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Studies of White Nationalism in the United States: Part One

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ABSTRACT

This essay reviews two studies of White Nationalism in the United States. The first book is by Carol Swain, an African American professor of law and political science at Vanderbilt University. She is an expert on white supremacists. Her book is *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration*, which was published in 2002 by Cambridge University Press. The second book is by Leonard Zeskind, and his book is *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream*. It is a history of the White Nationalist movement from 1974 to 2004.

Introduction

“My book is a wake up call. We’re at a point in history where we have an opportunity to avert disaster. I believe that unless we take action today, we’re headed for unprecedented levels of racial and ethnic conflict.”

— Author Carol Swain¹

“Tea Party Lights Fuse for Rebellion on Right.” That was the February 16, 2010 headline in America’s “paper of record,” the *New York Times*. The story by reporter David Barstow had a dateline of Sandpoint, Idaho, ominously the former Ruby Ridge home of Randy Weaver and the headquarters of the Aryan Nation. The first sentence read: “Pam Stout has not always lived in fear of her government.” Fear, anger and hate were very much part of the story. The article painted Tea Partiers as conspiracy theorists and very potential terrorists. *Times* columnist Frank Rich later distilled the sentiment down into fifteen hundred words. He claimed to find little entertainment in watching “goons hurl venomous slurs at congressmen like the civil rights hero John Lewis and the openly gay Barney Frank. And as the week dragged on, and reports of death threats and vandalism stretched from Arizona to

Kansas to upstate New York, the F.B.I. and the local police had to get into the act to protect members of Congress and their families.”

He went on to write: “How curious that a mob fond of likening President Obama to Hitler knows so little about history that it doesn’t recognize its own small-scale mimicry of Kristallnacht. The weapon of choice for vigilante violence at Congressional offices has been a brick hurled through a window. So far.” Rich’s goal in the column was to explain the “red-hot anger,” the “tsunami of anger,” of the overwhelmingly white Tea Partiers. For Rich, the explanation is simple:

The health care bill is not the main source of this anger and never has been. It’s merely a handy excuse. The real source of the over-the-top rage of 2010 is the same kind of national existential reordering that roiled America in 1964.

In fact, the current surge of anger - and the accompanying rise in right-wing extremism - predates the entire health care debate. The first signs were the shrieks of “traitor” and “off with his head” at Palin rallies as Obama’s election became more likely in October 2008. Those passions have spiraled ever since - from Gov. Rick Perry’s kowtowing to secessionists at a Tea Party rally in Texas to the gratuitous brandishing of assault weapons at Obama health care rallies last summer to “You lie!” piercing the president’s address to Congress last fall like an ominous shot.

If Obama’s first legislative priority had been immigration or financial reform or climate change, we would have seen the same trajectory. The conjunction of a black president and a female speaker of the House - topped off by a wise Latina on the Supreme Court and a powerful gay Congressional committee chairman - would sow fears of disenfranchisement among a dwindling and threatened minority in the country no matter what policies were in play.²

This theme of white disenfranchisement has been a concern since at least the presidential run of Barry Goldwater in 1964. That year also saw the publication of *The Paranoid Style in American Politics* by historian Richard Hofstadter. In it, he wrote,

American politics has often been an arena for angry minds. In recent years we have seen angry minds at work mainly among extreme right-wingers, who have now demonstrated in the Goldwater movement how much political leverage can be got out of the animosities and passions of a small minority. But behind this I believe there is a style of mind that is far from new and that is not necessarily right-wing. I call it the paranoid style simply because no other word adequately evokes the sense of heated exaggeration, suspiciousness, and conspiratorial fantasy that I have in mind.³

Two American scholars have chronicled the people and groups that have entertained such conspiratorial fantasies and exhibit the paranoid style. Leonard Zeskind begins *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream*, his comprehensive study of White Nationalists, in 1974, ten years after the appearance of Hofstadter's book, and continues until 2004. Carol Swain's book, *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration*, focuses more on the recent past, though by way of background she explores further into earlier periods.⁴ To give a sense of urgency, I begin with her book.

Carol Swain

Carol Swain must be one of the most unlikely chroniclers of the White Nationalist movement. Born in 1954, one of twelve children, Swain dropped out of high school and married at age sixteen.⁵ After earning a General Equivalency Diploma (GED), Swain unexpectedly became an academic standout, garnering a B.A. from Roanoke College and an M.A. from Virginia Tech. Subsequently, she received her Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and in 2000 was awarded a Master of Studies in Law from Yale Law School. Following a tenured position at Princeton University, Swain moved to Vanderbilt, where she is currently Professor of Political Science and Professor of Law. She is also a member of the James Madison Society at Princeton University.

A widely published author, Swain has won a respected position as an authority on race relations in America. Part of that authority has come through appearances in the media such as BBC Radio, NPR, CNN's *Andersen Cooper*, *Lou Dobbs Tonight*, Fox's *Hannity*, and PBS's *News Hour with Jim Lehrer*. She has also written op-ed pieces for *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Wall Street Journal*. As a political blogger for *The Huffington Post*, Swain has come under fire from activist groups as a sympathizer to White Nationalist racists.⁶ That this African American woman born and raised in the former slave state of Virginia now writes relatively objectively (some critics claim sympathetically) about White Nationalists makes her all the rarer as a contemporary American scholar.

As for *The New White Nationalism in America*, the blurb to the book summarizes the topic:

Over the past ten years, a new white nationalist movement has gained strength in America, bringing with it the potential to disrupt already fragile race relations. Eschewing violence, this movement seeks to expand its influence mainly through

argument and persuasion directed at its target audience of white Americans aggrieved over racial double standards, race-based affirmative action policies, high black-on-white crime rates, and liberal immigration policies. The movement has also been energized, Swain contends, by minority advocacy of multiculturalism. Due to its emphasis on group self-determination, multiculturalism has provided white nationalists with justification for advocating a parallel form of white solidarity. In addition, as Swain illustrates, technological advances such as the Internet have made it easier than ever before for white nationalists to reach a more mainstream audience. Swain's study is intended as a wake-up call to all Americans who cherish the Civil Rights Era vision of an integrated America, a common humanity, and equality before God and the law.

In the Preface, Swain explains how she sees a threat in the way White Nationalism is now "appropriating to its own ends the language of multiculturalism and civil rights activism." Though by some standards she appears more objective about her White Nationalist subjects than other scholars in the field, Swain states clearly that she has undertaken this research to actively combat what she views as a clear and present danger. The use of civil rights language and the cloak of mainstream conservatism, she writes, "is alarming, and it is a major purpose of this book to draw attention to the danger posed by the growing influence of the white nationalist movement."⁷

Swain positions herself as a realist, arguing that American whites do in fact have real grievances, concerns that are not merely internally generated fears and phobias springing from white racism. Unlike mainstream politicians and media, Swain opts not to ignore or belittle these concerns, instead approaching her subjects in the way an objective sociologist or anthropologist would. Swain claims that unchecked non-white immigration, which will lead to whites becoming a minority in the not-too-distance future, the loss of industrial jobs to other countries, resentment over affirmative action, fear of black crime, and multiculturalism's encouragement of ethnic and racial pride for all Americans save for whites combine to offer a volatile package of legitimate worries for white Americans.

