

*This zine compiles three articles exploring the connections between contemporary art and fascism, with the intention to urge antifascists to take notice and to further incorporate the role of art and symbology in creating an antifascist culture of solidarity.*

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# **Cultural Antifascism:** *what's art got to do with it?*





# Cultural Antifascism: what's art got to do with it?

**Content Warning:** What follows are three articles (reprinted without permission) collected with the intention to spur dialogue around the role that art and culture have in creating anti-racist and anti-fascist movements. It is important to note that this zine includes quotes that carry xenophobic and anti-Semitic messages, as well as images. These bigoted words are not printed here to give them some false notion of “equal-weight” in the vast marketplace of ideas, but so as to lay them bare in hopes that readers may familiarize themselves and sharpen their blades (rhetorical or not) for attack. When fascist ideology can hide in plain sight, it may fester until it has beckoned enough goons to its calling.

Back in 2013, Vice News reporter Jim Roberts interviewed Charles Krafft just a month after Jen Graves had written about Krafft’s white nationalist tendency in the Stranger. In the opening paragraph Roberts insists, *“Still, it’s ‘art,’ remember? This wouldn’t be the first time an artist has played with controversial symbolism in order to open a dialogue on contemporary politics.”* Nonetheless, Krafft has gone on to design and create awards for Counter-Currents, an alt-right publishing house located in Seattle, WA, and has also hosted attendees of the fascist conference the Northwest Forum. These are not secrets; it just takes a little google-usage to find the many articles that have been written on Krafft’s overt white nationalism.

Sabo, the L.A. “street-artist” featured in the third essay of this collection, may not come across so blatantly. He has yet to put up any “art” with swastikas, but his xenophobic overtones nonetheless seek fertile ground for more bigotry, and most

importantly create hostility towards basic notions of solidarity amongst people. A couple connections lay bare and are worth acknowledging however. His website “UNSAVORY AGENTS” recently posted a collaborative effort that he embarked on with his local Proud Boys chapter, a notoriously misogynist alt-right fraternity. As well, the “UNSAVORY AGENTS” logo shows the face of Abraham Lincoln donning a skeleton balaclava; similar to the ones worn by members of the Rise Above Movement, which is an organized crew of nazis in California who organize to physically attack anti-Trump protesters.

What ties Krafft and Sabo together in this zine about cultural anti-fascism is not that they are artists with fascistic politics, but that they are fascists who make art. As Eric Ward writes in the first article of this collection, *“If ridding our nation of systems of historic and present-day white supremacy is primarily a legislative and judicial imperative, then successfully isolating white nationalism as a social movement is primarily a cultural one.”* No matter where you may stand on the spectrum of political anti-fascism in terms of whether or not to rely on the State to defeat white supremacy and white nationalism, there is something to take from this statement all the same; that our cultures and social movements are called upon by the ghosts of our past to isolate and remove white nationalism in its entirety.

This zine is dedicated to the living memory of Pavlos Fyssas aka Killah P, a Greek antifascist rapper who was killed by nazis in Greece’s Golden Dawn Party on September 17th, 2013. No pasaran!

ons” to defend Bill Clinton from rape allegations.

The left, he said, has mastered cultural and political “dark arts” and “weaponised” Hollywood, the FBI, the IRS, universities and other institutions to promote a nefarious agenda.

He claimed Islam was taking over Europe and espoused debunked conspiracy theories: Obama is a Muslim who sought to undermine America, and senior Democrats literally worship the devil and run pedophile rings. “I truly believe Hillary is demonic.”

Challenged for evidence, Sabo cited leaked emails, which online conspiracy theorists claimed proved the accusations. “I’m a fan of logic and reason.”

The fan of logic and reason also lamented America’s polarisation. “The whole climate is sick right now.” Asked if his work contributed to that sickness, Sabo shook his head. “The left are the ones who dehumanise.”

## As White Supremacy Falls Down, White Nationalism Stands Up



*By Eric K. Ward*

We’re defeating white supremacy, but we’re losing ground to white nationalism.

