

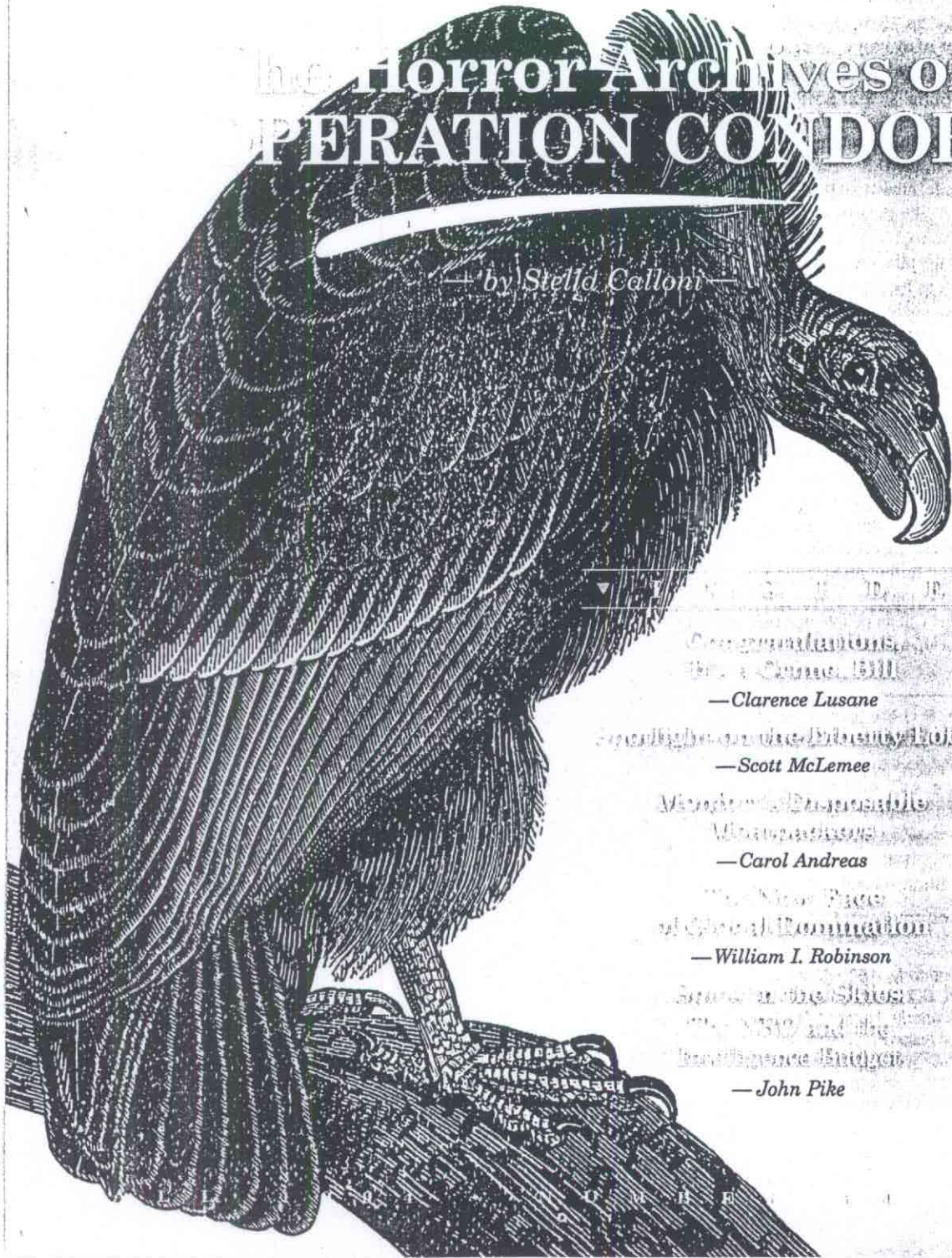
CONCERNATION

Q U A R T E R L Y

CONGRATULATIONS
IT'S A CRIME, BILL.

The Horror Archives of OPERATION CONDOR

—by Stella Calloni—



—Clarence Lusane

—Scott McLemee

—Carol Andreas

—William I. Robinson

—John Pike

Spotlight on the Liberty Lobby



Rob Sussman

Scott McLemee

Under Willis Carto, the Liberty Lobby has spearheaded a drive to mainstream the extreme right. Making expedient alliances with the likes of David Duke and Lyndon LaRouche, it has tried to join Nazis, skinheads, Birchers, Klan members, and Holocaust revisionists with a glue of anti-Semitism and white supremacist hate.

In a city filled with monuments and grand facades, the headquarters of the Liberty Lobby — with its simple design and its dull-gray exterior — seems practically invisible. For more than thirty years, the Lobby has claimed to speak in Washington on behalf of “the silent majority” of U.S. citizens. A look behind its placid exterior, into the history and ideology of the Liberty Lobby, reveals an organization devoted to leading the U.S. right toward anti-Semitic white supremacy.

A few minutes' walk from the Capitol, the three-story building somewhat resembles a bunker. Its entrance is locked to the public. Once buzzed in, visitors enter a world apart from the buttoned-down, urban life of Capitol Hill. The place looks crowded and run-down; it has the feel of an auto repair shop's business office. Behind the desks sit women, with intent, inspecting eyes and a no-nonsense attitude bordering on suspicion. Visitors do not seem welcome.

On the table next to an old couch lie copies of the Lobby's weekly newspaper, *The Spotlight*, mailed to approximately 75,000 subscribers. One issue announces that the Mossad

(Israel's intelligence service) was involved in the assassination of JFK. Just beyond this front office is the warehouse-like home of Liberty Library, the Lobby's book-distribution arm. The selection is heavy with conspiracies perpetrated by sinister millionaires (mostly Jews). Video tapes on sale continue the theme. The 1974 feature film *Executive Action*, exposes the cabal of wealthy culprits behind the JFK assassination. Lobby heroes are also represented in the Library: A video documents the career of sometime-Nazi and Klansman David Duke, and there are a few books about Nicola Tesla, an inventor whose attempt to provide free, plentiful electricity to the public was foiled by the ubiquitous millionaires.

With this work-a-day, yet slightly offbeat feel, the building and its occupants are clearly not geared to the games of appearance and high-powered pleasantry on which Washington runs. In fact, its name notwithstanding, the Liberty Lobby spends little energy to directly influence legislation or policy.¹ Instead, its weapon of choice in mortal combat against “the

Scott McLemee has written for the *Village Voice*, *In These Times*, *New Politics*, the *Texas Observer*, and *Against the Current*.