Though Swain's approach is rare among modern scholars, her ultimate motives are solidly liberal. By exposing the strategies used by White Nationalists and "giving voice to some of their grievances," Swain hopes to "promote greater racial harmony and to heighten America's awareness of what is at stake." She wants see "more scholarly assessment countering the social science data that white nationalists eagerly proffer," and, breaking dramatically with the academic consensus on the issue, "would like to see open forums on university and college campuses where ideas can be combated with other ideas rather than

censored, and where hearts can be opened and perhaps changed.”⁸

Again breaking with the academic consensus, Swain argues that conservative whites who criticize government intervention on behalf of minorities should not necessarily be labeled racist or anti-black. Rather, their criticisms of social welfare programs, racial preferences, and unhealthy or irresponsible behavior among blacks should be taken seriously and debated openly in the public square. “Hot-button issues” such as “affirmative action, black crime rates, racial differences in IQ scores, and the wisdom of racial preference programs that include immigrant minorities and their offspring” should not be avoided. On the contrary, a “reinvigorated public dialogue in the area of race” is in order.⁹

Having said that, however, Swain states that the White Nationalists profiled in the book have refused to meet the proper standards for such a public dialogue. In her mind, mainstream conservatives cross the line of acceptable discourse when they posit innate black criminality, or that non-whites cannot comport to the standards of civilization whites have established. Swain knows this about White Nationalists because, as with much good research in the social sciences, she had access to personal interviews with the subjects of her book. These were conducted by Russell Nieli of Princeton University, with whom she would co-edit her next book, *Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America* (Cambridge University Press, 2003). Those interviewed include Jared Taylor, David Duke, Don Black, Michael Hart, Michael Levin, Matthew Hale, and William Pierce, among others.

The Structure of the Book

Swain divides her book into four sections, beginning with an introduction to the new White Nationalists and their literature. This first part also devotes a chapter to the issue of immigration and the march toward minority status for whites in America. Finally, she includes a chapter on black crime and White Nationalists’ use of statistics on that crime to gain support for their cause. Part II deals with affirmative action, “a high voltage policy controversy that white nationalists seek to exploit in their efforts to woo mainstream whites.”¹⁰ Swain believes that affirmative action “is one of the most useful grievances for white nationalists seeking to rally support among mainstream Americans.” She sees in widespread resentment over affirmative action policies the potential to foment a sense of victimhood among whites, victims, in their eyes, of “reverse discrimination.”¹¹

Part III explores the experiences young Americans have of growing up in the racially charged environment that is modern America. She presents three case studies of white Americans who competed for college positions in the late 1990s. Among the effects of race

policies which Swain discovered are “anger, disappointment, frustration, and resignation.” She also devotes two chapters in this section to the divisive issue of multiculturalism and how that may play into the recruitment strategies of White Nationalists.¹² The final segment of *The New White Nationalism in America* offers potential remedies for problems White Nationalists seek to exploit. In her search for remedies, Swain also considers how religion may offer a palliative for the tensions caused by racial competition.

The New White Nationalists

Swain notes that while a few modern White Nationalists began as members of older organizations of the racist right such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazi Party, the norm now is for nonviolent, more educated white advocates unassociated with earlier racist groups to become activists on behalf of white Americans. Syracuse University scholar Michael Barkun is quoted as writing that the new leaders of White Nationalism are “not simply younger than their predecessors but better educated, more polished, and more adroit in shaping their message to a skeptical audience, having learned from David Duke’s example how effectiveness, appearance, and manner can deflect hostilities.”¹³ Indeed, Swain admits that this new breed of White Nationalists is “cultured, intelligent, and often possessing impressive degrees from some of America’s premier colleges and universities.” These people are “a far cry from the populist politicians and hooded Klansmen of the Old South.”¹⁴

Swain emphasizes that many of these White Nationalists have valid cases. In essence, she realizes that more and more Americans “have come to see the government as more geared toward advancing the rights of racial and political minorities than those of the undifferentiated mass of white people.” Further, whites are reasonably appropriating the words and models of the civil rights movement and multiculturalism in constructing what they hope will be a new, more robust white identity in America. Since identity politics are so visible and in some cases successful for assorted minorities, it should come as no surprise that today’s White Nationalists “are making a case for increased white solidarity and white consciousness by employing the same brand of identity politics” that have worked for others.¹⁵

Swain has chosen the term “White Nationalists” to describe the people in the movement she chronicles because it is the term these people use themselves, capturing as it does “their core beliefs in racial self-determination and self-preservation.” Today’s White Nationalists, Swain observes, draw heavily upon the rhetoric of national self-assertion and national self-determination in making their case. Like other peoples throughout the world, these

whites believe that they are equally entitled to their own cultural, political, and even genetic sphere of influence. Contemporary America, with its powerful promotion of multiculturalism, affirmative action and large-scale non-white legal and illegal immigration, they believe, threatens those rights, as does rising rates of intermarriage.¹⁶ Specifically, here are some of the ideas of a number of those White Nationalists.

Jared Taylor

Born in Japan to missionary parents, Taylor spent the first sixteen years of his life in that country and is fluent in Japanese. He earned his B.A. from Yale University in 1973 and graduated from Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris in 1978 with an MA in International economics, adding French to his linguistic abilities. He worked at Manufacturer's Hanover Trust for three years, then was West Coast editor of PC Magazine. In 1990 he founded *American Renaissance*, a journal dedicated to enhancing the survival of Western civilization.¹⁷ He has published widely, including *Shadows of the Rising Sun: A Critical View of the Japanese Miracle* and *Paved With Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in Contemporary America*. He has also edited *The Real American Dilemma: Race, Immigration, and the Future of America* and *Essential Writings on Race*.¹⁸

Swain quotes him as saying that "European man and European civilization" are being destroyed. "If we do nothing the nation we leave our grandchildren will be a grim Third World failure, in which whites will be the minority... [and Western Civilization, if it exists at all,] will be a failure."¹⁹ Taylor's view is aptly summed up in the portion of the interview with him that Swain has quoted:

Up until 1965, we had an immigration policy that was designed... to keep the country white. I see absolutely nothing wrong with that. In fact, I think that's a healthy, normal and natural position for a country to take. I think Japan should stay Japanese. I think Mexico should stay Mexican. Some think somehow that it's virtuous for the United States, after having been founded and built by Europeans, according to European institutions, to reinvent itself or transform itself into a non-white country with a Third World population. I think that's a kind of cultural and racial national suicide.... Wherever you go, wherever you mix racial groups, you're going to have tensions, you're going to have friction, and to have an immigration policy that imports millions of people of all sorts of different racial and ethnic groups, I think it's bound to cause racial tension.... We're all now more or less obliged to say, "Oh! Diversity is a wonderful thing for the country," whereas, practically every example of tension, bloodshed, civil unrest around the world is due to precisely the kind of things we're importing — diversity.

