

THE SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER'S

Intelligence Report

SUMMER 2003 • ISSUE 110

MARCHING TOWARD the MAINSTREAM

ARMED WITH NEW IDEAS,
ALLIES AND PRODUCTS,
THE RADICAL RIGHT INVADES
AMERICAN CULTURE





EDITORIAL

Eric Rudolph, At Last

BY MARK POTOK, EDITOR

In the end, they found him scrounging around a garbage Dumpster, looking for rotten fruit from which he might scrape a meal. Five years after he went on the lam, accused Olympics bomber Eric Robert Rudolph finally was in custody.

It was hardly the spectacular ending Rudolph’s cheerleaders on the radical right had hoped for. He didn’t go out in a blaze of gunfire and glory and, in fact, didn’t even attempt to resist. Instead, the Butch Cassidy of the radical right was taken in by a rookie cop on routine patrol behind a grocery store. Rudolph told police he’d been in the North Carolina woods since 1998, living on acorns, lizards and game.

Immediately after his arrest, the speculation began. Had Rudolph had help? If not, how had he survived all that time? Why did he look healthy and fit, even if he was some 50 pounds lighter?

Rudolph, the alleged bomber of abortion clinics, a gay bar and the 1996 Atlanta Olympics, may have had some help. As revealed five years ago by the Southern Poverty Law Center, Rudolph had ties to the anti-Semitic theology of Christian Identity, a faith with adherents in the North Carolina mountains and elsewhere. When he took a large supply of food from a local health food owner, it took the man two days to report to the authorities his encounter with one of the most wanted fugitives in U.S. history. Officials suspect that other locals may have left food or clothing out for Rudolph. Plainly, there was much regional sympathy for Rudolph’s violent opposition to abortion.

Supporting the Fugitive

But what was clearly suggested by Rudolph’s arrest — which took place just miles from where he disappeared into the forest in early 1998 — was that if he did have any support, it was sporadic and disorganized. Speculation about some sort of underground railroad — the kind of organized support network that may have helped Identity adherent Gordon Kahl escape a nationwide dragnet for four months after murdering two U.S. marshals in 1983 — was almost certainly misplaced.

Eric Rudolph *did* have support of another kind — moral support, from the radical right that saw him as an Aryan hero, the many locals who strongly oppose abortion, and his own mother, who played a key role in introducing him to Christian Identity leaders in North Carolina and Missouri. As much as he may have been a loner, Eric Rudolph was not alone. He was acquainted with people who had similar beliefs, and he adopted many of them. Some have suggested that Rudolph’s ideology was merely a “smoke screen” for his “real” motives — a desire to taunt the police or anger at the outlawing of laetrile, a bogus cancer treatment sought by Rudolph’s dying father. But the evidence clearly points to the fact that he was a true believer.

Ideas matter. Especially for an earnest young man, ideas that seem true and correct — even if the rest of the world sneers at or criticizes them — can motivate the most extreme forms of violence. It would be a terrible mistake to assume that all violent radicals are sociopaths bent on criminality and nothing more. The reality is that ideas form the foundation upon which the houses of hatred are built.

Eric Robert Rudolph may have been a criminal. But if he was that, he was also a young man trying to make sense of a changing world. Infected by the hatred he found in Christian Identity and other radical theologies, an earnest young seeker may well have been transformed into a monster capable of mass murder.

Into the Mainstream

In this issue, the *Intelligence Report* takes a broad look at how ideas that originate on the radical right sometimes make their way into mainstream political discourse. Neo-Confederates, for instance, are working hard to demonize Abraham Lincoln in the American mind. Others are pushing a conspiracy theory that suggests that a small group of Jews are behind a plot to destroy American values and culture. And groups like the neo-Nazi National Alliance are using the ploy of “European cultural festivals” to try to foist National Socialist ideas on ethnic whites.

The issue also examines some of the transmitters of these ideas — foundations, think tanks and even certain sectors of the mainstream media. Increasingly, some of these institutions are helping to spread bigoted ideas into American politics.

When radical conspiracy theories about Jews and immigrants and black people find their way into mainstream political thought, all citizens are the poorer. Instead of seeking real solutions to our problems, Americans increasingly are led down the blind alley of blaming scapegoats and fantasy plots for all that ails them. ▲



VALERIE DOWNES

40 On the Cover Targeting rebellious kids and “Aryan” families, extremist groups and online distributors now sell everyday items emblazoned with messages of hate — from Hitler dolls to Aryan Nations thongs to Ku Klux Klan T-shirts for infants. It’s just one technique the far right is using to make bigotry more commonplace in mainstream American life. In addition to the marketing of hate, this issue explores several of these techniques: rewriting history, infiltrating the mass media, using funding foundations and think tanks, and encouraging ethnic whites to celebrate their European heritage.



JENNIFER WAREBURG

8 Lincoln Reconstructed

In most people’s eyes, he was the greatest American president. But hard-line neo-Confederates are bent on convincing us that Abraham Lincoln was really a war criminal responsible for a whole host of societal ills.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

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Right-wing attacks on “political correctness” were only the beginning. Now Pat Buchanan and his fellow travelers are warning about a shadowy Jewish conspiracy to subvert American culture. They call it “cultural Marxism.”



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Under the guise of celebrating European heritage, radical groups are using cultural festivals across the U.S. — including the popular Scottish Highland Games — to lure ethnic whites into the world of Aryan supremacy.

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A peek into the world of right-wing think tanks and foundations that sometimes support racist, religious, ethnic or sexual bigotry.

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Neo-Nazi Harold Covington gives the world a reason to be thankful: His novels stink.

Report Wins Kudos The *Intelligence Report* this spring won an award from the Southern region of the Society of Professional Journalists, which gave its second-place “Green Eyeshade Excellence in Journalism Award” to staff writer Bob Moser in the non-deadline reporting category. Moser won for “‘Savior’ in a Strange Land,” his story, published in the Fall 2002 issue, on the black supremacist United Nuwaubian Nation of Moors. The magazine had earlier won a prestigious design award.

INTELLIGENCE PROJECT

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HATE AND HERITAGE

‘Civil Rights’ Group Retains Alabama Leader Tied to Klan

One of the nation’s largest Southern heritage organizations has decided to keep its Alabama state president in office despite revelations about her secret associations with hard-core white supremacists. The group’s national leader said the woman had done “nothing to deserve to be removed.”

The *Intelligence Report’s* Spring 2003 issue carried a photograph of a clumsily disguised Linda Sewell, head of the Heritage Preservation Association (HPA) of Alabama, with her husband Jim at a neo-Nazi protest outside the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) in Montgomery on Jan. 25. The story also included pictures of an undisguised Sewell at a post-rally luncheon receiving a “certificate of appreciation,” embellished with a Klan blood drop symbol, from Bradley Jenkins, the imperial wizard of the Aryan Nations Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Standing right behind her at the ceremony was Rick Spring, a security official with the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations who once served 12 years for bank robbery.

Smack in the middle of Confederate Heritage Month this April, the well-known Mobile, Ala., activist found herself confronting tough questions from local newspaper and television reporters. Sewell at first denied everything, saying the allegations were part of a smear campaign orchestrated by people who resented her success in making Confederate heritage politically palatable in Mobile — something attested to by the Confederate banners hanging downtown during Alabama’s Confederate Heritage Month. “We’re not racist,” she said of the HPA (see also related story, p. 8). “We’re not supremacists. We’re simply a heritage preservation group.”

But Sewell’s story changed by the day. Initially, she denied she was the person in the photographs and told a reporter that she had been at a Robert E. Lee birthday function that day. Told by the reporter that Lee’s birthday had come more than a week

earlier, she then agreed that she had been in Montgomery Jan. 25, but at a different rally entirely. After friends identified her to Mobile reporters as the woman in the SPLC photos, Sewell, who had already seen the pictures, agreed that indeed she was. But she now claimed that she was never at the neo-Nazi luncheon and had only accepted such a certificate from another organization, on another day, not in Montgomery. She also told one television station that the certificate she received had not carried any Klan symbol. But, as WPML-TV reported, the photos “clearly show Sewell accepting an award with ... a KKK logo.”

Ultimately, Sewell bowed out. On April 22, Ben George, Mobile’s leading neo-Confederate activist, sent an E-mail message to Mobile Mayor Mike Dow and other city officials announcing that Sewell had resigned from the Atlanta-based HPA. (During the entire brouhaha, Dow and the many other politicians who had worked with Sewell on heritage issues declined to condemn her.) George also wrote that both Sewells had resigned from the local chapter of the Sons of Confederate Veterans heritage group, which George leads. “I would have rather they renounced hate and their associations with hate,” George told the *Report*, but all in all, “for them to resign was the best thing.”

Apparently, the HPA’s national president, P. Charles Lunsford, disagrees. “Linda Sewell is still the President of the Heritage Preservation Association of Alabama,” Lunsford wrote in an E-mail to the *Report* some six weeks after the scandal exploded in the Mobile media. “She has done nothing to deserve to be removed.” He followed up a few days later, claiming that Sewell “had no idea” there would be Klansmen at the post-rally luncheon.

Lunsford did not address Sewell’s participation in the rally, which was hosted by the neo-Nazi White Revolution group and took place under flags decorated with swastikas, iron crosses and other neo-Nazi symbols, was attended by a variety of convicted criminals, and included the leaders of major hate groups like the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations. He also did not address the fact that Sewell had disguised herself to attend, and in fact covered up her car’s license plates to avoid detection. And he



Under banners displaying swastikas and other white supremacist symbols, Linda Sewell (highlighted) wears a hat, scarf and sunglasses to hide her identity.

didn’t mention that Sewell accepted the award immediately after a tirade from Jenkins at the podium about “Jews, the niggers, the Mexicans, the mud race.”

Like many “heritage” organizations, the Atlanta-based HPA, which claims members in 49 states and six foreign countries, portrays itself as promoting “heritage, not hate” — a phrase coined by Lunsford himself, who told the *Report* that HPA is “simply a civil rights group.” The group’s Web site pointedly disavows racism. “We do not foster hatred, nor do we tolerate those who do,” it says.

Whether or not the Heritage Preservation Association tolerates haters, Linda Sewell does not appear to be sticking around. Sewell’s one-time ally, George, says that she and her husband — who has been a local leader of the Council of Conservative Citizens hate group — have left public life, vowing never to be heard from again.

ON THE BORDER

Texas Vigilante Group Faces Charges and Lawsuit

Ranch Rescue was riding high. The Texas-based “border watch” group, which uses vigilante tactics to “defend” private ranches along the U.S.-Mexico border, had garnered its 15 minutes of local fame last October with an armed marijuana bust in the Arizona desert. *Soldier of Fortune* magazine was plugging Ranch Rescue’s well-armed efforts in a two-part series. The group’s international roster of volunteers, many of them ex-law officers and mercenaries, had supposedly grown to 250. Some ranchers in Arizona and Texas, fed up with illegal immigrants trooping across their lands, were starting to see Ranch Rescue as a possible solution to their problems.

But the law began to catch up with Ranch Rescue in March, when two members were arrested on allegations of illegally detaining and assaulting a Salvadoran

couple they’d nabbed on a border ranch in Jim Hogg County, Texas.

“These two trespassers were treated with the utmost of kindness and respect,” insisted Ranch Rescue leader Jack Foote, who has called Mexican citizens “dog turds” in the past. But 35-year-old Casey Nethercott of La Mirada, Calif., and 62-year-old Henry “Hank” Conner of Lafayette, La., were charged with holding the immigrants at gunpoint and beating one of them with the butt-end of a gun.

In May, the Salvadoran couple was joined by four other plaintiffs in a civil suit that aims to effectively shut down Ranch Rescue’s paramilitary operations. The six migrants claim they were assaulted, falsely imprisoned, robbed and threatened with death by members of Ranch Rescue and their host in Jim Hogg County, rancher Joe Sutton. One

of the Salvadorans was allegedly pistol-whipped by Nethercott and attacked by Nethercott’s dog. The suit, filed by two Texas law firms in partnership with the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund and the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), seeks monetary damages from Ranch Rescue, Foote, Sutton and several others.

Foote angrily told the *San Antonio Express-News* that the SPLC’s purpose was “to promote a criminal status quo on the border.”

“We see this as an important case to stop this violent paramilitary activity along our border with Mexico,” responded Morris Dees, the SPLC’s chief trial counsel. “If these groups and the ranchers who conspire with them have to pay through their pockets, they will think twice before attacking peaceful migrants.”

NEO-NAZIS

White Revolution Surrenders the Alamo

For members of White Revolution (see also related story, p. 40), the neo-Nazi coalition that split off last year from the powerful National Alliance, the symbolism was almost too good to be true. Billy Roper, White Revolution’s energetic founder (pictured at right), was planning an anti-immigration rally at the Alamo, where Texas volunteers fought to the death in 1836 against Mexican troops that had them outnumbered and surrounded. What better place to rail against the Mexican “mud people” supposedly conducting an “invasion” of the U.S.? What better place to jump-start the fighting spirit of American neo-Nazis, beaten down by months of arrests, deaths and infighting?

Roper’s rally didn’t quite work out as planned. Though a handful of white nationalists from several states did turn up in San Antonio on the sparkling Sunday morning of March 23, they were easily outnumbered by approximately 60 law enforcement officers, some in riot gear, who surrounded Alamo Plaza and kept potential spectators away. Two sets of police barricades — and a prohibition on megaphones and microphones — prevented White Revolution’s anti-immigrant message from being preached to anyone beyond the choir. Roper had a permit for a four-hour demonstration, but the protest fizzled after just an hour and a half. The white nationalists left the Alamo the same way they arrived, under tight

police protection on a bus provided by the local sheriff’s department.

If the protest was less than a smash, White Revolution did manage to stir up folks in San Antonio — in particular, officials of the Miss Teen USA pageant, which was held the day after the rally. Roper managed to buttonhole Nicole Cuppy, Miss South Dakota Teen, on her way back from lunch to pageant practice, getting a photo taken of himself standing next to the beaming 16-year-old.

After Roper posted the photo on his Web site with the caption, “White Revolution Supporter,” pageant officials threatened legal action, saying the contestant had no clue who Roper or his group were and certainly didn’t support racism. The photo was subsequently yanked, but it popped up again in White Revolution’s March newsletter, with yet another false caption: “Miss South Dakota Teen endorses White Revolution just prior to the Miss USA pageant.”



ANTI-ABORTION VIOLENCE

Five Years Later, ‘Atomic Dog’ Caged for Good

Anti-abortion extremists couldn’t wait for the March murder trial of their hero, James Kopp. After two and a half years on the lam, the gun-toting warrior — nicknamed “Atomic Dog” by his compatriots in the extreme wing of the anti-abortion movement — had been arrested in France in 2001 for the assassination of



Dr. Bernard Slepian in his Buffalo, N.Y., area home in 1998. Now, the 48-year-old Kopp and his attorney, anti-abortion activist Bruce Barket, apparently planned to turn Kopp’s trial in Buffalo into a made-for-TV spectacle that would

revive the 1990s debate over what extremists characterize as “justifiable homicide” — and, perhaps, inspire other zealots to follow in Kopp’s bloody footsteps.

But just days before the trial was scheduled to begin, Kopp shocked his allies by waiving his right to a jury trial. Instead, he agreed to stipulate to a set of facts — including an admission that he killed Slepian with a shot through his kitchen window as the doctor talked with his wife and children — and to a drastically shortened bench trial.

The judge rapidly found the man who’d already admitted the shooting to reporters guilty of second-degree murder (Kopp claimed he meant only to injure, not kill) and gave him the maximum sentence: 25 years to life.

Rather than rail against the conviction, some anti-abortion crusaders were furious with Kopp. “Can anyone tell me how Jim Kopp’s decision to have a one-day trial is in the best interest of the babies scheduled to die?” asked Neal Horsley, best known for his online “wanted” list of abortion providers. “Jim Kopp should confess as sin his decision to abandon the court room stage upon which the plight of the unborn could have been spelled out once again in bold and living color almost as clear as the blood on Bernard Slepian’s kitchen floor.”

Observers suspect Kopp had a specific reason for declining to testify on the facts of the case — wanting to avoid being questioned about help he received during his three years as a fugitive. Two longtime anti-abortion activists, Loretta Marra and her husband Dennis Malvasi, pleaded guilty in April to con-

spiracy charges for aiding Kopp. Another activist, Jennifer Rock, admitted in court to giving Kopp \$7,000 and a fake driver’s license and driving him to Mexico not long after the assassination. Many experts believe that there may have been others, too.

Kopp is also suspected in four nonfatal shootings of doctors in New York and Canada, and he still faces federal charges of interfering with the right to an abortion. At press time, the U.S. Justice Department was deciding whether to go ahead with a federal trial or let Kopp’s murder conviction suffice.

HATE MUSIC

Alleged Satanist Charged in Anti-Christian Attack

Sol Evil, a little-known band cranking out black metal music in Orange County, Calif., tried to set itself apart from competitors by making its fans a pledge: “Sol Evil practices what they preach.”

When your act features sheep heads, self-mutilations and calls to “murder ALL Christians,” that’s a tall order. But Sol Evil’s front man, a 22-year-old special education teacher who goes by the stage name Lord Morder, allegedly did his best to keep the promise. In February, Lord Morder — real name: Raymond Earl Shipley — was arrested along with another band member in connection with a Jan. 19 drive-by shooting at a Christian drug rehabilitation center in Santa Ana.



Officials wouldn’t say who the target was, but a former band member told *OC Weekly* that Lord Morder and bandmate Benito Contreras apparently were aiming at another ex-bandmate — stage name: Berserk — who was trying to get clean at

the rehab center. No one was wounded in the shooting, but both men were charged with attempted murder and conspiracy. If convicted, both of their sentences could be lengthened because officials filed the charges along with the first hate crime penalty enhancement requested for an anti-Christian attack in Orange County history.

Hate crimes against Christians are very rare in the United States. To make the unusual charge stick, prosecutors plan to make liberal use of Lord Morder’s anti-Christian rants. “They should all be murdered the way that their bastard Christ was ... slowly and painfully,” he told one interviewer. “All Christians should be murdered without pity or remorse! SATANAS VENIRE!!!”

His attorney argues that Lord Morder’s Christian-bashing was merely an act. But friends and former band members told *OC Weekly* that Shipley seemed to want Sol Evil to follow in the footsteps of some of Norway’s black metal bands, which made the music internationally infamous in the 1990s with gory stage antics and off-stage violence that included at least one murder and a spate of church burnings.

EXTREMIST CRIMES

Neo-Nazi Seeks the Barr of Justice

When dozens of federal officers raided the isolated Georgia home of neo-Nazi firebrand Chester Doles in March, the thick-necked carpenter was arrested on fairly routine charges: five counts of illegal possession of weapons. But Doles’



case quickly became a *cause célèbre* on the extreme right, with the neo-Nazi National Alliance launching a “Free Chester Doles” campaign, calling Doles’ arrest part of a “Jewish” Justice Department campaign to clamp down on white nationalists.

In May, Doles and his supporters made an even more remarkable claim: If enough

money could be raised, they said, Doles might be represented in court by one of America’s best-known conservatives, former Republican Congressman Bob Barr.

In a letter from prison, Doles told his comrades that his wife Theresa had met with Barr on May 16; at the same time, Theresa Doles told a National Alliance radio show that she needed a \$50,000 retainer and \$15,000 for expert testimony.

A month later, on the same radio show, Alliance Membership Coordinator David Pringle said that enough donations had come in to convince Barr to come on board. Those donations “bought us Bob Barr,” Pringle said. We bought that. We bought power. We bought influence.”

Neither Barr nor his law partners in Jasper, Ga., Edwin Marger and Bernard Charette, would answer questions from the *Intelligence Report* about whether they are taking Doles’ case. “While we

would like to be responsive to your inquiry,” Marger wrote by fax, “I hope you understand that we do not comment on potential clients.”

In the past, Barr, like former Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, has flirted with the Council of Conservative Citizens, a large hate group that recently described blacks as “a retrograde species of humanity.”

A former U.S. attorney who joined Marger’s firm after losing his bid for a fifth term in Congress last November, Barr became best known in Congress as a boisterous advocate of impeaching President Bill Clinton. He has also been a leading champion of gun owners’ rights, serving on the board of directors of the National Rifle Association (NRA), which Theresa Doles also claims is helping her husband.

With his criminal history, Doles may need powerful representation in court. Before he moved to Georgia, Doles had racked up nearly a dozen assault arrests and served two separate prison sentences in Maryland — the second, and longest, for the vicious 1993 beating of a black man who he and a fellow Klansman left for dead. Between prison stints, Doles led a major Ku Klux Klan faction in Maryland.

NEO-CONFEDERATES

Defying Vote, SCV Boss Ousts Moderate

In an ongoing skirmish over the future of the 31,400-member Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), extremist forces led by SCV Commander in Chief Ron Wilson continued to gain the upper hand this spring.

Last winter, Wilson suspended the ideologically split organization’s most prominent moderate leader, Commander of the Army of Northern Virginia Charles Hawks, for allegedly violating a gag order that banned members from portraying the SCV “negatively” to the press. On the same grounds, Wilson also suspended 300 other members and several entire SCV chapters, or “camps.” But at a March meeting of the SCV’s executive council, a 9-to-8 vote unexpectedly overturned Wilson’s suspensions. Several moderate former commanders in chief, who retain voting rights on the council, showed up for the meeting unannounced and voted to return Hawks to his post as one of the SCV’s top officials.

Wilson did not take this challenge to his power lying down, issuing an executive order in May that reversed Hawks’ reinstatement. According to an E-mail circulated by the SCV’s hard-line chief of

heritage defense, Wilson ally Allen Sullivant, Wilson “revoked as void and improper” the March vote. No further explanation was publicly offered by Wilson. In Hawks’ stead, Wilson appointed another of his allies, Chris Sullivan of South Carolina. Sullivan is the editor of *Southern Partisan*, an in-your-face neo-Confederate magazine that has portrayed slaves as happy, slave owners as benevolent Christians and Abraham Lincoln as “a liar” (see also related story, p. 8).

Wilson and his extremist allies on the SCV Council also passed a motion to sever their relationship with the 1,450-member Military Order of Stars and Bars (MOSB), an SCV affiliate whose members are descended from Confederate officers. According to MOSB sources, Wilson and his appointees were upset about negative comments MOSB officials made about Wilson’s suspensions and his appointments of hate group members to SCV posts. According to a Sullivant E-mail message, the SCV will “buy out” MOSB assets at Elm Springs, the Tennessee plantation house headquarters of the SCV.

Common Ground?

When anti-Semitic “Patriots” gathered to celebrate their favorite magazine, they were joined by an unlikely ally

EVANSVILLE, Ind. — When fifty people gathered in late May to celebrate the 10-year anniversary of *Media Bypass*, the magazine darling of the antigovernment “Patriot” movement, the event was mostly business as usual in the world of extremism — with one notable exception.

Held in a small conference room at Evansville’s Airport Marriot, the three-day “Convention & Expo” was hosted by Chris Temple and Paul Hall, the new owners of *Media Bypass*. Both Hall and Temple are well-known adherents of Christian Identity, a racist and anti-Semitic religion that teaches Jews are the result of a union between Eve and Satan.

The convention mirrored the editorial bent of their magazine. Speakers railed against Jews and the Internal Revenue Service, and elaborated conspiracy theories “explaining” the Sept. 11 and Oklahoma City terrorist attacks. Vendors peddled the *David Duke Report* and pamphlets promoting Christian Identity. Musical diversion was provided by a home-schooling family band called Heritage, performing tunes from the Revolutionary War and the “War Between the States.”

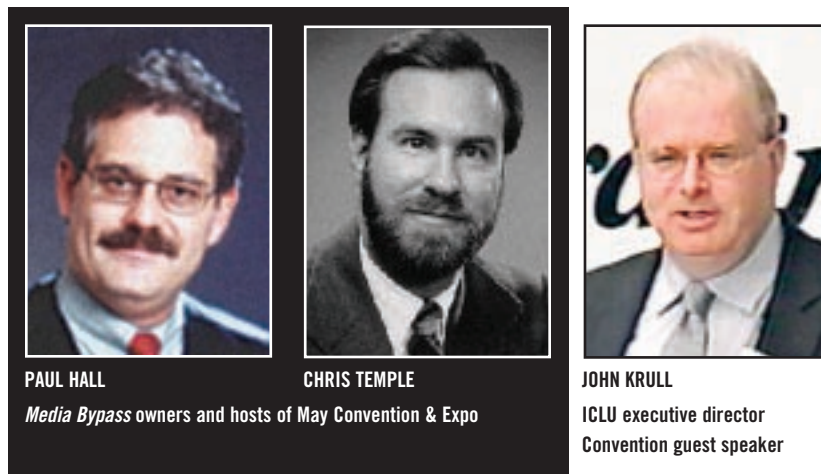
But there was one surprise in store. Joining the extremists celebrating *Media Bypass* was John Krull, executive director of the Indiana Civil Liberties Union (ICLU), the state chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Krull was warmly introduced by Temple, who formerly edited the *Citizens Informer*, the newsletter of the white-supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens. Temple told his fellow extremists that he, Krull and ICLU board member Mark Miller had developed a friendly relationship, meeting together frequently for more than a year. What brought them together, he said, were the threats to civil liberties represented by the USA Patriot Act, which many on the extremist right have blamed for a spate of arrests and raids on white-nationalist leaders in the past year.

Reciprocating Temple’s warm sentiments, Krull said that their relationship reminded him of the old saw about “porcupines making love.” He added, “the porcupines do assure me that the final effect is worth the effort.” Krull praised *Media Bypass*, which had recently published two of his essays about the Patriot Act, as “a powerful voice of freedom during this time of trouble.” He then compared the magazine his own organization. *Media*

Bypass, Krull said, is “making the case for freedom and for our constitutional birthrights.” That, he said, “has been the ACLU’s job and I’m happy to say that it is also *Media Bypass*’ job.”