1. In the heyday of its interaction with Congress, during the 1960s, the Lobby reported to the Clerk of the House that only 10 percent of its funds went toward such traditional lobbying efforts.



Institute for Historical Review

Willis Carto: "Only a few Negroes are genuinely in accord with the trouble-making policies of these two race-mixing organizations [the Urban League and the NAACP]. It is a sad, yet significant fact that both of these fraudulent outfits prosper by using the brains of Jews, the money of Jews and duped white Christians and the 'front' of raceless mulatto figureheads. But hardly a Negro in the lot." (cited in Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson column, "Washington Merry-Go-Round," October 26, 1966.

Establishment" and its manifold conspiracies is literature, especially *The Spotlight*.

And there are conspiracies everywhere in the world of *The Spotlight*. The Lobby directs relatively little attention to well-established coverups such as Watergate or the Iran-Contra deals, however; nor even to the menace of international Communism which has fueled the frenzy of most conspiracy-minded U.S. conservative groups. Rather, for the Lobby, conspiracies penetrate countless details of everyday life. The American Medical Association is a conspiracy; so are big business, big labor, the educational system, foreign and domestic policy, and the news media. These cabals turn out to be directly connected to the agencies and interests of financial institutions (such as the Federal Reserve and the International Monetary Fund); to individuals whose names tend overwhelmingly to be Jewish; and to Israel and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

The Liberty Lobby, in brief, is the major source of anti-Semitic propaganda in the United States. To draw the support of those whose political beliefs might not include hatred for Jews, it has established an array of front groups, surrogates, and publications. These enterprises have not so much expanded the Lobby's influence as made it seem to represent a vast constituency. Among the groups sponsored by the Lobby over the past 30 years, have been (in no particular order): Americans for National Security, American Committee on Immigration Policies, United Republicans of America, Com-

mittee for Religious Development, Friends of Rhodesian Independence, Action Associates, Youth for Wallace, National Youth Alliance, Save Our Schools, Emergency Committee to Support Victims of Political Persecution, National Taxation, Inc., and Council on Dangerous Drugs.

Publications controlled by the Lobby—whether under direct sponsorship or through various forms of assistance—have included: *The Washington Observer*, *Liberty Letter*, *Western Destiny*, *American Mercury*, *Statecraft*, *Spotlight*, and *American Zionist Watch*.

Behind the array of fronts and publications stands a handful of directing enterprises. One central entity is the Legion for the Survival of Freedom; another important group has been the Government Education Foundation. The Lobby building itself has housed a less political enterprise, Capitol Hill Data Processing.²

Just out of sight — at the core of the onion, beneath the layers of front groups, businesses, and publications — is Willis Carto. His name does not appear in the staff box of *The Spotlight*, though he has admitted: "I write editorials and help in procuring stories."³ Carto is too modest. By all accounts save his own, he runs the Lobby complex with absolute authority. According to a disaffected ex-associate, Louis T. Beyers, "Willis has talked to

me about playing the role of a respectable conservative when his true feelings are those of a racial nationalist." His ultimate aim, Beyers explained, was to form a new power base ready to act when the country turned hard right.⁴ Understanding the

"Willis has talked to me about playing the role of a respectable conservative when his true feelings are those of a racial nationalist." His ultimate aim, Louis T. Beyers explained, was to form a new power base ready to act when the country turned hard right.

history and politics of the Liberty Lobby and its network means learning about the elusive Mr. Carto.

2. C.H. Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto — His Fronts, His Friends, His Philosophy, His 'Lobby for Patriotism,'" *National Review*, September 10, 1971, pp. 978-89.

3. Deposition of Willis A. Carto, March 22, 1991, in the case of Mel Marmelstein vs. Legion for the Survival of Freedom, et al., Los Angeles, p. 115.

4. Paul Valentine, "Power Base for Hard Right," *Washington Post*, May 16, 1971, p. A1.

Fox in Wolf's Clothing

Thomas Carlyle called institutions the lengthened shadows of great men; and so the Lobby has been, from its very beginning, a projection of Willis Allison Carto. Few details are available about his life before he entered right-wing politics. He has remained in the background, avoiding publicity. Whether or not he is a "great" man in Carlyle's sense, Carto has certainly been a shadowy figure.

Born in Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1926, he entered the Army after high school. According to information in a Lobby-sponsored publication, he was wounded twice while with the American Division in the Philippines, and received the Purple Heart.⁵ Another account (not necessarily contradictory) suggests he was part of the U.S. force that occupied Japan: "[H]e is said to possess two Japanese rifles that he refers to as 'war souvenirs.'"⁶ After the war, Carto attended "a few courses" at the law school of the University of Cincinnati and worked for Procter & Gamble. Later he moved to San Francisco, where he was a bill collector for the Household Finance Corporation.

Once settled in California, Carto became a professional in the world of the far right. Around 1954, he was a full-time organizer for two conservative groups, the Congress for Freedom, and Liberty and Property. He also edited *Right*, a journal which provided a forum for discussion among various racist, conspiratorial, and anticommunist currents. Between 1955 and 1960, he published a directory of right-wing organizations. In 1959, for about a year, Carto worked in the Massachusetts office of the John Birch Society.⁷ By the early 1960s, this obscure group would gain much fame for its founder Robert Welch's contention that President Eisenhower was a "dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy."

5. Valentine, *op. cit.*, p. A8.

6. Simonds, citing a court deposition, *op. cit.*, p. 978.

7. *Ibid.* For a careful and detailed study of the political currents with which Carto was associated during this period, see Frank P. Mintz, *The Liberty Lobby and the American Right: Race, Conspiracy, and Culture* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985), pp. 11-64.