One of Taylor's main themes is that of black-on-white crime. The parent organization of *American Renaissance*, The New Century Foundation, is a non-profit organization that publishes a pamphlet called *The Color of Crime: Race, Crime, and Justice in America* (Second, Expanded Edition, 2005).²⁰ Among its claims are:

- Police and the justice system are not biased against minorities.
- Blacks are seven times more likely than people of other races to commit murder, and eight times more likely to commit robbery.
- When blacks commit crimes of violence, they are nearly three times more likely than non-blacks to use a gun, and more than twice as likely to use a knife.
- Hispanics commit violent crimes at roughly three times the white rate, and Asians commit violent crimes at about one quarter the white rate.
- The single best indicator of violent crime levels in an area is the percentage of the population that is black and Hispanic.
- Of the nearly 770,000 violent interracial crimes committed every year involving blacks and whites, blacks commit 85 percent and whites commit 15 percent.
- Blacks commit more violent crime against whites than against blacks. Forty-five percent of their victims are white, 43 percent are black, and 10 percent are Hispanic. When whites commit violent crime, only three percent of their victims are black.
- Blacks are an estimated 39 times more likely to commit a violent crime against a white than vice versa, and 136 times more likely to commit robbery.
- Blacks are 2.25 times more likely to commit officially-designated hate crimes against whites than vice versa.
- Between 1980 and 2003 the US incarceration rate more than tripled, from 139 to 482 per 100,000, and the number of prisoners increased from 320,000 to 1.39 million.
- Blacks are seven times more likely to be in prison than whites. Hispanics are three times more likely.²¹

When examples of particularly savage massacres of whites by blacks do take place, *American Renaissance* emphasizes them, often claiming that the mass media ignores them because black-on-white crime is not part of the official multicultural narrative. One instance *American Renaissance* has spotlighted is the December 2000 rape-murder case

involving five whites from the city of Wichita, Nebraska. Stephen Webster, a writer for *American Renaissance*, wrote a cover story about the crime, "The Wichita Massacre: The crime — and motive — the media ignored."²²

Indeed, the American mass media did completely ignore the crime. Columnist and author Patrick Buchanan was one of the few nationally-known personalities to refer to it. In his book *The Death of the West*, he described the crimes that took place on the night of Dec. 14, 2000:

Five young people were at a party when their home was invaded by brothers, ages twenty-three and twenty. The five were put into a car, driven to an ATM machine, forced to withdraw their money, and taken onto a soccer field. The two women were forced to strip and were raped. Then the victims were forced to have sex with each other at gunpoint. All were made to kneel down. Each was shot in the ear. The three young men and one woman died. The other woman, left for dead, ran bleeding and naked for a mile in the cold to find help, as the brothers drove back to ransack the house.

One of the victims had decided to become a priest. Another had bought an engagement ring and was about to propose, but "in the minutes before he died, Jason Befort was forced to watch as the woman he hoped to marry was raped."²³

Another signal example of such a crime is what has come to be known as "The Knoxville Horror." On the night of January 6, 2007, a young white couple, Channon Christian, 21, and Christopher Newsom, 23, were on a date. On the streets of Knoxville, they were carjacked by black men, then kidnapped, beaten, gang-raped, tortured and murdered. The national press was silent on this, too. As with the Wichita Massacre cited above, evidence and testimony indicated the attacks on the two whites were of a particularly savage nature. The black men reported anally gang-raped Newsom. Because they did not want DNA evidence to survive, they poured cleaning fluid down Ms. Christian's throat after orally, anally, and vaginally gang-raping her. Police reports stated that Newsom's body, with "multiple gunshot wounds," was discarded and set afire next to railroad tracks. Ms. Christian's body was found wrapped in garbage bags in a trash can. Some have suggested the body had been dismembered.²⁴ The three African American men arrested in the case have all been convicted and sentenced. Ringleader Lemaricus Davidson was sentenced to death, and his brother, Letalvis Cobbins, sentenced to life behind bars. Suspect George Thomas was sentenced to life without parole. Female suspect Vanessa Coleman is currently waiting for trial.²⁵

Interestingly, the reporter who has covered this case for *American Renaissance*, Nicholas Stix, is a Jewish New Yorker. Taylor's group, as indicated by Swain and others, has been open to Jewish members, in contrast to other White Nationalist organizations such as that of David Duke. Swain, like Taylor, chooses to openly publish details of these black-on-white crimes, and she also uses Jewish writers' accounts of such, as she did with this story from neo-conservative David Horowitz (portions in italics are from the original story; non-italicized sections appear on p. 122 of Swain's book):

When a young man named Matthew Shepard was tortured and left to die on the high plains of Wyoming simply because he was gay, the nation was outraged. Earlier that year, an even more brutal attack was made on the person of James Byrd Jr., a black man in Texas. Like Shepard's murder, Byrd's was followed by outpourings of anger and grief from editorial pages and political pulpits across the country.

Well and good enough. These responses are signs of health in the body politic, the presence of a will to summon the better angels of our nature, and to keep the savagery that lurks beneath the surface of any civilized society safely at bay.

But by contrast, most of the nation never knew about another crime that took place more than a year before the attack on James Byrd. Three white Michigan youngsters hitched a train-ride as a teenage lark. When they got off the train, they found themselves in the wrong urban neighborhood, surrounded by a gang of armed black youths. One of the white teenagers, Michael Carter, aged fourteen, was killed. Dustin Kaiser, aged fifteen, who was brutally beaten and shot in the head, eventually recovered. The fourteen-year-old girl (whose name has been withheld) was pistol-whipped and shot in the face after being forced to perform oral sex on her attackers.

Though the six African-Americans responsible for the deed were arrested and convicted, their attack was not prosecuted as a hate crime. More to the point, most of the nation never knew that the crime had taken place. It was not reported on page one of the national press, and there was no public outrage expressed in the nation's editorials or in the halls of Congress. Indeed, the few papers that reported the incident nationally did so on their inside pages. Beyond the Great Lakes region, the stories often failed to mention the races of the participants at all.²⁶

Swain also features instances of black-on-white ethnic cleansing from elsewhere in the world, such as Zimbabwe and South Africa. She also includes this passage from Don Black's *Stormfront* website. It is an excerpt from Khalid Abdul Muhammed's speech at Kean State University in New Jersey in late 1993 about the desire to exterminate whites in South Africa:

We kill the women. We kill the babies. We kill the blind. We kill the cripples. We kill them all.... When you get through killing them all, go to the Goddamn graveyard and kill them a-goddamn-again because they didn't die hard enough.²⁷

Taylor has found some traction with his magazine *American Renaissance* (and its online site). For instance, his organization has sponsored a biennial conference since 1994. In 2010, however, it was essentially shut down by terroristic tactics of those opposed to his agenda. In 2008, death threats made to the manager of the hotel that held the conference caused some anxiety, but the hotel honored its contract. Two years later, however, such threats resulted in four hotels canceling their contracts, and the conference was cancelled (though a truncated meeting of approximately seventy participants was held over the planned weekend of February 19-21).