In the last year, *Media Bypass* has published stories by several leading anti-Semitic ideologues and even Kevin Alfred Strom, a



PAUL HALL
Media Bypass owners and hosts of May Convention & Expo

CHRIS TEMPLE

JOHN KRULL
ICLU executive director
Convention guest speaker

neo-Nazi leader who fulminated in his story about Jews, blacks and how “the results of racial mixing” are “poverty, filth, social conflict and political malaise.”

Krull spoke eloquently about the way the ICLU does its job. While he emphasized common ground between his organization and the right-wing extremists in the room, he did not highlight their differences in his remarks to the gathering by repudiating the racist and anti-Semitic sentiments of other speakers and audience members.

Krull’s address was sandwiched between two speakers far more familiar to this audience. Preceding Krull was Edgar Steele, the attorney who represented neo-Nazi Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler when he was sued by the Southern Poverty Law Center. Steele gave a fiery talk about how “Zionists control America” and persecute “politically incorrect, conservative Christians” like Duke, neo-Nazi leader Matt Hale and Holocaust denier Ernst Zundel, whom Steele said was imprisoned for telling the truth about the “so-called Holocaust.” After Krull’s speech, conspiracy theorist Pat Shannan fulminated against the Jewish cabal he claims was behind the 9/11 attacks. Shannan’s evidence: “no towel-head in a cave” could possibly have pulled off such sophisticated attacks.

During the other speeches, Krull manned an ICLU display and chatted with participants who milled around the neighboring tables, inspecting Christian Identity and antigovernment audiotapes, videotapes, books and pamphlets. On one side of the ICLU’s table, Pat Shannan hawked his book, *One in a Million: An IRS Travesty*, which purportedly reveals how the Internal Revenue Service secretly spies on Americans. On the other side of Krull was the Union Christian Church, handing out pamphlets with titles like “Caucasian Culture” and “Our Southern Heritage: The Confederate Battle Flag.”

In the afternoon, Krull moved back to the podium for a roundtable discussion with the most influential extremists in the room: Hall, Temple, Steele, Shannan, Clayton Douglas (publisher of the *Free American*, another “Patriot” magazine), outspoken Christian Identity “pastor” Eustace Mullins and Charles Key, a former Oklahoma state legislator who believes there was a government conspiracy behind the Oklahoma City bombing.

The panel brimmed with anti-Semitic and antigovernment conspiracy theories. Asked about the U.S. government’s role in the 9/11 attacks, Douglas responded: “So who had to gain by 9/11? Israel. Who wants an office in our homeland security? Mossad,” he said,

Attending a conference rife with white supremacist literature (below) and leaders, an Indiana civil libertarian praised the host, *Media Bypass* magazine, as “a powerful voice for freedom.” *Media Bypass* in recent months has published stories by leading anti-Semitic ideologues and even neo-Nazi leader Kevin Alfred Strom.



referring to the Israeli security agency. Mullins chimed in. “I do know that the only person who directly benefited from 9/11 is Larry Silverstein and Silverstein is not an Arab.” (He is the developer who acquired the World Trade Center lease shortly before the attacks.) Key said he didn’t care about 9/11, but he knew who to blame for Oklahoma City: “the U.S. government killed those babies in that nursery,” he said, “just as sure as Janet Reno killed those babies at Waco.” Rather than take issue with these statements, Krull again sought common ground, expressing his view that “we need to have a fundamental debate in this country now about do we want to be an empire or do we want to be a republic.”

The discussion turned to the need to build bridges between the left and the right to combat the erosion of civil liberties. “We need those who love liberty on the left and the right to join together,” said Key. Krull joked that the right-wing extremists shouldn’t count on too much help from the left. “As someone who has now served as the leader of the ICLU for five years,” he said, “I can tell you ... if you lock two ICLU members in a room for an hour they will emerge having formed three factions. These folks can’t agree on anything.” But he went on, more seriously, to endorse the idea of forming a “coalition” that would include “a lot of people, like the folks in this room, like my members.”

It remains to be seen whether Krull’s ICLU members will share his enthusiasm for such a coalition. But when he was interviewed by the *Intelligence Report* about his participation at the *Media Bypass* convention, Krull was unapologetic. “[H]ow in the heck do you think you will ever change these people’s minds if you don’t engage with them?” he asked.

Krull, who plans to step down from his ICLU post at the end of 2003, said he attended the conference for a simple reason: “I was invited, and basically we go out and talk to anyone who issues an invitation.” In Krull’s view, communing with the far right is part of “what the ACLU has been trying to do, reach out to people who were not sensitive to our message in the past.” (It is important to note that state chapters of the ACLU have a high degree of autonomy. Executive directors like Krull do not have to receive approval from the national office before deciding who to reach out to.)

Krull told the *Intelligence Report* that he was unaware of the long histories of racial activism on the part of many participants, including his friend Temple, and said that he had not read *Media Bypass*, despite his contributions to the magazine. “I don’t do background checks on people,” he said. “That is what [U.S. Attorney General John] Ashcroft does.” And he added, that is what the *Intelligence Report* does as well.

Was Krull offended by the anti-Semitic materials at the convention? “[T]here was some stuff that I probably found offensive,” he said, “although in fairness some of the stuff I had on church/state separation they found offensive.” Did he worry that his participation lent legitimacy to the extremist views of *Media Bypass*? “No,” Krull said, noting that while they came together in their opinions of the Patriot Act, he had disagreements with the other participants on “church/state issues” and “most of the other things that the ACLU stands for.” ▲



Unreconstructed Southerners, who marched and mourned in Richmond this April, are waging war on Abraham Lincoln's reputation.

As the neo-Confederate movement grows more aggressive, 'Honest Abe' Lincoln is depicted as evil personified

LINCOLN RECONSTRUCTED

BY BOB MOSER

Jefferson Davis presides over the roaring James River, guarded by an angel. In the central city, along busy Monument Avenue, traffic islands feature massive tributes to Confederate luminaries, led off by Gen. Robert E. Lee. Sixty-one feet high, with the general sitting tall in the saddle of a noble steed, Lee's monument is the spitting image of heroic triumph.

Last December, the Richmond-based U.S. Historical Society announced that it was donating a small measure of historical balance to its home town: a statue of Abraham Lincoln. Next to the elaborate homages to Davis and Lee, this nod to Lincoln would be decidedly modest — and anything but triumphal. Sculptor David Frech was creating a likeness of Lincoln during his "healing visit" to Richmond on April 4 and 5, 1865, right after the city fell to Union forces and right before he was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth. While Lee's huge image looks eternally ready for battle, Frech's lifesized

RICHMOND, Va. — If you somehow managed to skip 19th century history, a driving tour of this Old South city would leave you in little doubt about who won the Civil War. The rebels, right?

The erstwhile capital of the Confederacy overflows with plaques, statues, streets, museums and monuments honoring the Southern cause. At Hollywood Cemetery, a hilly boneyard containing 18,000 dead rebels, a bronze memorial to Confederate President

Lincoln would be resting on a bench, looking sad and spent after four years of war, his arm draped around his 12-year-old son Tad. The base of the statue would be inscribed with a conciliatory fragment of Lincoln's second inaugural address: "to bind up the nation's wounds."

But the notion of memorializing Lincoln in Richmond only succeeded in picking open old, festering scabs. As soon as the announcement was made, a clamor of rebel yells rose up, loud as Pickett's charge at Gettysburg. Outraged letters streamed into local newspapers, likening Lincoln to Hitler, Saddam and Osama. Protesters from the white supremacist hate group European-American Unity and Rights Organization (EURO) took to Richmond's streets, handing out pamphlets ironically accusing the "Great Emancipator" of being the "Great Segregationist." More than 3,000 signed an online petition started by Ron Holland, a prominent member of the

JENNIFER WARBURG PHOTOS



white supremacist League of the South hate group. Many petition-signers took the opportunity to vent their splenetic feelings about the man who consistently tops polls as the nation's most widely admired president.

"Just say NO to America's greatest WAR CRIMINAL — the murderer of 600,000!!" exclaimed Robert G. Patrick.

"Not even with a rope around his neck," declared Dewey Lee Martin.

"Why not put up a statue of Osama Bin Laden at Ground Zero?" wondered Mary Looney. "It is the equivalent, to Southerners, of what's proposed for Richmond."

"Build a John Wilkes Booth statue instead," suggested Ken E. Neff.

Complaining that the Lincoln statue would be "a not-so-subtle reminder of who won the war," Brag Bowling, hard-line commander of the Virginia Division of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, led the charge. To Bowling, Lincoln's visit to Richmond constituted an unsportsmanlike victory lap, a way for the "tyrant" to rub salt in rebel wounds. According to Bowling, Lincoln even "sat at Jefferson Davis' desk and propped his feet up" when he stopped at the White House of the Confederacy.

"They're protesting because there's a misunderstanding of history," counters Edward C. Smith, an American University professor who proposed the statue two years ago during a Heritage Day speech in Virginia. Like most historians who've written about the little-known event, Smith sees Lincoln's visit to Richmond, which was still on fire after retreating rebel forces torched the business district, as a brave act of reconciliation. "Lincoln didn't come down to do an end-zone dance," Smith says. "He came down and risked his life and his son's life to say that what he said in the second inaugural — 'with malice toward none, with charity for all' — was true."

Like U.S. Historical Society president Robert Kline, who raised \$1 million to build Richmond's Museum of the Confederacy, Smith came to the controversy with serious *bona fides* among Southern "heritage" groups. In addition to sitting on the board of the Jefferson Davis

Presidential Library, Smith is an honorary member of the Virginia Division of the Sons of Confederate Veterans — "probably the only African-American with that honor," he says. Even so, he didn't expect his support would make the statue an easy sell. "I was not so naïve as to presume this would be greeted with joy," Smith says.



Lincoln's detractors, protesting in Richmond, blame him for a whole host of ills.

"That's sort of like going to Iraq and hoping it'll be over in a weekend."

'Hitler Was a Lincolnite'

The statue skirmish came at an auspicious time for Lincoln's detractors. Since the late '90s, neo-Confederate historians, "heritage" advocates and hate groups have declared total war on what they call the "Lincoln myth." Firing away in books and articles and Web sites, they've been battling to transform Lincoln into a figure few history students would recognize: a racist dictator who trashed the Constitution and turned the U.S.A. into an imperialist welfare state.

"They've decided to make him into a kind of Stalin or Hitler," says historian George Ewert, who directs Alabama's Museum of Mobile. For proof, check out the bulging "King Lincoln" archive on the libertarian Web site LewRockwell.com

(see Ludwig von Mises Institute, p. 56), where the headlines tell the story: "Heil, Abe," "Lincoln vs. Liberty," "Hitler Was a Lincolnite," "Lincoln: Slavery A-OK," and, for Lincoln's birthday, "Happy Dictator Day." Or take a spin through *Lincoln, the Man*, a widely discredited 1931 screed by Edgar Lee Masters that was reprinted



in 1997 by the far-right Foundation for American Education. Full-page ads for the book ran in *Southern Partisan* magazine, proclaiming: "If You Think Bill Clinton Has a Character Problem, Take a Look At ... Lincoln, the Man."

The appeal of demonizing Lincoln is simple, Ewert says. "A scapegoat makes it easier to revive the old argument that the war was about states' rights, not slavery. Now, rather than having to deal with the case for preserving the Union, they can view everything through the lens of one personality, one person's character and

political record. And Lincoln did have a rather spotty record."

The issue is larger than Lincoln. David Goldfield, author of the prize-winning *Still Fighting the Civil War*, says that Lincoln-bashing has the same roots as other white supremacist campaigns in the post-Civil Rights era. "Some people who have wrapped up their identity in white history feel challenged, if not disregarded and neglected," Goldfield says. "They realize the tide of history is rolling very heavily."

A recent headline on WorldNetDaily, a far-right Web site, showed what neo-Confederate and white supremacist groups believe is at stake: "'Taking America Back' Starts with Taking Lincoln Down." The anti-Lincoln campaign is not simply another series of shopworn arguments about the past. Instead, Lincoln is blamed for everything far right-wingers believe is amiss in the America of 2003: big centralized government, welfare giveaways, rampant capitalist greed, shrinking civil liberties and reckless imperialism.

The most popular expression of this revisionist view is Thomas J. DiLorenzo's 2002 book, *The Real Lincoln*. "It was not to end slavery that Lincoln initiated an invasion of the South," writes DiLorenzo, an economics professor at Loyola College in Maryland. "A war was not necessary to free the slaves, but it was necessary to destroy the most significant check on the powers of the central government: the right of secession."

Lincoln didn't care about freeing blacks, argues DiLorenzo, a frequent contributor to the "King Lincoln" section of LewRockwell.com. Instead, once Lincoln had destroyed states' rights, he was free to pursue his "real agenda": the "much more centralized governmental system" that "Americans labor under today."

Reconstructing Lincoln

Anti-Lincoln sentiment has not always been rampant among unreconstructed Southerners. Far from it, in fact. During Reconstruction, John Wilkes Booth was often considered as blamable as Lincoln, whom many Southerners believed would have treated the post-war South more mercifully than his successors.

"During the war Lincoln was the black Republican, the one whose very election



Brag Bowling (left) led the charge against the Lincoln statue. Ron Doggett of EURO (below) showed his colors throughout the dispute.

justified immediate secession," says Harry Watson, director of the Center for the Study of the American South at the University of North Carolina. "Eventually, he became the kind, generous, 'malice-toward-none' guy who would never have allowed the Radical Republicans to fasten black suffrage and other such enormities on a prostrate South."

That sentiment emerges from the treacly pages of *The Clansman*, the baldly racist 1905 Thomas Dixon novel that helped ignite the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan. While Dixon paints the Southern cause in absurdly rosy tones — and blacks as brutal and stupid savages — he also treats Lincoln as a God-like wise man interested only in saving the union. Had Lincoln not been betrayed by wicked Reconstruction officials and ultimately assassinated, the book suggests, all



would have been well and white supremacy would have been resuscitated.

Lincoln was certainly not beloved by all Southerners, but Lincoln revisionism did not take off until the 1950s and 1960s, when the civil rights movement launched a fresh assault on white supremacy. In the 1950s and 1960s, White Citizens Councils, formed to combat school desegregation, dredged up quotes designed to show that the "great emancipator" was a segregationist just like them.

In the late '60s, a very different voice chimed in. Lerone Bennett, a longtime editor for *Ebony* magazine, created a stir by labeling Lincoln a "white supremacist" — not only because he used the word "nigger" and showed a fondness for blackface minstrel shows, but also because he advocated "colonization," the voluntary return of black Americans to Africa. Bennett elaborates his claims in a 2000 book, *Forced Into Glory*, where he argues that the Emancipation Proclamation, far from being a ringing cry for black freedom, was a "ploy" Lincoln used to further his "conservative plan to free Blacks gradually and ship them out of the country."

Bennett's book has been cited and championed by such partisan defenders of Dixie as syndicated columnist Joseph Sobran and Emory University Professor Donald Livingston, a former leader of the League of the South. Harry Watson sees a distinct irony in neo-Confederates like these agreeing so heartily with Bennett that Lincoln was not a champion of black people. "This makes secessionists look pretty foolish when you think about it," Watson says. "Why secede if Lincoln was such a friend of slavery? But logic is not the controlling power here."

Power and History

"What irritates the hell out of me," says statue advocate Edward C. Smith, "is that the people who are opposed to Lincoln, Lee wouldn't have had anything to do with them." After all, it was the beloved Confederate general who famously commented, "I surrendered as much to Lincoln's goodness as I did to Grant's armies."

Lee's sentiments probably would have gotten him hooted out of the room when upwards of 300 Lost Cause devo-

tees came to Richmond in March for a “Lincoln Reconsidered” conference. The brainchild of *The Real Lincoln* author Thomas J. DiLorenzo, the conference was sponsored by LewRockwell.com, which advertised the cost of attending as “just \$49 in Yankee money.”

The tone for the proceedings, held in an ornate ballroom of the old John Marshall Hotel just two weekends before the scheduled unveiling of the Lincoln statue, was set by the invocation given by Father Alister Anderson, who also serves as the Sons of Confederate Veterans’ national chaplain. After giving thanks for “the

last real Christian civilization on Earth,” namely “the Southland,” Anderson laid curses on “hypocrites and bigots” who have tried to dismiss “the righteous cause for which our ancestors fought.” Then he posed a question that is now at least 138 years old: “Are we, true Southerners, facing a cultural genocide?”

To David Goldfield, this notion of “cultural genocide” helps explain the resurgence of Lincoln-bashing. “History is really about power,” Goldfield says. “Now that African-Americans have more economic and political power, a lot of American history is being rewritten — in

textbooks, museums, historical markers, plantation tours, monuments.”

But nothing rankles so much as seeing Lincoln’s reputation soar while the Confederacy’s sinks. “If you want to tilt at windmills,” Goldfield says, “Lincoln’s the biggest windmill around.”

The ‘Lincoln Fable’

Nobody tilts more fiercely than Clyde Wilson, professor of Southern history at the University of South Carolina and board member of the League of the South, a white-supremacist hate group that prominently publicized



“Lincoln Reconsidered” on its DixieNet Web site. Holding forth in the John Marshall ballroom, Wilson won the day’s most raucous applause with a no-holds-barred assault on what he calls the “Lincoln fable.”

Wilson scoffed at “the pathetic cabin that Lincoln was born in,” saying it showed how “shiftless”

Lincoln’s father was. Lincoln spoiled his own children, Wilson charged. Far from a Christian hero, Lincoln was a “non-believer” and a “notorious retailer of dirty stories.” Lincoln’s management style resembled Hitler’s in its “Machiavellian” quality.

And what about Lincoln’s reputation for brilliance? Forget it, Wilson said. Lincoln had “no intellectual curiosity.” If the man could readily quote Shakespeare and the Bible, well, “So could everybody else in his day.”

At “Lincoln Reconsidered,” history professor Clyde Wilson let loose with a full-bore attack on Lincoln’s character — and even the “pathetic” cabin he was born in.

WHITEWASHING THE CONFEDERACY

A recent movie glorifies the Confederacy, whitewashes slavery and twists American history. Luckily, it’s a terrible film **BY GEORGE EWERT**

The effort to revise the history of the Civil War to favor the South in popular memory began the moment that America’s bloodiest war had come to an end. Former Confederate leaders, preachers and ideologues, determined to shake off the notion that they had fought to defend a society based on human servitude, launched a campaign to bury the real cause of the war that has not ended to this day.

The purpose of this myth of the Lost Cause, in the words of scholar Alan T. Nolan, was to rewrite history “to hide the Southerners’ tragic and self-destructive mistake” by fostering “a heroic image of secession and the war so that Confederates would have salvaged at least their honor from the all-encompassing defeat.” Men such as Alexander Stephens, the rebel vice president who once famously described white supremacy as the “cornerstone” of the Confederacy, rushed out popular histories that claimed that the war had not been about slavery at all.

Now comes the latest effort in that tradition, a \$56-million, 216-minute blockbuster film called “Gods and Generals.” Funded by Ted Turner Pictures and directed, written and produced by Ronald Maxwell, who made the successful Civil War film “Gettysburg,” this 2003 “prequel” has neo-Confederates salivating.

The movie is “an American cultural event of major significance,” “an arresting example of how a people’s history should be told,” writes Clyde Wilson, a neo-Confederate intellectual and founding member of the League of the South hate group. It is a work “that presents truthful history rather than fiction or politically correct revisionism,” says Phyllis Schlafly of the far-right Eagle Forum, adding that Southerners “certainly did not die to defend slavery.” The acting in this “deeply honest piece of film-making” is “uniformly superb” and emphasizes

how “few men thought they were fighting about slavery,” writes FrontPageMagazine.com reviewer John Zmirak (see also Center for the Study of Popular Culture, p. 55).

The film, in sum, “is not only the finest movie ever made about the Civil War, it is also the best American historical film,” *American Enterprise Magazine* enthused (see group description of American Enterprise Institute, p. 54). “Period.”

These thrilled reviewers and their ilk go on to elaborate reasons for their excitement. “Gods and Generals” is “more or less explicitly Christian, Southern and even libertarian,” writes Daniel McCarthy of LewRockwell.com (see description of Ludwig von Mises Institute, p. 56). It is “real history” that shows that “Lincoln didn’t start the War Between the States to save black people,” says a writer on The Sierra Times, a far-right Web site run by former Ohio militia leader J.J. Johnson. “You have got to see this movie,” concludes Claude Sinclair, a member of a South Carolina chapter of the Sons of Confederate Veterans heritage group. “It is very pro Confederate. The movie even goes on to state that slavery didn’t become an issue until after the North found themselves losing and as a political ploy.”

The problem? These notions of the war are false.

“God and Generals,” which focuses on the first two years of the Civil War, doesn’t totally deny the role of slavery, but it minimizes it. It offers completely one-sided pictures of generals Robert E. Lee and Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson as noble and impossibly pious characters whose conduct puts them in “the army of the Lord.” The entire film, save a couple of scenes, is told from the Confederate perspective. It has two black characters, but they are wildly unrepresentative of blacks in the South of that period. One, Martha, is a slave who remains in

her master’s house after his family flees so that she can protect it from the ravages of Union troops. The other, a freedman named Jim who volunteers to be Gen. Jackson’s camp cook and mumbles in clichéd black dialect, is similarly depicted as a loyal Southerner. In one scene, the camera lingers on a free black man cheering the rebels as they march off to war.

As any serious historian knows, the impressions such scenes give us are hogwash. Very few blacks willingly aided the Southern cause, and in fact Southern leaders carried out at least one massacre of black Union troops. Most important, the war was clearly, at base, about slavery. While mountains of scholarship support this conclusion, the case may be most eloquently made in a short and scholarly 2001 book, Charles Dew’s *Apostles of Disunion*. The book describes how “secession commissioners” from the first states to secede appealed to other states to join them — in virtually all cases, by an explicit appeal to maintain white supremacy.

Luckily, quite apart from its political message, “Gods and Generals” is an extremely bad film. It is cloying and melodramatic, and its stiff characters give an endless series of ponderous, stilted speeches about God, man and war. This didactic sermonizing is accompanied by a plethora of staged battle scenes, many of which are highly unrealistic to anybody familiar with real war. These scenes are leavened with even more preposterous pictures of officers singing “Silent Night” around a piano

“An American cultural event of major significance,” “an arresting example of how a people’s history should be told.”

— CLYDE WILSON, FOUNDING MEMBER OF LEAGUE OF THE SOUTH

“...not only the finest movie ever made about the Civil War, it is also the best American historical film.”

— AMERICAN ENTERPRISE MAGAZINE

“You have got to see this movie.”

— CLAUDE SINCLAIR, SONS OF CONFEDERATE VETERANS

“A lumpy three-and-a-half hour glob.”

— THE NEW YORK TIMES

and cheering the bonnie blue flag at a singalong that includes Ted Turner.

The film is so flawed, in fact, that Rotten Tomatoes, a Web site that collects reviews from around the country and rates films accordingly, found that only 9% of the reviews were positive. “A lumpy three-and-a-half-hour glob,” said *The New York Times*. “A stiff and stilted historical pageant,” the *San Francisco Examiner* added. “Countless ringing speeches, endless stretches of flowery dialogue,” the *Los Angeles Times* complained. Others used words like “repulsive” “numbing,” “an unqualified disaster” and “monstrosity” to describe it. “It’s a plodding, episodic film, reverent and sanctimonious, and its pro-Southern viewpoint ... makes ‘Gone With the Wind’ look like a Northern polemic,” concluded the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

“Gods and Generals” is part of a growing movement that seeks to rewrite the history of the American

South, downplaying slavery and the economic system that it sustained. In museums, schools and city council chambers, white neo-Confederates are hard at work in an effort to have popular memory trump historical accuracy. The silver lining in this cloud, however, is that the film is so technically and dramatically bad that it will convert no one, other than those who already want to believe.

George Ewert is a historian and the director of the Museum of Mobile.

A statue of such a person in the capital of the Confederacy, Wilson declared, would constitute a “whole-hog capitulation to the Lincoln fable.” Better to keep alive the spirit of the South just after Lincoln’s assassination, he suggested, joking about what happened when the Union mandated only the most abbreviated church services honoring the slain president. “They consisted only of the doxology: ‘Praise God from whom all blessings flow,’” Wilson said, drawing laughs and cheers.

At the same time that neo-Confederates have rallied around *Gods & Generals*, the critically panned Civil War epic that paints Gen. Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson as a Christian martyr (see story, p. 12), they remain furious at what Wilson called “the blasphemous association of Lincoln with Christ.” “Evil is habit-forming,” Donald Livingston reminded the “Lincoln Reconsidered” audience, and no habit is so evil as worshipping the myth of a good Lincoln.

But while the speakers reveled in goring Lincoln’s image, they returned often — though more soberly — to the lasting damage his presidency allegedly has done. Since the conference coincided with the U.S. invasion of Iraq, the theory that Lincoln launched the “American empire” on its plundering path was a consistent theme. “If there was no Lincoln then, there’d be no George W. Bush now,” Clyde Wilson rasped, winning applause from a roomful of rather unlikely anti-war activists.

“Honest Abe” Lincoln was also recast as the personification of Yankee greed. When it came his turn to talk, DiLorenzo pointed out that Lincoln asked in 1861 for tariffs even higher than the ones that had supposedly been “bleeding the South dry” since 1824. Lincoln was a toady for railroad interests, DiLorenzo claimed, adding that Richmond was now seeing fresh evidence of his avaricious legacy. “That statue is all about money,” DiLorenzo said, referring to opponents’ claims that the U.S. Historical Society was trying to fraudulently profit from sales of miniature statues that are supposed to pay for the bronze Lincoln. (Pressed to investigate, the National Park Service found no improprieties.)



JENNIFER WARBURG

Time Marches On?

In the end, no amount of protests, petitions or pedagogy could prevent Lincoln’s return to Richmond. On the overcast afternoon of Saturday, April 5, a gaggle of children and dignitaries pulled back a green cloth, unveiling David Frech’s pensive rendering of the 16th U.S. president. The sight of Lincoln was greeted with enthusiastic cheers from the audience of 850 inside the Civil War Visitor Center, and even more enthusiastic jeers from the estimated 100 protesters outside, most of them members of hate groups and Southern heritage organizations.