Birth of the Liberty Lobby

Carto noted the growth of the civil rights movement in the 1950s and other threats to traditional America. "[O]nly a few Americans," he wrote, "are concerned with the inevitable niggerification of America."⁸ Alarmed, he worked with (indeed, by one

account, "established and secretly promoted") the Joint Council on Repatriation, a black separatist group planning to prevent desegregation by sending African Americans back to Africa.⁹

This alliance between black separatists and white racists — which anticipates Carto's tendency to create groups or publications from which he would then distance himself — was more than a product of mutual

dislike of integration. Its importance was strategic, Carto argued: "[S]uch a movement would be the strongest blow against the power of organized Jewry that can be imagined." Behind all the problems facing the right, Carto now saw a dominant problem:

Who is calling the shots? History supplies the answer to this. History plainly tells us who our Enemy is. Our Enemy today is the same Enemy of 50 years ago and before — and that was before Communism. ... The Jews came first and remain Public Enemy Number One. ... Hitler's defeat was the defeat of Europe. And America. How could we have been so blind?¹⁰

It was around this time that Carto envisioned a way to reshape right-wing priorities to fit his racist and nationalist goals: He would create the Liberty Lobby, an umbrella organization to unite the widely scattered and sometimes feuding segments of the far right.¹¹ With this long-term strategy

8. Willis Carto, 1955 letter to Earnest Sevier Cox, quoted in Simonds, *op. cit.*, p. 979. Copies of this document and other correspondence from Carto are also in the collection of Group Research, Inc. of Washington, D.C. Thanks to Wes McCune, director of Group Research, for his knowledgeable guidance in consulting his extensive collection of early Lobby materials.

9. Simonds, *ibid.*, p. 979.

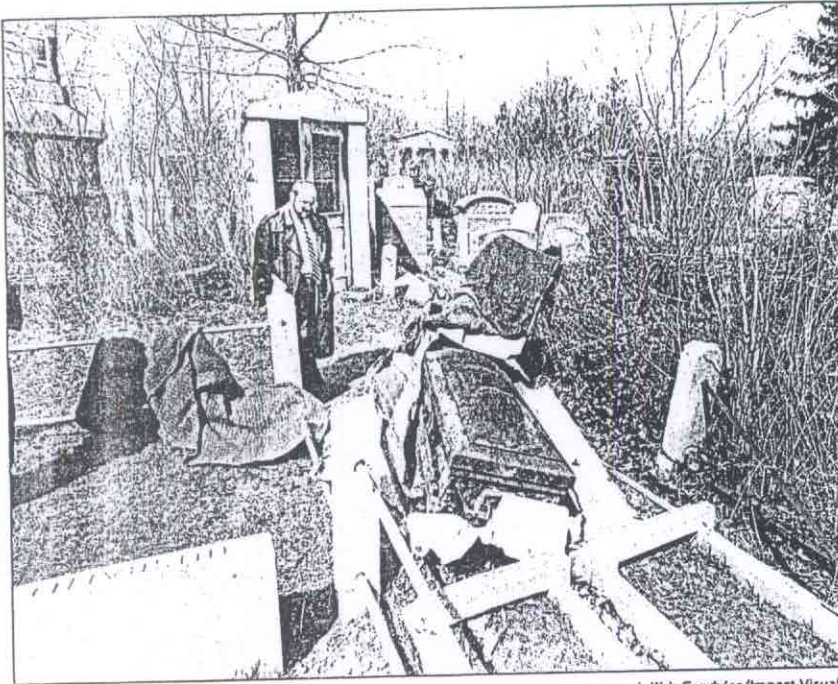
10. *Ibid.*

11. See Carto's analysis of currents within the right wing, "What's Right in America?" published in the John Birch Society magazine *American Opinion*.



Donna Binder/Impact Visuals

Carto fodder: Neo-Nazis gather for "gay-bashing party" in Pennsylvania, 1993.



J. Kirk Condyles/Impact Visuals

Carto's propaganda exacerbates anti-Semitism. In an old Jewish cemetery in Queens, N.Y., vandals damaged headstones, mausoleums, coffins, and remains, 1994.

in mind, Carto was careful to begin keeping his projects in separate compartments. In a letter describing his idea for the Lobby, he told a segregationist who had supported the Joint Council on Repatriation: "There must never be an obvious connection between the two, for if there is, either would kill the other off, or at least harm it very gravely. Therefore, I have had to make a decision ... to become identified with the LOBBY only."¹²

Philosopher of the Imperium

Years passed between Carto's initial conception of Liberty Lobby and its first real signs of life. Slowly he raised the money¹³ and polished the guiding ideology. And during this period, he discovered the work of Francis Parker Yockey—prominent U.S.-born neo-Nazi philosopher and all-around mysterious personage.

Like Carto, Yockey had served with the military during World War II. In 1943 he had been discharged for "*dementia praecox*, paranoid type," but at war's end served as a legal

February 1959, pp. 39-43. Given Carto's plan to try to unite divergent groups, this is an extremely interesting document. The article makes a passing reference to Carto's directory of rightist groups — for which he does not, oddly enough, claim authorship or sponsorship.

12. Simonds, *op. cit.*, p. 979.

13. By 1958, his proposal to launch a "lobby for patriotism" won the support of Taylor Caldwell, a conservative writer best known for her historical novels. Gerald L. K. Smith — onetime associate of Huey Long and a prominent demagogue of the Depression and war years — gave Carto's idea publicity in his magazine, *The Cross and the Flag*.

assistant for the prosecution at the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal. Sympathy for the Nazi defendants led him to quit this job. By the late 1940s, he was part of the movement to preserve fascism.¹⁴

Yockey's most lasting contribution to this effort was a long, rambling book, *Imperium* (1948), originally published under the pseudonym Ulick Varange. For hundreds of turgid, repetitive pages, he displayed a mind steeped in the cultural mysticism and power-worship which had formed the matrix of early Nazi ideology. The book circled around a few grand themes:

- It hailed Western civilization and the race which produced it. Where Hitler spoke of Aryans, Yockey chose the broader category of white Europeans.
- It discusses the pervasive influence of an evil force called the Culture Distorter. This was Yockey's neologism for "Jews," as occasional remarks on the Culture Distorters' history revealed.

- It celebrated "the European Revolution of 1933" (the year the Nazi Party ascended to power) and prophesied the age of Absolute Politics, *i.e.*, the rise of totalitarianism.

Imperium was dedicated to "the hero of the second world war," Adolf Hitler. If its ideas were clear enough, Yockey's prose was not. For sheer unreadability, *Imperium* rivals Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. But it deeply impressed Willis Carto. Here was the capstone to Carto's ideological edifice — a bold restatement of racist and right-wing beliefs in terms which could guide a new movement. "When the American National Revolution takes political form," Yockey wrote, "its inspiration will come from the same ultimate source as the European Revolution of 1933."¹⁵

By the time Carto discovered *Imperium*, Yockey's masterpiece was scarce — 1,000 copies of the first volume and only 200 of the second were published. Carto's enthusiasm for it, and for its author, reveals the depth of his involvement with the world of the ultra-right. Yockey was not simply an obscure figure, but a highly secretive one. Throughout the 1950s, he had worked to organize a European Liberation Front to connect scattered fascists on the postwar continent. During the summer of 1960, Yockey was arrested in San Francisco while carrying an unusually large number of false passports.