As Taylor wrote in an article about the cancellation:

It is shameful that people who hate honest talk about race were able to intimidate hotels and force them to walk away from profitable business and deny us a venue. But what is, if anything, even more shocking is the almost complete lack of media interest in this contemptible behavior. Nothing could more clearly highlight the utter lack of principle of our rulers and elites. If a non-white group - or any other group - had been treated as we were, it would have been a major free speech issue, but the rights of those who dissent from racial orthodoxy appear to be of no concern to our rulers.²⁸

These developments would seem to support the contentions of some White Nationalists that as whites they receive less concern about and protection of their rights by the government.

David Duke

Swain gives some credence to the claim made by David Duke that whites have a right to defend their legitimate racial interests. Duke's organization, the National Organization for European American Rights - NOFEAR - was established to do just that. To illustrate Duke's idea of white interests, Swain quotes at length from the interview Duke gave to her researcher:

There's discrimination going on in hiring and promotions, in college admissions, in scholarship programs, in university admittance, in contracting, and in many other areas of American life. It's our contention that if discrimination is indeed morally wrong when exercised against minorities, then it's just as morally reprehensible

when exercised against members of the European-American majority. This organization works for what we perceive to be the overall interests of European-Americans and the preservation of our heritage and way of life in this country. So it's about civil rights, but it's also about preservation of our entity as an ethnic people, our existence, our values, our culture, our traditions, and the things that really go to make up traditional America....

There is an institutionalized racial discrimination going on against white Americans today. There have been some recent studies at major universities, for instance, at the University of Virginia, where they found that white students were one hundred more times more unlikely to get the admission or the scholarship than minorities. I mean, it's an amazing ratio. There are better qualified whites - let's make sure that this is understood. These are better qualified whites who face racial discrimination in college admissions, in scholarship programs, in hiring for major companies, in promotions in major companies, and also in the public sphere, such as police departments, fire departments, city government, the federal government, the United States Post Office. There's a pernicious discrimination going on against white Americans today, and I believe, as I said earlier, that civil rights must be for everyone in this country *including* white Americans.²⁹

As mentioned, Duke's group, unlike that of Taylor, is hostile toward Jews, seeing them as the primary cause of woes for white Americans, especially in the mass media, Hollywood and government. Swain even speculates about which is greater, Duke's hatred of blacks or of Jews. "Indeed, anyone reading Duke's autobiographical *My Awakening*, which devotes eleven chapters — over 250 pages — to the pernicious influences that Jews have allegedly had on the world over the centuries, would assume that its author was much more concerned with wresting power from Jews in American than in keeping white culture free from black influences."³⁰ In essence, Duke's philosophy is captured in this quote: "Our children... will live in an America where alien cultures will not simply be present, but will dominate us. This alien influx is a disaster for our country, our people, our families."³¹

Don Black

Swain notes that Don Black was early in the attempt of White Nationalists to take advantage of the emerging Internet. By the mid-1990s Black had established the website *Stormfront*, which continues to be active. One of Black's core beliefs, Swain found, was that whites need to realize geographical separation to preserve their racial genotype and cultural heritage. In his interview for the book, Black said:

In the short run, we want to see the government get out of the business of race mixing, get out of the business of forcing races together, and of telling employers who they can hire, who they must hire, and who they must promote, telling schools how they have to run their business, and telling people where they have to live or who they have to live with. And I think left to their own devices, members of most races will separate naturally.

Due to his Internet presence, he was the focus of a 2000 television special done by CBS/HBO called *Hate. com*. He and his fourteen-year-old son were interviewed by Morris Dees of the Southern Poverty Law Center, a watchdog agency. Black apparently expected to get a fair hearing on the show, but instead numerous clips from non-*Stormfront* sites were prominently including, leading Black supporter David Duke to announce that the Nazi-like images on the show actually came from a site whose owner openly admitted that he was Jewish and that he included such racist imagery to parody and discredit whites like Don Black. Swain once again includes her regrets that legitimate white grievances, such as black-on-white hate crimes, were ignored on the show. Black told a reporter that he was “tired of the Jewish monopoly over the news media and the entertainment media” and welcomed an alternative for whites, such as the Internet.³²

Jewish White Nationalists

Swain includes the irony that while American Jews tend to be liberal supporters of minorities like African Americans, two prominent critics of blacks are Jews. Michael Hart, Swain tells us, is an astrophysicist with additional degrees in computer science and law. Like many white gentiles, Hart saw himself as a victim of affirmative action discrimination, ending up teaching at third-tier universities. “I was told,” Hart said, “that in order to make up for the privileges I had in the past there should be a new set of quotas and preferences put in the operation against me. Quite naturally, I grew to resent this.” Though he had never personally discriminated against other minorities, he was “nevertheless being attacked as being relentlessly racist.”

Hart sees racial differences, particularly those in IQ, as making a multiracial state impossible. Thus, he has concocted a plan for racial partition, “where the nation is divided geographically into a White State, a Black State, an Hispanic State, and a Mixed Race/Multicultural State, with the latter, perhaps, being the largest of the four divisions.”³³ Hart had been an ally of Jared Taylor, addressing, for instance, the audience at the 1996 biennially meeting of *American Renaissance*, where he spoke on the need for a racial partition of the

United States. A decade later, however, he had a falling out with Taylor's group over comments made by audience member David Duke. This led Hart to organize a conference in 2009 called "Preserving Western Civilization." Invited speakers included some who also regularly present at the *American Renaissance* conference.

Michael Levin is the other Jewish academic who sides with White Nationalists on the question of lower average intelligence for blacks. Like Hart, Levin was troubled by racial preferences. A philosophy professor at City University of New York, Levin became the focus of a classroom boycott after publishing his book *Why Race Matters* (1997). Therein he wrote, "The difficulty blacks have in competing in a white world are not the legacy of past wrongs, however regrettable those wrongs may have been, but are a result of biology for which whites are not to blame." As he told Swain's interviewer:

Whites do better than blacks in virtually any field of endeavor - whether it's education, making money, life span, you name it, except perhaps in athletics - and this difference in outcome is consistently blamed on white racism and white discrimination. Since the shortfall in black achievement is supposed to be the fault of whites - this is where the compensation issue enters - whites are deemed to owe blacks some sort of compensation, for instance, by lowering standards for blacks so they can compete better, or by giving them jobs for which they are not the best qualified, and the like. My central contention, which I think is pretty well documented by science, is that the reason whites do better than blacks... is simply that whites are more intelligent, and have certain traits of temperament which conduce to long-run success, and these differences are genetic in origin. These differences are not the fault of whites, they're not something that whites did to blacks, and they are not something for which whites owe blacks compensation.

Swain also notes the paradox resulting from this Jewish professor teaching at a heavily minority university, alongside Professor Leonard Jeffries, an African American who has spoken and written negatively about Jews. She notes that "somehow he and Levin coexist at the same university."³⁴

Two White Supremacists

Swain devotes a number of pages to two other white racists. Matthew Hale, for instance, was leader of the World Church of the Creator, or WCOTC. In his interview, Hale stated of his church:

The World Church of the Creator is a pro-white, racial-religious organization which is dedicated to the survival, expansion, and advancement of the white race and the white race alone. We are not a Christian organization. Instead of basing our views, our ideology, our religion on Christianity, we base it on the eternal laws of nature as revealed through science, logic, history and commonsense. We believe that in a natural state each and every species looks out for its own kind. Each and every sub-species looks out for its own kind. This being the case, it follows that we as white people should look out for our own kind. We should not care about the other races - they can do what they will - but we should focus on our own. The World Church of the Creator in this respect is certainly a very radical organization, and we do not pay homage to Christianity or to the Constitution or even to America. We are an international organization in scope - we consider all white people, wherever they may be, to be our brothers and sisters.

