

OPPOSING VIEWPOINTS®

EXTREMIST GROUPS



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SERIES

CHAPTER

1

**Are Some Religious
Groups Harmful?**

Chapter Preface

Christian Identity is a religious movement that unites many white supremacist groups throughout the United States. The movement has its roots in the British-Israelism beliefs of the nineteenth century, which held that the white race, specifically the Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, Scandinavian, and Germanic peoples, are the racial descendents of the tribes of Israel and God's true chosen people. Christian Identity espouses a variant of Christian fundamentalism mixed with virulent racism and anti-Semitism that encourages violence. In the last decade Identity followers have been tied to murder, robbery, and kidnapping, and the group is on the FBI's list of most dangerous hate groups. Identity followers are frequently members of militia groups, who stockpile food and weapons preparing for a racial Armageddon.

David Nelwert, author of *In God's Country: The Patriot Movement and the Pacific Northwest*, argues that Christian Identity is the link that connects many otherwise distinct and geographically separate extremist groups. Nelwert maintains, "Adherence to [Christian Identity] is probably the single greatest common denominator among all the various fragmented factions of the radical right wing in America. It is practiced by the neo-Nazis of the Aryan Nations, by the leaders of the Militia of Montana, and by the remnants of the Ku Klux Klan in the South." Leonard Zeskind, president of the Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights and a leading analyst of white supremacist movements, agrees with Nelwert, saying that he sees "a merger of Christian nationalism with white nationalism" occurring in the United States.

Though actual numbers of Christian Identity followers are difficult to obtain, Rosemary Radford Ruether, professor of applied theology at the Garrett Evangelical Theological Seminary at Northwestern University, estimates that there are about fifty thousand hardcore adherents who would call themselves Identity Christians. However, she claims that the numbers of adherents could be growing due to the Internet. She writes, "[Identity Christians] have recently targeted alienated white youth in affluent suburbs and have considerable presence through a number of Web sites and the pro-

motion of racist music aimed at youth." According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, an organization that tracks extremist groups, racist Web sites and extremist groups often with racist or anti-Semitic lyrics—are common methods hate groups use to expand their membership by reaching young people.

Christian Identity is a racist, anti-Semitic movement practiced by many white supremacist groups. In this chapter authors debate the effect of religious groups on the social fabric of the United States.

motion of racist music aimed at youth.” According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, an organization that monitors extremist groups, racist Web sites and extremist rock music—often with racist or anti-Semitic lyrics—are two of the most common methods hate groups use to expand their membership by reaching young people.

Christian Identity is a racist, anti-Semitic theology that is practiced by many white supremacist groups. In the following chapter authors debate the effect of religious extremist groups on the social fabric of the United States.

"Many who call themselves Christian . . . teach a racist theology that is not only . . . unacceptable to mainstream Christianity, but also poses tangible dangers to society."

Religion Is Easily Exploited by Extremist Groups

Matthew C. Ogilvie

Racist Christian groups pose a spiritual danger to all Christians and a physical threat to everyone who does not agree with them, Matthew C. Ogilvie argues in the following viewpoint. According to Ogilvie, racist Christians use religion to justify and further their causes. Religion, he maintains, can goad people to action, for good or ill. Matthew C. Ogilvie is an assistant professor of systematic theology at the University of Dallas in Irving, Texas.

As you read, consider the following questions:

1. The combination of which two factors in racist Christianity is cause for concern, in the author's opinion?
2. According to Ogilvie, why do racist Christians preach a theology of rebellion against gun control?
3. What arguments does Ogilvie maintain are put forth by the World Church of the Creator to justify using religion as a vehicle for race ideology?

Matthew C. Ogilvie, "Children of a White God: A Study of Racist 'Christian' Theologies," *Human Nature Daily Review*, <http://human-nature.com/nibbs/01/ogilvie.html>, vol. 1, October 23, 2001. Reproduced by permission of the publisher and the author.

It is common knowledge that Islamic extremists associated with numerous terrorist attacks around the world. It remains, though, that racist Christians have also animated violent movements. One concern is the Oklahoma City bombing. Bomber Timothy McVeigh has been connected to white supremacist movements such as White Aryan Resistance and Identity movement, both of which promote violence. In Australia, racist theologies have gained attention through the medium of racist politician Pauline Hanson. Her generally anti-Indigenous and anti-Asian rhetoric has advocated giving preference to Christians over those from non-Christian backgrounds. The attention given Ms Hanson has been accompanied by an increase in race-based violence within Australia. While it is true that Ms Hanson has not articulated a specific ideology, her movement has brought out many others who espouse such racist religion.

The seriousness of the threat presented by extremist groups is reflected in the US Army's approach to terrorism. In the prepublication edition of *Antiterrorism 1997*, it is noted that there are many extremist groups in the United States, "an eclectic array of extremist groups which do not officially condone terrorism but which are breeding grounds for terrorist activities." Of these groups, there are those that either espouse violence for their causes, or foster discrimination or the denial of rights based on race or religion. What concerns the combination of the powerful factors of such groups and race discrimination with a militaristic approach. This combination, race-based theologies have turned into matters of life and death. Of many of these white racists, who call themselves "Christians," many believe in a theology that gives divine justification for their beliefs, possess arsenals of high-technology weapons of which many Middle-East terrorists would be envious.

Racist Christians and the Pro-Gun Movement

Racist theology has today found itself powerful voices. Of these, most prominent would be the

It is common knowledge that Islamic extremism has been associated with numerous terrorist attacks around the world. It remains, though, that racist Christian theologies have also animated violent movements. One key example concerns the Oklahoma City bombing. Bomber Timothy McVeigh has been connected to white supremacist movements such as White Aryan Resistance and the Christian Identity movement, both of which promote racist theology. In Australia, racist theologies have gained attention through the medium of racist politician Pauline Hanson. Apart from her generally anti-Indigenous and anti-Asian stance, Hanson has advocated giving preference to Christian migrants over those from non-Christian backgrounds. The media attention given Ms Hanson has been accompanied by an increase in race-based violence within Australia. While one acknowledges that Ms Hanson has not articulated a "race-theology" her movement has brought out many others who do present such racist religion.