14. Simonds, *op. cit.*, pp. 980-82. Also, Mintz, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-31.

15. Francis Parker Yockey, *Imperium: The Philosophy of History and Politics* (Newport Beach, Calif.: Noontide Press, 1962), pp. 557-58.

Anti-Carto Coup at Holocaust Denial Center

Institute for Historical Review (IHR) founder Willis Carto has been ousted in a coup by IHR staffers. IHR, the "spine of the international holocaust denial movement," publishes the scholarly-appearing *Journal for Historical Review*. *JHR* articles typically run the gamut from questioning the veracity of Anne Frank's diary to debating whether Nazi gas chambers had the capacity to kill six million Jews.

A simmering feud between Carto and his IHR associates broke into the open on October 15, 1993. After several months of behind the scenes conflict, Carto, his wife, and three men attempted to physically seize IHR's suburban Orange County headquarters. Before they could secure the premises, IHR staffers forced the door, and a flailing melee ensued. Losing ground, Carto wedged his foot in the door and screamed "You're killing me," before his former allies pushed him outside.

Carto, regarded as the leading anti-Semite in the country, had hand-picked or approved each IHR staff member. The litmus test was sharing his belief that the Holocaust was, at the least, a greatly exaggerated propaganda hoax. This common purpose was sundered by daily strains of working with Carto. Unsurprisingly for Carto watchers, IHR staffers complained he was authoritarian, cantankerous, and stingy.

Tensions exploded when Carto tried to impose his racist views on the *JHR*. According to its editor, Mark Weber, "[Carto] wanted to make substantive changes in the direction of the review. He wanted it to become more 'racialist,' more clearly white racist." In a letter to subscribers, Weber wrote that the focus "would be race and multiculturalism." In one memo, Carto called for an article "proving" the partial African ancestry of President Eisenhower.

IHR staffers apparently did not want Holocaust revisionism to be conflated with disreputable theories. In this, they ran

afoul of Carto's decades-long efforts to coalesce white racist and neo-Nazi tendencies into a unified force on the right.

But behind the political dispute is another reason for insurrection: money, and lots of it. Carto controlled a hefty share of the \$40 million estate of Jean Farrel Edison, granddaughter of Thomas Alva Edison and heir to the family fortune.

Last summer, after disgruntled IHR staffers discovered Carto's control over the bequest, they accused him of irregularities in managing the money and running IHR's parent corporation, the Legion for the Survival of Freedom. IHR staffers then reorganized the Legion, severed all ties with Carto and precipitated the October fracas.

Carto defended himself and attacked his foes in a letter to his supporters: "It is certain that there are many motives at work, not the least of which — in addition to Zionist forces — are pure greed and also the involvement of a bizarre, mind-bending, Jim Jones-like cult." He refers here to two IHR staffers who belong to the Church of Scientology.

Now, the struggle for control of IHR has shifted to the courts, with depositions and financial records as the weapons of choice. In one court document, Carto explains: "These brazen smears prove that [the staff] is trying to obfuscate the one significant fact: That I founded and built the IHR using what help I could get and usually paying for it with the dollars of sincere and concerned Americans. And I did this in the teeth of the opposition of extremely powerful and entrenched forces, which had no wish to have me succeed."

IHR and the notoriously litigious Carto now await rulings in three separate lawsuits to determine who will control the organization.

Source: Doreen Carvajal, "Extremist Institute Mired in Power Struggle; Courts, Staff Oust Founder of Holocaust Denial Center," *Los Angeles Times*, May 15, 1994, p. 3A. The IHR headquarters is at 1650 Babcock St., Costa Mesa, CA 92627.

Carto was the last person to visit him in jail. "I knew that I was in the presence of a great force," Carto later wrote, "and I could feel History standing aside me."¹⁶ Not long after this historic encounter, on his eleventh day in jail, Yockey killed himself with a capsule of potassium cyanide.

And so, in the early 1960s, as his "lobby for patriotism" was at last being established in the nation's capital, Carto committed himself to preserving and extending the legacy of Francis Parker Yockey. Thanks to Carto's advocacy, *Imperium* was republished in 1962 and has remained in print.¹⁷ In a phrase suggesting its role in a new Reich, Carto predicted the tome would "live a thousand years."

¹⁶. *Ibid.*, p. ix.

¹⁷. *Op. cit.*, Noonlidge Press, which continues to reprint the book.

Propaganda and Prosperity in the 1960s

Meanwhile, far below the heights of Yockeyite speculation, Carto was busy in the trenches of the right wing, organizing his new alliance of U.S. conservatives. By 1961, the Lobby had established an office in Washington, D.C., and began to publish *Liberty Letter*. This inexpensive newsletter — subscriptions cost a dollar a year — helped the nascent organization build its base of support. The Lobby's 1962 budget was, by Carto's account, "some \$90,000. This is \$55,000 dollars more than [in 1961]."¹⁸ In 1963, the Lobby opened its offices on Capitol Hill.

The timing was excellent. As the 1960s began, the U.S. far right was in ferment. "An observer can easily count hundreds of groups of worried citizens," Carto had written in 1959,

¹⁸. Willis Carto, letter of October 11, 1961, in collection of Group Research.

"who are hoping and trying in some fashion to stem the onrushing floodtide of international socialism."¹⁹ Within a few years, some of these groups had become household names. In the South, the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils attracted white supremacists; other ultraconservatives flocked to the John Birch Society (which considered the Republican Party largely Communist-dominated), the Minutemen (a secretive paramilitary group), and the American Nazi Party led by George Lincoln Rockwell.

Designed to pull the fragments together, the Lobby made a strong early showing. In 1963, *Liberty Letter* declared a circulation of 16,000; a year later, it reported 28,000 readers. The defeat of right-wing Republican candidate Barry Goldwater failed to deter the resurgence of conservatism and by 1965, *Liberty Letter* was boasting a readership of over 95,000.

The *Letter* was aimed at the widest range of those who considered themselves conservatives. It "drifted with the rightist current,"²⁰ as one historian has put it, touching on desegregation, Communism, civil unrest, and immigration.