I imagine this statement may have confused you. Aren’t they the same thing? Simply put, no—and the distinction is critical. While white supremacy in the United States is a system designed to maintain control over people of color and the sexuality and reproductive rights of all women, white nationalism is a social movement advancing a mass cultural narrative that is singularly focused on the creation of a white-ethno state. But we in the social justice and storytelling world continue to conflate the terms and intentions of the two, leading to a mismatch of strategies and narratives.

For years, I too had similar challenges in distinguishing between the two, until the moment a pop culture experience opened my eyes.

It was February 1993 and I was in a mall multi-screen movie

theater in Eugene, Oregon. The kind of theater where as a teenager you would sneak from screen to screen. But I was staying put in my seat, as I was there to see one movie: *Falling Down*.

The film stars Michael Douglas as the fictional William Foster, a recently unemployed aging white male, who feels alienated and lost in the changing world around him. When his erratic behavior and temper results in being disinvited to his daughter's birthday party, he decides he has the right to be there anyway. Foster sets out across Los Angeles but when his car breaks down, he travels on foot. The film escalates as he engages in a violent spree of assaults and murders. He's portrayed through most of the film as a sympathetic anti-hero, justified in his violent targeting of gangs (Latinos), untrustworthy immigrants (a Korean shop owner), the "lazy poor" (homeless), union workers (a city employee), feminists (his wife), and the state itself (symbolized by law enforcement).

At first Foster represents the white supremacists who seeks a return to a past that will never reappear. In *Falling Down*, he begins by trying to reclaim what he believes is his manifest destiny, the right to be in control. He seeks to reinstate a time before the civil rights movement, when people of color and women knew their places. It's not by coincidence that he tells a Korean storeowner, before destroying merchandise, "I'm rolling prices back to 1965."

But over the course of the film, Foster realizes violence and intimidation aren't enough to return to the past, so instead he starts to carve a path of violence to create something new.

I held my breath and watched in horror as Foster transformed from a "time has passed you by" white supremacist into a bona fide white nationalist. As I left the theater, I finally understood that white supremacy had a new competitor and it was called "white nationalism."

shit"; a billboard-style portrait of Hillary Clinton as a maniacal queen.

Another billboard declares that "Black lives are just matter", accompanied by a Planned Parenthood logo and an abortion-themed punchline: "We've killed more blacks than the klan."

Sabo – a pseudonym derived from a tank munition called sabot – made his breakthrough in the GOP primaries with a poster of Ted Cruz as a tattooed, muscled convict. It went viral and Cruz's campaign embraced the bad boy image, though later distanced itself when Sabo was accused of racism. Still, revenues rolled in and Sabo was famous.

He scored another hit during the general election with an image of a grinning skull with yellow hair labelled "The deplorables" – a riff on a Clinton blunder about Donald Trump's supporters. It earned him \$20,000 in a single day and inspired copycats.

Ironically, Sabo deplored Trump during the primaries, calling him a circus clown who would hand the White House to Clinton. He said the average Trump voter was a "moron" and depicted Trump as "Il douche", a play on Il Duce, with his hair forming a Mussolini-style helmet.

Sabo now says he is "cautiously optimistic" about the president. "The day I came to love Donald Trump was when I saw how hard he was kicking liberals in the teeth."

He trolled inauguration protests around LA's city hall by posting fake advertisements mimicking the Fox TV show 24, keeping the text "New Day, New Hero" but replacing the star, Corey Hawkins, with Trump, and 24 with 45, a reference to the 45th president.

Sabo grew up in Texas and operated tanks in the marines before studying art in LA, then drifted into street art in the 1990s. He says he became disgusted with liberals after they "circled the wag-

“I think leftism is a mental disorder,” Sabo, 49, said in an interview at his home. “I truly believe I’m fighting the good fight.”

The fight is proving lucrative. After a decade of inflammatory guerrilla art which yielded little money or recognition, Sabo is on a roll plastering images of Donald Trump, and most recently Milo Yiannopoulos, across LA.

In a city thrumming with opposition to the president, the artist is part of the resistance to the resistance, a figure feted in Republican circles who appears on Fox News, Breitbart, the Blaze and other conservative media outlets. No longer behind on his rent or scrounging to buy a burger, he has bought a \$7,000 industrial-size printer which fills a corner of his apartment.