The seriousness of the threat presented by supremacist groups is reflected in the US Army's approach to anti-terrorism. In the prepublication edition of *Force Protection: Antiterrorism 1997*, it is noted that there exists within the United States, "an eclectic array of extremist organizations, which do not officially condone terrorism but may serve as breeding grounds for terrorist activities." Of those extremist groups, there are those that either espouse supremacist causes, or foster discrimination or the deprivation of civil rights based on race or religion. What concerns us most is the combination of the powerful factors of supremacist feeling and race discrimination with a militaristic attitude. With that combination, race-based theologies have turned from parlour talk into matters of life and death. Of much concern is that white racists, who call themselves "Christian" and who believe in a theology that gives divine justification to their beliefs, possess arsenals of high-technology weapons, the likes of which many Middle-East terrorists would be most jealous.

Racist Christians and the Pro-Gun Lobby

Racist theology has today found itself powerful and influential voices. Of these, most prominent would be David Duke,

former Ku Klux Klan leader, who was elected to the Louisiana House of Representatives. Duke proclaims that he has always been a believing Christian and that an integral part of his Christianity has been a theology of racial segregation. We read in his own work that in the name of race preservation, God has commanded genocide, segregation and anti-miscegenation, and today forbids racial intermarriage and the crossing of racial boundaries. Duke's views are certainly on the fringe of Christian thinking, but he is only the visible voice of a wider movement of people whose theology conceives violence, hate, intimidation and race conflict to be in the name of God.

In studying racist theologies, one is also struck by the connection between the racist Christians and extreme elements of the pro-gun lobby. In his reflections on "Race and Christianity," Duke proceeds directly from proposing racial segregation to outlining a theology of gun possession, in which he proclaims Christ's command for his followers to possess guns. The Christian Identity movement also follows such teaching, simultaneously demanding of its followers a theology of racial separation and a belief in Christ's command for Christians to own and be ready to use the most advanced available weapons of their day, such as an M-16 assault rifle. In addition to these beliefs, we note that racist Christians generally preach a theology of rebellion against gun control, on the grounds that it is part of a "New World Order," which is supposed to be an anti-White, anti-American and anti-Christian movement. While we shall discuss these beliefs in detail below, it should suffice for our introduction to note that there are many who call themselves Christian and who teach a racist theology that is not only intellectually unacceptable to mainstream Christianity, but also poses tangible dangers to society. . . .

Biblical Fundamentalism

Racist Christianity shares with Biblical fundamentalism a naive realist approach to scripture. This parallel should not surprise us, because many, if not most or all, racist Christians align themselves to fundamentalist Churches. While we would in no way wish to implicate most fundamentalists in

racism, the fact remains that the fundamentalist view is both attractive to and has had great impact on racists use their sources. Besides using a naive realism, we would note several other characteristics common to both groups.

First, racist Christians and fundamentalists hold views on evolution. On evolution, [Barrington] Jones presents the fundamentalist position. "The process of the human race has not been swamped by evolution, but downward from a high point. Also from a strictly creationist viewpoint, [Barrington] and lecturer John] Mackay declares that the status of the races . . . is a direct consequence of the actions of ancestors of any race worshipped the living God who immediately rejected Him. There is no such thing as evolution evolving upwards." With fundamentalists, we believe that creation can only go backward. Properly speaking, the fundamentalist theory of development is of actual devolution, rather than evolution. Likewise, racists believe that God has created them as they are, and that one cannot develop from one race or any other race. One must either maintain the status, or face the downward spiral of ungodly evolution.

Fear of Change

The first point ties in with our second point. Fundamentalism and racist Christianity are both opposed to change towards human creativity. Fundamentalism is an extreme form of Calvinism, holding that the state of man from the nature of man can be of any kind. Calvin's idea that all proceeding from the nature is damnable, fundamentalists believe that which comes from regenerated humanity is good. This means from within the fundamentalist view, there is no fit to humankind. Likewise, racist Christianity believes that nothing humankind can do to or for itself, and that effective improvement to ourselves is impossible. This article how racists fear race-mixing and the underlying assumption behind such fear is that the future to humanity will inevitably be for the benefit of the white race.

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First, racist Christians and fundamentalists hold common views on evolution. On evolution, [Baptist minister] Bob Jones presents the fundamentalist position by declaring that, "The process of the human race has not been upward from the swamp by evolution, but downward from the garden by sin." Also from a strictly creationist viewpoint, [creationist writer and lecturer John] Mackay declares that "The current cultural status of the races . . . is a direct consequence of whether the ancestors of any race worshipped the living God, or deliberately rejected Him. There is no such thing as a primitive race evolving upwards." With fundamentalists, racist Christians believe that creation can only go backwards, not forwards. Properly speaking, the fundamentalist theory of human development is of actual devolution, rather than possible evolution. Likewise, racists believe that God has made white people as they are, and that one cannot develop positively either whites or any other race. One must either maintain one's race in stasis, or face the downward spiral of ungodly devolution.

Fear of Change

The first point ties in with our second, namely, that fundamentalism and racist Christianity are extremely negative towards human creativity. Fundamentalists exercise an extreme form of Calvinism, holding that nothing that proceeds from the nature of man can be of any goodness. Taking up Calvin's idea that all proceeding from unregenerate human nature is damnable, fundamentalists hold that only that which comes from regenerated humanity, which in practice means from within the fundamentalist fold, can be of benefit to humankind. Likewise, racist Christianity holds that nothing humankind can do to or for itself can bring about effective improvement to ourselves. We have seen in this article how racists fear race-mixing and intermarriage. The underlying assumption behind such fear is that any change to humanity will inevitably be for the worse.

This racist fear of any change contradicts Christian theology that sees human stewardship of God's creation as meaning that we are co-creators with God. This belief is reflected, in part, by the Genesis creation account's statement that God has commanded humanity to fill the earth, and subdue it, which suggests making some improvements to the earth. An oft-ignored part of Christian theology also concerns the issue of procreation. Unfortunately, the furore over contraception in Catholicism has seen the theology of procreation more often ignored or misunderstood. Understood fully, procreation refers not only to biological conception, but to the whole process and life self-giving of generating, nurturing and educating a child. Procreation thus concerns the responsibility and right of parents to bring forth and take on the ongoing care of their child. Such stewardship effectively makes parents co-creators with God. We propose that Christians would have little trouble in extending this positive theology from parent-child relationships to a theology of the entire human race's co-creation with God of itself. One can thus engender a more positive outlook on divine-human relationships than those envisaged by racism or fundamentalism.