Other publications in the Lobby's orbit presented a more distinctive ideology. *Western Destiny*, a racist monthly begun in 1964, "insisted repeatedly through editorials and articles that conservatism was a white racial movement ... and that international capitalism was almost as detrimental to the cause of white insularity and separation as international Communism."²¹ *The Washington Observer* newsletter promulgated conspiracy theories (mostly of anti-Semitic variety) and attacked individuals and organizations within conservatism which the Lobby considered tainted by "Zionism."

In 1966, the Legion for the Survival of Freedom (Carto's behind-the-scenes organization) took control of *The American Mercury*. Earlier in the century, under the editorship of H.L. Mencken and George Jean Nathan, the *Mercury* had been among the country's most prominent cultural magazines. Under Carto it more closely resembled an ultra-conservative *Reader's Digest*, with regular extracts from Yockey's *Imperium*. There were regular articles and reviews by "E. L. Anderson, Ph.D.," one of Carto's most frequently used pseudonyms.

19. Carto, "What's Right ...," *op. cit.*, p. 39.
20. Mintz, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

The Lobby's Los Angeles-based Noontide Press published books of "scientific" racism, Yockey's *Imperium*, and Carto's *First National Directory of "Rightist" Groups*.²² The Lobby's "Liberty Library" distributed these Noontide releases along with publications from other rightist groups.

The Young Yockeyites

While its publishing empire was the Lobby's most visible activity, Carto also sought to influence legislation and to build a grassroots movement. The various publications encouraged readers to write their representatives. Focusing on issues of desegregation, civil rights, and trade, the Lobby also took on a relatively small role in the routine business of the Capitol, occasionally testifying—sometimes with memorable results. Speaking on the Trade Expansion Bill of 1962, a Lobby representative explained to the Senate Finance Committee: "In this case, the real center and heart of this international cabal shows its hand; namely the political Zionist planners for absolute rule via One World government."²³

By the mid-1960s, the Lobby had established working relations with a number of segregationists in the House and Senate and presented its "Statesmen of the Republic" award to several. In turn, it received these statesmen's endorsements for various Lobby fundraising appeals. The Lobby was an early and enthusiastic supporter of ardent segregationist George Wallace. It published a special tabloid-format political biography of the Alabama governor in 1965 and endorsed his presidential bid in 1968.

That year, through the United Congressional Appeal, the Lobby complex made legislative campaign contributions of \$90,000.²⁴

But the Lobby's network of legislative contacts and its support of conservative electoral campaigns failed to satisfy Willis Carto's deepest ambition: the creation of a powerful Yockeyite organization to transform the U.S. right wing and create a "National Revolution" like the one that had galvanized Germany in 1933.

22. The Noontide Press "Booklist," dated August 1965. Purchases of \$3 entitled the customer to a free copy of two booklets, *Cultural Dynamics* by E. L. Anderson, Ph.D. (one of Carto's pseudonyms), and *The Hybrid Race Doctrine*, Collection of Group Research, Inc., Washington, D.C.
23. Comments of Curtis B. Dall, quoted in Simonds, *op. cit.*, p. 982.
24. Joseph Trento and Joseph Spear, "How Nazi Nut Power Has Invaded Capitol Hill," *True*, November 1969.

LIBERTY LOBBY

100 Independence Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

Date: AUG - 2 1961

from the desk of—
WILLIS CARTO
PO BOX 504-DJW-91, 115
This is to confirm arrangements we made this morning regarding an exchange of lists. You will supply your up-to-date list of contributors for our list of subscribers and Board of Policy of about 95,000 for one-time use. Both lists will be shipped in appropriate format to our respective mailing houses immediately. You plan to use our names as soon as possible; we agree to delay use of not make the runoff and error November 15 if you do.

I've informed Bill Sweet about this and will send him a copy of this fax. Your mailing address is ~~100 Independence Avenue, S.W.~~ 70151 but I will not give Bill your private number assuming that you will give him the number you wish him to use to call you.

If the above is your understanding of our agreement, please initial below or send a fax in response to Bill at 202-546-5226. Our telephone number is 202-546-5611.

I agree: *David Duke*
DAVID DUKE

Beas.
Willis
TO: Suzanne

As the 1960s came to a close, the Lobby took another step toward reaching that goal. According to a former associate (fellow conspiracy theorist Revilo P. Oliver) Carto had long dreamed of building a right-wing youth movement to embody Yockey's ideas and attract a new generation to fascism.²⁵ The Youth for Wallace organization, created in May 1968, provided the starting point. A leader of the group later said that Carto had assisted its creation with "a loan of at least \$40,000."²⁶ In November 1968, after the defeat of Wallace's presidential campaign, the group was reorganized as the National Youth Alliance.

During the critical period, money supplied by Liberty Lobby was diverted from funds ear-marked for membership and subscription promotion, but with the understanding that it was to be repaid by the permanent NYA. The original four points of NYA was [sic] adopted, opposing drugs, Black Power, foreign involvements, and supporting law and order. More significantly, Carto persuaded NYA's leaders to adopt *Imperium* as its bible; none (they maintain) had heard of it.²⁷

In a few months, NYA had branches on campuses throughout the country. They distributed "pictorial literature characterizing Jews and Negroes and urging sterilization of welfare mothers, and relocation of American Negroes to Africa."²⁸

The effort to create a Yockeyite youth organization proved a spectacular failure. By March 1969, NYA was in crisis. At meetings in Pittsburgh, some members had sported Nazi insignia, sang the Nazi anthem, "Horst Wessel Lied," and toasted Adolf Hitler. Carto had lectured on the necessity for Yockeyites "to collect as much political power as possible within all existing political institutions and to capture the leadership of as many conservative elements as possible as the nation swings to the right."²⁹ A faction opposed to Nazism sought to end Carto's influence. The Lobby-sponsored NYA eventually disintegrated amongst mutual recriminations of financial impropriety and mailing-list theft.

Elements from the NYA have, however, continued to play a role in the right. After breaking with Carto, the NYA remained active into the mid-1970s. Its newspaper *Attack!* published instructions on the fabrication and use of Molotov cocktails. And an NYA leader, William Pierce, later wrote *The Turner Diaries*, a novel about race war used as a blueprint by the violent survivalist-racist group, The Order.