He, too, is highly anti-Semitic. In his interview he stated that "The reason why anti-Semitism exists is because Semitism exists, because of Jews trying to manipulate and control the finances, the government, the laws of the people. They have," he claimed, "done this from time immemorial." He then noted how Jews had been kicked out of Egypt for this reason, how they had been a problem for Rome. The rise of Hitler, he also claimed, was due to the problems Jews caused in Germany.³⁵

Hale's personal life has not been typical. After graduation from the University of Southern Illinois Law School, Hale took and passed the bar exam in 1998. The state, however, refused to admit him to the bar due to his racial beliefs. In 2003, Hale was arrested for his role in a plot to assassinate the United States district court judge who presided over a case concerning the church. Hale was sentenced to forty years upon his conviction in the case.

Another white racist is William Pierce, who was among the more prominent white supremacist leaders. He created the National Alliance and gave weekly broadcasts from his base in the hills of West Virginia. Pierce's biggest claim to national fame was his publication under the pseudonym Andrew Macdonald of the anti-government novel *The Turner Diaries*. (This was followed by a sequel, *Hunter*.) Swain compares *The Turner Diaries* to key writings such as *The Communist Manifesto*, *Mein Kampf*, and *The Sayings of Chairman Mao* at least as far as extreme rightists are concerned. The novel was believed to be partially responsible for the 1995 bombing of The Federal Building in Oklahoma City. This would fit Pierce's worldview, as his main character writes in the diary of the title, "there is no way to win the struggle in which we [whites] are engaged without shedding torrents — veritable rivers — of blood."³⁶

Like other supremacists such as David Duke, Pierce saw Jews as a virulent threat to

white society. When asked during his interview where Jews might fit in to a future America, he replied, “They don’t.” Jews, he said,

have lived in Europe, of course, for a while. They’ve had Jewish colonies in Europe since Roman times, but Jews really don’t think of themselves as primarily European. They identify with the Middle East, at least the ones who are really Jewish, the ones that have a strong Jewish consciousness do. Their whole approach to life, their whole way of relating to the people around them is entirely different from our own. They’ve played a very destructive role in our society and in virtually every society in which they have been a minority. We can’t afford to fall into this trap again. They have to go their own way.³⁷

Swain concludes that white racists are somewhat united in their opinion of Jews: “Jews are the pariah; they are plotters and schemers out to destroy Aryan civilization; despite their European-like physical features, they are an alien and parasitic presence in America and must be expelled from any healthy white society.”³⁸

Race Differences

Swain offers a useful summation of ideas White Nationalists share about Africa Americans:

These scholars believe the main reason black people today are plagued by such a high incidence of criminal violence, out-of-wedlock births, poor school performance, and AIDS is rooted in their differential genetic endowment. The process of human evolution, as it has adapted to different ecological circumstances, has produced, they contend, a distinct racial hierarchy in terms of innate intelligence, the ability to delay gratification, to control emotions, and to plan for the future, with North Asians at the top of the hierarchy, white Europeans somewhere below them, Hispanics significantly below the white Europeans, and black Africans and their recent descendants at the very bottom.³⁹

This belief was found with most of her subjects. Ironically, Swain herself has now been grouped with these people by an organization she had praised in her writing, The Southern Poverty Law Center. Director Mark Potok stated that “Carol Swain is an apologist for white supremacists,” based on her estimation of an hour-long documentary film, “A Conversation About Race.” The website for the film had featured these comments from Swain: “... Outstanding... Meticulously done... I highly recommend this film...”

In fact, Swain had been more circumspect in her views, but still they substantially supported the excerpts: “This outstanding film provides an opening salvo for the long-awaited national debate on race. Meticulously done, it offers people of all races a rare opportunity to engage in cross-racial dialogue. I highly recommend this film for social science courses dealing with race, class, and ethnicity.” This is precisely the message Swain has been making throughout her book *The New White Nationalism in America*.⁴⁰ James Taranto, in an article in the *Wall Street Journal* on the claims by the SPLC agreed with Swain’s position of openness: “This is a serious argument, and it deserves to be taken seriously, even by those, like the SPLC, that disagree.... dismissing Swain as “an apologist for white supremacists” is the tactic of one who is trying to shut down, not encourage, debate.”⁴¹

Leonard Zeskind

If Swain’s approach is a plea for openness about real race problems, then that of Leonard Zeskind is a personal mission. As the description of Zeskind on the Petra Foundation website notes, “For twenty years, Leonard has worked to monitor Klan, neo-Nazi, and other white supremacist activity. He has publicized the activities of these white supremacist groups in America and in Europe through public education, advocacy, victims’ assistance, and leadership training. His careful research analyses have exposed the international scope, strength, and resiliency of organized hate groups.”⁴²

Zeskind grew up socially conscious in the early 1960’s, having, for example, a member of the NAACP speak at his bar mitzvah. Diverting from the stereotype of a “nice Jewish boy,” Zeskind dropped out of college and worked with white youth gangs, along with participating in anti-war demonstrations. To support himself, he worked as a welder, millwright, auto assembly line worker, and ironworker. By 1978 his attention had turned to anti-racism and he started to focus on White Nationalist groups. His tactics have been proactive, as he gains information by “infiltrating their meetings, reading their publications, listening to videotapes, and interviewing defectors from their organizations.”

He uses this information to agitate against white racists, giving lectures not only in the United States but in Europe as well. He has published in venues as diverse as *The Village Voice*, *Rolling Stone* and *The New York Times*.⁴³ Such activism has been fruitful for Zeskind, as he describes on his website:

The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation awarded me one of its famous five year fellowships in 1998, the so-called genius grants. I became a Petra Founda-

tion Fellow in 1992 and was given the “Owen Bieber Civil Rights Award” by the Civil Rights Department of the United Automobile Workers Union in 1993. And in 1987 I received the Columbia University School of Journalism Paul H. Tobenkin Award for my contribution to an award-winning edition of the Spokane Spokesman-Review.

I am a life time member of the NAACP, have in the past served on the board of directors of the Petra Foundation and the Kansas City Jewish Community Relations Bureau. And I am president of the Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights, which examines racism, anti-Semitism and far-right social movements; analyzes their intersection with civil society and social policy; educates the public; and assists in the protection and extensions of human rights.⁴⁴

His 2009 book on these topics, *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream* is, as described in one review,

a history of “White nationalist” political activity between 1974 and 2004 by Leonard Zeskind, an anti-racist writer and activist who has monitored White political groups since the 1970s. The book consists of a chronologically ordered series of chapters on phenomena including Willis Carto’s Liberty Lobby, William Pierce’s National Alliance, David Duke’s campaigns, Klan groups, Holocaust deniers, survivalists, Christian Identity adherents, Aryan Nations, White separatist compounds, bank robberies and murders by White criminal conspiracies, the Populist Party, skin-heads, Pat Buchanan’s campaigns, Ruby Ridge, Waco, White power music, militias, common law courts, American Renaissance, The Bell Curve, the Oklahoma City bombing trials, the Council of Conservative Citizens, Sam Francis, and 9/11.⁴⁵

Thus it is no surprise that the book runs to six hundred and fifty pages. Further, *Blood and Politics* is a useful companion to Swain’s *The New White Nationalism in America* because it covers some of the same White Nationalists, padding out descriptions of them and their activities, and deals with some that Swain either missed or did not have an opportunity to interview, the most prominent example being Willis Carto.