Counter-Modern Suspicion

Thirdly, both fundamentalism and racist Christianity share a counter-modern suspicion. Racists are likely to regard modern society as intolerant and dogmatic, due to its opposition to racist ideology. As modern history, biology, theology, philosophy all provide sharp and resolute criticisms of racist thinking, it is no surprise that racists should oppose all things modern. Fundamentalists are also practically defined by their opposition to modernity, especially the modern embrace of liberal culture and religion. We may be familiar with the fundamentalist hatred for liberalism, which often translates into contempt or hatred for liberals. However, there is here significant deviation of racist Christianity from fundamentalism. Regarding fundamentalism, we find upon serious reading, that despite its abhorrence of liberalism, fundamentalism most often is defined by liberalism. By this point, we mean that from the very start, Biblical fundamentalism has been defined by its opposition to matters such as evolutionary science,

critical scholarship of the Bible, and liberal [Ed] Dobson and [Ed] Hindson lend support to their discussion of the history of American fundamentalism. They introduce their work [*The Fundamentals*] by noting that they shall evaluate the issue of fundamentalism by reference, among other things, to liberalism." They also admit that, to understand fundamentalism and place it in its correct perspective, one must understand liberalism. The term "War with Liberalism" is Hindson's and is the title of a chapter in the book. "war," in practical terms, defines fundamentalism. The book contains brief references to "the Fundamentals" and is more inclined to deal with their efforts to combat liberalism, which they saw as increasing corruption and anti-Christianity in the increasingly liberal Church. Dobson and Hindson define the genesis of fundamentalism as a result of an organized effort to combat its [liberalism].



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critical scholarship of the Bible, and liberal, pluralist morality. [Ed] Dobson and [Ed] Hindson lend support to this idea in their discussion of the history of American fundamentalism. They introduce their work [*The Fundamentalist Phenomenon*] by noting that they shall evaluate the impact of fundamentalism by reference, among other things, to its "War with Liberalism." They also admit that, to understand fundamentalism and place it in its correct perspective, they have to deal with liberalism. The term "War with Liberalism" is Dobson and Hindson's and is the title of a chapter in their book. That "war," in practical terms, defines fundamentalism. Apart from brief references to "the Fundamentals" fundamentalists are more inclined to deal with their efforts to combat what they saw as increasing corruption and anti-Christianity in an increasingly liberal Church. Dobson and Hindson effectively define the genesis of fundamentalism by its rise as a "unified, organized effort to combat its [liberalism's] influence."



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Racist Christianity, on the other hand, though as thoroughly anti-modern as fundamentalism, is opposed to modern, liberal culture for different reasons. In the first place,

racism did not start as a specific reaction to increasing liberalism. Moreover, racist Christianity does not appear to have functionally defined itself so much by its opposition to new developments in society. This is not to say that racist Christianity is not a reactive, anti-modern movement in the same way as fundamentalism. Rather, racist Christianity has its own agenda, its own identity and its own objectives. The degree and manner in which it reacts to society is defined in fairly narrow terms, as opposed to fundamentalism, which has become counter-cultural in very broad terms.

Religion as a Racist Tool

The critical observer will readily agree with our observation that racist Christianity does not derive its doctrines from an impartial reading of its sources. Race theology is, more properly speaking, not a theology so much as a predetermined ideology expressed in words commonly used within Christian theology. To be truthful, racist Christianity, though using the power of religion and religious language, does not originate within a religious context, but a social and political context that uses religion for its own purposes.

We may ask why racists use religion to further their aims. The anti-Christian World Church of the Creator (WCOTC) [which now calls itself the Creativity Movement] provides candid reasons why religion is chosen as the vehicle for race ideology. In the first place, while a political party may have some influence over part of a person's life, religion dominates all parts of a person's life. The genuinely religious person will have sublated by his or her religion all of one's life decisions concerning morality, work and economy, law, education, marriage, family and community life. Another aspect of religion is that, when firmly established, it can outlast even the most dogged of political parties or social groups. While political parties last rarely longer than a century, the well-established religion can have influence for centuries after the death of its founder.

A Cover for Moral Evils

Further insight into why religion can [be] used as a racist tool comes from the master of social manipulation. In *Mein Kampf*,

[Adolf] Hitler gave his assessment of religion stating: "Verily a man cannot serve two masters. He must either consider the foundation or destruction of a nation, or else he must consider the foundation or destruction of a party." Hitler went on to observe that religion is a perfect effective cover, even for the otherwise obvious who hide beneath religion's mantle. That as a cover for moral evils raises for us the issue of religious freedom. We would note that racist Christianities have originated in the nation in which freedom of religion is secured. Notably, the strength of this constitutional guarantee, certain vagueness as to what exactly freedom has meant that, in practical terms, "freedom of religion" meant the right to preach any form of creed, regardless of its rationality, social implications or concerns. Various movements repeatedly find refuge in criticism, public scrutiny or proactive measures. They fall under the mantle of "free" religion. In his observations on the baser side of human nature, Hitler's wicked success gives us every reason to take seriously to address the question of whether we should allow religions. If we are to subject religions to scrutiny, and call these faiths to account, we must abandon the popular notion of freedom of religion. The right to pursue any belief system without interference would propose a more serious notion of freedom from state or other coercion. The state has no licence to create any form of anti-social behaviour. It poses that religious freedom be conceived as freedom from coerced worship, which right brings with it the duty to be reasonable and rational, and respectful of the state and society.

If we turn back to why religion is so powerful for reactionists, Hitler again provides us with some palatable, reflections. Religion proves to be a guide to people's actions, Hitler surmises, because the actions of people do not consist of philosophical ideas, but masses, faith is often the sole foundation of their conduct. Later Hitler repeated the point.