Carto vs. the "Respectable" Right

By the early 1970s — a decade or so into its organizational life — the Liberty Lobby's project of pulling together the far right was a qualified success. The Goldwater and Wallace campaigns had revealed a sizable audience for the array of Lobby publica-

25. Letter of Oliver to Colonel Dall, December 17, 1970; in the author's files.

26. Don Tepper, "Willis Carto and the NYA," *The Dixon Line* (October 1972), p. 7.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Valentine, *op. cit.*

29. Affidavit of John Secord, quoted in Simonds, *op. cit.*, p. 986.

Links With Lyndon LaRouche

During the 1970s, the Lobby began a pattern of unlikely alliances. Perhaps the most bizarre was with a group claiming to be part of the revolutionary left — the U.S. Labor Party, a small and exceptionally strange organization led by Lyndon LaRouche. Founded as a Marxist study circle in the late 1960s, the LaRouche group gained notoriety in 1973 by launching a campaign of violent confrontations with other radical groups. Many of LaRouche's preoccupations overlapped with the far right's, particularly his focus on conspiracies involving the Rockefeller family, Henry Kissinger, and the "Eastern liberal Establishment." Like Mussolini, who had also started out on the left, LaRouche turned by degrees toward fascism. By 1975, his followers had sought out contacts with organizations in the Lobby's orbit. The Lobby and the Labor Party began to exchange information and Carto and LaRouche met at least twice to discuss the politics and funding of shared projects.¹

In connection with its political activities, the U.S. Labor Party created an intelligence-gathering apparatus fed by members throughout the U.S., Europe and Latin America. They sought out contacts with local police forces, right-wing organizations, government agencies, and intelligence networks, including the KGB and the CIA. "The ferocity with which they pursue intelligence," said a former LaRouche supporter, "is almost beyond the ken of outsiders."² The information went into the *Executive Intelligence Review* (a business/political analysis journal costing \$396 a year) and numerous other projects designed to extend LaRouche's influence. "What eventually emerged," wrote Dennis King, a journalist who covered the Labor Party throughout the 1970s and '80s, "was a highly profitable weekly newsmagazine, a global spiderweb of confidential sources, and one of the world's largest collections of private political files and dossiers, compiled through novel but effective snooping tactics."³

The alliance between Carto and LaRouche helped the U.S. Labor Party, despite its Marxist roots, to gain legitimacy with the far right. But it also caused problems for both groups. The working relationship with the Lobby's anti-Semites was one factor cited when a large group — many of whom were Jewish — quit the LaRouche organization in the early 1980s. Although the Labor Party eventually shed all traces of socialist ideology, its background occasionally resulted in some embarrassment for the Lobby. And, too, LaRouche's intellectual arrogance and extraordinarily convoluted conspiracy theories eventually proved difficult for the Lobby to digest. By the mid-1980s, relations between Carto and LaRouche had cooled. Nonetheless, the Liberty Library continues to distribute the LaRouche group's publications. *

1. Dennis King, *Lyndon LaRouche and the New American Fascism* (New York: Doubleday, 1989), p. 40. LaRouche confirmed the second conversation.

2. Quotation from former LaRouche associate, in King, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

tions aimed at conservatives. Along with the John Birch Society and George Wallace's American Independent Party (groups whose members were often also readers of the Carto group's publications), the Liberty Lobby was one of the largest, best organized, and best funded organizations on the hard right.

But this growth entailed a shift in program. Gradually, the goal of allying disparate elements of the right was superseded by a strategy to dominate them. To that end, the Lobby created a miniature fundraising empire — a set of publications and front groups which advertised and otherwise promoted one another. This tended to leave other rightist groups in the cold. "Carto the moneyman" was reviled by his less successful counterparts in the ultraconservative fringe.³⁰

Throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Lobby was attacked from both left and right. Liberal columnist Drew Pearson was the first to expose the group in a series of articles. And as Carto's neo-fascist proclivities became an embarrassment to "mainstream" conservatives, right-wing commentator James Kilpatrick denounced the National Youth Alliance fiasco.³¹ The *coup de grace* came in September 1971, when William F. Buckley's *National Review* — the right wing's most influential journal of opinion — published a thoroughly researched cover-story on the Lobby's history and its links with Hitlerian currents.³² The Lobby's isolationism and anti-Semitism (which had roots in the old far right from earlier in the century) were out of step with the postwar

Carto termed Buckley and his associates the "dainty combatants of anti-Communism."

political consensus. In the world of *realpolitik*, military interventionism was the cost of U.S. power, and the state of Israel a key element in U.S. foreign policy.

Carto had long been hostile to mainstream conservatism anyway — he had once termed Buckley and his associates the "dainty combatants of anti-Communism" — and media scrutiny seems to have had little influence on the tone or content of Lobby politics. But it had other effects. Invitations to testify at congressional hearings became scarce. In 1975,

30. See, for instance, "The Carto File," a ten-page diatribe against the Lobby and its leader published in September 1973 by the National States Rights Party. This memorandum may be found in the collection of Group Research.

31. See Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, "Washington Merry-Go-Round" columns of October 21, 1966, October 26, 1966, November 2, 1966, November 3, 1966, November 17, 1966, December 9, 1966, January 6, 1967, February 17, 1967; James Kilpatrick, "Embarrassing Thunder Heard From the Right," *Washington Post*, May 29, 1969.

32. Simonds, *op. cit.*, p. 986. The Lobby launched lawsuits against media which reported on the group's anti-Semitic, neo-Nazi base. The Lobby invariably lost the libel suits it filed against Jack Anderson, William F. Buckley, *The National Review*, and the *Wall Street Journal*. The litigation, however, served another function which was clear enough to Robert Bork (unsuccessful 1987 aspirant to the Supreme Court), judge in one of the cases: The "message," Bork said, was that "discussion of Liberty Lobby is expensive. However well-documented a story, however unimpeachable a reporter's source, he or she will have to think twice about publishing where litigation, even to a successful motion for summary judgment, can be very expensive if not crippling." Quoted in *Entertainment Law Reporter*, October 1988.

the Mutual Radio network stopped broadcasting "This is Liberty Lobby" after a campaign of protest initiated by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. The Lobby's network of publications, always central to its work, soon became its only real access to the public.

Counterattack: *The Spotlight*

The 1975 launch of *The Spotlight*—sometimes called, quite aptly, the *National Enquirer* of the right—turned necessity to virtue. This tabloid absorbed most of the Lobby's energies, and was far more ambitious and successful than its predecessors — *Liberty Letter* and other publications. Under sensational headlines, *The Spotlight* combined traditional rightist conspiracy theories with scandal and anti-establishment rhetoric to become one of the most popular journals of the right. Besides standard material on Communism, it reported on the doings (real and imaginary) of a sometimes bewildering array of less well-publicized conspirators, including the CIA, the Trilateral Commission, the Bilderbergers, the American Medical Association, the Federal Reserve, and sundry others.