“Republicans are the new punk,” said Sabo, echoing a slogan on his T-shirt also adorned with an image of Trump in a three-piece suit, looking rather rakish, giving the finger. “I’m pretty much the only right-winger doing guerrilla art. I’m like patient zero, the first one doing this on our side.”

Several other rightwing street artists are in fact active in LA but prefer anonymity, thinking that gives their work more power. Some on the right consider Sabo a showboater.

He is not shy about self-promotion, calling himself a one-man rebuttal to Madonna, Katy Perry, Lady Gaga and other anti-Trump performers. “I cater to the street urchins, the young people. I want them to understand that there’s another message out there.”

Critics consider Sabo’s work crude, bigoted, racist and misogynistic. He disputed that: “The blacks, the Jews, the underdogs – no one has a bigger heart for them than me.”

He has decorated his home with samples of his work: a framed toilet seat with Barack Obama’s face and mouth; a life-sized poster of Bernie Sanders with Soviet tattoos and diaper “full of free

As I left the theater, I finally understood that white supremacy had a new competitor and it was called “white nationalism.”

### **Breaking Down Supremacy Systems Vs. Nationalist Narratives**

White supremacy in the United States is a system of social control and disparities formed to exploit indigenous populations, Blacks, poor whites, immigrants, and women’s sexual reproduction to maintain the political, cultural, economic, and social domination of those identified as white. Some examples include chattel slavery, the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, Jim Crow, ‘Operation Wetback’ in 1964 and anti-miscegenation laws not struck down until 1967 (*Loving v. Virginia*) to name but a few. Morally and legally defeated by the civil rights movement, de jure white supremacy (legally recognized) gave way to de facto white supremacy (generally known to exist in society, economy, culture, policies, and services, even if not legally authorized) during the 1960s.

If white supremacy is a system of disparities and bias used to exploit and maintain control, white nationalism seeks the complete removal of Jews and people of color from the United States altogether. White nationalists seek to dismantle the current state and replace it with a white only ethno-state. In short, ethnic cleansing. Unlike white supremacy, white nationalism is rooted in the anti-Semitic belief that Jews are responsible for the defeat of white supremacy and seek to destroy the “white race” through mass immigration, gay marriage, and a host of inclusionary policies.

Rather than something to replicate, white nationalism sees white supremacy as a failed experiment and not one worth revisiting. In 2014, a commentator lamented on the pages of Stormfront, a popular white nationalist website:

“I think the past actions of some whites (slavery and conquering land) has damaged the race a lot. It has opened the door to multiculturalism. We are made to feel guilty about these past actions. Foreigners say whites should support multiculturalism and not whine about it because in the past they came to our lands and conquered and forced there [sic] culture on us. It’s KARMA.”

White nationalist leaders and strategists are attempting to draw from all elements of society, especially those who cling to the dying vestiges of white supremacy. The growing “alt-right” is an example of this. And they are succeeding. A fall 2017 Ipsos poll for Thomson Reuters and the University of Virginia Center for Politics found that while most Americans reject the white nationalist affiliations, 31 to 39 percent do agree with major tenets expressed by white nationalist leaders on race and belonging.

### **The Narrative Battle of Belonging**

If ridding our nation of systems of historic and present-day white supremacy is primarily a legislative and judicial imperative, then successfully isolating white nationalism as a social movement is primarily a cultural one.

White nationalists need a mass base to gain control over the state. They seize on current events to grow their base and influence public conversation and attitudes. They reframe the rejection of white superiority as an attack on patriotism. They claim that naturally occurring demographic change is an intentional act tantamount to “white genocide.” White nationalists have utilized these narratives in ways that have led to the adoption of draconian policies such as immigration enforcement and the ban on Muslim refugees and even travelers.

That is why it is imperative to reject the instinct to conflate white nationalism with white supremacy. Through television, film, music, and more, we must continue to expose the systemic

## **‘I think leftism is a disorder’: is this artist the rightwing Banksy?**



**Street artist Sabo shot to fame during the 2016 US election with his politically incorrect approach. Now he’s plastering LA with controversial works**

*by Rory Carroll*

The guerrilla art movement is usually associated with leftwing politics. Banksy targets capitalism, consumerism and inequality. Blek le Rat, the father of stencil graffiti, depicts oppression and resistance.