In contrast to Swain, Zeskind shows no sympathy for his subjects. While he claims to be impartial - “Despite my personal engagement, I have taken great care to treat fairly the men and women who populate the following pages. This is their story, not mine”⁴⁶ - he is in fact fighting White Nationalists with the fervor of a religious zealot. Zeskind throughout shows that he adheres to the tenets of modern multiculturalism in America and he writes as a guardian of political correctness. Even scientists who draw conclusions from the evidence about racial differences are consistently castigated by Zeskind. White Nationalists, who go

much further than this, are treated as a clear and present danger.

Zeskind attributes his motives to Judaism and its concept of "tikkun olam," the commandment to "repair the world." When he committed himself to a life of fighting racism, he took a day off work to attend a commemoration of the historic lunch counter sit-ins. "If I believed that losing a day's pay to march against Klan violence could help repair the world, I also began to see how white supremacists holding meetings, distributing literature, and shooting at people could tear that same world apart." One struggles to find fairness in his description of his subjects: "Like a chain of unfiltered smokestacks, white supremacists were poisoning the political atmosphere, as well as spilling blood upon the earth. It has been these concerns that have remained with me..."⁴⁷

Readers may also question the objectivity of the author when in the preface he unilaterally lays down his beliefs:

The ideas underlying the white supremacist movement are manifestly false. Jews do not run the United States or the world. Black people are not inherently inferior to white people, or anybody else. The economic life and culture of the United States have never been exclusively white or European. Nor are the privileges and power accruing to white people God-given or genetically driven.⁴⁸

Zeskind's attention to White Nationalist beliefs about and attitudes toward Jews is really the dominant leitmotif of the book. He notes that "the focus on Jews is a primary tenet of most forms of white nationalism. And it is the ideology of anti-Semitism - with its belief that Jews act as an alien ruling class that needs to be overthrown - that transforms ordinary racists into would-be revolutionaries."⁴⁹ In fact, Zeskind ties the presence of White Nationalists in America to significant historical instances of anti-Semitism such as the Spanish Inquisition and the Nazi era in Europe. To prevent a repeat of such horrors, Zeskind has devoted decades of study and writing. "For those of us who hope to protect and extend our multiracial democracy... we ignore this white nationalist movement at our own peril. In the book that follows, dear reader, I have sought to make its history available now, so that we may not be destroyed by it in the future."⁵⁰

One may, however, question the extent of this threat. After all, Zeskind himself admits that in a nation of over three hundred million Americans, only about thirty thousand people form what he calls its hard-core White Nationalist populace. More peripherally, supporters number only another two hundred thousand. Still, as Zeskind notes, these groups exist in all parts of the country and "have spawned at various times violent criminal gangs, sophisticated

election campaigns, churches that worship an Aryan Jesus, and skinheads steeped in Norse mythologies.”⁵¹

To make his case, Zeskind has divided White Nationalists into two camps, reformists and revolutionaries. These represent two approaches, which Zeskind calls mainstreaming and vanguardism. The former compose those who believe that working within the existing system will win over a significant portion of white people to the cause, while the latter are convinced that a small cadre of vanguardists can drag the reluctant white masses in the direction they favor. To illustrate these two tendencies, Zeskind uses the story of Willis Carto to demonstrate the activities of a mainstreamer, while offering the life of William Pierce as an example of vanguardism.⁵²

The structure of Zeskind's narrative is chorological, beginning with brief biographies of Carto and Pierce. The chronology proper begins in 1974, the year in which Pierce incorporated his organization, the National Alliance. Pierce also began to write what became the standard of White Nationalist fiction, *The Turner Diaries*. This first period under Zeskind's scheme is called “Emergence, Growth, and Consolidation, 1974-1986.” This is followed by “Mainstreamers and Ballots Take the Lead, 1987-1989.” The highlight of this short period was David Duke's election victory to a seat in the Louisiana statehouse.

Parts Three and Four cover even shorter periods — two-year stretches from 1990-1991 and 1992-1993, respectively. With the end of the Soviet Union, anti-Communism as a rallying point vanished in America. Then came domestic incidents that raised the ire of so many whites, particularly the murder of members of Randy Weaver's family at Ruby Ridge and the holocaust at Waco, Texas, that resulted in the deaths of seventy-six members of a religious group, including twenty-one children. In that case, Americans watched federal agents assault the religious compound with helicopters, armored personnel carriers and tanks, ending with the headquarters of the group burning to the ground.⁵³

Part Five, “Against the New World Order, 1994-1996,” chronicles, among other things, the rise of a sense of white identity, represented by the birth of *American Renaissance*, the pro-white organization founded by Jared Taylor. This period also represented the rise of paleoconservatives such as Sam Francis of the *Washington Times* (his firing from which was a rallying point for White Nationalists) and Patrick Buchanan, the media commentator, author and presidential candidate. Part Six spans the years of 1997-2001 and heavily covers Willis Carto's loss of a critical lawsuit involving his Institute for Historical Review. As a result of this trial, Carto was forced to declare personal bankruptcy and his Liberty Lobby, publisher of the leading White Nationalist periodical *The Spotlight*, was forced into a Chapter

Eleven reorganization bankruptcy. From a 1984 peak of 150,000 subscribers, *The Spotlight* now had only 60,000.

The final portion of *Blood and Politics* covers the period from the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks to Memorial Day weekend, 2004, when David Duke held a white “unity conference” in a hotel ballroom in New Orleans. In his closing, Zeskind concludes that Willis Carto was the primary force in post-WWII White Nationalism. (Inexplicably, Swain does not even have an index entry for him.) While judging that Carto was more interested in the next profitable deal than in the next generation of whites, Zeskind nonetheless elevates Carto to a leading role, for Carto

had constructed a mainstreaming tendency in the movement, jettisoning the white sheets and brown shirts. In the process he created a vernacular coded language in which white supremacy was called populism and anti-Semitism was simply anti-Zionism. More than any other individual in his time and place, he built the infrastructure and generated the resources supporting a long-standing white supremacist political movement. So it is appropriate that in order for a white nationalist movement to grow in the future, a fellow like Willis Carto must have existed in the past.⁵⁴

In Zeskind’s view, William Pierce was also instrumental in creating the modern White Nationalist movement. After his unexpected death on July 23, 2002, fellow White Nationalists reacted differently.⁵⁵ Long-term rival Carto essentially ignored Pierce’s passing, but another leader, David Duke, was profuse in his praise:

I really think that Dr. Pierce made a tremendous contribution to our cause. He helped people think straight about the Jewish Question and the other vital realities of race. After having read almost every word he wrote, I feel once more as though a family member was lost. ... He was one of us. I learned a great deal from him, and it is very depressing to think that his voice is stilled.⁵⁶

Zeskind’s study of White Nationalists, while not impartial in the least, is still useful, as it is so thorough and meticulous, covering not only the publicly known facts of the many individuals and groups he describes, but getting into court records, tapes and CDs sold by various groups, and using Zeskind’s own interviews and observations. One Eric Rudolph, for example, responsible for a string of bombings resulting in deaths, is described as associating with Christian Identity leader Dan Gayman. Zeskind notes that “At one point, he even dated one of Gayman’s daughters for several months.”⁵⁷ Such attention to detail is found through-

out the book.