And unlike the *National Review* — which until recently kept tight control on advertising — *The Spotlight* was open to a wide range of rightist entrepreneurs. One description of the newspaper listed:

ads for poetry, laetrile prescriptions, dating services for patriotic Christians, and devices for dramatically increasing a car's gasoline mileage (these devices have supposedly been kept off the market in a conspiracy against the American consumer). In addition, its classified section regularly offers Nazi paraphernalia, gun silencer parts, bullet-proof vests, clandestine mail drops, and instructions for manufacturing false identification.³³

Among the ideas *The Spotlight* promotes is the notion that the Holocaust was a myth created by the Zionists. First circulated by European fascists in the late 1940s and reiterated in Yockey's *Imperium*, the belief had been a minor part of Lobby ideology during the 1960s. By 1973, however, an ad for a trial subscription to the Carto-sponsored *American Mercury* included a "valuable coupon" for *The Myth of the Six Million*, an early booklet about what would later be called Holocaust revisionism. *The Spotlight* devoted substantial attention to revisionism, and in 1977, Carto founded the Institute for Historical Review (IHR) to promote the "Holocaust never happened" doctrine. (See box, p. 27.)

Beware the Mattoids!

Like the electoral efforts of Goldwater and Wallace in earlier years, the Reagan campaign was a rising tide which helped to lift Carto's boat to a new level in the 1980s. *The Spotlight's* circulation reached an all-time high of more than 300,000 subscribers. One young senator closely associated with the

33. Deborah E. Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (New York: The Free Press, 1993), p. 151.

"Reagan Revolution," Dan Quayle, graced its front page twice in 1980. But if the ascendancy of Ronald Reagan helped *The Spotlight's* circulation, it also brought problems. Right-wing organizations were now thick on the ground, in pursuit of conservative money. Carto's aggressive pursuit of funds became notorious. A disgruntled former associate from this period dubbed him "Willis A. 'Get to the hospital fast with those Will & Testament forms in quadruplicate, BEFORE SHE KICKS THE BUCKET!' Carto."³⁴

While sharing Reagan's public hostility to big government and endorsing his anticommunism and many of his domestic policies, Lobby support for the administration was not unqualified. It remained highly critical of Reagan's more "mainstream" conservatism—especially support of Israel, which by the early 1980s was an essential part of the New Right agenda. During 1981-82, *Spotlight* editor Vince Ryan distanced the Lobby from the administration. "Is Reagan Saving America?" he asked in a fundraising letter. "Don't Be So Sure," he cautioned. "THE TRILATERALISTS ARE IN CONTROL."

Even before the mixed blessing of the Reagan presidency, Willis Carto had been thinking about how to present the Lobby's politics in a way which would continue to draw conservative support while maintaining distance from the "mainstream." Like Lyndon LaRouche — with whom he had formed an alliance (see box, p. 29)—he tried to attract the occasional liberal or left-winger who shared the Lobby's hostility to Israel and suspicion of the U.S. government. Carto's solution: The Liberty Lobby increasingly identified its politics as "populist," claiming descent from the late 19th century movement of "the common man" (poor farmers and workers) against bankers and big business.

In 1981, Carto published *Profiles in Populism*, a collection of essays he modestly described as "one of the most important books published in the past half-century." The featured "populists" included such notorious Hitler sympathizers as Henry Ford, Father Charles Coughlin, and Charles Lindbergh; yet all mention of their anti-Semitism and pro-Nazi sentiments was omitted. One left-leaning figure, Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., was also profiled.³⁵

Especially important for understanding the Lobby's ideology was the book's glossary. There, capitalism is defined as "the symbiotic partner and bedmate of communism" — both being systems in which "the people" are dominated by "the mattoids." In Lobby usage, "mattoid" no longer means "congenital idiot" (as all other dictionaries define it) but rather its opposite, "a criminal of high intelligence. Mattoids often gravitate into international banking or politics. ... Subconsciously, a mattoid seeks to elevate himself to total power by destroying society," the glossary explained, "[this drive being] a heritable genetic disorder."

34. Keith Stimley letter, IHR letterhead, late February 1985.

35. *Profiles in Populism*, Willis A. Carto, ed. (Old Greenwich, Conn.: Flag Press, 1982).

Lest one wonder who carried the gene for mattoidism, the entry on "Zionism" clarified things. Zionism had little to do with the state of Israel, but was rather "a world political engine of massive power which, allied with the power of the supercapitalists, effectively controls all aspects of Western political, intellectual, religious, and cultural life." In other words, the mattoids and the Zionists were Yockey's "culture distorters." Although the author of *Imperium* was absent from Carto's selection of America's great populists, Yockey's ideas, rewritten in more popular form, suffused the volume.

In 1984, in further pursuit of populist support, Carto helped to launch the Populist Party, which rapidly became a pole of attraction for various currents within the racist right. The Lobby provided funds, personnel, endorsements, and publicity through its newspaper. At the same time as it advocated electoral politics, the Lobby also encouraged "anti-Establishment" activities including tax resistance and the neo-Nazi skinhead movement, both of which were prominently featured in *Spotlight* articles.

Dealing with David Duke

Despite tensions that arose between Carto and the party, in the mid-1980s the Populist electoral strategy helped the Lobby to solidify relations with one of the rising stars of the racist right, David Duke, the party's 1988 presidential candidate. Duke's activity in the extreme right began in the 1960s, when he belonged to both Nazi and Klan organizations. Attempts by Duke to "mainstream" his white supremacist politics (including a run for office as a Democrat) were derailed by photographs of him in Nazi and Klan regalia. By 1986, at a conference of the Lobby-related Institute for Historical Review, Duke advised a young fascist enthusiast against such open affiliations: "If they can call you a Nazi and make it stick — I mean tough, really hard — it's going to hurt."³⁶ In 1989, despite his record as a racist leader, Duke was elected to the Louisiana state legislature as a Republican. With photogenic looks (enhanced by plastic surgery) and media savvy, Duke emerged as the most prominent representative of the extreme right in the United States.