[Adolf] Hitler gave his assessment of religion's significance by stating: "Verily a man cannot serve two masters. And I consider the foundation or destruction of a religion far greater than the foundation or destruction of a state, let alone a party." Hitler went on to observe that religion can be an effective cover, even for the otherwise obvious vices of those who hide beneath religion's mantle. That religion can be used as a cover for moral evils raises for us the whole question of religious freedom. We would note that the great majority of racist Christianities have originated in the United States, a nation in which freedom of religion is sacrosanct. Unfortunately, the strength of this constitutional right, along with a certain vagueness as to what exactly constitutes a "religion" has meant that, in practical terms, "freedom of religion" has meant the right to preach any form of corruption or madness, regardless of its rationality, social implications or other concerns. Various movements repeatedly find protection from criticism, public scrutiny or proactive legal action because they fall under the mantle of "free" religions. If Hitler is right in his observations on the baser side of human nature, and his wicked success gives us every reason to think so, then we have to address seriously the question of what manner of freedom we allow religions. If we are to subject racist religions to open scrutiny, and call these faiths to account, then we must abandon the popular notion of freedom of religion as a relativist right to pursue any belief system whatsoever. Rather, one would propose a more serious notion of religious freedom as freedom from state or other coercion. That is, rather than the licence to create any form of anti-social movement, one proposes that religious freedom be conceived as the right to uncoerced worship, which right brings with it the responsibility to be reasonable and rational, and responsible towards people and society.

If we turn back to why religion is so useful to racist religionists, Hitler again provides us with helpful, even if unpalatable, reflections. Religion proves potent at controlling people's actions, Hitler surmises, because "The great masses of people do not consist of philosophers; precisely for the masses, faith is often the sole foundation of a moral attitude." Later Hitler repeated the point by claiming that the

great mass of humanity consists neither of philosophers nor of saints, which means that most people never access the inner efficacy that a religion can bring. Hitler, of course, knew how to harness such religion based on "faith alone" without the foundation of either clear thinking or genuine spirituality. A popular (or *folkish*) religion, whether it be theistic or not, that demands the hearts of its followers will find itself empowered to enact all manner of activities, and find a number of willing servants who will perform even the most debased of acts, if only they are in the name of God or faith.

Religion Has Great Power—for Good or Evil

We have, then, some reflections on the potency of religion and why it is used by racist Christianity. These reflections lead one to disagree somewhat with [socialist philosopher Karl] Marx, who regarded religion as the opium of the masses—a mental policeman that maintained the social order by keeping downtrodden persons submissive and passive to the oppressive drudgery of their lives. Rather than enforcing passivity, our study of racist Christianity shows that religion can be more of a stimulant than a narcotic, driving people to action, stimulating them into frenzied action, driving their thoughts and moral decisions and sometimes even goading them into homicidal actions, all in the name of God and the promise of bliss in the hereafter. One would agree with Marx, however, that religion can and does have great power over the lives of individuals and communities. That power can have a stupefying effect in keeping oppressed people passive and subservient, or it can have the converse effect of rousing people to action and giving power to an otherwise weak position.

"Churches and church leaders must take this [white supremacist] movement seriously, particularly given its religion-based ideologies that promote hatred and violence."

Religion Can Counter Extremism

David Ostendorf

Churches are countering racist Christianity in their communities and throughout the United States. David Ostendorf, a United Church of Christ minister and rector of the Center for New Communities in St. Louis, argues in the following viewpoint that churches are in a unique position to turn the table on the power of religion against the hate and supremacy groups promote. He insists that churches mobilize their congregations and their communities to counter bigotry that masquerades as religion.

- As you read, consider the following questions:
1. According to Ostendorf, what was the role of nineteenth-century British Israelism?
 2. Why is it a serious mistake to ignore the role of religion in the author's opinion?
 3. What are some of the rules that churches and communities should follow when they counter extremism?

David Ostendorf, "Countering Hatred," *The Christian Century*, September 8, 1999, p. 861. Copyright © 1999 by the Christian Century Foundation. Reproduced by permission.

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Religion Can Counter Violent Extremism

David Ostendorf

Churches are countering racist Christian theology within their communities and throughout the United States, David Ostendorf, a United Church of Christ minister and the director of the Center for New Community in Oak Park, Illinois, argues in the following viewpoint. Because many racists use religion to justify their beliefs, church leaders are in a unique position to turn the tables using the positive power of religion against the hate and violence these white supremacist groups promote. He insists that leaders mobilize their congregations and their communities to fight the bigotry that masquerades as religion.

As you read, consider the following questions:

1. According to Ostendorf, what Christian heresy grew out of nineteenth-century British Israelism?
2. Why is it a serious mistake to ignore white supremacist activity, in the author's opinion?
3. What are some of the rules that Ostendorf suggests communities should follow when they respond to hate groups?

David Ostendorf, "Countering Hatred," *The Christian Century*, vol. 116, September 8, 1999, p. 861. Copyright © 1999 by the Christian Century Foundation. Reproduced by permission.

In a nine-state area of the Midwest, 272 far-right-wing organizations—including Christian Identity, Christian Patriot, neo-Nazi and Ku Klux Klan groups—ply their racist and anti-Semitic ideologies. Hundreds of other groups are known to operate nationally, involving tens of thousands of true believers and their followers. Violence can and does erupt from their ranks, as was evident in August [1999] when former Aryan Nations security officer Buford Furrow went on a shooting rampage at a Jewish day-care center in Los Angeles and then murdered a Filipino-American postal worker.

Roots of Hatred

Religion-based hatred is the engine of the violent far-right; dreams of a white Christian homeland, free of the despised "Zionist Occupation Government," is its volatile fuel. Most of these groups have roots in the racist and anti-Semitic ideology of Christian Identity, a Christian heresy that grew out of 19th-century British Israelism. (An exception to this pattern is the World Church of the Creator [Creativity Movement], organizational home of Benjamin Smith, who in July [1999] went on a shooting spree in Illinois and Indiana, targeting minorities.)

British Israelism was advanced in the U.S. by Henry Ford and given its peculiar American twist by Wesley Swift, who founded the Church of Jesus Christ Christian in 1946. William Potter Gale, a Swift convert, shaped the racist tenets of the ideology and helped birth the Posse Comitatus, the violent arm of the movement. . . .

Organized Opposition Is Needed

But a new generation of Identity leaders has emerged . . . and is advancing the racist and anti-Semitic ideology far beyond the Aryan Nation compound. In congregations scattered across the country, and in homes and other gathering places, Identity believers worship as the "true Israel," the chosen white race. A core group of Identity pastors, including Pete Peters of LaPorte, Colorado, has spread the message of the movement. In 1992 Peters gathered some of the nation's leading white supremacists and neo-Nazis at Estes Park, Colorado, for a meeting that launched the militia movement.