As state and local dignitaries hailed Richmond’s modest tribute to Lincoln’s “healing visit,” the latter-day Confederates did their damndest to drown them out with wolf whistles, “Dixie” singalongs, and the drone of a small plane hired by the Heritage Preservation Association (see related story, p. 2). For two hours, the plane kept circling over the festivities, its red banner proclaiming: “Sic Semper Tyrannis” (“Thus always to tyrants,” the words spoken in Latin by Booth after he assassinated Lincoln). On a hilltop nearby, in plain view of the spectators, a group of men in the back of a 4-by-4 pickup unfurled a huge Confederate Navy Jack, letting loose a blood-curdling rebel yell. For these folks, the most vexing words of the day were shouted over the din by Lt. Gov. Timothy M. Kaine, who proclaimed on behalf of Virginia, “Abraham Lincoln is one of us.”

“Time marches on,” said former Virginia Gov. Douglas Wilder, “and leaves many in its wake.” But, Wilder

added hopefully, “the wake lessens with the passing of the years. There are not many people who will continue to live in the past.”

As if to prove him wrong, unreconstructed Southerners massed in force the next afternoon for a march honoring Confederate Heritage and History Month, hosted by the Virginia Division of the Sons of Confederate Veterans. Led off by a platoon of bikers with rebel flags fixed to their Harleys, an estimated 1,500 to 1,800 — many of them decked out in butternut Confederate uniforms and black hoop skirts of mourning — paraded past the Confederate tributes on Monument Avenue and wound their way toward an afternoon of festivities at Hollywood Cemetery.

“Kill the time machine,” bellowed one unimpressed Richmonder. But the neo-Confederates marched on undaunted, with Abraham Lincoln now a primary target in their sights. The Richmond controversy appears to have only added fuel to the fire started by Lincoln’s detractors. They lost the battle over the Lincoln statue. But can they win the war over Lincoln’s image?

Like other historians, David Goldfield doubts it. In fact, considering the venom of the arguments against Lincoln — and considering who’s making those arguments — “the contrary will probably happen,” Goldfield suspects. In the past, attempts to discredit Lincoln have only stirred mainstream historians to vigorously defend Lincoln’s role as savior of the Union and emancipator of the slaves. These efforts, in turn, have further burnished his public image. “Lincoln’s stature has only increased over the last decade,” notes Goldfield.

That may be true. But during the “Lincoln Reconsidered” conference, Ron Holland served up a bit of anecdotal evidence that suggests the Lincoln-bashing effort is making an impression on at least some of the impressionable. The future of the Confederate cause, said Holland, lies with folks like young Stacy Wade Harris, who signed the petition opposing the Lincoln statue and wrote a note that won ringing applause from his elders: “I’m only 10,” Harris said, “but I feel like I’ve hated Lincoln for 110 years.” ▲



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

REFRAMING the ENEMY

‘Cultural Marxism,’ a conspiracy theory with an anti-Semitic twist, is being pushed by much of the American right

BY BILL BERKOWITZ

Television commentator Pat Buchanan says it is being used to “de-Christianize” America. Washington heavyweight William Lind claims it is turning U.S. college campuses into “ivy-covered North Koreas.” Retired naval commander Gerald Atkinson fears it has invaded the nation’s military academies. Immigration activist John Vinson suggests it aims “to distort and destroy” our country.

“Cultural Marxism,” described as a conspiratorial attempt to wreck American culture and morality, is the newest intellectual bugaboo on the radical right. Surprisingly, there are signs that this bizarre theory is catching on in the mainstream.

Bill Berkowitz, a regular columnist with Working Assets’ WorkingForChange.com, is a free-lance writer specializing in right-wing political movements.

The Free Congress Foundation “was the first think tank to develop a new cultural conservatism.”

The phrase refers to a kind of “political correctness” on steroids — a covert assault on the American way of life that allegedly has been developed by the left over the course of the last 70 years. Those who are pushing the “cultural Marxism” scenario aren’t merely poking fun at the PC excesses of the “People’s Republic of Berkeley,” or the couple of American cities whose leaders renamed manholes “person-holes” in a bid to root out sexist thought. Right-wing ideologues, racists and other extremists have jazzed up political correctness and repackaged it — in its most virulent form, as an anti-Semitic theory that identifies Jews in general and several Jewish intellectuals in particular as nefarious, communistic destroyers. These supposed originators of “cultural Marxism” are seen as conspiratorial plotters intent on making Americans feel guilty and thus subverting their Christian culture.

In a nutshell, the theory posits that a tiny group of Jewish philosophers who fled Germany in the 1930s and set up shop at Columbia University in New York City devised an unorthodox form of “Marxism” that took aim at American society’s culture, rather than its economic system. The theory holds that these self-interested Jews — the so-called “Frankfurt School” of philosophers — planned to try to convince mainstream Americans that white ethnic pride is bad, that sexual liberation is good, and that supposedly traditional American values — Christianity, “family values,” and so on — are reactionary and bigoted. With their core values thus subverted, the theory goes, Americans would be quick to sign on to the ideas of the far left.

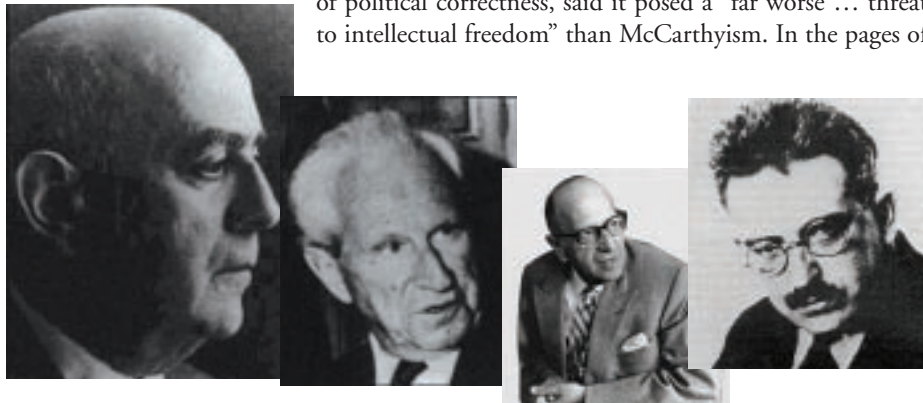
The very term, “cultural Marxism,” is clearly intended to conjure up xenophobic anxieties. But can a theory like this, built on the words of long-dead intellectuals who have little discernible relevance to normal Americans’ lives, really fly? As bizarre as it might sound, there is some evidence that it may. Certainly, those who are pushing the theory seem to believe that it is an important one.

“Political correctness looms over American society like a colossus,” William Lind, a principal of far-right political strategist Paul Weyrich’s Free Congress Foundation (see group description, p. 56) and a key popularizer of the idea of cultural Marxism, warned in a 1998 speech. “It has taken over both

political parties and is enforced by many laws and government regulations. It almost totally controls the most powerful element in our culture, the entertainment industry. It dominates both public and higher education. ... It has even captured the clergy in many Christian churches.”

From PC to Cultural Marxism

The idea of political correctness — the predecessor of the more highly charged concept of cultural Marxism — was popularized by the mass media in the early 1990s, highlighted by a 1991 speech by the first President Bush in which he warned that “free speech [is] under assault throughout the United States.” By the end of 1992, feature stories on the phenomenon had appeared in *Newsweek*, *New York* magazine, *The New Republic*, *Atlantic Monthly* and the *New York Review of Books*. The *Wall Street Journal*, whose editorial writers had recklessly pilloried a University of Pennsylvania academic as the personification of political correctness, said it posed a “far worse ... threat to intellectual freedom” than McCarthyism. In the pages of



The so-called “Frankfurt School” of philosophy — a small group of German Jews that included Walter Benjamin (from left), Herbert Marcuse, Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno — is being blamed for the destruction of American civilization.

The Washington Times (see story, p. 26), Heritage Foundation scholar Laurence Jarvik wrote angrily that PC “storm troopers” were attacking “Western culture.”

Of course, the phrase was basically a politically charged construct that was used to mock the left and even liberals. Challenges to gender bias, efforts to diversify the nation’s universities, and similar policies were dismissed as attempts to turn the universities into “gulags” under the thumbs of left-wing thought police. The term was used to attack ideas while avoiding any discussion of their merits.



William Lind

Although he didn’t use the words “cultural Marxism,” white nationalist Pat Buchanan (see description of *The American Cause*, p. 54) helped frame the debate as a “culture war” in his inflammatory speech in support of the first President Bush’s nomination for reelection at the 1992 GOP convention in Houston. “There is a religious war going on in our country for the soul of America,” Buchanan said in his nationally televised address. “It is a cultural war, as critical to the nation we will one day be as was the Cold War itself.”

But it may be William Lind, who has long worked at the Free Congress Foundation that his ally Paul Weyrich founded, who has done the most to define the enemies who make up the so-called “cultural Marxists.” Ultimately, this enemy has come to embody a whole host of Lind’s *bête noires* — feminists, homosexuals, secular humanists, multiculturalists, sex educators, environmentalists, immigrants, black nationalists, the ACLU and the hated Frankfurt School philosophers.

In July 1998, Lind told a conference of the right-wing watchdog group Accuracy in Academia that political correctness and cultural Marxism were “totalitarian ideologies” that were turning American campuses into “small ivy-covered North Koreas, where the student or faculty member who dares to cross any of the lines set up by the gender feminist or the homosexual-rights activists, or the local black or Hispanic group, or any of the other

sainted ‘victims’ groups that PC revolves around, quickly find themselves in judicial trouble.”

It’s the Jews, Stupid

At the core of the far right’s concept of cultural Marxism are the Jews. Lind made this plain in June 2002, when he gave a speech on the subject to a Washington Holocaust denial conference hosted by the anti-Semitic journal, *The Barnes Review*. Although he told his audience that his Free Congress Foundation was “not among those who question whether the Holocaust occurred,” he went on to lay out just who the cultural conspirators were: “These guys,” he explained, “were all Jewish.”

Like Jews in general, the Frankfurt School makes a convenient antagonist — one that is basically seen as antithetical to all things American. The school, says social psychology professor Richard Lichtman of the Berkeley-based Wright Institute, is “a convenient target that very few people really know anything about.

“By grounding their critique in Marxism and using the Frankfurt School, [cultural conservatives] make it seem like it’s quite foreign to anything American. It takes on a mysterious cast and translates as an incomprehensible, anti-American, foreign movement that is only interested in undermining the U.S.,” he said. “The idea being transmitted is that we are being infected from the outside.”

Not everyone who uses the cultural Marxism construct sees Jews in general at the center of the plot. But a 1998 book by California State University-Long Beach evolutionary biologist Kevin MacDonald — one of just two witnesses to testify on behalf of Holocaust denier David Irving in a famous 2000 libel trial — makes plain that Jews in general are implicated in what is seen as an attack on the West. In *The Culture of Critique: An Evolutionary Analysis of Jewish Involvement in Twentieth-Century Intellectual and Social Movements*, MacDonald says that while all Jews are not guilty, the movements he attacks are indeed “Jewishly motivated.”

In a chapter devoted to the Frankfurt School, MacDonald suggests that Jews criticize non-Jews’ desire to form “cohesive, nationalistic, corporate gentile groups based on conformity to group norms” — with Frankfurt School principals painting this desire as a psychopathology — while they hypocritically pursue cohesiveness in their own group. In other words, Jews foist multiculturalism on other people even as they cynically pursue a group strategy that rejects that ideology for themselves.

The idea, in MacDonald’s construction, is that Jews in general are seeking to weaken anti-Semitism by sabotaging Gentiles’ natural nationalistic instincts.

“Political correctness is really treason against the U.S. Constitution and against America.”

Similarly, the Frankfurt School is described as advocating sexual freedom, rebelliousness against family and other radical ideas for Gentiles, even as Jews themselves remain in tightly cohesive families — an idea that is tied tightly to Lind’s view of the Frankfurt School as attempting to undermine Christian America.

Ultimately, MacDonald suggests that this kind of devious Jewish behavior is at least partly responsible for anti-Semitism and the Holocaust. “National Socialism developed as a cohesive gentile group strategy in opposition to Judaism,” he writes. In a later book, MacDonald suggests that Jewish critiques of Gentile culture are a dangerous strategy that may ultimately produce ethnic conflict in America.

Although Lind rarely mentions the Jews in discussing cultural Marxism, he sounded a similar note in 1995, when he wrote a “futuristic fantasy” in which the United States, after developing “the stench of a Third World country,” opts correctly to break up into racial mini-states. In now all-white New England, Lind wrote, “the majority had taken back the culture. Civilization had recovered its nerve.”

Behind the Attacks

The most significant institutional support for the theory of cultural Marxism comes from Weyrich, Lind, and their Free Congress Foundation (FCF). Lind writes that the FCF “was the first Washington-based conservative think tank to ... develop a new cultural conservatism ... aimed directly at the causes of America’s cultural decline.” In 1987, the foundation’s first book was published on the subject: *Cultural Conservatism: Toward a New National Agenda*. Next came *Cultural Conservatism: Theory and Practice*, an anthology of essays. All this culminated in a videotape that attacked the Frankfurt School, “Political Correctness: The Dirty Little Secret.”

Weyrich’s role is significant. Over the last three decades, he has been instrumental in developing many of the right’s most influential institutions. He helped fund the Heritage Foundation, now one of the most powerful think tanks in Washington. He is a founder of the American Legislative Exchange Council, a corporate-sponsored association of hundreds of conservative lawmakers. And he helped establish two key conservative coalitions: The Rev. Jerry Falwell’s Moral Majority in the 1970s, and Pat Robertson’s Christian Coalition a decade later.

In 1999, Weyrich authored a widely circulated “letter to the conservative movement” in which he lamented the widespread popularity of the “ideology of political correctness” and “the cultural disintegration that is gripping society.” Conservatives

should separate themselves “from the institutions that have been captured by the ideology of Political Correctness,” Weyrich argued.

At the same time, Weyrich has had a “habit of flirting with racists and anti-Semites that dates back to his early involvement with George Wallace’s America Independent Party,” according to *New York Observer* columnist Joe Conason. As one example, Conason cites a 2001 Easter E-mail sent by Weyrich to thousands of his



AP WORLD WIDE PHOTOS

supporters declaring that “Christ was crucified by the Jews.”

A year earlier, Weyrich had blasted *Washington Post* columnist Richard Cohen for “adhering so slavishly to the line laid down by the Frankfurt School.” Cohen’s sin? He had criticized Charlton Heston, then the National Rifle Association spokesman. “Surely [Cohen] must recognize that Political Correctness is an ideology ... that ... demands we all accede to many lies: that men and women are interchangeable, that there are no differences

among races or ethnic groups within races (when those groups are taken as wholes, as PC demands), that homosexuality is normal,” he wrote. “This is, in fact, the unholy trinity that Political Correctness requires we all bow down and worship: ‘racism, sexism, and homophobia.’”

The Ripple Effect

Over the years, the idea of cultural Marxism has picked up speed. At an October 2000 campaign stop in Denver, Reform Party presidential candidate Pat Buchanan accused Native Americans attempting to block a Columbus Day parade of “cultural Marxism.” “America’s history and heroes and Western civilization itself are under relentless attack,” Buchanan told the *Rocky Mountain News*. “The violence of this political correctness is nothing less than cultural Marxism.”

The following year, in his book *The Death of the West*, Buchanan described cultural Marxism as a “regime to punish dissent and to stigmatize social heresy as the Inquisition punished religious heresy. Its trademark is intolerance.”

At around the same time, the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens produced a video — most of it a carbon

copy of the FCF video on the same topic — called “Political Correctness: The Frankfurt School Story.” “Racism, sexism and chauvinism are powerful weapons in the Marxist psychological warfare against traditional American values,” it said. “Political correctness, the product of critical theory, is really treason against the U.S. Constitution and against America.”

Some “pro-South” hate groups have adapted the theory for their own purposes. Franklin Sanders, writing recently on the League of the South’s Web page, did not use the words “cultural Marxism.” But he did say that “Marxists,” by

calling slavery the worst evil known to man, were twisting reality to attack the South. And, Sanders warned darkly, “If the South goes, civilisation goes with it.”

By early 2002, F.C. Blahut, a writer for the anti-Semitic *American Free Press*, wrote that cultural communists, motivated by a “hatred of the West,” were wrecking Western civilization. They were, he said, “parasitic Freudian Talmudists.”

John Vinson, leader of the Americans for Immigration Control hate group, doesn’t reference Jews in his own attacks. But he claims that “Marxists” have for a century “promoted large-scale immigration while sabotaging assimilation.”

Whither Cultural Marxism?

Will the far right succeed in using the cultural Marxism label to demonize social movements and people whom it opposes? Despite the tone of underlying anti-Semitism, is this a theory that can bring radical ideas into the mainstream?

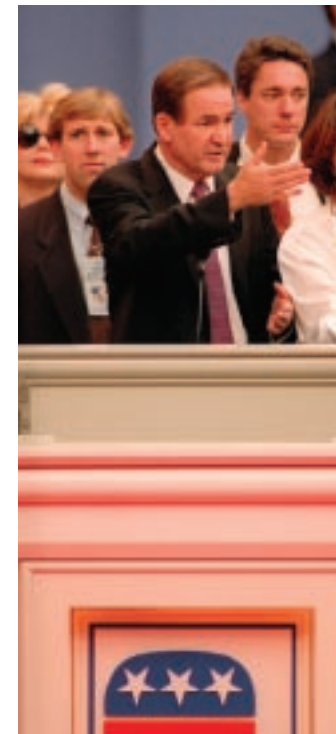
There are indications that this is happening already.

Paul Craig Roberts is a syndicated conservative columnist who is connected to several right-wing think tanks. In a recent review of Buchanan’s *The Death of the West*, Roberts makes it clear that he has signed on to the idea. “Cultural Marxists,” he says, “assault not only our history but also the family, the chastity of women and Christianity, important pillars of our civilization. Cultural Marxists use education, entertainment and the media to create a new people that shares their values.”

David Horowitz, the leftist-turned-right-winger who heads the Los Angeles-based Center for the Study of Popular Culture (see group description, p. 55) and edits *FrontPageMagazine.com*, adds that the Frankfurt School “believed only in destroying ... and if you look at today’s campuses that type of nihilism is really the dominant theme.”

Jim Kibler, a professor of Southern literature at the University of Georgia, joined in recently. Kibler told a reporter this spring that suggesting that those who support the Confederate flag are racists is the “propagandistic, cultural Marxist approach” that is used by newspapers, business and New South proponents.

It’s not clear whether this diffusion of the cultural Marxism conspiracy theory into the mainstream will continue. Certainly, the anti-Semitism that underlies much of the scenario suggests that it may be repudiated in the coming years. But for now, the spread of this particular theory is a classic case of concepts that originated on the radical right slowly but surely making their way into the American mind. ▲



In Sheep's Clothing

Around the country, radical right groups are staging 'European' festivals in a bid to draw ethnic whites into the movement

BY MARK POTOK

SACRAMENTO — Peter Haworth could hardly believe it. Here he was, with his bandmates in Molly's Revenge, setting up last February to play traditional Celtic music to some 75 people gathered at "Euro-Fest 2003." He was fine-tuning the sound equipment when his wife rushed up with the news.

"She said, 'Do you *know* who they are?'" the folk musician recalled.

Haworth will never forget the scene that his wife, who had been setting up a table nearby to sell Molly's Revenge CDs, described. "You should have seen what they were selling there!" he said. "They had *Mein Kampf* and little baby blankets in blue and white with little swastikas all over them. It was horrible."

That wasn't all. Around the famous folk band was a virtual Nazifest. Women in knee-length skirts and Bavarian bustiers sold copies of *ABC: Aryan Beginnings for Children*, along with *Talk Back*, a publication of the White Student Alliance. At a nearby table, photos were on sale of two beautiful young blonde girls giving the Nazi salute. A fellow with a black T-shirt bearing a swastika strolled by; near him, another man's shirt urged "David Duke for Senate." Over at the table of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, women's thongs with the Alliance symbol embroidered on the front, available in green, pink, yellow, white and red, were moving briskly.

Stephen Stuebner, a free-lance writer based in Idaho, contributed to this story.



Wearing horns meant to evoke pre-Christian Nordic culture, these women and their children were among the neo-Nazi Skinheads who attended a "Folk Fest" in Florida last March.

The members of Molly's Revenge could certainly be forgiven for their ignorance. Nothing in the advertising for the event had suggested that it was being staged by people who believe that Jews and "race traitors" need killing. The venue was perfectly respectable Clunie Hall, in a city park. The National Alliance official who hired the band told Haworth the event was being put on by "a group of friends" into ethnic music. "Maybe we could have left, but what would they have done?" the musician asked later. "We were scared. We had a signed contract to play. And you have to understand, one of our band members is Jewish. We were worried."

Around the country, white supremacist and neo-Nazi groups are staging events like the "Euro-Fest 2003" put on by the Sacramento unit of the Alliance, the group that first popularized the strategy in the late 1990s. Neo-Confederate groups have sent speakers and propagandists to events like the Scottish Highland Games, some 200 of which are held each year. Even thuggish Skinhead organizations like the Hammerskins are staging events that are meant to emphasize "Aryan" culture.

Although each group's strategy is different, the general idea is to draw in ethnic whites by celebrating various strands of European culture — from Celtic bands to Irish singers to Lithuanian cloggers — and, ultimately, to recruit them.

'Building Understanding'

The idea of reaching out to ethnic whites without explicitly pushing neo-Nazism — the wolves-in-sheep's-clothing strategy — was pioneered by Erich Gliebe, the National Alliance official who took over America's leading neo-Nazi group after its founder, William Pierce, died last summer. After successfully getting ethnic clubs in his native Cleveland to host a number of controversial speeches, Gliebe hit on the idea of organizing what he calls the European-American Cultural Society.

Starting in 1997, Gliebe began to hold European-American Cultural Fests in Cleveland, where he had long been the Alliance's local unit leader. The venues he chose included several ethnic clubs and a vfw post. Typically, the events featured

Irish, German, Polish, Slovak and other ethnic dancers or musicians, often followed by speeches emphasizing European history without specifically mentioning Nazism.

In 1999, for instance, Gliebe's front organization threw a "European Festival" at a club called The German Central, in Parma, outside of Cleveland. (The club, as it happens, hosted meetings of the pro-Nazi German-American Bund in the 1930s. The Bund was outlawed after the American entry into World War II in 1941.) At a cost of \$35 per couple (\$8 for children), the festival was to feature performances by the Central Saxon Cultural Organization; the Kashtan Ukrainian Dancers; the Lucina Slovak Folk Ensemble; the Murphy Irish Dancers; and the 87th Cleveland Pipes & Drums. Dancing music for all was provided by the Stan Mejac Orchestra.

"The great value of this type of activity," Pierce wrote his members in a 1998 newsletter, "is that it brings the Alliance into contact with ethnically conscious non-members in an atmosphere especially conducive to building understanding."

Pierce attended several of Gliebe's festivals, and approved of them wholeheartedly — so much so that it seems clear that they almost certainly helped assure that Gliebe would be chosen to replace Pierce after he died last July 23. In fact, the Alliance staged at least five festivals in the Cleveland area, in 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001 and, most recently, 2002. Between 200 and 300 people attended each event. More recently, others in the Alliance have emulated Gliebe — two times in Sacramento (in 2002 and this February) and at a St. Louis event last Nov. 9.

In a 2000 interview with the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, Pierce expanded on his reasoning. The festivals, he explained, "are an effort to help people develop a sense of ethnic consciousness, ethnic identity. Cleveland is a good area for that because there are a lot of relatively unassimilated ethnic communities still there."

Recruitment, he said, was the aim. "I circulate among the crowd. If we recruit 20 or 30 people out of 300 or 350 people coming to one of these, then it's been very successful. We don't push them. There's no arm-twisting at these events."

It's hard to say if the cultural festivals are as successful as Pierce suggested. Certainly, at the recent Sacramento event, the signs of neo-Nazism were far more visible than in most Alliance-sponsored festivals, and organizers — probably as a result — did not seem very successful in getting people to sign up. But there is little question that the Alliance's clean-cut cadres sometimes do manage to win local support.

"Some people are afraid of the National Alliance for the point they are bringing out," Johanna Roth, publisher of the ethnic Ohio monthly *Germania*, told the *Plain Dealer* after attending her third European-American Cultural Festival in 1999. "My personal opinion is that European people should stick together."

Common Blood

Held in Sacramento last Feb. 8, the city's Second Annual Euro-Fest was put together by the Alliance's local unit leader, Drahomir

Stojkovic. “Holding the event under the auspices of the ‘Inter Cultural Group,’” an Alliance newsletter reported later, “the Unit reached out to men and women who were, to some degree at least, conscious of their European ancestry... . We were in for a wonderful evening filled with education, entertainment, European delicacies, and a variety of vendors.”

After paying \$35 in advance (\$45 on the day of the event), visitors began arriving late in the afternoon, waiting outside as strains of Celtic music from Molly’s Revenge drifted out into the parking lot. Once inside, they found the hall lined with tables carrying an array of neo-Nazi merchandise (see related story, p. 40).

First up at the dais was Peter Morell, a remarkably dull guest speaker who held forth on the highlights of Anglo-Saxon civilization — Rembrandt’s paintings, great aquaducts, the Wright brothers, computers, George Washington, and Henry Ford (the automaker, an inveterate anti-Semite, drew the loudest applause).

“We are the thinkers and doers of the world,” Morell said.

Next was Jim Silva, who offered a scattered presentation on the Norse Sagas, another point of pride for many white supremacists. Following him, and billed as the highlight of the evening, was a former Croatian diplomat whose topic was “Europe Under Attack: From the Early Islamic Onslaught to Communist Disaster.” Tomislav Sunic began by telling the audience about his childhood in Croatia, his visit to



a minority in Western Europe. He railed on about non-white immigrants, ending with the Turkish workers who have moved to Germany. “The Turks,” he said, “are enslaving white people in Germany.”

“Wow,” Alliance leader Stojkovic said as Sunic ended. “I am really moved.”

Peter Haworth and the other members of Molly’s Revenge, meanwhile, had sneaked out to get a bite to eat. “While we were away, they had some ‘European philosopher’ who was speaking,” Haworth told the *Intelligence Report*. “Thank God we weren’t there, because we heard his last few minutes, and it was frightening.”