Shepard Fairey gilded Barack Obama’s rise with the iconic “Hope” poster and now highlights the scapegoating of Muslims and the corporatisation of US politics.

In the Trump era, the right, however, has its own guerrilla artist: Sabo, a former US marine who works from an apartment-cum-studio in Los Angeles beneath a sign that says “Fuck Tibet”. Another says “Fuck peace”.

Under cover of darkness, he peppers public spaces in LA with images and slogans targeting liberals, whom he associates with “pot-smoking lazy bums” hostile to western values. He puts the same images and slogans on posters, T-shirts and pins which he sells from his website and at Republican party gatherings across the US.



because he's on a long pilgrimage in India.

Maybe what's hardest to accept is that a man so totally, radically, fist-pumpingly opposed to ideology—a guy you wanted to root for at the end of a bloody, painfully ideological century—himself seems to have succumbed to an ideology.

Yoko Ott, the curator who invited Krafft to be in the *Softly Threatening* exhibition at Bumbershoot in 2006—where he contributed the swastika wedding cake—remembers visiting him in his studio and wondering what to think.

“I did confront him, like, ‘Do you consider yourself a neo-Nazi or sympathetic to that?’ And he said no, that he didn’t,” Ott said. “And then he laughed and said, ‘But would that frighten you if I were?’”

vestiges of white supremacy. That calls for narratives that explore the negative impact of systemic racial and gender disparity on our communities. Popular shows such as *The Good Wife* and *Black-ish* have exposed this structural societal blight with powerful and nuanced storytelling. The #TakeAKnee protests by NFL players is another, while albeit imperfect, critical example of nurturing a needed debate on the disparity of police violence and killings on Blacks and Latinos.

In contrast, confronting white nationalism calls for artists and others to draw a clear moral barrier against hate. There is no room to debate movements that call for the exclusion of communities based on race, religion, gender, ethnicity, or nationality. When it comes to white nationalism, Eminem, without apology, in a recent live spoken word performance for Black Entertainment Television (BET) calls on his fans to choose a side—his or white nationalism.

We also need to revel in our role and responsibility as storytellers, strategists, philanthropists, and social justice leaders to create stories that provide an alternative to the belief in white, male superiority. We need to take on, challenge, and rewrite the stories of who is an American, what that means, and what our future society should look like.

Pop culture has the power to isolate and push back against the growing white nationalist movement and narrative. It's time to own that power.

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and anything that is held dear by the liberal establishment. And I can see a reaction against holier-than-thou attitudes, I mean, yeah, of course. But...”

Other friends, like Larry Reid, coauthor of the 2002 monograph on Krafft, *Villa Delirium*, just sort of look away. “I try not to pay too much attention,” Reid said.

On Facebook earlier this month, when a friend named Fred Owens unfriended Krafft and called him a bigot, a discussion arose in which Krafft told his critics they could sell off their works by him at Seattle ArtResource on First Avenue if they didn’t want them anymore. But Jena Scott at Seattle ArtResource recently stopped accepting any Krafft works for consignment, because she found his e-mails increasingly upsetting. “I’m just sad about it,” Scott said. “He’s an intelligent, articulate guy who I respected throughout the years, and it just makes me sad. Everybody’s sad, and you can’t talk to him about it because it’s not going to make a damn bit of difference.”

Owens was motivated to speak on Facebook after playing online chess with a close Jewish friend from Boston, who simply asked Owens why he had a friend like that. “I realized that I could not continue playing chess with Harvey unless I did something about Charlie—it became simple for me,” Owens wrote to me in an e-mail. Owens made another, broader, important point, too: We should “not just blame Charlie for this but the entire arts community of Seattle which has proven to be soft-headed. As I said when I wrote about this, it would never happen in Brooklyn or Boston—people would just kick his ass down the block. But Seattle has a misguided kind of false tolerance going on here, so there is a lesson for all of us in this.”

Krafft is not a simple case, and nobody who knows him seems to be enjoying this moment. His personal kindness and generosity to friends and other artists is well-known. He has studied Zen Buddhism; I had to interview him by e-mail for this story

Krafft's friends say it's exhausting to argue with him because of his ability to cite everything he's read. He's been a poet and an artist since the 1960s and a proven rabble-rouser since high school, when he was expelled by a headmaster who said, according to a story Krafft delights in repeating, "Charlie puts people on edge and keeps them there." But lately he's taken his experiment in putting people on edge further than ever before, and his friends, other artists, and even people who sell his work are hitting their limits.