In his final paragraph, Zeskind situates himself in the present (2009), a time in which the nation's first African American has become president. The presence of President Obama, Zeskind muses, "only confirms [White Nationalists'] notions of white dispossession." Some, he argues, will seek to establish "a white nation-state, with definable economic, political, and racial borders, out of the wreckage they hope to create of the United States."⁵⁸

Closing Remarks

Zeskind's sentiments toward White Nationalists mirrors that of elites not only in America but across the Atlantic Ocean as well. In May of 2010, columnist Patrick Buchanan noted this after Gordon Brown, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, referred to an elderly constituent worried about the effects of immigration as "bigoted." Buchanan also finds a similar mindset in candidate Barack Obama, who said at a closed meeting in San Francisco about whites, "So it's not surprising then that they get bitter, they cling to guns or religion or antipathy to people who aren't like them or anti-immigrant sentiment or anti-trade sentiment as a way to explain their frustrations."⁵⁹

VDARE columnist Steve Sailer visited the same topic, adding reactions to the new Arizona immigration law. Noting that the law was broadly popular, Sailer also found that it "elicited paroxysms of hatred for the American people from the Establishment." He pointed to the reaction of Frank Rich of the *New York Times*, whose response to the views of the American majority mirrored that of his column of a week earlier (cited above). Sailer found these familiar words about American voters: "angry," "virus," "hysteria," "vicious," "bigoted," "apoplexy," "slimed," "snarling," "notorious," "incendiary," and "rage."

In Sailer's view, this is a sign that "citizens are winning debates, so elites would rather demonize than discuss."⁶⁰ That observation, of course, is precisely what Carol Swain has been saying. Her fear is that continued enforced silent on these important issues will result in a dismal eruption at some point. Since Americans have yet to be allowed to have such an open discussion about issues that deeply trouble them, it is doubtful social pressure will ease. Watching White Nationalists may be one way to gauge that pressure.

NOTES

1. Quoted at Swain's website, <http://www.carolmswain.net/>.
2. Frank Rich, "The Rage Is Not About Health Care," *The New York Times*, March 27, 2010.
3. Richard Hofstadter, "The Paranoid Style in American Politics," *Harper's Magazine*, November 1964, p. 77.

4. *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009).
5. *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Swain's own description of her background reveals how disadvantaged she was. "I was born in rural Virginia into an abusive and impoverished farm household of twelve children with many different fathers. None of my siblings - seven brothers and four sisters - ever graduated from high school. Although I, too, dropped out of school after completing the eighth grade, I nevertheless managed to earn five college degrees from an array of institutions, starting at a community college and ending at an Ivy League university" p. xviii.
6. See "Mediocre Grade for the Southern Poverty Law Center's Latest Report," August 13, 2009, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/carol-m-swain/mediocre-grade-for-the-so_b_258717.html.
7. Swain, p. xv.
8. Swain, p. xvii. At numerous junctures, Swain lays out her reasons for forthrightly addressing what are generally considered taboo topics. Her fear is that by bottling up the tensions that stem for these real or perceived racial problems, American society will ultimately pay a higher price. Another risk is that by prohibiting frank discussion of these issues, rightists, especially those adept at employing the Internet, will influence ignorant whites through the use of one-sided arguments and extreme views. Thus she praises initiatives such as that of former President Bill Clinton who in June of 1997 announced a new initiative on discussions of racial concerns. By all accounts, this was "an abysmal failure," due partly, in Swain's view, to the fact that the African American historian named as panel leader, John Hope Franklin, from the beginning excluded many of those who could have brought needed perspectives to the debate. Franklin, Swain, reports, announced that the panel would only be interested in hearing the testimony of those already in favor of the value of "diversity." "When the boundaries of acceptable discourse are set so narrowly in our national conversation about race, it is easy to understand why some aggrieved European Americans turn to white nationalist websites for comfort and direction" (pp. 6-9). To date, such a debate has yet to succeed. For instance, when new Attorney General Eric Holder on February 3, 2009 announced in a public speech, "Though this nation has proudly thought of itself as an ethnic melting pot, in things racial, we have always been and we - I believe continue to be in too many ways essentially a nation of cowards. Americans are afraid to talk about race because certain subjects are off-limits," little changed. Some months later, in response to the arrest of African American Harvard professor Henry Louis Gates Jr. by a white policeman, President Obama initially insinuated that this was another instance of racial profiling. The resulting brouhaha saw Obama invite both Gates and the arresting officer to the White House on July 30 for a private meeting, known colloquially as the "Beer Summit," meant to calm the waters. No enduring conversation about race resulted.
9. Swain, p. xvii.
10. Swain, p. xxiii.
11. Swain, p. xxiv.
12. Swain, p. xxiv.
13. Swain, quoted on p. 4, from Barkun's book *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 253.
14. Swain, p. 15.
15. Swain, p. 5.
16. Swain, pp. 16-17.
17. See <http://www.amren.com/>.
18. Jared Taylor, *Shadows of the Rising Sun: A Critical View of the Japanese Miracle* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, Inc., 1983) and *Paved With Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in Contemporary America* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, Inc., 1993). He has also edited the following two books: *The Real American Dilemma: Race, Immigration, and the Future of America*, (Oakton, Virginia: New Century Foundation, 1998) and *Essential Writings on Race*, (Oakton, Virginia: New Century Foundation, 2007).