After participants broke for dinner, the evening continued along the same lines. A movement-affiliated folk singer, Eric Owens, sang folk music, but several in the audience held their hands over their ears for the performance. At one point, kids tripped a fire alarm, but Owens appeared oblivious, playing on without a care.

There was a raffle of donated items — grand prize, a medieval sword won by an Alliance member — and a Q&A with

Erich Gliebe, seen here wearing his customary tie, originated the idea of “European cultural festivals.”

Amsterdam as a young man, smoking pot and listening to the Grateful Dead. After that, he said, he went on to get his Ph.D. in political science in America.

Sunic’s central theme was that Europe has been repeatedly invaded by “alien” peoples and that whites have become



Drahomir Stojkovic (center), the neo-Nazi National Alliance’s local unit leader, organized Sacramento’s Second Annual Euro-Fest. With him at a recent Alliance event is Charles Ellis (left), an Alaska psychiatrist and Alliance member who signed group founder William Pierce’s death certificate last summer. Alliance Membership Coordinator David Pringle (right) has praised Oklahoma mass murderer Tim McVeigh as a hero who did nothing wrong.

Sunic. The white supremacist “Sigdrifa Dancers” performed. Alliance member April Gaede had her two blonde-haired twins, Lynx and Lamb, perform several folk songs including the very popular “Road to Valhalla.” “The sense of kinship and camaraderie was alive and vibrant,” Alliance member Ryan Hagen wrote in the Alliance’s internal newsletter later. “I don’t think there was a person in that hall that did not feel the bond of common blood.”

Peter Haworth saw it a little differently. “Luckily, we were told we wouldn’t be able to play the second set of tunes because they were out of time. I said, ‘All right,’ and he paid me our money in cash. And we got the hell out of there!”

Aryan Family Values

Not every event built along the lines of Gliebe’s cultural festivals is really intended to bring whites of all stripes into the movement. Such was the case with the 2nd Annual Folk Fest, an event put on last March 15 in West Palm Beach, Fla., by neo-Nazi Steven Watt, a principal of the tiny South Florida Aryan Alliance. Aiding Watt was Alex Hassinger, editor of *Nordland*, formerly *Aryan Loyalist Magazine*.

The come-on was straightforward enough: “Celebrate your rich European heritage with us!” the organizers wrote several E-groups. “We will feature European music, food and drink.” Included, along with a playground and crayons for the kids, would be a “hammer-lifting competition” and a live bagpiper, they promised.

But it was hardly a family-friendly recruiting event.

Walking up to the Osceola Pavilion of West Palm Beach’s Okechee State Park, the first thing a visitor noticed were the police cruisers and photographers circling the site. Flags representing some 50 European countries fluttered in the breeze — along with Confederate battle flags, ss flags, a banner bearing the insignia of the neofascist German NPD party, and another saying “Friends of Germany.”

The crowd was fairly frightening. Neo-Nazi Skinheads and others from the South Florida Aryan Alliance, the World Church of the Creator, the Orion Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the Imperial Klans of America attended — about 40 large, tough-looking men, accompanied by a handful of women who huddled together with half a dozen kids at a picnic table. At one point, when a news photographer tried to approach, he was surrounded by menacing Skinheads, and Watt seized his flash unit. Only when the photographer complained to police was Watt forced to return it.

A little later, a young man named Jason, from Daytona Beach, gave an extremely aggressive, red-faced speech, shouting about the importance of Darwin, being strong, killing off the weak, and taking on the Jews immediately. At the end, he led a series of Nazi salutes in which the crowd enthusiastically joined.

On sale in the pavilion was an array of hard-line materials: books by former Klansman David Duke and Richard Kelly Hoskins, an ideologue of the virulently anti-Semitic Christian Identity theology; CDs of violent white power music; copies of a White Aryan Resistance newsletter; and issues of *Thule: A Prisoner's Journal*, with profits going to imprisoned members of the terrorist group The Order.

It was clear that outsiders were not welcome. But that is not to say that the event served no purpose — on the contrary, for some it was an affirming moment in a movement that has not had much to boast about recently. Several people discussed the sorry state of white supremacy in the United States, but said they had been pulled back into the movement by the promise of “family events” like this one. One person expressed dismay at the drunkenness and disorganization of earlier meetings.

Several participants paid homage to William Pierce, saying the late Alliance leader had been a great man with important ideas about celebrating European culture in a family-friendly way. But they were far less sure about Erich Gliebe, who has been widely criticized from within the Alliance and the movement generally.

Ultimately, several speakers talked about celebrating “white” culture. And a man who identified himself as Steve Geller proposed organizing several cultural groups — German-American, Celtic-American and Scandinavian-American, among others — that would each create their own folk festivals. Somehow, these groups would be knit into what Geller termed the “Congress of a Celtic Land.”

To Steven Watt, it was all an unmitigated success: “The event was a family event and seeing the smiling faces of the children as

they played in the playground next door just helped bring home why we are fighting the fight we are — in order to give them a good White world when it is their time to pick up the torch.”

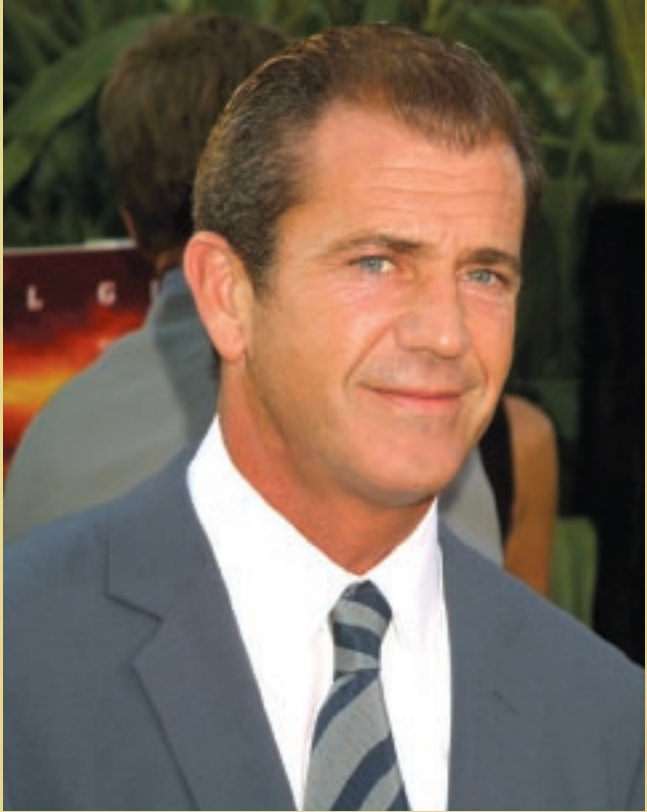
The Culture Wars

It is not clear how effective the strategy of using “culture” to approach and entice ethnic whites is for the radical right. But what does seem clear is that up until recently, extremist recruiting tactics have targeted rebellious youths and people who already hold relatively similar views. Rarely has a strategy come to the fore that aims directly at everyday, working white people.

Pierce and Gliebe’s cultural festivals try to do that work. And if Pierce was even close to correct in his estimates — if Alliance workers have been able to sign up almost 10% of those who attend — then the technique must be judged a success.

Plainly, other groups have taken an interest. A number of neo-Confederates, including one-time League of the South director Grady McWhiney, have taken their own message — that the American South is fundamentally an “Anglo-Celtic” land — to the Scottish Highland Games that are popular around the United States. That very unsophisticated and thuggish groups like the South Florida Aryan Alliance are trying to emulate the technique shows that to many, it appears to have great promise. Just this June, talk of a summer 2004 European heritage rally in Washington began.

But to Peter Haworth, it all remains something of a mystery. “The whole thing was extremely uncomfortable and scary,” he recalled. “I never could understand exactly why they wanted a Celtic band. I guess it’s because we’re white.” ▲



Gibson Family Values?

Long a favorite actor of the far right, Mel Gibson comes under attack over a new film — and his father’s views of Jews

For almost a decade, Mel Gibson — through no fault of his own — has been revered by the American radical right. It began with “Braveheart,” the 1995 movie in which the dashing leading man plays Sir William Wallace, a 13th-century Scottish nobleman who fights to free his people from British rule. Next came “Conspiracy Theory,” released at the peak of the militia movement, in which Gibson plays a bumbling but likeable conspiracy nut not unlike many in the movement. Finally, there was “The Patriot,” with Gibson drawn into the American Revolution when his son is murdered by the British.

Gibson did nothing in these movies to win the admiration of the neo-Nazis, Klansmen, militiamen and survivalists who make up the extreme right. It was enough that he was white, strikingly handsome, and playing noble characters who risk all to fight “the system” — whether that be oppressive Britishers, government bureaucrats or freedom-hating monarchists. Nevertheless, the libraries of those on the radical right today are bulging with copies of these Gibson films and others.

Now, Mel Gibson is at the center of a storm that may be of his own making. As he was completing a film on the last 12 hours of the life of Christ, *The New York Times Magazine* published a March 9 cover story reporting that “The Passion” may reflect the radical Catholic view that Jews are collectively

responsible for the death of Jesus. The *Times* story delved into the “traditionalist” beliefs of Gibson and his father — and it quoted 85-year-old Hutton Gibson denying that the Holocaust occurred.

Scoffing at the notion that 6 million Jews died at the hands of the Nazis, the elder Gibson told the *Times* that the Holocaust was fabricated in order to hide a secret deal between Hitler and “financiers” to move Jews from Germany to the Middle East. And he dismissed the notion that Osama bin Laden was behind the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, saying the planes were crashed by “remote control.”

The *Times* also reported that both Gibson men are Catholic “traditionalists” who reject the 1962-65 Vatican II reforms. (A key reform was the dropping of the doctrine that Jews are collectively responsible for Christ’s murder.) And it said that Mel Gibson recently finished building a church near Malibu, Calif., that will cater to Catholic traditionalists. The story said that Gibson was the only benefactor of the church, giving a total of some \$2.8 million.

In June, after wrangling with Jewish and Catholic leaders who had criticized “The Passion” long before its 2004 release date, Mel Gibson issued a statement to *Daily Variety* denying any bigotry. “Anti-Semitism is not only contrary to my personal beliefs,” he said, “it is also contrary to the core message of my movie.”

None of the critics have seen Mel Gibson’s movie, which is shot entirely in the ancient tongues of Latin and Aramaic and may not be subtitled. And supporters of the actor have noted that he has been in the forefront of movie-making that celebrates multiculturalism and promotes an end to anti-black racism.

But there are some reasons to believe that “The Passion” could follow an arch-conservative religious line. WorkingForChange, a center-left, Web-based news organization, quoted Mel Gibson bitterly criticizing changes in Catholic doctrine in a 1992 interview with Spain’s leading newspaper. In the same interview, the actor reportedly attacks homosexuality in crude terms.

As to Hutton Gibson, who the *Times* described as “a seminary dropout and rabble-rousing theologian” who has written books like “The Enemy Is Here,” there seems to be less question. On June 21, the elder Gibson spoke to a Washington, D.C., conference of *The Barnes Review*, one of the world’s leading Holocaust denial organizations. Gibson made no mention of Jews, but did talk about Masonic anti-church conspiracies, “our current, Koran-kissing anti-Pope,” plans for a “one-world government,” how the Civil War was fought over state’s rights (as opposed to slavery) and the Federal Reserve. And he complained bitterly that “international bankers” have “subjected us to the usury that our church formerly condemned.”

— Nia Hightower



The National Alliance’s members-only *Bulletin* frequently touts European cultural festivals, even featuring Alliance chieftain Erich Gliebe doing a traditional dance on a recent cover.

The Washington Times

ARBOR BAY

The Washington Times
has always been
conservative and
error-prone.
Now, it's helping
to popularize
extremist ideas

BY HEIDI BEIRICH
AND BOB MOSER

When President George W. Bush nominated John Ashcroft for attorney general, it didn't take long for the press to unearth Ashcroft's 1999 interview in *Southern Partisan* magazine. Ashcroft had praised the neo-Confederate publication for "defending Southern patriots" such as Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis and Stonewall Jackson, and he'd pledged to follow the magazine's example. "I've got to do more," Ashcroft said. "We've all got to stand up and speak in this respect,

Defending Dixie

or else we'll be taught that these people were giving their lives, subscribing their sacred fortunes and their honor to some perverted agenda."

Most media outlets depicted the flap over Ashcroft's pro-Dixie sentiments as a side issue, just one more reason why his nomination was controversial. But the nation's "conservative paper of record," *The Washington Times*, saw something different. On Jan. 16, 2001, the day Ashcroft began facing his critics in Congress, the *Times* devoted a chunk of its front page to an unusually long story with a provocative headline: "How the Democrats made loving Dixie a hate crime."

For a paper with a loyal readership

Horowitz (see Center for the Study of Popular Culture, p. 55), who called the NAACP "a defamation and shakedown organization."

Casual readers of *The Washington Times* might well have been puzzled. Why would a major daily newspaper — one that bills itself as "America's Newspaper," no less — turn the Ashcroft controversy into a battle over loving Dixie? And why would it showcase a story so heavily slanted toward neo-Confederate opinions on race and heritage?

For devoted readers of the *Times* — a group that includes many of the nation's leading conservative politicians, journalists and think-tankers — McCain's story

with an approach to news reporting that was unusually ideological. While mainstream media critics scoffed at "The Moonie Times" for enthusiastically championing the Rev. Moon's staunch anti-communism and his efforts to move the Republican Party farther right, the *Times* made a splash in conservative circles. President Ronald Reagan said it was his favorite paper. Right away, the *Times* showed a knack for taking its message to the mainstream, advertising itself as the "third most quoted paper" in the U.S. by its third year.

The *Times'* quotability and importance to conservative leaders quickly gave it a stature that outstripped its relatively small circulation. While the crosstown rival *Washington Post* moves more than 800,000 papers each weekday, the *Times'* circulation has never climbed much higher than 100,000. By his own estimate, Moon has spent upwards of \$2 billion to keep the unprofitable paper afloat.

While the *Times* made itself must reading for right-wingers, it was also developing a reputation for shoddy journalism. From the start, the *Times'* front page was studded with scandalous stories bearing catchy headlines and sensational openings that more closely echoed the style of European tabloids than that of large American newspapers. Whether they were taking aim at Democratic politicians like Barney Frank and Bill Clinton, assailing out-of-step conservatives like Sen. John McCain, or slamming "liberal" organizations like the National Education Association and the NAACP, these eye-popping stories often rippled through the rest of the scandal-hungry media — even though some of them were later proven to be slanted, deceptive, or downright false (see story, p. 30).

"*The Washington Times* is like no major city daily in America in the way that it wears its political heart on its sleeve," said the nation's leading journalistic watchdog, the *Columbia Journalism Review (CJR)*, in 1995. "No major paper in America would dare be so partisan."

The folks who call the shots at the *Times* insist that their news is no more infected with ideology — or riddled with error — than anybody else's. The



Intelligence Report made repeated attempts to talk with *Washington Times* Editor in Chief Wesley Pruden, Managing Editor Francis Coombs and National Editor Ken Hanner about the allegations and criticisms in this story. These requests were either ignored or, in Coombs' case, declined. But Pruden has given his side of the story to *Southern Partisan* and *CJR*. "I don't ever want the *Times* to be known as a newspaper that writes the news from a conservative point of view," he told *Southern Partisan*. Where the conservatism creeps in, he told *CJR*, is in which stories the paper chooses to designate as news. The *Times*, Pruden said, is different simply because it reports "stories other papers are loath to cover."

One such story appeared in early July, when "Inside the Beltway" writer John McCaslin endorsed the so-called "NORFED Liberty Dollar" in his column. This "alternative currency" has been marketed aggressively

Like the wild-and-woolly newspapers of Europe, the *Times* might get some facts wrong, but it's almost never boring.

to antigovernment "Patriots" as a challenge to the Federal Reserve, which is seen as responsible for a host of financial ills. McCaslin uncritically repeated NORFED founder Bernard von Nothaus' claim that widespread use of the Liberty Dollar could eliminate the national debt "completely." The currency is supposedly fully backed by silver, but in fact is sold for almost twice the market value of the silver that it can be reimbursed for.

Even more stunning, the expert source McCaslin cites on Liberty Dollars — calling him "a Web development consultant for political and corporate clients" — is Bill

White, a notorious anti-Semite who runs the neo-Nazi web site Overthrow.com. "I spend them everywhere," White gushes. In fact, they can be used almost nowhere.

A few days later, *The Washington Times'* knack for floating stories into the mainstream — no matter how outrageous — was demonstrated once again. ABC Radio stalwart Paul Harvey, in his unmistakable boom of a voice, aired a glowing story about the Liberty Dollars.

Defending Dixie: A Family Affair

Pruden was elevated from managing editor to top dog of the *Times* in 1992. It was pivotal time for the paper. With the Cold War won and conservative politics in the ascendant, the paper needed a fresh sense of mission. When he sat down for a long interview with *Southern Partisan* not long after his promotion, Pruden left little doubt about where he would lead the paper.

After singling out the Southern culture

The far-right Rev. Sun Myong Moon says he's sunk some \$2 billion into the money-losing *Times*.



on Capitol Hill, the story, written by Assistant National Editor Robert Stacy McCain, was nicely timed for maximum impact. But despite the headline, it did not detail a Democratic effort to outlaw Dixie-loving. Instead, it described a growing resistance to Confederate displays and symbols as seen through the eyes of six experts, five of them arch-conservatives with well-established neo-Confederate sympathies. An NAACP representative was also quoted, deep in McCain's story, but his comments were immediately rebutted by Charles Lunsford (see related story, p. 2), the neo-Confederate activist who coined the phrase, "heritage, not hate," and by leftist-turned-rightist David

was old hat. These readers know the *Times* loves to stir controversy with headlines and stories so provocative that other media outlets can't resist repeating them. They know the *Times* is the only major American newspaper that still features a weekly Civil War page. They know the *Times* has become a reliable source for extremist views on race, religion, immigration and Dixie.

What they don't know is why.

Money, Media and Moonification

Founded in 1982 by the Rev. Sun Myong Moon, the right-wing cult leader from South Korea, *The Washington Times* quickly made a name for itself

AMERICA'S NEWSPAPER?

The Washington Times has a long record of hyped stories, shoddy reporting and failure to correct errors

In the summer of 1999, *The Washington Times* ignited a scandal that embarrassed Al Gore's fledgling presidential campaign — and became a famous example of the paper's talent for floating sensational stories into the mainstream media, even when those stories turn out to be riddled with factual errors and laced with baldly deceptive rhetoric.

A month after announcing his bid for the White House, Gore had tried to highlight his environmental message by paddling down the Connecticut River with a canoe full of reporters and local politicians. At the end of the ride, he stopped for a press conference where he announced some big grants designed to protect rivers. So far, so good. But Gore's outing backfired the next morning, when the *Times*' front page reported that local authorities had blown \$7 million to keep Gore's canoe from running aground on the drought-stricken river, raising the water level by releasing nearly 4 billion gallons from a nearby dam. "New Hampshire opts to float Gore's boat," read the chiding headline. A scandal that would soon grow to such proportions that it had a name — "Floodgate" — was born.

"The implication was clear," Eric Boehlert later wrote in *Rolling Stone* magazine. "In a clumsy abuse of power, Al Gore, a supposed friend of the environment, gladly wasted precious natural resources to stage a political event."

The *Times*' exposé was much too juicy for the scandal-hungry press to pass up. The same afternoon the *Times* undammed Floodgate, the impact of the scandal was already being debated on CNN's "Inside Politics." The print media hopped on board, too: "Gore in environmental quandary," said the Associated Press. "Critics Paddle Gore in 'Dam' Rowing Row," said the *New York Post*. "A Canoe Trip Becomes a Political Misadventure for Gore," said *The New York Times*.

One problem: *The Washington Times* had gotten the story wrong. No one affiliated with the Gore campaign had requested the water level be raised; the head of the river commission had come up with the idea, hoping Gore's canoe ride would bring national attention to her cause. The \$7 million price tag was wildly misleading; the local utility company that owned the dam had already planned the release the water, as it habitually does, and simply moved up the release time to accommodate Gore's trip. Rather than being wasted, the water passed through hydroelectric turbines and generated power that was sold to other utility companies. And the amount of water released was not 4 billion gallons, but perhaps 500 million — a fact that the *Times* didn't correct until a week after the original story, long after other media outlets had taken Floodgate and run with it.

'Gong Show Journalism'

For most American newspapers, making so much noise with an inaccurate story would have been a huge embarrassment. Heads would roll. Penitent promises of stepped-up fact-checking and

editorial trustworthiness would be made to readers. But *The Washington Times* is not most American newspapers. "It's the Fox News of the print world," says Gene Grabowski, who in 1988 became one of a number of *Times* reporters to resign in protest of the paper's flouting of journalistic ethics.

While interviewing a relative of Michael Dukakis, Grabowski had asked whether the Democratic presidential nominee sought psychiatric help during a low period in his life. "It's possible but I doubt it," the relative had replied. Grabowski's editors removed the phrase "but I doubt it," highlighted the phrase "It's possible" in a dramatically misleading opening to his story, and headlined the piece "Dukakis kin hints at sessions."

For 20 years, the most notoriously ideological editor at the *Times* has been Wesley Pruden, the right-wing Arkansan who rose from managing editor to editor in chief in 1992 (see main story, p. 26). In 1991, Pruden ordered major changes to a story the *Times*' Supreme Court reporter, Dawn Ceol, had written about Anita Hill, the law professor who accused Clarence Thomas of sexual improprieties during his confirmation hearings. In the paper's first edition on Oct. 14, Ceol's article was headlined, "Thomas accuser lauded, assailed." In subsequent editions, with the story rewritten to play up accusations against Hill, the headline was

changed to something far less balanced: "Miss Hill painted as 'fantasizer.'"

Ceol, the daughter of influential conservative fund-raiser Paul Weyrich, was certainly no left-winger. Still, she resigned over the editorial meddling, though it should not have come as a surprise; in his "Pruden on Politics" column, Ceol's editor had become one of Thomas' most boisterous defenders, taking aim at "hysterical feminists" engaged in "media harassment" of the judge.

Pruden and the other men who call the shots at *The Times* say their news is no more ideologically driven than anybody else's. But many media critics disagree. Summing up a widely held view, Bob Somerby, who edits the online "Daily Howler," calls the *Times* "gong-show journalism." Putting a kinder spin on it, Howard Kurtz of CNN and the *Washington Post* has deemed the *Times* "a happy anachronism — a throwback to a simpler time, when Whigs and mugwumps strode the land and newspapers . . . were unapologetically partisan vehicles."

When the *Times*' unapologetic partisanship has led it into error, the paper has not always issued the kinds of factual corrections that are *de rigueur* elsewhere. Even when Kurtz revealed last year that two hard-hitting *Times* stories about Palestinian atrocities against Christians in the West Bank had been written under a false byline — a practice unheard of in contemporary journalism, and largely *verboten* even in the days of mugwumps and Whigs — the paper defended its decision not to inform readers of the deception. The reporter "said his life would be in danger" if he used his real name, explained Deputy Foreign Editor Willis Witter.

Managing Editor Francis Coombs did admit, when questioned by Kurtz, that a "legitimate case could be made that we at least should have informed the reader" that the stories were not really written by a reporter named Sayed Anwar.

The Wilder the Better

Given the *Times*' track record, it might seem surprising that other media outlets trust its stories enough to repeat them without independent verification. Michelangelo Signorile,

media critic for the *New York Press*, believes the very outrageousness of the *Times* has, ironically enough, shielded the paper from widespread scrutiny. "People in media want to dismiss it," he says. "Their attitude is: 'Oh, they're crazy. Nobody believes that paper. Nobody really reads it.'"

But nobody has to actually read the *Times* to imbibe its spin on the news; the wilder its stories, the more likely television and print media are to pick them up and run with them. In late 2001 and early 2002, for instance, the *Times* dedicated to articles, two editorials and an opinion piece to what sounded like an egregious case of "biofraud." Reporter Audrey Hudson wrote that government wildlife regulators had "planted" fake lynx hair in states where there were no lynx, hoping to create new critical habitats that would close national forests to human visitors.

It turned out that Hudson had botched the story. No fur had been "planted," and even if it had been, no forests would have been closed without further investigation. No matter: The "Lynxgate" myth spread rapidly, picked up by The Associated Press and repeated in papers like *The Wall Street Journal*, *Rocky Mountain News* and *Seattle Times*, which complained of "Lynx hairs, lies and spins." Magazines like the conservative *Weekly Standard* and *U.S. News and World Report* cited the *Times* series as an example of how government scientists manipulate data to serve their political ends.

It was a month before *The Washington Times* got around to quoting biologists who disputed Hudson's baseless charges. Once the story had been thoroughly debunked elsewhere, the *Times* refused to correct the facts. Instead, as *Extra!* magazine reported, two groups that defended the embattled government biologists were contacted by an advertising salesperson from the *Times*. For \$9,450, the groups were told, they could buy full-page advertisements to correct the *Times*' mistakes.

— Heidi Beirich and Bob Moser

warrior, Sen. Jesse Helms, as a political hero, Pruden bragged about his great-grandmother shooting a Union cavalryman and boasted that the *Times* was the most "in-your-face" conservative newspaper in America. When Robert E. Lee's birthday rolls around every year, he said, "I make *sure* we have a story" — especially because the occasion "falls around Martin Luther King's birthday."

Pruden started with the *Times* shortly after its founding. He was originally hired on a probationary basis, founding editor and publisher James Whelan told the *Washington Business Journal*, because Pruden had run into ethical problems as a reporter. According to Whelan, Pruden was fired in 1978 by the now-defunct *National Observer*, where he had worked for 14 years, under suspicion that he had "manufactured" quotes in his stories. (Pruden refused to comment on the reasons for his ouster, except to say it involved "a couple of stories I'd done.")