"We're all scratching our heads, and there are lots of us. We always said he'll do anything to provoke attention, but no—that's not it. It's real. It's an ideology now," said Hans Nelsen. Nelsen is a woodworker on Vashon Island who's known Krafft since the 1960s and feels extremely torn on the subject, because he loves Krafft as a friend but is horrified by some of his beliefs. The two men agree, Nelsen said, that global greed is out of control and linked to a corrupt banking system, but they diverge in that Nelsen does not see that system as a Jewish cabal.

When I asked Krafft about this, he scoffed. "The idea of 'friends' wringing their hands over what I think about anything strikes me as comical. I think Jewish overrepresentation in national and international finance is uncontroversial. I would call this a fact not a 'cabal.'"

Another old friend, Tacoma writer Peggy Andersen, said she had to stop socializing with Krafft. "I told him, 'When I hang out with you, I feel like I'm endorsing something.'... His main thing is that the Holocaust is an exaggeration. I say, if they only killed 10,000 people because they were Jewish, it would still be a holocaust, jackass." As Andersen and I ended our interview, she said, "Be sure to say I love Charlie."

A longtime friend who insisted on anonymity said, "It's not only anti-Semitic stuff, it's also racism—you know, blacks and women

## Charles Krafft Is a White Nationalist Who Believes the Holocaust Is a Deliberately Exaggerated Myth



**What Will Happen to One of the Northwest's Preeminent Artists—Whose Nazi Imagery Has Always Been Considered Ironic—Now That His Views Are Not a Secret?**

*by Jen Graves*

The question is hard to get your head around: If Charles Krafft is a Holocaust denier, what does that say about his revered artwork?

What exactly does he believe happened, and didn't happen, during the Holocaust? How should collectors and curators—or anyone who sees his work—reassess his art in light of what he's been saying lately?

Krafft, an elder of Seattle art, is a provocateur. He makes ceramics out of human cremains, perfume bottles with swastika stoppers, wedding cakes frosted with Third Reich insignias. Up-and-coming artists continue to admire him. Leading curators include him in group shows from Bumbershoot to City Arts Fest. His work is in the permanent collections of Seattle Art Museum, Henry Art Gallery, and the Museum of Northwest Art, and it's been written about in the *New Yorker*, *Harper's*, *Artforum*, *Juxtapoz*. It's also appeared on the cover of *The Stranger*.

In 2009, I included his daintily painted ceramic AK 47 on a list of the 25 best works of art ever made in Seattle, and called

him “the Northwest’s best iconoclast.” AK 47 is part of Krafft’s Disasterware series, injecting the homey crafts of European ceramic painting with violence and catastrophic events. At the time of its creation, pretty much everyone thought Krafft was being ironic—poking holes in the fascist and totalitarian ideologies of the 20th century. He said as much in an interview in Salon in 2002. “For some reason, art has to be this earnest, serious, even Freudian, exploration,” he told Salon. “But it doesn’t necessarily have to be that at all. Art that’s funny seems to get dismissed just because it is funny. But I’ve always had a knack and a penchant for going toward humorous irony.”

Now, a decade later, some of Krafft’s more than 2,000 Facebook friends would be hard-pressed to detect humor in his increasingly sinister posts. On January 14, for instance, Krafft posted, “Why amongst the monuments glorifying the history of this nation in Wash DC is there a museum of horrors dedicated to people who never lived, fought, or died here? The USHMM [United States Holocaust Memorial Museum] was erected before there was ever a monument to the 465,000 Americans who died in WWII. And no one did enough to save the Jews of Europe?”

When I wrote to Krafft back in May, letting him know that a reader had asked whether he was a Holocaust denier, I added, “I suppose you don’t have to answer that, but I guess I’d like to know.” This wasn’t the first time I’d heard the rumor, but I found it impossible to imagine that the swastikas on Krafft’s work might reflect genuine spite toward Jews—i.e., that there might not be so much difference between Krafft’s swastikas and Hitler’s. After all, that could mean this self-taught, former Skagit Valley hippie artist was using the guise of art and irony to smuggle far-right symbols into museums, galleries, collectors’ homes, and upscale decor shops like Far4 on First Avenue.