19. Swain, quoted on p. 17.
20. See <http://www.colorofcrime.com/colorofcrime2005.html>.
21. In chapter five, "Crime and Fear of Violence," Swain presents data that support the claims made in *The Color of Crime*. Both Swain and the pamphlet work extensively from the same source, "Crime and Victim Statistics," U.S. Department of Justice. On page 114, Swain prints some of the crime statistics from Taylor's *The Color of Crime*.
22. *American Renaissance*, Vol. 13, No. 8 (August 2002). See also <http://www.amren.com/ar/2002/08/>.
23. Patrick J. Buchanan, *The Death of the West: How Dying Populations and Immigrant Invasions Imperil Our Country and Civilization* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 2002), pp. 67-8.
24. Nicholas Stix, "The Knoxville Horror: The crime and the media blackout," *American Renaissance*, Vol. 18, No. 7 (July 2007). Perhaps due to the power of the Internet, this story has slowly gained coverage, though it appears more focused on the issue of whether a media blackout existed rather than on the crime itself. See Duncan Mansfield, "Media criticized over Tenn. slayings," http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20070518/ap_on_re_us/knoxville_slayings_media; Howard Witt, "What is a hate crime?," *Chicago Tribune*, Saturday, June 9, 2007.
25. See http://www.amren.com/mtnews/archives/2010/02/judge_stacks_10.php. For *American Renaissance* links to other minority-on-white crimes, see http://www.amren.com/mtnews/archives/minorityon-white_crime/. Incidentally, Swain rightly notes that "Hollywood has scrupulously avoided making films with racially incendiary plots" involving black attackers and white victims (p. 127). I have written extensively on this. See, for instance, "Falling Down: Images of the White Majority in Peril," *Gakuen Ronshu*, No. 111, March 2002 and "The Films of Morgan Freeman: Various Readings," *Gakuen Ronshu*, No. 142, December 2009.
26. David Horowitz, "License to Kill," *FrontPageMag.com*, July 13, 2000.
27. Swain, p. 126.
28. Jared Taylor, "Reflections on the 2010 AR Conference," *American Renaissance*, Vol. 21 No. 4 (April 2010), p. 1.
29. Swain, quoted on pp. 228-9.
30. Swain, p. 236. Swain was right to make this observation, for Duke in 2003 published a new book, *Jewish Supremacism: My Awakening on the Jewish Question* (Mandeville, LA: Free Speech Press, 2003). Much of the content comes from the Duke's earlier *My Awakening*; the book was updated in 2007.
31. Swain, quoted on p. 17.
32. Swain, pp. 327-8.
33. Swain, quoted on pp. 236-7.
34. Swain, pp. 238-9. Incidentally, Swain also includes information from a short interview with Matthew Lerner, a highly qualified Jewish student who was nonetheless rejected by Harvard and other top universities (pp. 303-4).
35. Swain, p. 69.
36. Swain, 36-41. A useful study of Pierce can be found in Robert S. Griffin, *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds: An Up-Close Portrait of White Nationalist William Pierce* (1st Books Library, 2001). Pierce died of cancer in 2002, the year *The New Nationalism in America* was published.
37. Swain, pp. 67-68.
38. Swain, p. 69.
39. Swain, pp. 17-18. She is on solid political ground when she dismisses claims of the reality of race differences, including on intelligence, but scientifically, she and others are on shakier ground. To date there is a massive literature on the reality of race — and differences between the races — and this literature is growing quickly. Some of the leading literature includes Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray, *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* (New York: The Free Press, 1994); J. Philippe Rushton, *Race, Evolution, and Behavior: A Life-History Perspective* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1995); Michael Levin, *Why Race Matters: Race Differences and What They Mean*, (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997); Frank Miele, *Intelligence, Race, and Genetics: Conversations with Arthur*

R. Jensen (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2002); Vincent Sarich and Frank Miele, *Race: The Reality of Human Differences* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2004); Nicholas Wade, *Before the Dawn: Recovering the Lost History of Our Ancestors* (New York: Penguin Press, 2006) and the many books by Richard Lynn: *The Global Bell Curve: Race, IQ, and Inequality Worldwide* (Augusta, Georgia: Washington Summit Publishers, 2008); *Race Differences in Intelligence: An Evolutionary Analysis* (Augusta, Georgia: Washington Summit Publishers, 2006); and Tatu Vanhanen, *IQ and Global Inequality* (Augusta, GA: Washington Summit Publishers, 2006); and Tatu Vanhanen, *IQ and the Wealth of Nations* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002); *The Science of Human Diversity* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2001); *Eugenics: A Reassessment* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001); *Dysgenics: Genetic Deterioration in Modern Populations* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996).

One area that Swain misses is that on Ashkenazi Jews, the main Jewish group in America. Her account of White Nationalists, while including Jewish members and criticisms of Jews, does not differentiate between European-derived whites and Jews. Particularly with respect to average intelligence, this is a major oversight. For instance, Herrnstein and Murray in *The Bell Curve* write: "Ashkenasic Jews of European origins ... test higher than any other ethnic group." "Jews in America and Britain have an overall IQ mean somewhere between a half and a full standard deviation above the mean, with the source of the difference concentrated in the verbal component" (p. 275). See also Kevin MacDonald, *A People That Shall Dwell Alone: Judaism as a Group Evolutionary Strategy* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994); Gregory Cochran and Henry Harpending, *The 10,000 Year Explosion: How Civilization Accelerated Human Evolution* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), particularly chapter 7 "Medieval Evolution: How the Ashkenazi Jews Got Their Smarts"; and Jon Entine, *Abraham's Children: Race, Identity, and the DNA of the Chosen People* (New York: Grand Central Publishing, 2007).

40. See <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748704335904574496250622719022.html>.

41. See <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748704335904574496250622719022.html>. Swain defended herself on her blog at The Huntington Post. See, for example, "Guilt by Association: The Southern Poverty Law Center Hurls a Punch" and "Guilt by Association: The Southern Poverty Law Center Hurls a Punch" at [feed://www.huffingtonpost.com/author/index.php?author=carol-m-swain](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/author/index.php?author=carol-m-swain).

42. See http://www.petrafoundation.org/fellows/Leonard_Zeskind/.

43. See http://www.petrafoundation.org/fellows/Leonard_Zeskind/.

44. See http://www.leonardzeskind.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=27&Itemid=38.

45. Jonathan Pyle, <http://www.theoccidentalobserver.net/authors/Pyle-Zeskind.html>.

46. Zeskind, p. xvi.

47. Zeskind, p. xiii.

48. Zeskind, p. xvii.

49. Zeskind, p. xviii.

50. Zeskind, p. xxiv.

51. Zeskind, p. xix.

52. Zeskind, pp. xix-xx.

53. Zeskind, pp. 329-331.

54. Zeskind, p. 530.

55. Zeskind details how the National Alliance fell apart after Pierce's death, with appointed leader Eric Gliebe alienating members with charges about lavishing money on his girlfriend, a former stripper. Another leader, Kevin Strom, was arrested and jailed on child pornography charges (pp. 533-35).

56. Zeskind, quoted on p. 531.

57. Zeskind, p. 461.

58. Zeskind, p. 542. His reference to "white dispossession" refers to the White Nationalist classic, *The Dispossessed Majority* by Wilmot Robertson (Cape Canaveral, Howard Allen, 1972). Recently, talk of secession by various states or regions has been on the rise, and a series of novels has dramatized the process. See, for example, the so-called "Northwest Quartet" by Harold A. Covington. These include

The Hill of the Ravens, The Barricade, A Distance Thunder and *A Mighty Fortress*. I covered many of these themes in my essay “Whither Japan Should the United States Collapse?” (Jinbun Ronshu No. 44, December 2009).

59. Patrick J. Buchanan, “Who’s the Bigot, Mr. Brown?” http://townhall.com/columnists/PatBuchanan/2010/05/04/whos_the_bigot_mr_brown.
60. Steve Sailer, “Arizona, Britain, and Harvard Law All Show Elite Contempt For Ordinary People,” http://vdare.com/sailer/100501_contempt.htm.