Born and raised in Arkansas, Pruden has a deep-rooted affection for Dixie. His father, the Rev. Wesley Pruden Sr., was a leading spokesperson for Little Rock's racist Capital Citizens Council, which fought bitterly against school desegregation in the 1950s and 1960s. During the landmark confrontations at Little Rock High School in 1957, when President Dwight Eisenhower sent National Guard troops to protect nine black teenagers as they entered the white school, Pruden Sr. reportedly told the assembled mob: "That's what we've got to fight! Niggers, Communists, and cops!"

The Rev. Pruden's son has avoided commenting on his father's politics. But in 1995, the *Times* ran two long op-ed pieces by the senior Pruden's old Citizens Council cohort, "Justice Jim" Johnson. According to an investigation by Salon.com, Johnson's *Washington Times* stories were part of the anti-Clinton Arkansas Project, which mounted a well-financed campaign to discredit Henry Woods, the federal judge originally appointed to preside over criminal proceedings in the Whitewater case. The doubts about Judge Woods raised in Johnson's op-ed pieces percolated through the media for months, and Woods was

AP WIDE WORLD PHOTOS



Al Gore's campaign was crippled early on by an inaccurate exposé.



Did Michael Dukakis see a shrink? "It's possible," screamed the *Times*.



Times editors turned Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas' accuser, into a "fantasizer."

eventually replaced by a judge more friendly to Whitewater investigators.

Pruden’s contribution to the anti-Clinton efforts didn’t stop there. Even as he oversaw his paper’s wall-to-wall coverage of Whitewater and the Monica Lewinsky scandal, the editor was creating a stir with his own op-ed columns about Clinton — including one that broke the “news” about Bill, Monica and the cigar. Pruden is also legendary, as an editor, for manipulating headlines and stories to ratchet up their political slant — so much so that *Washington Times* staffers coined a verb, “Prudenizing,” to describe the tampering that has led some of them to resign in protest.

In 1998, Pruden, whose newspaper is the only major daily in America that runs a weekly page about a war that ended 138 years ago, spoke to the United Daughters of the Confederacy at the Manassas Battlefield Park. He began by making the kind of promise most editors avoid at any cost: “I will never fail to respond to you when you call on me for help, because I believe in what you are doing to cherish and protect and preserve the heritage of our great Southern people.”

Concluding with a flourish, Pruden said “Southerners ... hold loyalty to two countries in our hearts.” The second country is one “baptized 137 years ago on this very field in the blood of First Manassas, a country no longer at the mercy of the vicissitudes in the tangled affairs of men, a country that lives within us, a country that will endure for as long as men and women know love. ... God bless America, God bless the Confederate States of America, and God bless you all.”

Extremism Gets a Voice

Though he declined to talk with the *Intelligence Report* for this story, Pruden has denied that his personal beliefs color *The Washington Times*. “We are editorial page conservative,” Pruden told *Southern Partisan*.

“But we like to think that on news we just lay it down the middle and let people make up their own minds.”

In 1995, Pruden appeared to strike a blow for “down the middle” fairness by firing *The Times*’ other voice of the extreme right, syndicated columnist Samuel Francis. A new book by neoconservative stalwart Dinesh D’Souza had quoted Francis’ speech at a 1994 conference on “Race and American Culture” sponsored by *American Renaissance*, a white supremacist journal that promotes eugenics and believes, among other things, that whites are inherently smarter and less violent than blacks. After D’Souza portrayed Francis as a purveyor of the “new spirit of white bigotry,” Pruden told him the *Times* would no longer run his column.

The firing was something of a mystery, since Francis had often expressed views on race that appeared quite compatible with Pruden’s. (Ironically, Francis now edits the *Citizens Informer*, a newsletter published by the white supremacist

Council of Conservative Citizens, successor to the Citizens Council that Wesley Pruden Sr. belonged to.) In 1994, Francis had been demoted to a half-time staff position after he wrote a column lambasting the Southern Baptist Convention for officially “repenting” for its support for Southern slavery — even though Pruden had expressed a similar view in a column of his own, published in *Southern Partisan*. Still, if the reasons for Francis’ dismissal were murky, the public symbolism was clear enough: Even on its unabashedly conservative editorial page, the *Times* did have its limits.

But only two years later, the *Times* reversed course dramatically, hiring a writer whose views on race and Southern heritage are arguably more extreme than either Francis’ or Pruden’s. And this time, those

Under Dixie-loving editor Wesley Pruden (opposite), the *Times* regularly reports on a war that ended 138 years ago.



views would be expressed not in op-ed columns but on the *Times*’ news pages.

With the arrival of Assistant National Editor Robert Stacy McCain in 1997, the *Times*’ disassociation from the racism of *American Renaissance* became a distant memory. McCain, who wrote

“WE LIKE TO THINK THAT WE JUST LAY IT DOWN THE MIDDLE AND LET PEOPLE MAKE UP THEIR OWN MINDS.”

the story about Democrats and Dixie, has covered the group’s biannual conferences in 1998, 2000 and 2002, making the *Times* the only major American newspaper to devote news stories to *American Renaissance*. Since 1999, the *Times* has also reprinted at least six excerpts from *American Renaissance* in its page-2 culture section, never acknowledging the highly controversial nature of the source.

“Activist warns of border war,” blared the headline for McCain’s latest *American Renaissance* story on Feb. 25, 2002. McCain was covering an *American Renaissance* conference on immigration, and his opening paragraph was almost as sensational as the headline: “A border war between the United States and Mexico ‘could happen any day,’ a California activist warned at

a weekend conference in Virginia.” All 572 words of the story either paraphrased or quoted this same “activist,” Glenn Spencer, who runs the anti-immigration group, Voice of Citizens Together, which the Southern Poverty Law Center and Anti-Defamation League officials have described as a hate group. Without questioning their factuality, McCain’s story reported Spencer’s assertions that Mexican leaders were conducting an “invasion” of the United States and that “I love Osama bin Laden” T-shirts were all the rage south of the border after 9/11. No opposing viewpoint was offered or even referenced.

“Sending a reporter to this conference was like sending a reporter to a Ku Klux Klan rally,” a flabbergasted reader wrote to the *Times*. Though the paper printed his letter,

the reader’s objections appear unlikely to be heeded. McCain has made no bones about being a fan of *American Renaissance*, writing a letter of “warm congratulations” to the magazine in 1997. It is extremely rare — in fact, it is typically expressly forbidden — for a journalist to publicly express admiration (or disdain) for a group he writes about.

‘A Natural Revulsion’

Something else about McCain is even rarer: he belongs to a hate group — the League of the South (LOS) — that shares some of *American Renaissance*’s views on race. The League, a white-supremacist organization that opposes racial intermarriage, has defended historical segregation and even slavery, and advocates a second Southern secession from the U.S.

Washington Times readers have not been informed of McCain’s hate-group membership, even when he’s written on subjects near and dear to the hearts of his co-religionists. (McCain has been identified as a League member on DixieNet, the LOS Web site that has reprinted several of his stories and essays from the *Times*, and he’s mentioned his affiliation with the League in on-line postings.) If McCain and his editors followed the usual rules of journalistic ethics, steering him clear of subjects related to his partisan beliefs, his hate-group membership might not be an issue. But the 43-year-old Georgia native, who left the *Rome News-Tribune* (circulation 17,000) for *The Washington Times* in 1997, has specialized in subjects that are vital to League of the South members: race, religion, guns, immigration, and controversies over Confederate flags and “heritage.”

An avid poster on Internet discussion groups, McCain has aired strong personal views on these subjects. In December, *New York Press* media critic Michelangelo Signiorile published some of McCain’s contributions to FreeRepublic.com, written under the pseudonym



BurkeCalhounDabney. McCain asserted that the civil rights movement inspired “black criminality” by encouraging people to get arrested at demonstrations. “I am disturbed ... by [Jesse] Jackson’s idea that ‘breaking white folks’ rules’ was somehow inherently just,” McCain wrote. “If rules were to be broken merely because they were the work of white folks, then hasn’t Jackson gone a long way toward explaining the explosion of black criminality that began in the 1960s?”

Signiorile, who was alerted by a reader to McCain’s postings, told the *Intelligence Report* he was “amazed” by what he found. In one posting, McCain suggested that Harvard University President Lawrence Summers be “persecuted and run out of town” for supporting gay rights. In another, McCain gave his take on interracial relationships: “[T]he media now force interracial images into the public mind and a number of perfectly rational people react to these images with an altogether natural revulsion,” McCain wrote. “The white person who does not mind transacting business with a black bank clerk may yet be averse to accepting the clerk as his sister-in-law, and THIS IS NOT RACISM, no matter what Madison Avenue, Hollywood and Washington tell us.”

Shortly after Signiorile’s story appeared, and McCain’s extremist views began to circulate around journalistic and political circles, every posting by BurkeCalhounDabney was deleted from FreeRepublic.com.

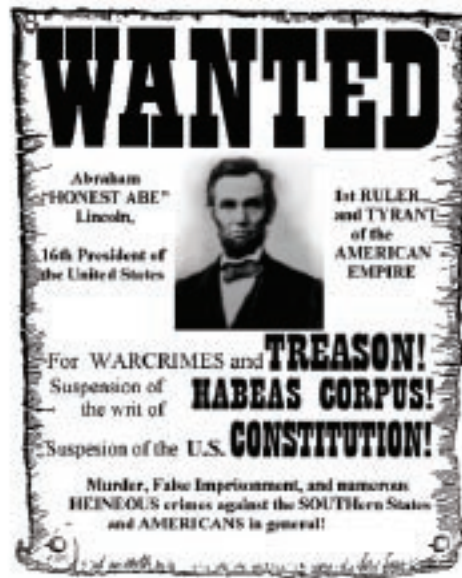
Taking His Stand in Dixie

McCain’s beliefs often creep into his stories in ways that readers might not notice. In 1998, McCain wrote the *Times’* obituary for George Wallace, the Alabama governor who became the South’s most famous segregationist. Hailing Wallace as “a man who transformed American politics” and paved the way for conservative electoral triumphs, McCain quoted three scholars on Wallace. All the scholars were identified as history professors — but not as leaders in the same hate group McCain belongs to, the League of the South.

“[A]s a working journalist with 10 years experience,” McCain once wrote on the

League’s DixieNet Web site, “I am well aware of how reporters can subtly frame their stories to suggest which side in any controversy is in the right.” McCain’s stories for the *Times* often display this expertise, relying on sources from hate groups without acknowledging the controversial nature of their views — and immediately shooting down any opposing viewpoints, like those of the NAACP leader in McCain’s story on Dixie-loving as a “hate crime.”

If McCain’s not-so-subtle framing of



Before he wrote about Lincoln for the *Times*, Assistant National Editor Robert Stacy McCain concocted this poster, featured on www.dixie-net.com.

the news has raised eyebrows around the *Times’* newsroom, it doesn’t appear to have affected the kinds of stories he’s assigned to write. In 2000, when African-American writer Lerone Bennett Jr. published a controversial book accusing Abraham Lincoln of being a racist (see related story, p. 8), McCain wrote an approving feature about the book even though — perhaps unbeknownst to his editors — he had already expressed vehement opinions on the subject.

In an Internet discussion group, McCain had written that Lincoln was a “war criminal” who should have been tried for “treason.” On DixieNet, McCain — using his own name — had even concocted a mock “Wanted” poster for Lincoln,

whom he described as the “1st RULER and TYRANT of the AMERICAN EMPIRE” and a perpetrator of “Murder, False Imprisonment, and numerous HEINOUS crimes against the SOUTHERN states and AMERICANS in general!”

“I cannot believe that they allow him to stay” at the *Times*, says Signiorile. “I don’t think any paper should have anyone in a racist group covering these issues, or covering racial politics. It’s completely outrageous to have someone like that covering news at all.”

McCain and his editors declined several invitations to talk to the *Intelligence Report* about his League of the South affiliation and its impact on his reporting. But McCain has expressed typically strong views on who should be covering news — especially news about the South. In 1996, a year before he was hired by *The Washington Times*, McCain co-wrote a manifesto called “Down on Dixie: the Confederate Cause and the South’s Scalawag Press.” Advertised for \$1.50 apiece on DixieNet, the 16-page pamphlet looks nostalgically at “a time, not so many years ago, when newspapers in the South were also expected to be newspapers of the South and newspapers for the South.” By contrast, McCain and his co-author, now-deceased Sons of Confederate Veterans member Gilbert Smith, accuse modern-day Southern journalists of waging “a vicious campaign of propaganda and distortion” by saying, among other things, that the Civil War was fought over slavery.

“[L]et Southern journalists continue to sneer in ignorance at those things which they imagine are represented by the Confederate battle flag,” McCain concludes, in a condensed version of the pamphlet that appeared on DixieNet. “But this I shall not do. I shall not buy into the North’s hypocritical claims of moral superiority. Like my ancestors before me, I’ll take my stand in Dixie.”

And as long as he continues to take that stand in *The Washington Times*, with the powerful backing of his editor in chief, one thing is for sure: Nobody will accuse the *Times* of succumbing to the Scalawag Press. ▲

FAIR and BALANCED?

Two long-time press critics discuss the mainstream American media, its failings, and how it sometimes promotes bigotry

Although the American media is frequently accused of having a liberal bias, a large body of evidence suggests that in a great many cases just the opposite is true. Time after time, biased, reactionary and even racist ideas — ideas that frequently originate on the radical right — bubble to the surface in news stories, opinion pieces, on talk radio and among the many pundits who interpret current events. Steve Rendall and Norman Solomon are long-time critics of both print and broadcast media who have focused on exposing bias in news coverage. Rendall is senior analyst at Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), which issues frequent reports on American press coverage, and has appeared as an expert on that topic in scores of venues. He is also co-host of “CounterSpin,” FAIR’s national radio show, and the author of a book on radio talk show host Rush Limbaugh. Norman Solomon is a nationally syndicated columnist on media and politics, the author of 10 books on similar subjects, and the founder and executive director of the Institute for Public Accuracy, a consortium of policy researchers and analysts. The Intelligence Report spoke to both men about the media’s role in helping to promote bigoted ideas, individuals and groups.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT: Fox News has explicitly positioned itself as a conservative alternative to CNN — what it calls a “fair and balanced” alternative. Any thoughts about this?

STEVE RENDALL: Our problem with Fox isn’t that it comes from the right. In a healthy media culture, you would

have media outlets coming from all kinds of points of view, but getting their facts straight. The problem with Fox is that they claim to be “fair and balanced” but are really airing a lot of ideological opinions.

NORMAN SOLOMON: There are constituencies that Fox plays to that clearly spill over into racism and xenopho-

bia. Fox’s coverage is a cause for concern, but it is also a symptom of what is out there in the population. We shouldn’t simply hang it on the news media. There is a constituency that is both propagated and extended by the news media, but it’s a constituency that also exists apart from the media.

RENDALL: The failure of our society to deal with these issues — racism and bigotry and eugenics [the science of “improving” racial groups through selective breeding] — is significantly affecting our media culture. Journalists are the people that we depend on to help us form our opinions, but too often, I think, they fail to call things by their real name. That is especially true of racism and bigotry — it seems almost like there is a media taboo on calling individuals or ideas or institutions racist.

After all, it took two major scandals to draw enough attention to [former U.S. Senate Majority Leader and Mississippi Republican] Trent Lott’s history of racism. *[Editor’s note: Lott’s ties to the racist Council of Conservative Citizens were exposed by FAIR and the Intelligence Report in late 1998; but only after he was quoted last year endorsing the racist Dixiecrat campaign of 1948 was Lott denied the majority leader post he was widely expected to reacquire after the Republicans had regained their Senate*

majority.] To even be demoted down to simple U.S. senator, Lott had to express admiration for a political campaign whose two main goals were maintaining segregation and eliminating anti-lynching laws.

IR: Have politicians abetted the media's reluctance to identify racists and racism?

RENDALL: Like Norman said, there is a market for bigotry. In the New York City area, Bob Grant had the biggest local talk radio show in the history of

N.Y.), and [then-New York City Mayor] Rudolph Giuliani lined up to get on his show. This shows how we have a culture that tolerates these politicians tolerating racism. And it shows how Grant was striking a note with a lot of his listeners.

SOLOMON: Folks like Bob Grant are saying stuff that reflects overtly coded — or not even coded — hostility toward people because of the color of their skin.

IR: Has this changed over the years?

SOLOMON: There have been dif-

ferent racial buzzwords and different levels of overttness over the years. The 1970s and '80s saw this kind of percolating resentment towards people on welfare or perceived to be on welfare. There was tremendous momentum gained by people I would call respectable white superiorists, if that is a word — not quite supremacists. [Columnist] George Will was constantly banging the drum against welfare, and I think

that was understood to be a code for people of color even though we know most people on welfare are not people of color. There was a playing on racial animosities felt by white people, many of whom were getting shafted by the corporate system and by economic inequities. Going back centuries, there has been a displacement of anger by people who are at the lower rungs of the economic ladder, who opt for racism instead of fighting for progress. Over the last decade or so, the mass media generally has given very short shrift to any kind of analysis of why people are in so much economic distress. The surrogate for any kind of perceptive analysis of social inequities is passive and sometimes overt racism, and that is expressed in the news media. While overt anti-Semitism is not tolerated by the mass media, the threshold for outrage is much higher for code words in the news media that relate to race.

RENDALL: Coverage of the war with Iraq shows another kind of bias. Look at all the opinion-shapers on national television in the run-up to the war, and there were only two people with even tenuous connections to the anti-war movement. Now there is one: Bill Moyers, on public television. Phil Donahue recently lost his

show at MSNBC, and it wasn't because he wasn't getting the ratings, as NBC said. A secret NBC memo that was leaked regarding Donahue's show said that they were really afraid that Donahue was an awkward, difficult face in times of war. They were afraid that the Donahue show would be seen as a gathering place for the antiwar movement while their [television news] rivals were waving the flag. So NBC knows the game is rigged. It isn't really

about fair and balanced journalism. It's about getting behind the government effort in Iraq.

IR: What do you think of some of television's right-wing commentators?

RENDALL: Look at who some of the prominent media political figures are. It's [Christian Broadcasting Network television host] Pat Robertson, who never misses an opportunity to bash gay and lesbian people, and who has put forth a strange theory about the Rothschilds and the New World Order. It's Michael Savage, who talks about the "Turd World" and is the latest right-wing talk radio star to be hired by MSNBC. Or it's [current MSNBC talk show host and commentator] Pat Buchanan. Here's a guy who's on record questioning aspects of the Holocaust, degrading every [minority] group, and who has launched three presidential campaigns from his perch at CNN. He was on [CNN's] "Crossfire" for years, and when he wasn't on "Crossfire" he was on "The Capital Gang" or NBC's "The McLaughlin Group." I mean, this is one of the most prominent media figures of the last 20 years.

Every society has these kinds of bigots. Why is it that we elevate them? Why are they such prominent voices in our media? I would say it's because they have significant media enablers.

SOLOMON: Progressives and racists are both widely represented in the population, but to use Steve's term, why do only the racist strands seem to have media enablers? This is important because it is very easy in the space of a minute or two on the air to reinforce pre-existing biases. Just talk about welfare or whatever. But ideas that are not responsive to pre-installed buttons — that don't have a record of having already been heard by the population through the media — are much tougher to develop. To raise questions about racism in society requires more than a sound bite or two.

RENDALL: I am not going to argue that [white supremacist and eugenicist] Jared Taylor should not ever show up on Phil Donahue's show [as he did in late 2002], or that Charles Murray [who co-authored *The Bell Curve*, a highly

“Hatred of ‘Turd World’ immigrants is a viewpoint that MSNBC is more comfortable with than criticism of the war. This is a microcosm of the larger problems in the American media.”

controversial book that argues that blacks are generally less intelligent than whites] should be on a blacklist as far as mainstream media goes. But the fact is that the most natural opponents of the ideas that men like these promote, the people who've done the most work on the other side, are not invited into the debate. Progressive voices, anti-racist voices, anti-war voices, are largely marginalized in the mainstream media.

Instead, you've had CNN sponsoring Buchanan, Disney sponsoring Bob Grant [the Walt Disney Co. owns ABC, including the ABC radio network and its flagship station, WABC-AM, where Grant worked], and now, MSNBC sponsoring Michael Savage. Remember, MSNBC is not an avowedly right-wing news channel, but they have just given a show to Savage, who is on record calling child victims of gunfire in the inner city "ghetto slime," referring to non-white countries as "Turd World" nations, call-

ing homosexuality perversion, asserting that Latinos breed like rabbits, and referring to [Jewish television talk show host] Jerry Springer as "hook-nosed." He got his national show within days of when they fired Donahue.

This indicates that hatred of "Turd World" immigrants is a viewpoint that MSNBC is more comfortable with than criticism of the war. This is a microcosm of the larger problems in the American media.

IR: It seems that the notion that liberals and progressives are "politically correct" hard-liners has badly damaged those who are not conservatives or rightists.

SOLOMON: That's a key point. Back in the early 1990s, the first President Bush gave this whole idea of "political correctness" a big launch with a speech. Since then, there's been an enormous wave of publicity about it. Mass media culture now is much more quick to condemn, mock and cast aspersions on anti-rac-



Norman Solomon

JENNIFER WARD/ORG

the country during the 1990s, a million listeners a week, and the politicians lined up to get on.

Here's a guy who refers to black people as "savages" and "beasts," who once called on the New York Police Department to take machine guns to a gay pride parade and, quote, "mow them down." Yet [New York] Gov. [George] Pataki, [then-] New Jersey Gov. Christie Todd Whitman, [then-U.S. Rep.] Alfonse D'Amato [R-

ferent racial buzzwords and different levels of overttness over the years. The 1970s and '80s saw this kind of percolating resentment towards people on welfare or perceived to be on welfare. There was tremendous momentum gained by people I would call respectable white superiorists, if that is a word — not quite supremacists. [Columnist] George Will was constantly banging the drum against welfare, and I think

ism than on racism. That's been the enormous utility of the term. People are more skittish today about being accused of political correctness than being accused of racism.

RENDALL: To call someone a racist is considered a worse thing than actually being a racist! That, in a nutshell, is the problem we're talking about here. There are dozens of prominent pundits on editorial pages, television and radio who constantly harp on the "liberal media." It's no wonder that many Americans believe that.

IR: Is there a solution to any of this?

SOLOMON: What we don't have is a mass media culture that analyzes and challenges racism on a regular basis. If we did have such a culture, I have no doubt that what we have right now on the airwaves would wither away — not because it would be censored, but because it couldn't stand the light of day. But we don't have anybody on the national networks that regularly challenges and denounces racism.

RENDALL: Think about it. Barbara Ehrenreich [the author of *Nickel and Dimed: On (Not) Getting By in America*, a book about the working poor], Cornel West [a prominent black scholar], Norman Solomon — these are the voices that represent progressive movements in the way that Buchanan and Limbaugh and [Fox talk show host Sean] Hannity represent the conservative movement. But they're totally missing from television. Why doesn't [filmmaker and commentator] Michael Moore have a national show? Instead, what we get on these television talk shows is a debate between bona fide movement conservatives and the center.

SOLOMON: One of the characteristics of having a narrow ideological spec-

trum in the mass media is that the media becomes inured to its own narrowness. The small differences become magnified to appear large on cable TV — the high decibels of the debate pass for wide diversity, which just isn't the case.

RENDALL: And it's not just television — although television has the largest

IR: All this comes at a time when minorities are more visible than ever before.

RENDALL: There is a dual discourse that has been going on for a very long time. We do now have black people and Latinos on commercials, in journalism and entertainment, on television, MTV and so forth, but there is also a very



Steve Rendall

influence on news consumers and is also the best place to challenge irresponsible, racist, inflammatory and divisive speech. You've also got people like Malcolm Browne of *The New York Times* recommending *The Bell Curve*, a book that overtly argues African Americans are less intelligent than whites. [Commentator] Andrew Sullivan did the same thing at *The New Republic*, giving great respect to this racist volume by Charles Murray and [the late] Richard Herrnstein. At the same time, you've got [conservative author] Dinesh D'Souza saying we've come to "the end of racism," a view that is also held by lots of pundits and commentators in our national media.

heavy set of messages about you if you are a loser economically — it's because you had it coming. The racial disparities in economic resources, which are huge, are absolutely denied.

There is an enormous media focus on race in the United States, but very little focus on racism. Often, you will hear that race is a problem, but that's not true. Race is not a problem. Racism is a problem.

IR: It also seems like many media outlets manage to find highly conservative black commentators who are generally very unrepresentative of their communities. I think of Ken Hamblin [a.k.a. "The Black Avenger," host of a syndicated radio show that originates on KOA in Denver],

“There is an enormous media focus on race in the United States, but very little focus on racism. Often, you will hear that race is a problem, but that's not true. Racism is a problem.”

who once said on the air that he was a member of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens.

SOLOMON: The 9% or 10% of African Americans who vote Republican are vastly overrepresented compared to the 90% who vote Democratic. I think there is a utility and novelty to having African Americans on the right with a national platform.

RENDALL: You find the same thing across the board. With African Americans, you get [commentators] Thomas Sowell, Walter Williams, Armstrong Williams, Larry Elder and Ken Hamblin. The most prominent media pundits who are gay include Camille Paglia, Norah Vincent and Andrew Sullivan. It is hard to find progressive blacks or gays or lesbians in any position of punditry in our national mainstream media. I would say that this even extends to Jews, another generally very progressive voting

constituency. We see a plethora of Jewish neo-conservatives and conservatives, but it's getting harder and harder to find a progressive or even liberal Jewish voice in our national media.

IR: What about the anti-immigration movement and right-wing commentators?

RENDALL: Peter Brimelow [current president of the anti-immigration Center for American Unity; see group description, p. 55], who at the time was a regular writer for *Forbes* magazine, wrote *Alien Nation*, a book I believe is racist. But the problem isn't that we have people like Peter Brimelow or books like [the racist French anti-immigrant novel] *The Camp of the Saints* [see group descriptions of the American Immigration Control Foundation, p. 54, and U.S. Inc., p. 58]. It's that we don't have a media culture that challenges this. If we did, we'd know that a lot of the same things that are being said about Latin and Asian immigrants today were said about Italian and Russian Jewish

immigrants at the turn of the 19th century. It's the same kind of phobia — the immigrants are dirty, more criminal, less intelligent. It's a script that's been written and performed many times. We can't seem to have any sort of intelligent discussion informed by our past. We seem to have to learn everything all over again every 20 years or so.