Because the white supremacist movement is organized in

countless communities, its opponents need One example of an effective response to w activity is the work of clergy in Quincy, Ill. Mississippi River town of 41,000 that serv commerce for the region. This past Febru clergy learned that Pete Peters was plannin tures for America" seminar in Quincy, the plan their response.

Immediately after the meeting, a sm clergy went to the motel where the semina be held. The ministers told the motel m nature of the event. The managers were s diately canceled it. While the motel suffe its owners and managers were adamant a place for racism and anti-Semitism to l

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countless communities, its opponents need to be organized. One example of an effective response to white supremacist activity is the work of clergy in Quincy, Illinois. Quincy is a Mississippi River town of 41,000 that serves as a center of commerce for the region. This past February [1999], when clergy learned that Pete Peters was planning a March "Scriptures for America" seminar in Quincy, the ministers met to plan their response.

Immediately after the meeting, a small delegation of clergy went to the motel where the seminar was scheduled to be held. The ministers told the motel managers about the nature of the event. The managers were shocked and immediately canceled it. While the motel suffered a financial loss, its owners and managers were adamant about not providing a place for racism and anti-Semitism to be brazenly taught.

The Quincy Ministerial Association did not stop there. It organized a Sunday afternoon education event, "From Hate to Community," and held it at the same motel Peters had intended to use. Participants in this seminar were encouraged to have dinner at the motel dining room as a show of support and appreciation for the managers' actions. Seventy-five religious and community leaders participated in the seminar, which was widely advertised in church bulletins and by local media.

Standing up to white-sheeted Klansmen is one thing. It can be much more difficult to counter white-shirted Identity or neo-Nazi leaders. These may be, after all, the folk with whom we work and worship, folk who are not blatantly racist and anti-Semitic, whose stance on government or guns may seem within the realm of mainstream politics. They may not even know that their movement is rooted in the ideology of Christian Identity.

Hate Groups Must Not Be Ignored

It is, in any case, a serious mistake to ignore white supremacist activity, hoping that it will simply go away. The argument that "they will just get more press if we openly oppose them" does not hold up and has costly consequences.

Media will report on white supremacist activity, regardless of how the community responds. Media will also report—and hunger for—the story of how a community organizes its re-

sponses. When communities do not respond, the likelihood of repeated or increased white supremacist activity escalates. Failing to build public, moral barriers against hate is an open invitation to hate groups. The key to diluting its expansion and appeal is naming names, and fully exposing this racist and anti-Semitic movement to the light of day.

Kansas church leaders have practiced this kind of intervention for years, and have recently pooled their experience and commitment in a coalition with civic organizations in

The Positive Effect of Religion

Americans strongly correlate religion with individual morality and behavior, considering it one of very few antidotes to the moral decline they observe in our nation today. That's particularly important since people are increasingly alarmed by what many consider a national moral crisis caused by such factors as a declining family structure, disappearing politeness and civility and rising materialism.

Americans believe that if individuals were more religious, their behavior would improve and our society would be stronger as a result. Crime, teen pregnancy, divorce, greed, uncaring parents, unfeeling neighbors—Americans believe that such problems would be mitigated if people were more religious. And to most citizens, it doesn't matter which religion it is. In fact, for over half (53%) of those surveyed, being religious means "making sure that one's behavior and day-to-day actions match one's faith," not attending religious services or even feeling the presence of God.

In short, people equate religion with personal ethics and morality. And as a result, seven in ten (70%) Americans want religion's influence on American society to grow. However, alongside this strong conviction that religion benefits society is an equally strong adherence to a respect for religious diversity that translates into a surprising tolerance of other people's beliefs and practices. This is no mere lip service on the public's part, nor is it an abstract ideal that disintegrates the moment it is tested. Americans seem to have an ingrained expectation that they will encounter people with different ideas about religion in their daily lives, and the idea of tolerance is so well accepted that it has been absorbed into daily standards for social conduct.

Deborah Wadsworth, "For Goodness' Sake: Why So Many Want Religion to Play a Greater Role in American Life," Public Agenda Survey, 2001.

Kansas City and Topeka. The Kansas Area United Methodist Church has been particularly countering Christian Identity and the militia in rural areas of the state. Kansas Ecumenical is an important partner in this effort. In coalition with the Mainstream Coalition, Concerned Citizens, the Jewish Community Relations Bureau, and others in the struggle against organized hate in Kansas, religious and civic leaders are exploring strategies to curtail this movement.

Churches and church leaders must take this seriously, particularly given its religion-based mission to promote hatred and violence. The need is urgent as movement leaders become adept at evading through music and other entry points. Hate bands travel the country, and their concerts are found in suburban record stores. Their lyrics glorify the Socialist movement are now complete with the acquisition of Resistance Records, the distributor of white supremacist music. Pieta, the author of *The Turner Diaries*, the book that inspired the Oklahoma City bombing.

When responding to hate groups, consider the following member these rules: Document the presence of the group, and stay informed about its local activities. Build a moral barrier against hate by speaking out and offering counter-responses. Build coalitions and alliances together for the long haul to combat racism, Semitism, bigotry and scapegoating. Assist in the outreach to the constituencies targeted for repression, the entire community, including youth, for example. Remember that hate groups are not a fringe phenomenon. Seek to address broad social, economic

Religious Leaders Must Stand Against Hate

Several years ago a friend participated in a demonstration that directly confronted a white supremacist group. At that point the city leaders had decided to remove the group as possible. They held a meeting and hoped that the haters would be ignored.

Kansas City and Topeka. The Kansas Area Conference of the United Methodist Church has been particularly outspoken in countering Christian Identity and the militia movement in rural areas of the state. Kansas Ecumenical Ministries is an important partner in this effort. In cooperation with the Mainstream Coalition, Concerned Citizens of Topeka and the Jewish Community Relations Bureau, a longstanding ally in the struggle against organized hate group activity in Kansas, religious and civic leaders are exploring new strategies to curtail this movement.