That first time I asked Krafft whether he was a Holocaust denier, he refused to answer. “Unless it has some relevance to art that I’m currently exhibiting which you would like extra information

an experiment, Burgard showed the Hitler teapot to a colleague who had never seen it before and the colleague agreed with Burgard’s original interpretation. What does it mean that when Krafft made this portrait of a demonized Hitler, he was actually beginning to spread the word that the demonization of Hitler has been greatly exaggerated?

Another question: Will the museum get rid of the Krafft? That’s unlikely, Burgard said, explaining that he values the perspectives brought by artworks, maybe even more so when they’re reminders of attitudes we’d forget at our own risk of repeating them. The label on the wall will probably have to change. Burgard said that if Besser—the original collector of the Hitler teapot—had thought the sculpture rehabilitated Hitler’s regime, he’d probably have smashed it.

Burgard was able to find a note he received from Krafft in 2008. “I enjoyed your essay on ‘The Content of Teapots’ in the Besser Collection catalogue,” Krafft wrote. “You certainly did your homework on the context of my ‘Hitler Idaho’ teapot.”

The open question of how to treat the teapot in the future “deserves to be examined fully and critically in the public domain,” Burgard said.

Later, I asked Krafft what he thought of Tim Detweiler’s comparison to Kara Walker. “The difference between me and Kara Williams [sic] is that she gets to play the race card and I don’t because I’m an unregenerate white heterosexual male,” Krafft protested. “Has Kara Williams [sic] ever not cut a race based silhouette? Does she even know that the first person on record as a slave owner in America, Anthony Johnson, was black?!”

This is a case of trying to use one detail to discredit an entire history. I don’t care whether the first slave owner in America was black. I’m not falling for it.

showed Krafft's work several times during his tenure as director of the Museum of Northwest Art. He's not sure how to feel. "If you were a Nazi sympathizer and selling Hitler paraphernalia by the side of the road, you'd be killed," Detweiler said. "But he's selling it at the highest-priced stores and at galleries all over the country... It would be like if Kara Walker came out after doing all these years of pickaninnies"—Walker is an African American artist who makes cartoonish silhouettes of horrible scenes from slavery—"and said, 'Oh, through my research, I've found that the slave trade was not as bad as we thought—the numbers were exaggerated and the slaves had more choice than we thought.' What would you think of her work then? I mean, I don't know. My head's spinning, to be honest."

According to old friends of Krafft's interviewed for this story, Krafft has laughed in private at the liberal-leaning art establishment he's fooled with his art. In response to that accusation, Krafft said, "I would ask the person who told you they have seen me laugh about 'fooling' curators to be more specific and tell you which curators they saw me laughing at." More than one person tells the story of Krafft privately laughing at curator Timothy Burgard, who is in charge of American art for the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (FAMSF).

In 2003, Krafft made a ceramic teapot in the shape of a bust of Hitler, with eerie holes for eyes. A Jewish collector named Sandy Besser, now dead, bought the Hitler teapot and added it to his overtly politically themed collection, which he later donated to FAMSF, where it was exhibited in 2007. Burgard wrote about it in a catalog as explicitly and clearly antifascist. "These blind-looking eyes also evoke associations with... the world turning a blind eye to the horrors of the Holocaust."

Reached by phone last week, Burgard said Krafft's change of heart on World War II raises larger issues about artists' intentions, "both expressed and concealed... and how those do or don't dovetail with their public reception and interpretation." As

about to review or comment on in *The Stranger* I see no reason to answer the loaded question 'Are you a Holocaust denier?'" he wrote.

But you can find Krafft narrating his philosophy in his own voice just by doing a little googling. On July 28, 2012, he participated (not for the first time) in a podcast produced by the white nationalist website *The White Network*, whose tagline is "Whites Talking to Whites About White Interests." According to *The White Network*'s "about" page, "We recognize that different races and ethnic groups cannot live together in peace on the same soil, that Whites cannot and should not tolerate being governed by non-Whites." The description goes on to say: "Jews are not White. They are obsessed with their own group's best interests, not ours. Our network is and will always remain by, for, and about the best interests of Whites, and only Whites. We are uncompromising on this point. We do not hesitate to identify and criticize Jews and will not allow them to hide amongst us."