Look who Bill O'Reilly [host of Fox News' "The O'Reilly Factor"] invites to discuss immigration policy issues — [executive director] Dan Stein from the other FAIR [Federation for American Immigration Reform; see description, p. 53], an anti-immigrant group that has taken more than \$1 million from racist funders [the Pioneer Foundation; see description, p. 55]. We've documented time after time when Stein has appeared on shows, completely unopposed, saying things that in many cases were inaccurate and in some cases hateful and even racist about certain ethnic groups.

IR: So what can we do to cure this state of affairs?

SOLOMON: People who want to create progressive change in the media have been way too reticent to do much about it. A.J. Liebling, the press critic, said decades ago that freedom of the press is only guaranteed to those who own one. Those who don't shouldn't pipe down; they should speak up. If you don't organize, you're going to be victimized. There is a grassroots movement around the country to get other voices into the mainstream media, past the gates of the news mansion.

RENDALL: Broad debate and independent information are the oxygen of democracy. Our Bill of Rights only protects one profession, the press. We should do what we can to support and help create independent and non-commercial media. That is why we think the public should take back the airwaves. The airwaves belong to the public just like water, just like air, just like the national park system. The airwaves are a national resource, and we have a right as the public to demand that a larger chunk of it be dedicated to our interests, and that means more non-commercial broadcasting. ▲

HATE FOR SALE

Beneath the radar screen of mainstream society, a commercial subculture of hate is flourishing BY BOB MOSER

Last summer, the Target department store chain announced it would yank shorts and baseball caps decorated with neo-Nazi hate symbols from its 1,100 stores. A customer in Sacramento, Joseph Rodriguez, had complained about Target-label shorts and baseball caps decorated with “88” — neo-Nazi shorthand for “HH,” or “Heil Hitler.” At first, Rodriguez was given the runaround from uncomprehending company personnel. But after he carried his complaints to a Southern Poverty Law Center Web site, Tolerance.org, Target spokesperson Carolyn Booker said the items would be removed from the stores. Target’s buyers had made an innocent mistake, she said: They had no idea what “Eight Eight,” “Eighty Eight” or “88” meant.

When companies like Target market hate items, it usually makes the news. When people start complaining about Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazi merchandise sold on online auction sites like eBay, or racist stereotypes cropping up on clothing by

Heidi Beirich and Laurie Wood contributed to this story.

Abercrombie & Fitch, the controversy will almost surely land on CNBC, if not on Fox News and in *The New York Times*. But beneath most people’s radar screens, there lurks a thriving industry that actively markets items promoting and expressing hate — and it’s anything but unintentional.

“All successful social and political movements develop these accompanying cultural items and accessories,” explains Chip Berlet, senior analyst at Political Research Associates and a long-time scholar of hate culture. And the hate movement, despite being riven recently by arrests, deaths and infighting, is no exception. “There seems to be a culture that’s sustaining the movement through its current crisis,” Berlet says, adding that the emerging subculture is “a sign that the movement has reached a certain level of maturity and organization.”

The hate market, especially the production and sale of white supremacist “hatecore” music, is certainly a growing business. Most of the profits go back into the movement, providing major white-nationalist groups a measure of financial stability unimaginable



A. Hitler Mousepad

Quotes Adolf Hitler’s defiant 1945 comment from his besieged Berlin bunker: “It is necessary that I should die for my people; but my Spirit shall rise from the grave, and the world will know that I was right.” **Distributor:** Resistance Records, “The Soundtrack for White Revolution.” Resistance is a major source of income for America’s most powerful neo-Nazi group, the National Alliance. Along with hundreds of CDs, books and clothing products, Resistance also sells a mousepad featuring an Aryan girl in pigtails, with the slogan, “Got Jews?” \$10.

nable just 10 years ago. While the total revenues of extremist distributors is unknown, National Alliance chieftain Erich Gliebe has repeatedly claimed that his neo-Nazi group pulls in more than \$1 million a year from Resistance Records, its music and merchandise label. Aside from membership dues, sales of hate products comprise the main source of income for large hate groups like the Alliance. Four years ago, an Interpol study revealed that the manufacture, distribution and sale of white-power music had become a \$3.4 million-a-year criminal enterprise outside the U.S., with profit margins higher than those for the international hashish trade (the European equivalent to the U.S. marijuana trade).

Hate groups aren't the only ones profiting. Much of the merchandise they peddle is manufactured by large CD -pressing companies and apparel manufacturers, although the apparel makers typically have no idea how products like plain T-shirts are altered by white supremacists and then resold. Occasionally, manufacturers have stopped supplying their extremist clients; last year, for instance, California's Rainbo Records said it would

suddenly have friends. Those friends listen to the same music, have a common dress, share a common language, hang out and party together." Ultimately, says Burghart, "White power music merchandise seeks to bridge the gap between healthy young rebellion and hardcore white supremacy."

Hate marketing has expanded far beyond the white-power music scene, and far beyond young adults. The abundance of hate items sold to adults, pre-teens and entire families is raising new concerns among extremism experts.

As with the consumer subculture built around fundamentalist Christianity — which has its own record labels, clothing lines, health-food distributors, publishers and all-purpose bookstores — the consumer counterculture of hate may serve to deepen the allegiances of true believers. "The more people adopt the symbols and items of a subculture, the more they feel bound to it," says Berlet. "That is a critical aspect of building a movement culture."

As the hate-item industry continues to expand, it's increasingly possible for adherents to put their money literally where their mouths are — buying clothing for the whole family, for example. While this white supremacist counterculture is far from complete — movement members must go outside it to meet any number

of everyday needs — it is helping to build what Blee sees as "a culture-within-a-culture in which groups can maintain extreme insularity." This insularity "tends to move them to more extreme ideas and practices," says Blee.

Whatever the marketing of hate portends, it has clearly become a top priority for the leading hate groups in America, many of which are perennially strapped for cash. That trend was exemplified last year when a key neo-Nazi leader who was ejected from the powerful National Alliance went on to create a group that called itself White Revolution. Along with putting up a Web site and sponsoring rallies and protests, one of White Revolution's first steps toward viability was buying a white-supremacist publishing house, 14 Words Press, and launching a distribution company in Wilmington, N.C., called White Power Warehouse.

"We hope to become a major corporation as a means to an end — ensuring the survival of the White Race," says the home page of White Power Warehouse, where adherents can buy a full range of neo-Nazi propaganda and paraphernalia. "Your money stays within the movement and aids us in our ultimate goal. White Power!"

On these pages, you'll find a selected sampling of the large range of hate merchandise now available through catalog and online sales. As much information as was possible to ascertain has been included about each item and its distributor. Where the significance of the items isn't self-explanatory, a brief explanation of what they mean has been included. When possible, the products' countries of origin are also listed; though these distributors say they're working for the betterment of everyday Aryan Americans, most of them don't scruple to sell products made with cheap labor in China, Mexico or Sri Lanka.

“Your money stays within the movement and aids us in our ultimate goal. White Power!”

no longer make CDs for Resistance Records because it didn't want to be publicly associated with the neo-Nazi movement.

But many other manufacturers say they can't stop the resale of their products. Deborah Moore of In the Past Toys, the Staten Island, N.Y., company that produces the lavishly detailed Hitler doll that appears on the cover of this magazine and on page 50, told the *Intelligence Report* that "these dolls are for World War II memorabilia [collections], not for racists." The dolls are distributed online by Micetrap, a racist outfit that peddles hundreds of white-power CDs, flags, books and clothing items, but Moore says her company does not sell directly to the neo-Nazis. "Our dolls go only to collectibles stores," she said. "They would have had to go and buy the dolls from the stores and then resell them."

Harry Orr, who runs Buckle Shack USA in Alpharetta, Ga., said he saw nothing wrong with filling special orders from the Bayou Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Asked if he was concerned about producing Klan buckles (see illustration, p. 46), Orr responded, "In what respect?" Told that the products could be seen as promoting the Klan's racism, Orr replied, "I'm not promoting them, they're promoting me. They pay me good money to do it."

Traditionally, the most serious worry about hate merchandise has been the role it can play in attracting rebellious, disaffected young people to the movement. "Kids love the in-your-face quality of this stuff," says Kathleen Blee, a sociology professor at the University of Pittsburgh. "I'd say it's this, rather than the racist message, that is initially attractive to many of them. Then they come to the racism after being lured by the rebelliousness."

The sense of camaraderie that comes from joining the subculture is important, says Devin Burghart, an expert on youth hate culture with the Center for New Community. "You



B. 'Race Mixing is Death' T-Shirt

Distributor: MSR Productions, Wheat Ridge, Colo. Bills itself as "the oldest and most reliable distributor of racist music products in North America." Selling an array of Aryan flags and T-shirts, the company is celebrating its 15th anniversary with the slogan: "In Service of the Anglo-Saxon Race since 1988!" **Country of manufacture:** Mexico. **\$17.95**

C. 'Genuine White Boy' T-shirt

Distributor: SS Enterprises, Fresno, Calif., a distributor of neo-Nazi goods named for Hitler's most infamous storm troopers. **Country of manufacture:** Honduras. **\$20**

D. Swastika Wall Clock

Sales Pitch: "For your added protection, all packaging is discreet — absolutely no racist symbols or words will appear." **Distributor:** Micetrap Records & Distribution, Maple Shade, N.J. The neo-Nazi record label sells a wide variety of racist hardware, from Hitler Youth knives to "Pitbull Power" scarves. **Country of manufacture:** China. **\$25**

E. RAHOWA CDs

An acronym for "Racial Holy War," RAHOWA was a seminal hatecore band in the 1990s and remains one of the top sellers for Resistance, thanks to songs like "Might is Right," "White People Awake," "Triumph of the Will" and "Race Riot" ("Bloody riots on the streets/the niggers run amok..."). **Sales pitch:** Even the price of these CDs carries a racial message: "14" refers to the famous "14 Words" slogan adopted by many in the white supremacist movement ("We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children."), while "88" is shorthand for "Heil Hitler." **Distributor:** Resistance Records, Hillsboro, W.Va. (see Item A). **\$14.88 each**





F. Holocaust Hot Sauce

Under the death skull, the label reads: “6 MILLION SERVED” and “THE FINAL SOLUTION IN HOT SAUCE.” **Distributor:** 88 Enterprises, Canton, Ohio. This neo-Nazi distributor — which also sells the swastika watch in this photograph — denounces the “world wide Jewish conspiracy,” proclaims “Heil Hitler!” on its Web site, and promises that for \$2, anyone can buy its complete list of products from “the world’s most politically incorrect catalog.” **\$2**

G. BBQ Apron

Logo: “Aryan Death Squad.” **Distributor:** SS Enterprises (see Item C). **\$18.88**

H. Angry White Men of America Flying Disc

Distributor: SS Enterprises (see Item C). **\$8**

I. Rebel Umbrella

Distributor: Thom Robb’s Christian Concepts. Robb, a longtime Christian Identity “pastor” and national director of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, hosts “the world’s first and only racist Internet TV show,” called “This Is the Klan.” The umbrella comes from the “odds and ends” section of his catalog, which sells a potpourri of neo-Nazi, Klan and Confederate items. **\$16**



J



K

J. WAR Ball Cap

This skull-and-crossbones logo is used by the racist Skinhead followers of the neo-Nazi group White Aryan Resistance (WAR). **Sales Pitch:** “Let ‘em know what side you’re on.” **Distributor:** White Aryan Resistance, Fallbrook, Calif. WAR is the brainchild of Tom Metzger, a former Ku Klux Klan leader who has nurtured the violent neo-Nazi Skinhead movement in America. **Country of manufacture:** Sri Lanka. **\$16**

K. KKK Belt Buckle

Featuring the Klan’s blood-drop symbol, which supposedly represents the blood that Jesus Christ shed on the cross as a sacrifice for the white race. **Distributor:** Bayou Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Homer, La. **Manufacturer:** Buckle Shack, USA. **Country of manufacture:** USA. **\$15**

L. Life Rune Pendant

The life rune is the official symbol of the neo-Nazi National Alliance. Originally, it was a character from a Runic alphabet (used by Germanic peoples between the 3rd and 13th centuries) that signified life, creation, birth, rebirth and renewal. **Distributor:** White Power Warehouse, Wilmington, N.C., whose proceeds benefit a coalition of neo-Nazi groups called White Revolution. From the Web site: “White Power Warehouse is a wholly owned subsidiary of Condor Legion Ordnance, Inc., a new, growing, Pro-White corporation” named after Hitler’s World War II bomb squad. **\$12**

M. SA Rune Pendant

Like the better-remembered SS, the SA (*Sturm Abteilung*, literally “Storm Troops”) was a violent paramilitary arm of Hitler’s Nazi Germany. **Sales pitch:** “Quality, substantial pendant with chain.” **Distributor:** White Power Warehouse (see Item L). **\$12**

N. ‘I’m Dream’n Of A White Christmas’ T-Shirt

Rather than Santa Claus, this shirt is decorated with the night rider, the traditional robed Klansman on horseback. **Distributor:** MSR Productions (see Item B). **Country of manufacture:** Mexico. **\$17.95**

O. ‘If you can’t feed ‘em, don’t breed ‘em’ patch

Sales pitch: “This patch speaks for itself. ... Full color watermelon with seeds.” **Distributor:** SS Enterprises (see Item C). **\$7**

P. ‘88’ Teddy Bear

“88” is neo-Nazi shorthand for “HH,” or “Heil Hitler.” **Sales pitch:** “A great companion for those cold winter mornings.” **Distributor:** SS Enterprises (see Item C). **\$15**

Q. ‘Turner Diaries’ T-shirt

Available in black or white — but extra-large only — this T-shirt plugs the racist fantasy novel by the late neo-Nazi leader, William Pierce, that inspired the Oklahoma City bomber, Timothy McVeigh. **Sales pitch:** “Warning, the FBI has labeled this the most dangerous book in America.” **Distributor:** White Power Warehouse (see Item L). **Country of manufacture:** Haiti. **\$15**

R. Panzerfaust CDs

Both the Bully Boys and Max Resist make Oi!, or street punk music, adding heavy racial overtones. “Best of the Bully Boys” opens with a celebration of the Holocaust called “Fire Up the Ovens.” Max Resist’s “Keep Fighting” features tracks like “Pull the Trigger” and “Ballad of Johnny Rebel.” **Distributor:** Panzerfaust Records, Newport, Minn. Named for a hand-held German anti-tank weapon used in World War II, “Panzerfaust Records is committed to doing its best in providing the audio ordnance that’s needed by our comrades on the front lines of today’s racial Struggle.” **\$14 each**

P



Q



R

OUTFITTING DIXIE

Riding a new political movement, a clothing manufacturer grows from a successful business into a cause

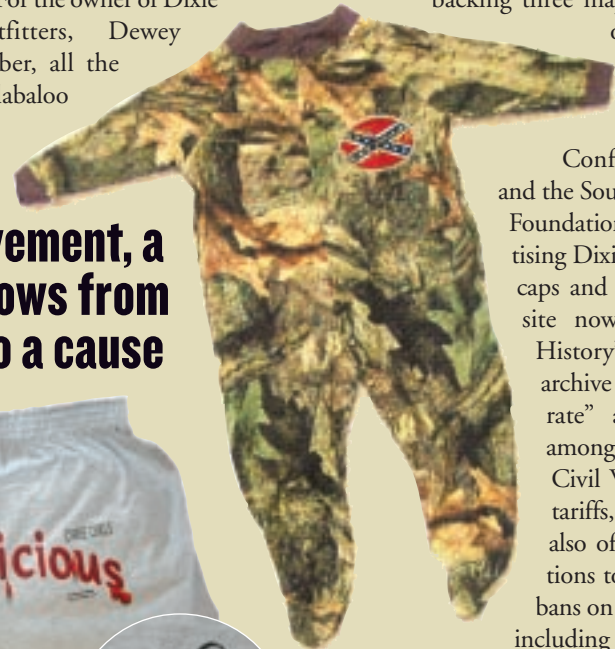
Smack in the middle of last December's Christmas rush, vendors selling Confederate-flag apparel made by Dixie Outfitters were booted out of shopping malls in Alabama, Indiana, Mississippi and Tennessee. Customers, mall employees and civil-rights activists had complained about the company's T-shirt designs, many of which combine images of the rebel flag with romantic depictions of Confederate war heroes, monster trucks, wild game and cuddly puppy dogs.

The controversies were nothing new for Dixie Outfitters. In recent years the Odum, Ga., clothing company has been at the center of disputes in more than 60 school districts nationwide, where school leaders have banned its products on the grounds that they contribute to a racially hostile environment.

The school bans have transformed Dixie Outfitters from an up-and-coming clothing line into a neo-Confederate cause. Last September in Canton, Ga.,

150 students wore Dixie Outfitters shirts to Cherokee County High School, protesting a ban imposed by their principal. "Southern heritage" advocates and the American Civil Liberties Union have challenged some of the bans in court — with little more success than the Cherokee County students, who were told they would have to change their shirts or cover the rebel flag emblems.

For the owner of Dixie Outfitters, Dewey Barber, all the hullabaloo



has been a boon for business. "The more controversy, the better our sales," he told the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* last fall.

Apparently so. Five years ago, the company was housed in an old church, mostly printing up T-shirts for local sports teams and community events. Then Barber discovered the Southern theme and hit pay dirt. Dixie Outfitters just finished a new 25,000 square foot silk-screening facility. Sales have doubled every year, rising to between \$2 and \$3 million in 2002.

But the loss of his shopping-mall vendors, who he said had been moving \$3,000 a day of Outfitters' products, apparently got Barber worried. In January, he began funding an organization called the International Association for the

Restoration of Confederate History (IARCH). Headed by a descendant of Confederate President Jefferson Davis, IARCH will put together "a top-notch public relations and legal team to represent Dixie Outfitters in its fight against attempts to put it out of business and censor its products," Barber says.

On its Web site, Dixie Outfitters also announced that it would start financially backing three major neo-Confederate organizations, the Southern Legal Resource Center, the Sons of Confederate Veterans, and the Southern Living History Foundation. Along with advertising Dixie Outfitters' T-shirts, caps and backpacks, the Web site now includes a "True History" section with an archive of "historically accurate" articles contending, among other things, that the Civil War was fought over tariffs, not slavery. The site also offers detailed instructions to students contesting bans on "Southern symbols," including a form letter to send to school boards, informing them that they may be practicing "discrimination against Confederate Americans under the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

In Dixie Outfitters' latest catalog, the ever-resourceful Barber came up with a whole new way to fight the bans on battle-flag symbols. He now offers "Politically Correct Designs," many of which incorporate alternate Confederate flags — or simply tout Dixie Outfitters. In this case, political correctness is decidedly in the eye of the beholder: One of the new shirts, depicting two grim-faced attack dogs, is emblazoned with the rhyme, "My right one is made of iron, my left is made of steel/If my right one don't get you, my left one will."

Another of the "politically correct" T-shirts became a big hit at Cherokee High School after the ban on battle flags last fall. "Jesus and the Confederate Battle Flag," it reads. "Banned from our schools but forever in our hearts."

— Heidi Beirich and Bob Moser

S. Aryan Nations Thong

An unusual celebration of the Idaho-based neo-Nazi group, Aryan Nations. **Distributor:** Church of Jesus Christ Christian. This church is the religious name for Aryan Nations, a hate group that adheres to Christian Identity, an anti-Semitic theology that preaches white racial superiority. **Sales pitch:** "By ordering merchandise [sic] from our E-tere [sic]," the church's catalog reads, "you will be contributing greatly to the cause of Christ by enabling us to continue the mission for which we are annointed. Hail Yahweh's total and complete victory!" **Country of manufacture:** USA. **\$8.88**

T. '88' Thong

A new way to say "Heil Hitler." **Distributor:** SS Enterprises (see Item C). **Country of manufacture:** USA. **\$10**

U. Holohoax Soap

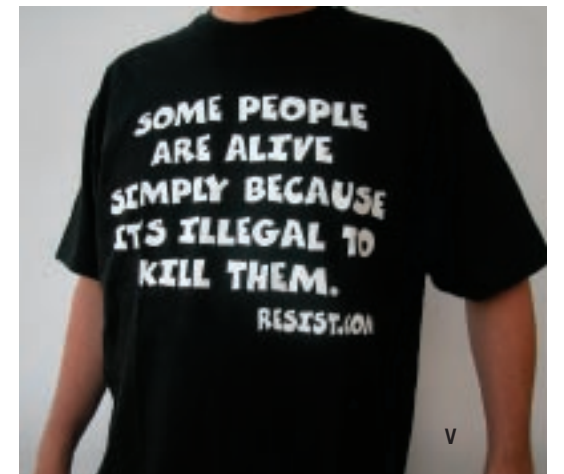
Holocaust denial item sold at racist Skin-head concerts. **Logo:** "For that not so fresh feeling." **Distributor:** 88 Enterprises (see Item F).

V. WAR T-Shirt

Logo: "Some people are alive simply because it's illegal to kill them." **Distributor:** White Aryan Resistance (see Item J). **Country of manufacture:** Mexico. **\$16**

W. SS Rune Flag

Sales Pitch: "Deadly black color makes it especially appropriate for crushing 'anarchists.'" **Distributor:** White Power Warehouse (see Item L). **\$15**





X



Y

X. Adolf Hitler Doll

Sales pitch: "The Hitler figure is 12 inches high, dressed in a mustard-colored first party uniform with white shirt and mustard tie along with a brown leather cross over shoulder belt, die-cast metal, and brown boots. ... Museum-quality sculpted likeness is hand-painted." **Distributor:** Micetrap Distribution (see Item D). **Country of manufacture:** China. **\$75**

Y. Limited Edition Box For Hitler Doll

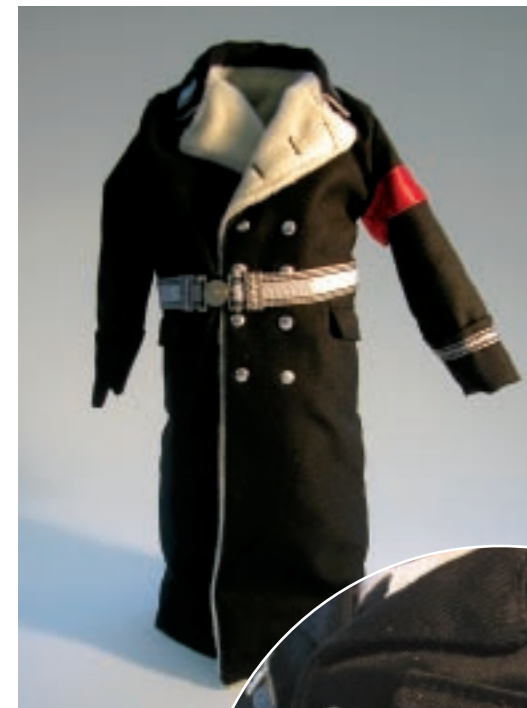
Warning on box: "This product is for historic education purposes only, and is not intended to glorify, nor exploit the horrors and atrocities of war."

Z. Heinrich Himmler Doll

A hand-crafted tribute to Hitler's right-hand man. **Sales pitch:** "Dressed in black SS uniform, diecast sword or dagger, officer's peak cap, black SS great coat and black SS leather boots." **Distributor:** Micetrap Distribution (see Item D). **Country of manufacture:** China. **\$75**

AA. Heinrich Himmler Doll Box

Sales pitch: "The 12-inch high Heinrich Himmler collectible comes inside a very nice box that makes it easy to show off without actually opening up."



AA



Z

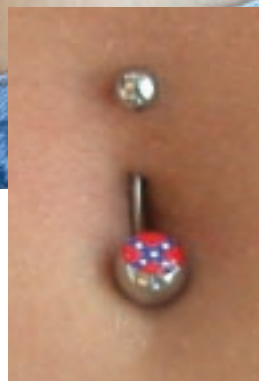




BB



CC



BB. Klan Kids Kare T-Shirt

The Klan blood drop symbol is on the right side of the shirt, which advises kids to “Stand up for your people,” “Love Your Heritage,” be “White and Proud” and “Love Jesus.” Available in sizes ranging from 9-month infant to small adult. **Distributor:** Thom Robb’s Christian Concepts (see Item I). **Country of manufacture:** El Salvador. **\$17**

CC. Rebel Flag Belly Navel Ring

Sterling silver. Available in pink, red, purple, clear, orange, blue and black background colors. **Distributor:** Vanzey. This online jewelry distributor does not specialize in extremist merchandise, but does offer several items emblazoned with Confederate battle flags, skulls and anarchist symbols. **\$4.99 ▲**

INTO THE MAINSTREAM

AN ARRAY OF RIGHT-WING FOUNDATIONS AND THINK TANKS SUPPORT EFFORTS TO MAKE BIGOTED AND DISCREDITED IDEAS RESPECTABLE BY CHIP BERLET

Around the country, ideas that originated on the hard right or in the fevered imaginations of conspiracy theorists are finding their way into the mainstream. In a number of cases, these ideas have become commonplace in American minds.

Are black people inherently less intelligent and more prone to criminality than whites? Are Catholics incapable of self-government? Did the Civil Rights Act of 1964 strip Americans of their freedoms? Does a tiny cabal of Jewish families control international banking? Do interracial relationships have the effect of weakening both races? Are there natural ruling elites who should be governing society?

Chip Berlet is senior analyst at Political Research Associates, a small think tank near Boston. He is co-author, with Matthew N. Lyons, of Right Wing Populism in America: Too Close for Comfort.

These are the kinds of ideas that are being popularized today.

How do ideas that once were denounced as racist, bigoted, unfair, or just plain mean-spirited get transmitted into mainstream discussions and political debates? Through a wide array of political and social networks. Such networks are a robust part of democracy in action, and include media outlets, think tanks, pressure groups, funders and leaders. In the 1960s, for example, networks based in churches and on college campuses mobilized people to support civil rights legislation. But it is important to remember that backlash movements also formed to oppose equality. In the 1950s and 1960s, segregationists and white supremacists mobilized to block the demands of the civil rights movement.