Churches and church leaders must take this movement seriously, particularly given its religion-based ideologies that promote hatred and violence. The need is all the more urgent as movement leaders become adept at recruiting youth through music and other entry points. White supremacist bands travel the country, and their compact discs can be found in suburban record stores. Their links to the National Socialist movement are now complete with William Pierce's acquisition of Resistance Records, the nation's largest distributor of white supremacist music. Pierce, a neo-Nazi, is the author of *The Turner Diaries*, the book that inspired the Oklahoma City bombing.

When responding to hate groups, communities should remember these rules: Document the problem, expose the group, and stay informed about its local activities. Create a moral barrier against hate by speaking out and by organizing counter-responses. Build coalitions and seek to keep those coalitions together for the long haul to counter racism, anti-Semitism, bigotry and scapegoating. Assist the victims. Reach out to the constituencies targeted for recruitment. Target the entire community, including youth, for education and action. Remember that hate groups are not a fringe phenomenon. Seek to address broad social, economic and racial concerns.

Religious Leaders Must Stand Against Hate

Several years ago a friend participated in a peaceful protest that directly confronted a white supremacist group. Until that point the city leaders had decided to stay as far away from the group as possible. They held a unity rally and then hoped that the haters would be ignored.

Following the protest my friend, an experienced labor organizer, called me up and in an unusually subdued voice reported that she had never in her life felt the presence of evil as she did that day. She had looked around for moral support and counsel from the religious community, but found none. No religious leaders were present to stand with her and others against the evil.

Anastasis. Resurrection. To stand against the forces of death. That's what we are called to do in the face of this hateful and violent racist movement, which often offers a twisted version of the Christian faith.

"On campuses across this country organizations that promote the Islamic terrorism and its . . . and American agendas."

Islamic Fundamentalism United States Pose a Threat

David Horowitz

David Horowitz argues in the following that Islamic fundamentalist groups organize campuses, promote anti-American agendas, and recruit students into terrorist activities. He mentions a group, the Muslim Student Association, which invites pro-terrorist, anti-democratic activities where it operates. Further, under the leadership of the MSA encourages impressionable students to become involved in Islamic-sponsored terrorism, usually directed against Israel. David Horowitz is a nationally known writer and political activist.

As you read, consider the following:

1. According to the author, why did the Black Panther Party disintegrate in the 1970s?
2. What group does Horowitz argue is more dangerous than the Black Panthers of the contemporary era?
3. What is the purpose of the International Campaign, in Horowitz's opinion?

David Horowitz, "The Tip of a Dangerous Iceberg," April 8, 2003. Copyright © 2003 by the Center for the Study of Islam and the West. Reproduced by permission.

"On campuses across this country . . . are organizations that promote the culture of Islamic terrorism and its . . . anti-American agendas."

Islamic Fundamentalists in the United States Pose a Serious Threat

David Horowitz

David Horowitz argues in the following viewpoint that radical Islamic fundamentalist groups organize on university campuses, promote anti-American agendas, and lure idealistic students into terrorist activities. He maintains that one such group, the Muslim Student Association (MSA), routinely invites pro-terrorist, anti-democratic speakers to campuses where it operates. Further, under the guise of social activism, the MSA encourages impressionable American students to become involved in Islamic-sponsored, anti-Western terrorism, usually directed against Israel. David Horowitz is a nationally known writer and political activist.

As you read, consider the following questions:

1. According to the author, why did the Black Panthers disintegrate in the 1970s?
2. What group does Horowitz argue has become the Black Panthers of the contemporary antiwar movement?
3. What is the purpose of the International Solidarity Campaign, in Horowitz's opinion?

David Horowitz, "The Tip of a Dangerous Iceberg," www.frontpagemagazine.com, April 8, 2003. Copyright © 2003 by the Center for the Study of Popular Culture. Reproduced by permission.

When I was a college radical and anti-war activist forty years ago, I was quite the intellectual and (in my estimation) cautious and sober. Though I became an editor and then co-editor of the leading radical magazine of the Sixties, *Ramparts*, I never threw a rock during the entire era. I never joined a radical sect and never went to Communist Cuba or North Vietnam, which were then the meccas of the radical faith. Although I was a founder of an organization called the "Vietnam Solidarity Campaign," I never fooled myself that the Communist state that would result from an American defeat would be a "rice roots democracy," the way Tom Hayden and other leaders of the "New Left" movement proclaimed.

Nonetheless, before the era was over, I was lured by my desire to do humanitarian good and to further the cause of social justice into working with the Black Panthers, a group of radical gangsters who in 1974 murdered a friend of mine (the mother of three children) and a dozen other individuals besides. The project I had become involved in with the Panthers was building an elementary school.

From the vantage of the political and cultural left, my activities with the Black Panthers were neither marginal [n]or extreme. At the time, the Panthers were icons of the progressive intellectuals, symbolizing strong black leaders who were standing up for their "oppressed" community. The entire liberal culture supported them. Leading cultural figures like Garry Wills and Murray Kempton were writing praises of the Panthers in the *New York Times* Sunday magazine. Kempton even compared their leader Huey Newton to Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther in the *Times*' august pages. To this day *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and other pillars of the American political culture, celebrate the Panthers—the murderers of my friend and a dozen others—as icons of the "social struggle."

Radical Groups Promote Islamic Terrorism

Fortunately, the Panthers disintegrated in the early Seventies, dragged down by their criminal activities, internecine battles and the sordid brutality of their leaders, Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver. Before he died, Cleaver told a *Sixty*

Minutes audience, "If people had listened and me in the Sixties, there would have been no war in this country." Many radicals, among them the prominent promoter—*Los Angeles Times* columnist Tom Scheer—looked forward to that holocaust. The Panthers were the "noble" symbols of the injustice that would be inflicted on American blacks.

What would have happened if the Panthers had remained intact to the present? What if they had been part of an international terror network whose goal was the destruction of the United States? There are such groups today. They are radical groups who identify themselves with the *bad* [holy war] of Islamacist terror or the support of a radical culture that regards the United States as Great Satan, and Muslims and Arabs as America oppresses.

On campuses across this country, the leadership of every radical "anti-war" protest organization that promote the culture of Islam, anti-Western, anti-Israeli and anti-Americanism, that will serve as an example for the Muslim Student Association (MSA). The MSA is an organization financed also by student funds at every university. The ideas and enthusiasms that it promotes among college students should give us cause for concern.