But Duke's all too public fascination with neo-Nazi ideology and the Holocaust revisionist movement caused even the Lobby to publicly distance itself from Duke and denounce the notion of links between them as a "great myth." Nonetheless, a memo from Carto to Duke (discussing an exchange of mailing lists) showed a connection lasting at least through August 1991.

The link was also personal: Duke chose Liberty Lobby's former legislative director Trisha Katson to run his office. Later that year, when Duke campaigned for a Louisiana seat in the U.S. Senate, *The Spotlight* was enthusiastic. Although he lost the race, Duke drew 55 percent of the white

36. Quoted in "Like Hitler: Duke on Extermination, the Right Package, and a Bengal Tiger," *Texas Observer*, January 17-31, 1992, p. 18.



vote.³⁷ Along with Patrick Buchanan's run for the Republican presidential nomination, the Lobby pointed to Duke's strong showing as evidence of new possibilities for the racial right.³⁸

Carto and the Liberty Lobby have made other efforts to broaden their base of support among the disaffected. Especially insidious are moves to recruit figures who may appeal to segments of the left for their anti-CIA critiques.³⁹ Among the "names" drawn into the Liberty Lobby orbit:

- Retired Air Force Col. L. Fletcher Prouty. The model for "Mr. X" in Oliver Stone's film *JFK*, Prouty served as Defense Department liaison to the CIA, experience which contributed to his book *The Secret Team*.⁴⁰ Prouty addressed a Liberty Lobby convention over Labor Day weekend in 1990. "If anybody really wants to know what's going on in the world today," Prouty told the audience, "he should be reading *The Spotlight*."⁴¹ *The Secret Team* has been reprinted by Noontide Press, the Lobby's book-publishing arm.
- Victor Marchetti. The longtime CIA agent came in from the cold with the best-selling *The CIA and the Cult Of Intelligence*, co-authored with John Marks.⁴² Articles by and about Marchetti appear in *The Spotlight*. Two newsletters he edited and published, *Zionist Watch* and *New American View*, have been endorsed and promoted by Liberty Lobby.
- Mark Lane. Lane's *Rush to Judgment* (1966) was one of the earliest books to question the Warren Commission report on the assassination of John F. Kennedy. In 1985, he served as Liberty Lobby's attorney in a libel case against William F. Buckley and *National Review*. The Lobby not only had its charges dismissed by the judge but lost three of Buckley's four counter-suits for libel. Lane's books are promoted by the Liberty Library. Interviews with Lane, and articles by and about him, are *Spotlight* staples.⁴³ An article in the October 5, 1987 issue announced that Lane had joined the staff of Marchetti's newsletter *Zionist Watch*.

Nationalist Internationalism

For most groups on the far right, the end of the Cold War has provided more consternation than jubilation. Although *Spotlight* circulation has declined by almost 75 percent from the Reagan era high of 300,000, the Lobby has survived the collapse of the Communist system in far better shape than other groups sharing its heavily anticommunist conspiratorial views (most notably the John Birch Society, now virtually defunct).

37. Peter Applebome, "Blacks and Affluent Whites Give Edwards Victory; Fearing Duke, Voters in Louisiana Hand Democrat Fourth Term," *New York Times*, November 18, 1991, p. B6.

38. Later in the 1980s, tensions developed between the Lobby and the Party. Recently, through its Populist Action Committee, the Lobby picks and chooses which fellow "populists" it will work with.

39. For more on the Lobby's attempt to co-opt the left, see Chip Berlet, *Right Woos Left* (Cambridge, Mass.: Political Research Associates, 1992).

40. L. Fletcher Prouty, *The Secret Team: The CIA and Its Allies in Control of the United States and the World* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973).

41. Reported in *The Spotlight*, October 8, 1990.

42. Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974).

43. Lane's rather affectionate account of Willis Carto in *Plausible Denial* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1991) discusses the Lobby case against Buckley. The book is curiously vague concerning the (rather decisive) outcome of the trial.

In recent years, Carto has found himself exploring strange new alliances. With fascism gaining influence throughout Europe, the staunchly isolationist and nationalistic Liberty Lobby and its satellite organizations have established connections with neo-fascist groups abroad. *The Spotlight* quickly found a kindred spirit in the Russian nationalist currents which fulminate darkly about international bankers and cosmopolitan corruptors. In 1994, the paper ran a lengthy interview with extreme nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, its headline hailing him as an "inspired man of peace." *The Spotlight* has expressed enthusiasm for "the fast-growing French National Front led by the dynamic Jean-Marie Le Pen," who is best known for its hostility to African and Arab immigrants in France. And at the founding of the Lobby's Populist Action Committee in May 1991, the featured speaker was John Tyndall, chair of the British National Party, a political organization closely associated with the racist skinhead movement.

The Lobby's model and inspiration for international cooperation among far-rightists may well be the Waffen SS. As *The Spotlight* effused, "almost 1 million men from all over Europe and as far away as India voluntarily enlisted to fight communism under the leadership of the German high command."⁴⁴ At least two books on the Waffen SS are available from Liberty Library.

Waiting for the Millennium

In one sense, Carto has failed: The Lobby's original purpose of uniting the American right is no closer to fruition. And yet, as the Liberty Lobby approaches its 40th birthday and *The Spotlight* its 20th, Carto has achieved something remarkable. He has — as far as it is possible — refashioned European fascism into an Americanized form.

By its own account, the Lobby stands as the grand old institution of the common people in their struggle with the bankers; a beachhead on Capitol Hill in the fight against big government. *The Spotlight* has taken to describing Liberty Lobby as "the Washington-based populist institution" — rebellious, perhaps, yet also in its way respectable. But the core undercurrents of Lobby ideology — racism, anti-Semitism, and ultra-nationalism — belie its claims to respectability. An occasional inset box in *The Spotlight* still reads "HANG MATTOIDS and have a better world."

Patiently, the Lobby continues to search out an audience for Yockey's visions and Carto's schemes. Maintaining leadership on the right in the face of great global and domestic change requires pragmatism, flexibility, and great patience — along with a large measure of raw opportunism. The Lobby has preserved Francis Parker Yockey's ideas into the 1990s, an era when the term "ethnic cleansing" has entered the world's vocabulary.

And if unable to practice cleansing in the U.S., that is not the Lobby's fault. Carto prepares, waiting for the right time. •

44. Michael Vaughn, "Volunteers Flock to Iraq to Help Fight U.S., Israel," *The Spotlight*, front page, January 7-14, 1991.