Today, there are still political and social networks that seek to undermine full equality for all Americans. Their messages are spread using the standard tools: prejudice, fear, disdain, misinformation, trivialization, patronizing stereotypes, demonization

and even scare-mongering conspiracy theories. While many of the groups within these networks describe themselves as mainstream — and many disagree with one another — they all have helped spread bigoted ideas into American life.

What follows are descriptions of a number of these institutions, organized alphabetically, that focus on their roles in spreading bigotry. Organizations listed as hate groups by the Southern Poverty Law Center are indicated by an asterisk.

The American Cause

www.theamericancause.org

The American Cause is a foundation founded and run by commentator and nativist firebrand Patrick Buchanan, a three-time presidential contender who may have done more than almost any other individual to popularize white supremacist and Christian nationalist ideas in America. Founded in 1993 to promote “national sovereignty, economic patriotism, limited government and individual freedom,” the organization is actually an echo chamber for Buchanan, who has long been disdainful of non-white immigration. In

one 1984 column, Buchanan wrote that the issue of immigration has “almost nothing to do with economics, almost everything to do with race and ethnicity. If British subjects, fleeing a depression, were pouring into this country through Canada, there would be few

alarms. The central objection to the present flood of illegals is they are not English-speaking white people from Western Europe; they are Spanish-speaking brown and black people from Mexico, Latin America and the Caribbean.” Buchanan argues that democracy can only work in societies populated by a single ethnic or racial group and culture. His recent book *The Death of the West* bemoans the rise in non-white, non-Christian immigrants, and uses information from the racist New Century Foundation* (see below) to spread claims that blacks have an inherently more criminal nature than whites. He is also given to conspiracy theories about the New World Order, secular humanist plots and powerful Jewish elites. Buchanan’s latest project is a magazine, *The American Conservative*.

American Enterprise Institute

www.aei.org

Founded in 1943, the Washington, D.C.-based American Enterprise Institute (AEI) is one of the most influential conservative think tanks in America. While its roots are in pro-business values, AEI in recent years has sponsored scholars whose views are seen by many as bigoted or even racist. For example, Dinesh D’Souza, the author of *The End of Racism*, holds an Olin Foundation (see below) research fellowship at AEI. D’Souza has suggested that civil rights activists actually help perpetuate racial tensions and division in the United States, and has even called for the repeal of the 1964 Civil Rights

Act. After his book was published, black conservatives Robert Woodson and Glenn Loury denounced it — Woodson released a statement saying it “fans the flames of racial animosity” —



and broke their own ties with AEI. Another AEI-sponsored scholar,

Charles Murray, is more controversial. Murray, who has a Bradley Foundation (see below) research fellowship at AEI, is the co-author of *The Bell Curve*, a book that argues that blacks and Latinos are genetically inferior to whites and that most social welfare and affirmative action programs are doomed to failure as a result. The book, described as a reheated “stale stew of racial eugenics” by historian Godfrey Hodgson, cites the work of some 16 researchers financed by the racist Pioneer Fund* (see below).

American Immigration Control Foundation*

www.aicfoundation.com

The American Immigration Control Foundation, founded in 1983, has been headed since 1990 by John Vinson, a conspiracy-oriented Christian nationalist. Vinson wrote the AICF-published *Immigration and Nation: A Biblical View*, in which he claims that it is against God’s will to weaken the “divinely unique”



character of every nation. In the case of America, Vinson makes clear in the booklet, that character belongs to English-speaking white Anglo-Saxon Protestants. In fact, Vinson attacks Catholics who came

to America in the 19th century, claiming that because they did not understand God’s plan, they foolishly supported a strong federal government and high taxes. He says that assimilating “the races of the world” is “an impossible task,” and argues that current immigration patterns may “destroy our nationhood.” Vinson also attacks the “spiritual Balkanization” he says immigration of non-Christians promotes. Closely tied to AICF is the lobbying group Americans for Immigration Control*, publisher of the newsletter *Immigration Watch* and distributor of an array of anti-immigrant books including the grotesquely racist French novel, *The Camp of the Saints*.

The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation

www.bradleyfdn.org

The Bradley Foundation was created with \$290 million from the 1985 sale of a Milwaukee electrical parts business started in 1903 by brothers Lynde and Harry Bradley. With a mission of “strengthening American democratic capitalism and the institutions, principles and values that sustain and nurture it,” the



foundation funds a wide range of activities, including the arts, health care and education. But it has also funded an array of right-wing organizations, including the American Enterprise Institute (see above), the Center

for the Study of Popular Culture, the Free Congress Foundation and the Rockford Institute (see below for each of these). The Free Congress Foundation has received more than \$6 million, according to MediaTransparency.com.

Castle Rock Foundation

www.castlerockfoundation.org

The Castle Rock Foundation is controlled by members of the Coors family, whose fortune stems from the beer business. The foundation, whose board includes family members



William K. (president), Peter H. (vice president), Jeffrey H. (treasurer), and Holland H. (trustee), has awarded grants to the American Enterprise Institute, the Center for the Study of Popular Culture and the far-right Free Congress Foundation. The

older Coors Foundation, which funded the Free Congress Foundation and similar groups for many years, no longer makes grants to ultraconservative groups.

Center for American Unity

www.cfau.org

Long-time anti-immigrant activist and author Peter Brimelow is the president of the Center for American Unity, a Virginia nonprofit foundation “dedicated to preserving our historical unity as Americans into the 21st Century.” On the surface, the center is concerned with promoting English as a common language, but a bit of digging reveals concerns that



non-white, Catholic, and Spanish-speaking immigrants are polluting America. This

is most obvious in the foundation’s VDARE project, which is named after Virginia Dare, the first English child born in the New World in 1587. Brimelow says that he once planned to bestow Dare’s name upon “the heroine of a projected fictional concluding chapter in *Alien Nation* [his anti-immigration book], about the flight of the last white family in Los Angeles.” Reviving a favorite theme of early nativists and the Ku Klux Klan, Brimelow attacks 19th-century Catholic immigrants for being supposedly subservient to popes and monarchs, and thus incompatible with democratic self-rule. The VDARE Web site also contains an archive of columns by Sam Francis, the immigrant-bashing editor of the newspaper of the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens*. In his columns, Francis rails against the “emerging Hispanic majority,” plugs conspiracy theories, and promotes white racial consciousness. In April, VDARE took one more step toward the racist right, publishing an essay on its Web site by white supremacist Jared Taylor (see New Century Foundation*, below) that dismisses “the fantasy of racial equality,” claims the Civil Rights Act of 1964 “stripped Americans of the right to make free decisions,” and says that

“[b]lacks, in particular, riot with little provocation,” unlike the far more peaceable white race.

Center for the Study of Popular Culture

www.cspc.org

David Horowitz, a former leftist born again as a right-wing conservative, founded the Center for the Study of



Popular Culture in 1989, and is also the editor of the Net publication FrontPageMagazine.com. Although

he makes much of his past working for civil rights for blacks and others, he more recently has blamed slavery on “black Africans ... abetted by dark-skinned Arabs” — a selective rewriting of history. He also claims that “there never was an anti-slavery movement until white Christians — Englishmen and Americans — created one.” That, of course, is false. Critics note that Horowitz is ignoring everything from the slave revolt led by Spartacus against the Romans and Moses’ rebellion against the Pharaoh to the role of American blacks in the abolition movement. He has attacked minority “demands for special treatment” as “only necessary because some blacks can’t seem to locate the ladder of opportunity within reach of others,” rejecting the idea that they could be the victims of lingering racism.

Federation for American Immigration Reform

www.fairus.org

Founded in 1978 by Michigan activist John Tanton of U.S. Inc. (see below), the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) blames immigrants for a host of social problems including crime, poverty, disease, urban sprawl, traffic jams, school overcrowding, racial tensions and potential terrorism. Between 1985 and 1994, FAIR accepted some \$1.2 million from the racist Pioneer Fund* (see below), until bad publicity apparently convinced its leaders to desist. Another Pioneer Fund grant recipient, Garrett Hardin, was for years a FAIR adviser and remains a “board member emeritus.” Hardin has opposed sending food aid to Africa



because, he argues, that only encourages overpopulation. “Tragically, flights of food

that save lives increase fertility — which increases the mistreatment of the environment.” He also told *OMNI* magazine, “Looking at history with an open mind, you’ll see that infanticide has been used as an effective population control.” FAIR has run ads that attacked then-Sen. Spencer Abraham (R.-Mich.), an Arab American, for supporting more visas for those with high-technology skills. The ads said Abraham’s proposal would make it easier for Middle Eastern terrorists to strike, sparking widespread condemnation of what was seen as a race-based attack. On FAIR’s board of advisors is Pat Choate, who helped white nationalist Patrick Buchanan (see The American Cause, above) take over the Reform Party prior to Buchanan’s run for president in 2000.

Free Congress Foundation

www.freecongress.org

In 1974, ultra-conservative political strategist Paul Weyrich and beer magnate Joseph Coors co-founded the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, which evolved into the Free Congress Foundation (FCF). This came after the Heritage Foundation they had earlier helped start moved too far into the mainstream for Weyrich’s



taste. FCF received funding from the Coors and later the Castle Rock foundation (see above), but even more so from far-right foundations controlled by Richard Mellon Scaife and his family (see Scaife Foundations, below). In 1987 Weyrich commissioned *Cultural Conservatism: Toward a New National Agenda*, which became the script

for what has become known as the “culture wars.” Four years later, FCF staffers William Lind and William Marshner edited *Cultural Conservatism: Theory and Practice*. Rejecting right-wing libertarianism as materialistic, “cultural conservatism” saw itself as based on Judeo-Christian ethics and at first concentrated its fire on gays and feminists, depicting them as sinners. But FCF soon expanded into conspiracy theories about sinister plots, themes reflected in two FCF-sponsored books, *The Homosexual Agenda* and *Gays, AIDS and You*. Race surfaced in 1999, when Lind wrote that, “The real damage to race relations in the South came not from slavery, but from Reconstruction, which would not have occurred if the South had won.” Had that happened, Lind added, “at least part of North America would still stand for Western culture, Christianity and an appreciation of the differences between ladies and gentlemen.” Instead, when the South lost, the “official American state ideology” became the federally imposed “cultural Marxism of Political Correctness.”(see related story, p. 15) In a speech to a Holocaust denial outfit last year, Lind blamed “cultural Marxism” on a tiny group of German Jews. Most remarkable of all, one of Weyrich’s long-time advisers on European-American issues has been Laszlo Pasztor Sr. The aging Pasztor, an ardent foe of communism, was active with the Hungarian Arrow Cross in the 1940s, when it was collaborating with the Nazis. Pasztor says he did not participate in the anti-Semitic violence promoted by the Arrow Cross Party. Pasztor currently has office space in Washington, D.C., provided by the Coalitions for America, a group chaired by Weyrich and located in the same building as the Free Congress Foundation, and described by it as its “sister organization.”

Institute for the Study of Man

The Washington, D.C.-based Institute for the Study of Man has long been headed by Roger Pearson, one of the most virulent race scientists operating today. For some three decades, Pearson has been pushing discredited pseudo-anthropological claims about racial Aryanism that are similar to those of the German Nazis. In 1996, Pearson wrote, “If a nation with a more advanced, more specialised, or in any way superior set of genes mingles with, instead of exterminating, an inferior tribe, then it commits racial suicide, and destroys the work of thousands of years of biological isolation and natural selection.” He claims

that the demise of ancient Greece was the result of a “decline in Nordic blood,” adding that “Nordic decay was heralded in by ideas of ‘enlightenment’ and individualism.” Pearson has used pseudonyms to make some of his most unvarnished remarks. According to *The Funding of Scientific Racism*, a 2002 book by scholar William Tucker, Pearson has claimed that Nordics are “the very peak of evolutionary progress,” far removed from “the ape-like appearance of our original ancestors” who were more like “Negroes and monkeys.” Pearson also publishes the *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, which focuses on the roots of “Aryan”-based languages, and the *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*. Wayne Lutton — who previously wrote for the racist *American Mercury* and the Holocaust-denying *Journal of Historical Review* — also has been a frequent contributor to the latter Pearson journal. Pearson co-edits a third journal, the eugenicist *Mankind Quarterly*, with Richard Lynn, who like Pearson’s institute has been financed by the racist Pioneer Fund*. Lynn’s work, including a study on “Positive Correlations between Head Size and IQ,” is cited in *The Bell Curve* (see American Enterprise Institute, above). “What is called for here is not genocide, the killing off of the population of incompetent cultures,” Lynn wrote in 1972. “But we do need to think realistically in terms of the ‘phasing out’ of such peoples. ... To think otherwise is mere sentimentality.”

Ludwig von Mises Institute

www.mises.org

The Ludwig von Mises Institute, founded in 1982 by Llewellyn Rockwell Jr. and still headed by him, is a major center promoting libertarian political theory and the Austrian School of free market economics, pioneered by the late economist Ludwig von Mises. It publishes seven journals, has printed more than 100 books, and offers scholarships, prizes, conferences and a major library at its Auburn, Ala., offices. It also promotes a type of



Darwinian view of society in which elites are seen as natural and any intervention by the government on behalf of social justice is destructive. The institute seems nostalgic for the days when, “because of selective mating, marriage, and the laws of civil and genetic inheritance, positions of natural authority [were] likely to be passed on within a few noble families.” But the rule of these natural elites and intellectuals, writes institute scholar Hans-Hermann Hoppe, is being ruined by statist meddling such as “affirmative action and forced integration,” which he said is “responsible for the almost complete destruction of private property rights, and the erosion of freedom of contract, association, and disassociation.” A key player in the institute for years was the late Murray Rothbard, who worked with Rockwell closely and co-edited a journal with him. The institute’s Web site includes a cybershrine to Rothbard, a man who complained that the “Officially Oppressed” of American society (read, blacks, women and so on) were a “parasitic

burden,” forcing their “hapless Oppressors” to provide “an endless flow of benefits.” “The call of ‘equality,’” he wrote, “is a siren song that can only mean the destruction of all that we cherish as being human.” Rothbard blamed much of what he disliked on meddling women. In the mid-1800s, a “legion of Yankee women” who were “not fettered by the responsibilities” of household work “imposed” voting rights for women on the nation. Later, Jewish women, after raising funds from “top Jewish financiers,” agitated for child labor laws, Rothbard adds with evident disgust. The “dominant tradition” of all these activist women, he suggests, is lesbianism. Institute scholars also have promoted anti-immigrant views, positively reviewing Peter Brimelow’s *Alien Nation* (see Center for American Unity, above).

New Century Foundation*

www.amren.com

Jared Taylor, the man who heads the New Century Foundation and edits its allied magazine *American Renaissance*, is a white supremacist who celebrates the “clear conception of the United States as a nation ruled by and for whites.” The foundation and magazine, based in Oakton, Va., tirelessly advance pseudo-scientific theories linking IQ to race and advocate eugenics — selective breeding to “improve” human genetic stock. The foundation also puts on bi-annual conferences; the 2002 event was advertised like this: “In all parts of the world, whites are afraid to speak out in their own interests. The costs of ‘diversity,’ racial differences in IQ, the threat of non-white immigration — politicians and the media are



afraid to discuss what these things mean for whites and their civilization.” Taylor also has noted approvingly that until 1967, “strong opposition to mixed marriage was enshrined in law” in 16 states. In “The Myth of Diversity,” Taylor writes that “diversity” has led to civil rights claims by all kinds of groups he doesn’t like. “Anyone who opposes the glorification of the alien, the subnormal, and the inferior can be denounced,” he complains. “The metastasis of diversity is a fascinating story, but the disease began with race.” After 300 pages of attacking blacks and dismissing white racism, Taylor’s 1992 book *Paved With Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in Contemporary America* notes that most Americans would not agree to use sterilization or forced abortion on those whom the society considers less fit. His solution? Make “welfare mothers” accept a “five-year implantable contraceptive.” Taylor is allied with Wayne Lutton, whom he thanks in his book and who is the editor of *The Social Contract*, a journal published by John Tanton’s The Social Contract Press*. Taylor, Lutton and Richard Lynn (see Institute for the Study of Man, above) are on the editorial board of *The Occidental Quarterly*, a journal where Sam Francis, top editor for the racist Council of Conservative Citizens*, serves as book review editor. *The Occidental Quarterly*’s first issue featured a story by the late Keith Stimely, who was also an editor of the *Journal of Historical Review*, a notorious Holocaust denial publication.

John M. Olin Foundation

www.jmof.org

Founded in 1953 by Illinois industrialist John Merrill Olin, the Olin Foundation funds projects that “strengthen the economic, political and cultural institutions upon which the American heritage of constitutional government and private enterprise

is based.” Among its grantees over the last 20 years are the American Enterprise Institute, the Center for the Study of Popular Culture, the Federation for American Immigration Reform, the far-right Free Congress Foundation (see above for all four) and the Rockford Institute (see below). Olin plans to spend down its 2001 assets of over \$70 million in the next few years.

Pioneer Fund*

www.pioneerfund.org

With an original charter to pursue “race betterment” for those “deemed to be descended predominantly from white persons who settled in the original thirteen states prior to the adoption of the Constitution,” the Pioneer Fund was founded in 1937 in New York. Many involved in the early years of the fund, including its first president Harry H. Laughlin, maintained “contacts with many of the Nazi scientists whose work provided the conceptual template for Hitler’s aspiration toward ‘racial hygiene’ in Germany,” according to an *Albany Law Review* article by Paul Lombardo. In *The Funding of Scientific Racism*, scholar William Tucker reveals how Pioneer board members and grantees sought to block the civil rights movement in the 1960s. In recent decades, the Pioneer Fund has funded most American and British race scientists, including a large number cited in *The Bell Curve* (see American Enterprise Institute, above). According to Barry Mehler, the leading academic critic of the fund, these race scientists have included Hans Eysenck, Robert A. Gordon, Linda Gottfredson, Seymour Itzkoff, Arthur Jensen, Michael Levin, Richard Lynn, R. Travis Osborne, Roger Pearson (see the Institute for the Study of Man, above), J. Philippe Rushton, William Shockley and Daniel R. Vining Jr. Last year, Rushton became the fourth president of the fund. He disavows the terms “inferior” and “superior” but, as psychologist Andrew S. Winston points out, Rushton has produced a chart in which blacks “are said to have, on average, smaller brains, lower intelligence, lower cultural achievements, higher aggressiveness, lower law-abidingness, lower marital stability and less sexual restraint than whites, and the differences are attributed partially to heredity.” Pioneer grantees have also included white supremacist Jared Taylor (see the New Century Foundation*, above). According to *Hold Your Tongue*, a book by education expert James Crawford, the Pioneer Fund also “aided the Institute for Western Values — the same group Cordelia May [Scaife, sister of Richard Mellon Scaife, see below] paid to distribute [the racist book] *The Camp of the Saints* — in publishing the autobiography of Thomas Dixon,” whose racist novels helped spark the Klan’s rebirth in 1915. Pioneer also has given grants to the American

Immigration Control Foundation,* the Federation for American Immigration Reform, Roger Pearson’s Institute for the Study of Man, Jared Taylor’s New Century Foundation* (see above for all four) and Project USA, an anti-immigration group run by a FAIR board member.

Rockford Institute

www.chroniclesmagazine.org

Based in Rockford, Ill., the Rockford Institute was founded in 1976 and is today best known for *Chronicles*, a magazine edited by institute president Thomas Fleming that white nationalist Patrick Buchanan has described as “the toughest, best-written, and most profoundly insightful journal in America.” An early sign of the institute’s intolerance came in 1989, when New York branch head and theologian Richard John Neuhaus wrote a memo to the institute’s then-president, Richard Carlson. The memo cautioned that some institute publications contained



attacks on “rootless, deracinated and cosmopolitan elites” that recalled “the classic language of anti-Semitism.” As

a result, Rockford sent a squad from Illinois to evict Neuhaus from his Manhattan office and literally toss his belongings into the street. Over the years, *Chronicles* has featured articles by Buchanan (see The American Cause, above), Sam Francis and Wayne Lutton (for both, see New Century Foundation*, above), and the late Murray Rothbard (see the Ludwig von Mises Institute, above). It has praised anti-immigrant ethnic nationalist groups such as Jörg Haider’s Austrian Freedom Party and the Italian Lombardy League. Fleming himself seems to yearn for the days of the pre-Civil War South, writing in the November 2001 issue, “The agrarian republic of Washington and Jefferson had been overthrown by Lincoln and replaced by an imperial republic, which was in turn replaced by the warm-and-fuzzy national socialism imposed by FDR.” He added, “The new wave of mass immigration ... reinforced the leftist campaign to destroy Christendom, and there is absolutely no chance that ordinary Americans will ever retake power long enough to reverse multiculturalism, affirmative-action policies, or the compulsory bigotry represented by ... call[s] for apologies and reparations.” This February, in an online *Chronicles* article titled “Was There a Civil-Rights Revolution?” Paul Gottfried attacked Martin Luther King Jr., saying King had pushed the nation onto a path that “had more to do with political coercion and relentless indoctrination than with appeals to conscience.”

Scaife Foundations

www.scaife.com

Pittsburgh billionaire Richard Mellon Scaife and his family, whose fortune derives from his great-grandfather’s control of the Mellon Bank and other investments, control four foundations that have helped shift the U.S. political scene significantly to the right with donations of over \$350 million since the early 1960s.

They are the Allegheny Foundation, the Carthage Foundation, the Sarah Scaife Foundation and the Scaife Family Foundation. Richard Mellon Scaife described by *The Washington Post* as having “a penchant for conspiracy theories,” worked hard to discredit the Clinton Administration, spending more than \$2 million to pursue allegations of illegal Clinton acts that later



turned out be baseless. This included sponsoring reporter Christopher Ruddy to investigate theories that former

White House Deputy Counsel Vince Foster’s death was not the suicide it appeared to be. Between them, the Scaife foundations have also helped fund the American Enterprise Institute, the Center for the Study of Popular Culture, the Federation for American Immigration Reform, the Free Congress Foundation and the Rockford Institute (see above for all five).

U.S. Inc.

www.numbersusa.com

www.proenglish.org

www.thesocialcontract.com

Founded in 1982 as an anti-immigrant umbrella group by Michigan ophthalmologist John H. Tanton, U.S. Inc. operates most publicly through three projects — NumbersUSA, ProEnglish and The Social Contract Press,* which publishes the journal *The Social Contract*. Tanton and his wife, Mary Lou Tanton, have been chair and vice chair from the start. Tanton, who has done more to build the anti-immigration



movement than any other person, founded the nation’s best-known immigration restriction group — the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) — as well as U.S. English and the highly influential Center for Immigration Studies. Tanton also has helped fund the anti-Hispanic groups American Patrol*

and the California Coalition for Immigration Reform*. His Social Contract Press*, coordinated by himself, Robert Kyser and Wayne Lutton (see also New Century Foundation*, above) publishes a number of anti-immigrant tracts, chief among them the racist French novel *The Camp of the Saints*. Tanton and Lutton also are co-authors of *The Immigration Invasion*, an anti-immigrant scare book published by the American Immigration Control Foundation*(see above). One typically lurid chapter warns that “criminal activities” by illegal aliens are “escalating” into a “crime wave.” In a private 1986 memo leaked to the press, Tanton suggested racial Balkanization was under way, and warned, among other things, that Hispanics were out-breeding whites: “On the demographic point: perhaps this is the first instance in which those with their pants up are going to get caught by those with their pants down!” The memo contained such incendiary language that U.S. English executive director Linda Chavez quit, as did FAIR board member Walter Cronkite. ▲

BOOKS ON THE RIGHT

Roots of the Right

A Harvard history professor re-examines the impact of conservatism in California's Orange County

Suburban Warriors:
The Origins of the New
American Right

By Lisa McGirr

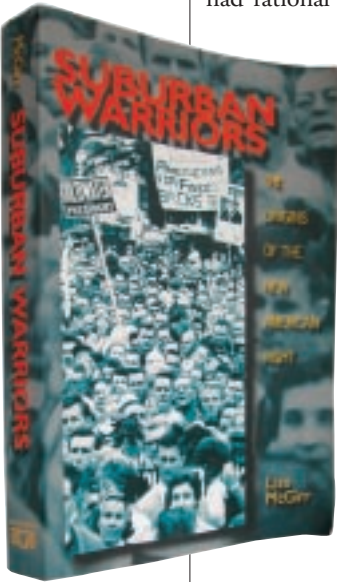
PRINCETON: PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2001, 395 PP., \$18.95

Much has been written about the mobilized left in the 1960s. Its colorful flower children, longhaired hippies and successful anti-war movement captured the imaginations of many people, especially American academics, who wrote volumes about the era. Lisa McGirr, an associate professor of history at Harvard, sets her sights on a less studied, but just as radical political movement that arose at the same time: Goldwater conservatism. McGirr focuses tightly on the rise of this movement in Orange County, Calif., where a suburban counterculture arose that mixed hardcore conservatism, libertarian opposition to government, fervent anti-Communism and religious traditionalism into a potent, radical and fairly wacky stew that would eventually put Ronald Reagan into the California governor’s mansion and, ultimately, the White House.

San Francisco’s counterculture had nothing on Orange County in terms of outlandishness. Orange County was home to the world’s first drive-in church, with parking for 550 cars. In the early 1960s, high school auditoriums were filled to the rafters with students excused from classes to attend Fred Swartz’s Southern California School of Anti-Communism. Walter

Knott, inventor of the boysenberry and owner of the amusement park Knott’s Berry Farm, ran a right-wing foundation from the park’s premises that distributed materials to visitors on topics such as “The Socialist Plan for Conquest” and “Communism on the Map.” And it was in Orange County that the John Birch Society, named after a Baptist missionary killed by Chinese communists, really took off, spreading its message of impending communist revolution and United Nations plots to destroy the U.S.

Probably because of intense paranoia about communism expressed by Orange County conservatives, the few scholars who did investigate the rise of this movement explained it in psychological terms. American historian Richard Hofstadter wrote that these kinds of conservatives were simply paranoid and suffering from “heated exaggeration, suspiciousness, and conspiratorial fantasy.” Sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset argued that they suffered from “status anxiety,” meaning that they felt that their social group was rapidly losing ground to other groups. For the most part, though, American academics ignored this movement, a fact that led Columbia historian Alan Brinkley



to write in 1994 that “American conservatism has been something of an orphan in historical scholarship.”