On October 22, 2000, Ahmed Shaha, a member of the UCLA [University of California, Los Angeles] Students Association led a crowd of demonstrators in chants of "Death to Israel, Death to Jews!" Shama declared that [Israeli leader] Yassir Arafat and Bill Clinton were all "racist Zionists." "The peace process is being negotiated between the Zionists, controlled by Zionists, and the media by Zionists, we come and we go," Shama said.

Minutes audience, "If people had listened to Huey Newton and me in the Sixties, there would have been a holocaust in this country." Many radicals, among them Cleaver's most prominent promoter—*Los Angeles Times* columnist Robert Scheer—looked forward to that holocaust and actively encouraged it. The Panthers were the "noble savages" of liberal compassion, symbols of the injustice that America was said to be inflicting on American blacks.

What would have happened if the Panthers had remained intact to the present? What if they had been the arm of an international terror network whose goal was the destruction of the United States? There are such groups in America today. They are radical groups who identify with the violent *ji-had* [holy war] of Islamacist terror organizations like al-Qaeda, Hizbollah, Islamic Jihad and Hamas. And they have the support of a radical culture that regards America as the Great Satan, and Muslims and Arabs as the people whom America oppresses.

On campuses across this country, embedded in the leadership of every radical "anti-war" protest group, are organizations that promote the culture of Islamic terrorism and its anti-Western, anti-Israeli and anti-American agendas. One that will serve as an example for the others is the radical Muslim Student Association (MSA). The Muslim Student Association is an organization financed by the Saudis and also by student funds at every university where it operates. The ideas and enthusiasms that it promotes among impressionable college students should give every American cause for concern.

On October 22, 2000, Ahmed Shama, president of the UCLA [University of California, Los Angeles] Muslim Students Association led a crowd of demonstrators at the Israeli consulate in chants of "Death to Israel!" and "Death to the Jews!" Shama declared that [Israeli leader] Ehud Barak, [Palestinian leader] Yassir Arafat and [U.S. president] Bill Clinton were all "racist zionists." "When we see that a peace process is being negotiated between Zionists, mediated by Zionists, controlled by Zionists, and being portrayed in the media by Zionists, we come and we condemn all of you," Shama said.

Militant Islam Is a Threat to the United States

The Muslim population in this country is not like any other group, for it includes within it a substantial body of people—many times more numerous than the agents of [terrorist] Osama bin Ladin—who share with the suicide hijackers a hatred of the United States and the desire, ultimately, to transform it into a nation living under the strictures of militant Islam. Although not responsible for the atrocities [on September 11, 2001], they harbor designs for this country that warrant urgent and serious attention.

In June 1991, Siraj Wahaj, a black convert to Islam and the recipient of some of the American community's highest honors, had the privilege of becoming the first Muslim to deliver the daily prayer in the U.S. House of Representatives. On that occasion he recited from the Qur'an and appealed to the Almighty to guide American leaders "and grant them righteousness and wisdom."

A little over a year later, addressing an audience of New Jersey Muslims, the same Wahaj articulated a rather different vision from his mild and moderate invocation in the House. If only Muslims were more clever politically, he told his New Jersey listeners, they could take over the United States and replace its constitutional government with a caliphate. "If we were united and strong, we'd elect our own emir [leader] and give allegiance to him. . . . [T]ake my word, if 6–8 million Muslims unite in America, the country will come to us." In 1995, Wahaj served as a character witness for Omar Abdel Rahman in the trial that found that blind sheikh guilty of conspiracy to overthrow the government of the United States. More alarming still, the U.S. attorney for New York listed Wahaj as one of the "unindicted persons who may be alleged as co-conspirators" in the sheikh's case.

Daniel Pipes, *Commentary*, November 2001.

Pro-Terrorist Speakers

One of the invited speakers at the event was Hamid Ayloush, a member of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), which was also an event sponsor. In his speech, Ayloush solicited contributions for the Holy Land Foundation, an organization that the Justice Department has shut down as [a] funder of al-Qaeda.

On May 26, 2001 the UCLA Muslim Student Association held a conference of Islamic radicals on the UCLA campus.

The conference featured speakers from CAIR, which is a supporter of the terrorist organization. The Muslim Public Affairs council, a radical group, whose executive director has justified the terrorist attacks on the marines in Lebanon in 1983 by Hizbollah, said, "This attack, for all the pain it caused, was in the same sense, a terrorist operation. It was a military operation, producing no civilian casualties—exactly the way the Americans might have lauded had it been the case of Washington's enemies."

The UCLA Muslim Student Association invited pro-terrorist speakers to the UCLA campus for them with student funds. At a January 1999, nine months before 9/11, a speaker called a black African-American Muslim who is a staple of the radical press staged in Washington DC declared that the Soviet Union was wiped off the face of the earth. "The people would have thought you were a terrorist. The people of Afghanistan didn't have the knowledge to know that they wasn't a terrorist. The Soviet Union, is that right? . . . V. I. Lenin, the so-called superpower, Old Sam is next."

Praising Bin Laden

Prior to [the September 11, 2001, attacks], the UCLA magazine *Al-Talib* featured an editorial praising [the] Osama Bin Laden titled "The leader we had." The editorial declares:

When we hear someone refer to Osama Bin-Ladin as a 'terrorist' we should refer to him as a 'freedom fighter' and refer to him as a freedom fighter who has forsaken wealth and power to fight against oppressors. We take pride in him. We please Allah.

Two days before 9/11, *Al-Talib* carried an editorial [the] University of California, Irvine (and subsequently convicted) cop-killer (and leader) Jamil Al-Amin—aka H. Rap Brown.

1. The Soviet Union occupied Afghanistan from 1979 to 1989.

The conference featured speakers from CAIR whose founder is a supporter of the terrorist organization Hamas, and the Muslim Public Affairs council, a radical group whose executive director has justified the terrorist killing of 243 U.S. marines in Lebanon in 1983 by Hizbollah suicide bombers: "This attack, for all the pain it caused, was not in a strict sense, a terrorist operation. It was a military operation, producing no civilian casualties—exactly the kind of attack that Americans might have lauded had it been directed against Washington's enemies."

