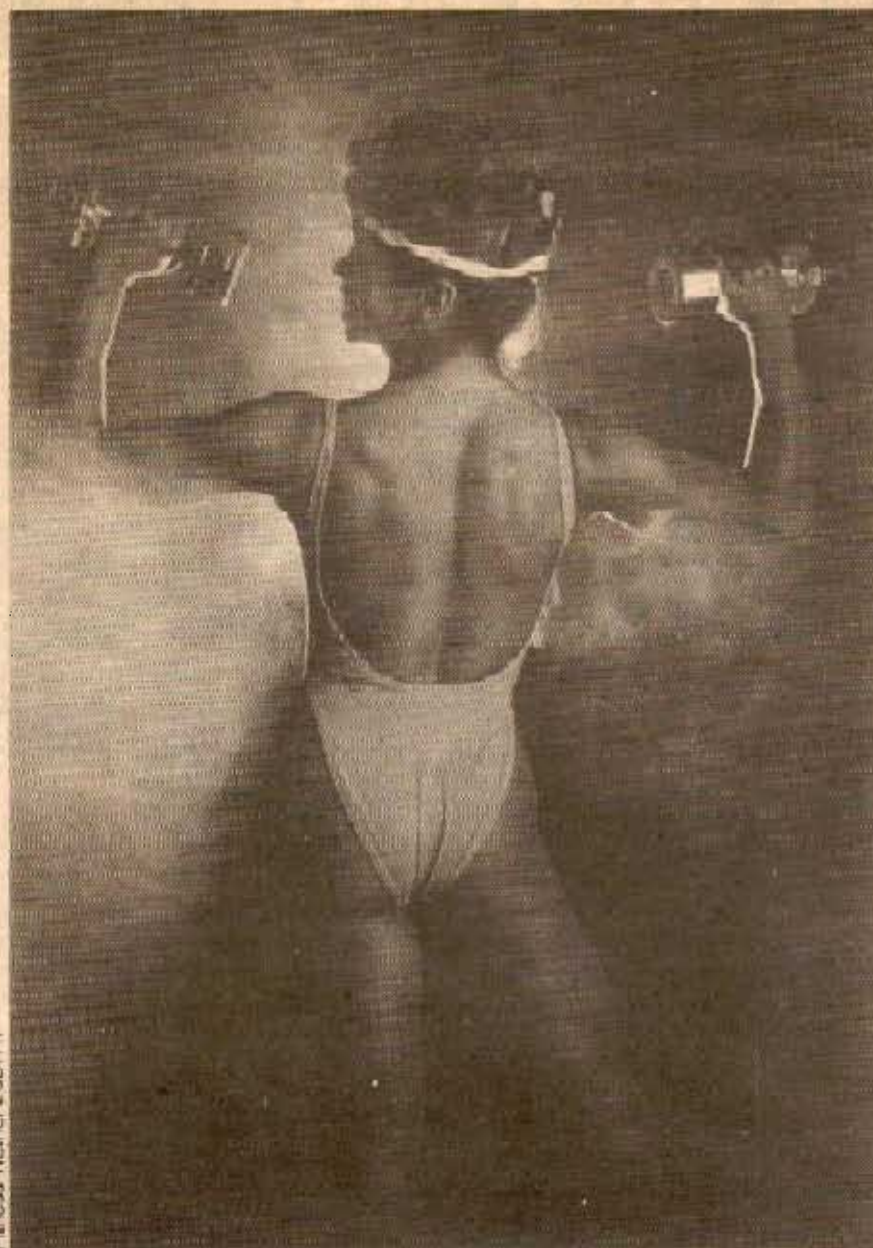
Individual police can make a differ-

ence when it comes to racial incidents. Many police in Chicago are sensitive—some are not. Following the firebombing of the apartment building in Marquette Park occupied by two black families, community groups had to demand an increased police presence in the neighborhood before patrols were increased and a police car assigned to the alley behind the building. Even then, police refused to respond to reports that cars with removed or concealed license plates were repeatedly circling the block where the apartment building was located. In some cases, occupants of the cars were shouting racial epithets. Some concerned residents who organized nightly vigils after the firebombing were told by police they were "trouble-makers."

In another Marquette Park incident, an individual shouting racial epithets at 2 AM in a recently integrated neighborhood and daring blacks to come out and fight him was reported to police. Although several calls were made and the man strolled up and down an alley for more than 20 minutes, no police cars arrived on the scene.

Community leaders in Marquette Park say the district commander there has been helpful and cooperative, but privately they complain that some individual police officers have been less enthusiastic about enforcing the law when racial incidents occur. The good intentions of Mayor Washington and Police Superintendent Fred Rice and even sympathetic district commanders do not trickle down to every squad car. Ultimately, it is a question of perceptions and priorities.

Chicago police will protect Ed Novak and Art Jones on a Saturday afternoon in Marquette Park; but let a black youth try to walk unmolested through the park any night of the year—where are the police then?



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