On the podcast, Krafft says, "I believe the Holocaust is a myth," and that the myth is "being used to promote multiculturalism and globalism." He says he believes the Christian story of the sacrifice of one man (Jesus) is being trumped "by this new secular religion of the sacrifice of six million Jews. And the museums, memorials, monuments, study centers, Holocaust chairs at the universities—it's all part of the promotion of a new kind of, like I said, civil religion maybe... We're the heretics in a new religion that's being promoted and built up and being embraced by governments throughout the United States and Europe."

Krafft mentions people "sitting in prison because they dared to go up against this thing," and says, "It's not just the Jews that are promoting this thing. Yeah, it's their little myth. But we're going to be rounded up not by Jews, we're going to be rounded up, if it comes to this, by people just like ourselves." He says, "The Jews have gotten white people to turn against themselves," and that Holocaust revisionism is "a good weapon to use against the people

who are trying to replace us.”

Krafft, who is 65, has always had an edge to him, and it's been sharpening in recent years. “I drifted into white nationalism as a result of reading a book about a Romanian archbishop who was charged with crimes against humanity and subsequently deported from the United States,” Krafft explains on the podcast. (According to the New York Times, the archbishop's past “included membership in a group called the Iron Guard, a fascist movement that was the Romanian parallel of the Nazi storm troopers in Germany.”) The archbishop's story “intrigued me and I started investigating this case,” Krafft says on the podcast, “and the deeper I got into it, the more I realized that the charges were trumped up. That led me to investigating the Holocaust, and I went through that into becoming aware of the writings of Kevin MacDonald and some of the intellectual leaders of what we call the white nationalist movement.”

The particular topic of the podcast was whether white nationalists could be more successful as a movement if they hid their beliefs on the Holocaust or homosexuals. Krafft said he didn't think a person's sexuality should matter to white nationalists (the two others on the show disagreed), but said that the truth is more important than white nationalist strategy, and therefore he and his fellow white nationalists should not hide their beliefs about the Holocaust.

Krafft's website, from which he sells most of his artwork, does not contain any of his copious commentary about the Holocaust. To clarify his views, last week I asked Krafft over e-mail, “Do you believe Hitler's regime systematically murdered millions of Jews?”

Krafft wrote back, “I don't doubt that Hitler's regime killed a lot of Jews in WWII, but I don't believe they were ever frog marched into homicidal gas chambers and dispatched. I think between 700,000–1.2 million Jews died of disease, starvation, overwork,

reprisals for partisan attacks, allied bombing, and natural causes during the war.”

That was the entire e-mail. I followed up: “The number I've always read is 6 million Jews killed. I just want to clarify that it's your belief that 700,000 to 1.2 million Jews died total.”

Krafft did not answer the question. He only sent a link to a story about exaggerations in the original numbers of Jews reported killed at Auschwitz. That story, called “New ‘Official’ Changes in the Auschwitz Story,” appears on a website called Institute for Historical Review.

Wanting to understand more, I asked Krafft over e-mail to explain the development of his beliefs. He reiterated that he didn't get interested in World War II until he read about the Romanian archbishop in 2000, and said he continues to research the case, including a trip this December to the John Jay College of Criminal Justice in New York City. He wrote:

Understanding the nuts and bolts of this complex civil case, the Romanian history behind it and its geopolitical ramifications ultimately served to awaken my racial self-awareness as a WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant). Most people don't understand the difference between White Nationalism and White Supremacism. White Nationalists don't want to reign supreme over any other race. Symbols associated with White Supremacism like swastikas, shamrocks, the Celtic cross etc. aren't embraced by White Nationalists. White Nationalism doesn't have a symbol.

On Facebook, Krafft has posted links to claims that death-camp photography was doctored and that the US Holocaust Memorial Museum fraudulently displayed a gas chamber door. “Holocaust studies is an academic echo chamber,” he has written.

Krafft's Facebook posts got the attention of Tim Detweiler, who