Instead of presuming a psychological defect on the part of conservative activists, McGirr instead asks them why they took up the cause. She speaks with housewives who held coffee klatches for Barry Goldwater, activists who led John Birch Society chapters and prominent local business leaders. McGirr’s interviewing technique successfully brings to life the motivations of her subjects and at least partially puts the lie to the Hofstadter and Lipset analyses.

Orange County’s conservatives did not suffer from status anxiety — on the contrary, they had status. As McGirr writes, these people “were immersed in a high-tech world” and “enjoyed the fruits of consumer culture” and “worldly success.” They came to California not to flee poverty, but to take advantage of economic opportunities afforded to them by the area’s burgeoning military-industrial complex. Their commie-baiting had rational roots, since conservatives’

livelihoods were so tightly hooked up with the military and the Cold War. McGirr’s most important scholarly contributions are these findings, which reveal the failings of previous academic analyses.

What McGirr fails to do is press her interview subjects on their rank hypocrisy. For an avowedly libertarian and antigovernment movement, Orange County conservatives sure didn’t mind receiving large paychecks from the federal government. McGirr appears perplexed by this contradiction, pointing out “it seems paradoxical that a region so dependent on the federal government

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LEGAL BRIEF

Patriot Act Redux

A second anti-terrorism proposal, further eroding Americans' civil liberties, comes under attack from both parties

BY SARA-ELLEN AMSTER

Within days of the release of an internal report blasting the U.S. Justice Department for abusing illegal immigrants detained after the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, Attorney General John Ashcroft pressed Congress for even greater authority in new measures dubbed “Patriot II.”

The Patriot II proposal, otherwise known as the Domestic Security Enhancement Act of 2003, would:

- Increase the use of the death penalty, pre-trial detentions and deportations;
- Explicitly expand the application of counter-terrorism laws to cover those who train with terrorist groups;
- Strip the citizenship status of those linked to designated terrorist groups;
- Limit the disclosure of information about detainees;
- Expand the power of the government to conduct surveillance and DNA collection.

Despite the sweeping powers afforded the government in October 2001 by the first version of the USA Patriot Act (Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (PATRIOT) Act of 2001, Pub. L. 107-56, 115 Stat. 272 (October 26, 2001)), Attorney General Ashcroft unapologetically pursued additional authority to correct “several weaknesses which terrorists could exploit, undermining our defenses.”

“We must be vigilant, we must be unrelenting,” he told the House Judiciary Committee in early June. “We must not forget that al Qaeda’s primary terrorist target is the United States of America. Even though recent attacks were overseas, the terrorist network is committed to killing innocent Americans, including women and children, by the thousands or even the millions, if they can.”

Watchdog groups remained unconvinced by Ashcroft’s rhetoric: “It’s frightening that the attorney general is seeking more authority to detain people, to spy on them, and even

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strip them of their citizenship, when the Department of Justice’s own inspector general has documented serious abuses of power that have already occurred in the government’s anti-terror campaign,” said staff attorney Ben Wizner of the ACLU of Southern California.

Expanded Awareness

The original Patriot Act gave the government unprecedented powers by streamlining and relaxing warrant, investigative and detention requirements. It also granted federal agents expanded authority to track the flow of Internet and telephone communication. For the first time, the Act allowed for information exchange among law enforcement and intelligence agencies as well as the limited transfer of information from traditionally secret grand jury proceedings. It authorized the use of various mechanisms to speed up deportation hearings and increased the time that the Immigration and Naturalization Service could detain non-citizens. Additionally, the 2001 act enhanced the government’s ability to conduct phone record searches, retrieve electronic evidence and use roving phone wiretaps across state lines.

Perhaps more significant, but less well known, has been the expansive application of legislation that predates 9/11. The attorney general took a rarely used and ambiguous section of the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, Pub. L. No. 104-132, 110 Stat. 1214., and made it a centerpiece of his counter-terrorism strategy. The controversial provision, which was later amended by the Patriot Act, punishes providing material support to terrorists without explaining what conduct constitutes such support. Despite its ambiguity and some judicial criticism, Ashcroft has used the “material support” section in some of his most high-profile prosecutions, including those of John Walker Lindh; the Buffalo, N.Y., al Qaeda defendants; James Ujaama; and defense attorney Lynne Stewart.

Ashcroft’s recently proposed reforms, introduced with his ominous rhetoric, might have been met less skeptically had they not come on the heels of his own inspector general’s 198-page stinging report that documented serious problems in the detentions of illegal immigrants who had no apparent terrorist connections. The detainees were held without access to attorneys or relatives for up to six months without formal charges — the average detention being 80 days. Many also were subjected to physical and verbal abuse from prison guards, according to the report; 515 of 762 were ultimately deported.

The report was yet another sign of eroding support for Ashcroft’s agenda. Just the month before, the Senate rejected a Republican push to make permanent key parts of the Patriot Act that are scheduled to expire in 2005. Further fueling the climate of distrust was the fact that Ashcroft’s efforts to lay the

“It’s frightening that the attorney general is seeking more authority to detain people, to spy on them, and even strip them of their citizenship...”

— Ben Wisner, ACLU attorney



ing more obvious from both Democrats and Republicans. Criticism from Jerrold Nadler, a New York Democrat, that Ashcroft was making a civil liberties error tantamount to the internment of Japanese-Americans might be expected. So might disapproval from U.S. Rep. William Delahunt, a Massachusetts Democrat. “It appears that the American people feel that the government is intent on prying into every nook and cranny of people’s private lives, while at the same time doing all it can to block access to govern-

“In my mind, the purpose of the Patriot Act is to secure our liberties and not to undermine them.”

— James Sensenbrenner, R-Wisc.

ment information that would inform the American people as to what is being done in their name,” he said. While it is true that “our enemies are ruthless fanatics,” Delahunt said, “the solution is not for us to become zealots ourselves so that we remake our society in the image of those that would attack us.”

But few expected reservations from the influential Republican chairman of the Judiciary Committee himself, U.S. Rep. F. James Sensenbrenner Jr. of Wisconsin. Sensenbrenner said he was concerned about the effects of counterterrorism on civil liberties. “To my mind, the purpose of the Patriot Act is to secure our liberties and not to undermine them.” He cautioned that although the Patriot Act is credited with great strides, including various prosecutions, his support for the Patriot Act is “neither perpetual nor unconditional.” He warned, “I believe the [Justice] Department and Congress must be vigilant towards short-term gains which ultimately may cause long-term harm to the spirit of liberty and equality which animate the American character.” ▲

groundwork for expanding the Patriot Act were conducted in secret until his plans were leaked to news organizations through the Center for Public Integrity, which discovered draft memos dated January 9, 2003.

Growing Criticism

The attacks on Ashcroft, muted at first, have come from many quarters since the Patriot Act’s passage, including civil liberties and immigrant groups. Now they are grow-

for the Record

Incidents of apparent hate crimes and hate group activities listed in *For The Record* are drawn primarily from media sources. These incidents include only a fraction of the approximately 10,000 hate crimes reported to the FBI each year and an even smaller proportion of the 50,000 reported and unreported hate crimes that are estimated to actually occur annually. This listing carries a selection of incidents from the first quarter of 2003 (an unabridged listing may be found on the Southern Poverty Law Center's Web site, www.splcenter.org).

ALABAMA

Huntsville • Jan. 2, 2003

Michael White, 21, and Benjamin Sloan and Lee Bray, both 19, were charged with conspiracy against civil rights, interference with occupying a dwelling, and use of fire in the commission of a felony after allegedly burning a cross at an interracial couple's home.

Montgomery • Jan. 25, 2003

About 65 white supremacists rallied in front of the Southern Poverty Law Center, including members of the neo-Nazi groups Aryan Nations, the World Church of the Creator and White Revolution, along with the American White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

ARIZONA

Phoenix • Jan. 27, 2003

Aaron Ray James Miguel, 26, was sentenced to life in prison for the beating and dragging death of a 54-year-old gay man in October 2000.

CALIFORNIA

Fremont • Jan. 4, 2003

David Criswell, 49, was charged with making violent threats and committing a hate crime after allegedly threatening to burn down a Sikh temple.

Los Angeles • Jan. 15, 2003

A swastika was painted on a soccer field at a Jewish recreation center and obscenities were painted on walls throughout the complex.

Palmdale • Jan. 25, 2003

Pride Tatroe, 29, was charged with four counts of assault, one count of battery and a civil-rights violation for allegedly attacking a 19-year-old black teenager for walking with a 16-year-old white teenager.

Palm Springs • Jan. 19, 2003

Two men allegedly assaulted a gay man while shouting anti-gay slurs.

Redding • March 27, 2003

James Tyler Williams, 32, was sentenced to 29 years in prison for killing a gay couple in July 1999.

Sacramento • Feb. 8, 2003

An 18-year-old was charged with misdemeanor vandalism after allegedly spray-painting a racist epithet outside a black family's home.

San Francisco • March 11, 2003

Philip Atkinson, 20, was placed on felony probation for three years and ordered to enroll in anger management and sensitivity training for scrawling anti-gay epithets on markers at an AIDS memorial.

Ventura • Jan. 27, 2003

Robert Coffman, 20, was ordered to serve a life term for kicking and beating a 58-year-old transient to death in June 2001. Coffman was sentenced to consecutive life prison terms for two unrelated assaults in June 2000.

West Hollywood • March 30, 2003

Three men allegedly yelled anti-gay slurs and attacked two men.

COLORADO

Centennial • Jan. 9, 2003

Two teenage boys allegedly yelled racial slurs and threw fruit at a Muslim family.

Colorado Springs • March 14, 2003

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

Parker • Jan. 18, 2003

Anti-Martin Luther King literature from the National Alliance was distributed throughout a neighborhood.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington • March 16, 2003

Gerard McMurray, a 24-year-old student, was charged with allegedly making bias threats to another student over the Internet.

FLORIDA

Bartow • March 20, 2003

James Draper, 21, was sentenced to two years in prison for attacking two young black boys with a bat last year.

Boca Raton • Feb. 3, 2003

Swastikas and anti-Semitic graffiti were painted at a synagogue.

Boca Raton • March 17, 2003

George Aboujawdeh, 46, was sentenced to a month in prison after setting fire to a sign announcing the new site of an Islamic community center and mosque.

Daytona Beach • Jan. 29, 2003

Charles D. Cole, 40, was charged with aggravated assault for allegedly

threatening a woman with a hammer while yelling racial slurs.

Lutz • Jan. 1, 2003

Donald I. Horton, a 23-year-old black man, allegedly shot an 18-year-old white man while shouting racial epithets.

Miami Beach • Jan. 1, 2003

Adrian Miller and Billy Lean, both 19, were charged with a hate crime and attempted murder after Miller allegedly shot a gay man and used anti-gay slurs.

GEORGIA

Dahlonega • March 7, 2003

Chester James Doles, Georgia unit leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, was arrested and charged with illegal weapons possession.

ILLINOIS

Burbank • March 21, 2003

Eric K. Nix, 24, was charged with three felony counts of arson, criminal damage to property and a hate crime for allegedly detonating an explosive device inside the van of a Palestinian Muslim family.

Chicago • Jan. 8, 2003

Matt Hale, 31, leader of the neo-Nazi group the World Church of the Creator, was charged with soliciting murder over a trademark ruling for allegedly trying to solicit someone to kill the federal judge who was presiding over the case.

Gurnee • Feb. 6, 2003

Paul M. Watson, 25, and Christopher R. Tresik, 20, were each charged with aggravated battery, mob action and

a hate crime for allegedly attacking a black man.

Joliet • Feb. 14, 2003

Joel B. Bryant, 18, and Jerry L. Bryant, 21, were charged with a hate crime for allegedly yelling racial slurs and instigating a fight with a black family.

Peoria • Jan. 12, 2003

A man allegedly attacked a 22-year-old Muslim woman and attempted to carve the letter "T" into her forehead.

Tinley Park • March 26, 2003

A white woman allegedly yelled obscenities and slurs at a couple of Middle Eastern descent in what authorities have classified a possible hate crime.

Villa Park • March 24, 2003

A 15-year-old and a 16-year-old were charged in juvenile petitions with hate crime and criminal damage to property for allegedly damaging the window of a mosque.

MAINE

Lewiston • Jan. 11, 2003

Members of the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator held a rally.

MARYLAND

Lanham • Jan. 9, 2003

A swastika was spray-painted on the retaining wall of a black family's property.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston • March 13, 2003

White supremacist Erica Chase, 23, was sentenced to nearly five years in prison for plotting to blow up black and Jewish landmarks in 1999.

Hyannisport • Jan. 12, 2003

Literature from the neo-Nazi National Alliance was distributed throughout a neighborhood.

Newburyport • Jan. 1, 2003

Jeremy Thaxter and Graham Whilton, both 18, and a teenage boy were charged with defacing storefronts, cars and houses with hate symbols after allegedly spray-painting several locations with racist graffiti.

Stoughton • March 29, 2003

Ku Klux Klan fliers were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

MICHIGAN

Ann Arbor • March 24, 2003

A man allegedly assaulted a Jewish student because he was wearing a pro-Israel T-shirt.

Detroit • Feb. 21, 2003

A transgender teen was fatally shot.

MISSOURI

Clayton • March 24, 2003

Two 17-year-old boys, Paul Laird and Nathaniel Conner, were charged with second-degree arson and criminal possession of a weapon for allegedly firebombing a Hindu temple.

St. Louis • Jan. 27, 2003

Steven C. Johnson, a 47-year-old white man, was charged with first-degree assault and armed criminal action for allegedly running over a black woman.

NEW JERSEY

Ewing • March 23, 2003

Swastikas and a racist message were spray-painted on the side of a house and a delivery van.

Teaneck • Feb. 17, 2003

Two swastikas and threatening phrases were scribbled on a restaurant building.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque • March 13, 2003

Four Air Force security men were relieved of duty for allegedly burning a cross on March 8. The men were also found to have swastikas

and Ku Klux Klan literature in their possession.

NEW YORK

Bronx • Jan. 2, 2003

Two men allegedly threw a bottle through the window of a mosque.

Brooklyn • Jan. 16, 2003

Red swastikas were spray-painted on 26 cars throughout a neighborhood.

Brooklyn • Jan. 25, 2003

Swastikas were spray-painted on cars in a Jewish neighborhood.

Brooklyn • March 6, 2003

George Fortunato, 60, Jacqueline Fortunato, 58, and Annemarie Fortunato, 33, were charged with third-degree assault as a hate crime after allegedly assaulting an Asian woman.

Flushing • March 28, 2003

A group of white men allegedly assaulted a 14-year-old black youth and made racist remarks.

Goshen • Feb. 11, 2003

Christopher Ferrara, a white man, was ordered to write an apology and pay restitution for his role in setting fire to a homeless black man's shelter in April 2002.

New York • Jan. 9, 2003

Sead Jakup, 22, was charged with third-degree arson, criminal mischief and aggravated harassment for allegedly dousing a synagogue's door with gas.

New York • Jan. 12, 2003

A swastika was burned into the ceiling of a Jewish family's residence and the phrase "Kill the Jews" was scrawled on the walls.

New York • Feb. 12, 2003

Anti-Semitic remarks were written on a poster at Yeshiva University.

Ozone • March 18, 2003

Luis Figuero, 18, was charged in connection with a December incident in which he allegedly hit, punched and cut an Asian man with a box cutter.

Port Ewen • Feb. 20, 2003

Donald J. Hart, 30, was charged with three counts of aggravated harassment as a hate crime after allegedly leaving envelopes containing hate literature at a Jewish woman's home.

Rochester • March 3, 2003

Anti-gay remarks were scrawled on a gay group's highway sign.

Watertown • Jan. 21, 2003

A black man allegedly stabbed a 25-year-old white man after the white man yelled a racial slur.

Yorkville • March 2, 2003

Sucjovic Mirsad, 22, Oscar Afre, 22, and Christopher Pan, 26, were charged with a bias assault after allegedly attacking a man while yelling anti-gay epithets.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro • March 3, 2003

Fliers from the neo-Nazi group The Creativity Movement were distributed throughout several neighborhoods.

Raleigh • March 13, 2003

Fliers from The Creativity Movement were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

OHIO

Canton • Jan. 7, 2003

Donald Fletcher, 32, was charged with an ethnic intimidation enhancement after allegedly assaulting a black man with a sword in October.

OKLAHOMA

Norman • Jan. 26, 2003

Racial slurs and three body outlines accompanied by profanity were

spray-painted on a sidewalk at the University of Oklahoma.

OREGON

Beaverton • Feb. 1, 2003

A reported Skinhead allegedly beat a Mexican man with a bat.

Medford • Jan. 16, 2003

Two white men allegedly attacked a homeless man twice and chased

a group of black teens while yelling “White Pride.”

Medford • Jan. 31, 2003

Andrew Patterson, 23, was charged with assault for allegedly attacking two homeless men and an Indian motel owner he believed was of Arabian descent. In the same incident, Aaron St. James, 25, was charged with assault for allegedly

attacking one homeless man and the motel owner.

Springfield • March 24, 2003

Jeffrey Marc Cohen, 28, was charged with harassment and a hate crime for allegedly gesturing at a woman of Sikh faith.

PENNSYLVANIA

Bellefonte • Jan. 20, 2003

Steven Allen Shawley, 57, was sentenced to one to two years at a state correctional facility for making terrorist threats, driving under the influence, careless driving and driving without a license in connection with an October 2001 attack on a black man.

Johnstown • Jan. 6, 2003

James Trantham, a 47-year-old white man, was charged with assault and ethnic intimidation after allegedly yelling racial slurs while trying to run down a black girl with his van.

Pittsburgh • Feb. 13, 2003

David W. Hull, 40, imperial wizard of the Order of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was charged with unlawful possession, transfer and manufacture of a destructive device for allegedly plotting to bomb an abortion clinic.

TENNESSEE

Greeneville • March 29, 2003

About 30 members of America’s Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan rallied.

TEXAS

Rockport • March 8, 2003

About eight members of the Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held a rally.

UTAH

Salt Lake City • Jan. 20, 2003

Members of the Silent Aryan Warrior white supremacist gang, who in October 2001 kidnapped and murdered a 36-year-old man they

suspected had stolen drugs from them, were sentenced to prison for their roles in the attack. Gordon P. Graves, 28, was sentenced to up to five years in prison for third-degree felony criminal homicide by assault and up to five years for third-degree felony attempted kidnapping. Kenneth P. Hunter, 32, was sentenced to five years to life for first-degree felony murder and 10 years to life for first-degree felony aggravated kidnapping.

VIRGINIA

Charlottesville • Feb. 26, 2003

A white male allegedly attacked a biracial woman on the University of Virginia campus.

Smithfield • Jan. 14, 2003

Thomas Lee Banks, an 18-year-old black man, and two black teens were charged with a racially motivated assault after allegedly attacking two white men in two separate incidents.

WASHINGTON

Longview • Jan. 20, 2003

Fliers from the neo-Nazi National Alliance and the white supremacist group Volksfront were posted outside an arts center.

Renton • March 18, 2003

Fliers from the National Alliance were distributed in several neighborhoods.

Vancouver • Jan. 25, 2003

A group of white men allegedly attacked a biracial teen.

WYOMING

Casper • Jan. 17, 2003

Pamphlets from the neo-Nazi National Alliance were distributed throughout a neighborhood.

THE LAST WORD

Smelly Cheese

Harold Covington is a famous neo-Nazi and propagandist. But that’s not the only reason he can be one scary character

BY KEVIN HICKS

In American neo-Nazi circles, Harold Covington is notorious. A long-time member of the National Socialist Party of America (NSPA), he has labored for decades to further racist causes, including working in Rhodesia to preserve white rule and advocating a plan to turn the Pacific Northwest into a white homeland. Along the way, Covington has made many enemies. He is accused of engineering a coup against his former commandant in the NSPA, and he has run smear campaigns against his rivals, including the late neo-Nazi William Pierce, author of *The Turner Diaries*. These disputes have caused some to allege Covington is a government informant; others say he is a homosexual. But what most don’t realize is that H.A. Covington has another claim to fame. He is a writer of cheesy occult novels.

Of his latest works, the best is *The Black Flame*, Covington’s stab at a medieval murder mystery, complete with the requisite intrigue, derring-do and debauchery. While at times entertaining, the problem is that he piles on too many plot devices and supporting characters. The back cover advertises “murdering monks, poisoning prioresses, scheming royal uncles, back street assassins, a mad alchemist, and a beautiful and dangerous Queen of the Witches.” Throw in some child murders, random torture scenes, derogatory references to homosexuality, and generic pagan/devil/demon-worshiping and what you get reads less like a well-crafted novel than a lurid “but wait, there’s more!” TV advertisement. Making sense of these various narrative elements is the job of Sir Thomas Clave, the Black Knight. Intrepid and

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unflappable to a fault, Sir Thomas plays the role of a proto-Sherlock Holmes out to solve the mystery of a murdered royal bastard and a secret society called the Black Flame. Like most 15th-century



“I frighten even myself”: Harold Covington and a few of his literary efforts.

private detectives, he is highly intelligent and supremely analytical, able to predict his opponents’ moves far in advance. (Note: so can the reader.) He is also one terrifying guy. The king’s executioner and master of all forms of torture, Sir Thomas dresses only in black, because it “doesn’t show bloodstains overmuch”

and he has a patented look so scary that, when practicing it before a mirror, “I frighten even myself.”

Such campiness aside, the “troubling” part of the novel comes when Covington finally reveals the mystery of the Black Flame. He describes with dread the coming of a “demonic new world order” characterized by, horror of all horrors, gender equality, social tolerance and individual rights. Covington, it seems, prefers the world of 15th-century England with its patriarchal privilege, hereditary rule and ethnic allegiance. But then what should one expect from a neo-Nazi?

Of lesser note is *The Stars in Their Path: A Novel of Reincarnation*. As the title suggests, this work is based on the idea that human souls do not perish at death, but are reborn. Where Covington gets into trouble is when he takes this ancient Hindu concept, blends it with an apocalyptic Christian vision, and overlays it with trite theories about the powers of “The Light” and “The Dark” and feminine and masculine natures. If it sounds confused, that’s because it is. The whole story boils down to a cosmic love triangle in which a good woman, Margarita, needs to pick the good man, Aristide, and instead chooses, over and over again, the bad man, a scheming Spaniard named Don Carlos Ramirez. Only in the last reincarnation will she finally get it right. Why she finally sees The Light as a Russian émigré at a tech firm in the Pacific Northwest is a mystery worthy of Carnac the Magnificent.

For a confirmed National Socialist, Harold Covington has always been an amusing character, upbraiding his enemies in the most colorful language imaginable. Surely, his failure to translate that dubious talent into popular occult literature is a small gift for which the human race can feel truly grateful. ▲

Roots of the Right

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 59

decied governmental influence.” Yet she never forces her subjects to address this.

McGirr’s interviews fail in another respect — her subjects are allowed to practice revisionist history, prettying up their pasts to avoid any suspicion that their actions were motivated by racism. Orange County was lily-white until the late 1970s, and conservatives tried to keep it that way. McGirr’s book cites several cases of racial hatred: in 1954, a Korean-American Olympic medal winner was twice unable to purchase a home in Garden Grove; not long after, an African-American Air Force lieutenant was faced down by a hostile group of more than 50 people after he purchased a home in Garden Grove; and in 1961, another African American had the windows of his apartment shot out.

Ultimately, McGirr makes somewhat light of this situation, pointing out that racism was endemic to the whole country and adding that “the race issue did not inform Southern California’s conservative mobilization to the extent it did in the South.” In fact, much of Goldwater’s rhetoric about “lawlessness” and rising crime rates used coded references to blacks and “the civil rights and student movements,” something McGirr admits. She also acknowledges these conservatives’ general hostility towards the civil rights movement, but buys her interviewees’ dubious claims that this hostility was based more on “states’ rights” reasoning than race.

Researchers always walk a fine line. They must be careful not to allow their investigative techniques to obscure the data they’re collecting. At the same time, they have an obligation to poke around a bit — to see what lies beneath the surface. McGirr ultimately doesn’t poke around enough. Her interview techniques lead her to discount far too much the importance of race to conservatism and the parallels between Southern conservatism and Orange County conservatism of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. The fact that Ronald Reagan launched his 1980 campaign in Philadelphia, Miss., the infamous place where three civil rights workers were murdered in 1964, should put the lie to McGirr’s contention that racism wasn’t a central value of the movement. ▲

— Heidi Beirich

SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER: Promoting Tolerance, Monitoring Hate, Seeking Justice.



Promoting Tolerance

Teaching Tolerance is an education program dedicated to helping teachers across the nation foster respect and understanding among their students. Its award-winning *Teaching Tolerance* magazine provides practical ideas for promoting an appreciation of diversity and the values of democracy and is distributed free twice a year to more than 500,000 educators. More than 300,000 of the program's video-and-text kits and anti-bias handbooks have been distributed free of charge to schools and community groups across the country.

Tolerance.org is a Web project that awakens people to the problems of hate and intolerance, prompts them to action and encourages them to dig deeper.



Monitoring Hate

The Intelligence Project monitors more than 700 hate groups and tracks extremist activity throughout the United States. It provides comprehensive updates to law enforcement, the media and the general public through its quarterly magazine, *Intelligence Report*. Staff members regularly conduct training for police, schools, and civil rights and community groups.

The Center, in partnership with a major university and the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center, offers an Internet hate crime training course for law enforcement officers throughout the nation.



Seeking Justice

Center attorneys handle innovative cases that few lawyers are willing to take. They fight all forms of discrimination and work to protect society's most vulnerable members. Several of the Center's cases have reached the U.S. Supreme Court, and many have resulted in landmark rulings.

The Center uses novel legal strategies to combat hate groups by suing them for the violent actions of their members. Its victories against several notorious Klan and neo-Nazi groups effectively shut down their operations.

The Center never accepts money from those it helps, and it receives no government funding. Its work is supported by thousands of committed individuals.

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