The UCLA Muslim Student Association has routinely invited pro-terrorist speakers to the UCLA campus and paid for them with student funds. At a January 21, 2001 event, nine months before 9/11, a speaker called Imam Musa, an African-American Muslim who is a staple of the anti-war rallies staged in Washington DC declared: "If you were to say that the Soviet Union was wiped off the face of the earth . . . people would have thought you were crazy, right? The people of Afghanistan didn't have the intellect or historical knowledge to know that they wasn't supposed to wipe out the Soviet Union, is that right? . . . We saw the fall of one so-called superpower, Old Sam is next."¹

Praising Bin Laden

Prior to [the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks] the UCLA magazine *Al-Talib* featured a cover story on [al-Qaeda leader] Osama Bin Laden titled, "The Spirit of Jihad." The editorial declares:

When we hear someone refer to the great mujahideen Osama Bin-Ladin as a 'terrorist' we should defend our brother and refer to him as a freedom fighter; someone who has forsaken wealth and power to fight in Allah's cause and speak out against oppressors. We take these stances only to please Allah.

Two days before 9/11, *Al-Talib* co-sponsored a dinner at [the] University of California, Irvine to honor then accused (and subsequently convicted) cop-killer (and Imam [religious leader]) Jamil Al-Amin—aka H. Rap Brown. Another cop-

1. The Soviet Union occupied Afghanistan from 1979 to 1989.

killer favored by Muslim student groups and by the anti-war movement generally is Mumia Abu Jamal. Imam Musa spoke here as well:

You think Zionism and Palestine is the only dictatorial power in the world. We're telling you about apartheid right here in America. . . . When you fight Old Sam, you are fighting someone that is superior in criminality and Nazism. The American criminalizer is the most skillful oppressor that the world has ever known.

The Palestinian terrorists have become the Black Panthers of the contemporary anti-war movement. The leftwing culture celebrates the suicide bombers of women and children as desperate victims of Jewish oppression. Attackers and destroyers of the Oslo peace process [between the Palestinians and Israelis] are proclaimed as heroes. Terrorists and totalitarian radicals are lionized as fighters for social justice. Israelis and Americans are condemned as Nazis.

Students Are Seduced by Terrorism

How many American college students and anti-war activists have been seduced by these poisonous elements at work in our society? It is difficult to know. But one who has already paid for it with her life is Rachel Corrie, a 24 year old undergraduate at Evergreen College in Olympia Washington, who has become known as the "Saint of Rafiah," the name of the West Bank town where she died. Evergreen is one of the many leftwing campuses in America, whose values have been turned so upside down by tenured leftists that it recently featured convicted murderer Mumia Abu Jamal as its commencement speaker. (He spoke via tape [because he is in prison]).

Rachel Corrie began her activist career as a member of the Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace, an organization formed directly after the 9/11 attack on America to oppose an American military response. Its members feared that, "America would retaliate by bombing some of the poorest and most oppressed on earth, the Afghan people."² Their Marxist view of the world is captured in one of the

2. According to the George W. Bush administration, Afghanistan harbored al-Qaeda, the terrorist group responsible for the September 11 attacks.

Movement's favored slogans: "Corporatism Equals Imperialist Domination."

It was not long after she joined the Olympia Movement that Rachel Corrie was burning an American flag in the name of social justice. It was a logical step for her to join an organization that would demonstrate to the cause. Through her contacts in the Olympia Movement she joined the International Solidarity Movement whose purpose is to recruit young Americans to act as human shields for Palestinian terrorists. The Olympia Movement's ties to terrorism became inescapable after Rachel Corrie's death when an elite member of the Israeli Defense Forces captured a suspected terrorist, Shadi Sukiya hiding in its office.

Rachel Corrie was sent by the International Solidarity Movement to a town called Rafiah in the Gaza Strip to confront the Israeli Defense Forces conducting anti-terror operations. An American eyewitness—was inadvertently killed in front of an Israeli military bulldozer, and his death was reported in *The New York Times Magazine*—the magazine once celebrated the murderer of my friend. The article had a tribute to Rachel Corrie, and the magazine's goodwill. The article was called "One Life at a Time: The halo of Martin Luther King and the Olympia Movement around her pro-terrorist activities." The article summarized the news reports of Corrie's death: "23-year-old peace activist from Olympia, Washington, crushed to death by an Israeli Army bulldozer to block the demolition of a physician's home."

Movement's favored slogans: "Corporate Globalization Equals Imperialist Domination."

It was not long after she joined the Olympia Movement that Rachel Corrie was burning an American flag in the name of social justice. It was logical step for her to gravitate to an organization that would demonstrate her commitment to the cause. Through her contacts in the anti-war movement she joined the International Solidarity Campaign, whose purpose is to recruit young Americans to become human shields for Palestinian terrorists. The Solidarity Campaign's ties to terrorism became inescapable eleven days after Rachel Corrie's death when an elite anti-terror unit of the Israeli Defense Forces captured a senior Islamic Jihad terrorist, Shadi Sukiya hiding in its offices in Jenin.

Rachel Corrie was sent by International Solidarity to a town called Rafiah in the Gaza Strip to obstruct Israeli Defense Forces conducting anti-terror operations. She sat down in front of an Israeli military bulldozer, and—according to an American eyewitness—was inadvertently killed when the machine, whose driver could not see her, ran over her. . . . The *New York Times Magazine*—the same magazine that once celebrated the murderer of my friend by the Black Panthers—had a tribute to Rachel Corrie, to her humanitarian goodwill. The article was called "One Last Sit-In," to wrap the halo of Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement around her pro-terrorist activities. The *Times* article summarized the news reports of Corrie's death in these words: "23-year-old peace activist from Olympia, Wash., crushed to death by an Israeli Army bulldozer as she tried to block the demolition of a physician's home in Gaza."

Most Followers of Islam in the United States Reject Terrorism

Shibley Telhami argues in the following viewpoint that, like all Americans, Arab and Muslim Americans are horrified by the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States and are seeking solutions to terrorism. Further, Telhami insists that a majority of Arab Americans—69 percent—are in favor of “an all-out war against countries which harbor or aid terrorists.” Moreover, while many Arab Americans report racial profiling since the attacks, 54 percent believe that extra questioning of people with Middle Eastern accents or facial features by police is justified. Shibley Telhami is the Anwar Sadat Professor at the University of Maryland.

1. According to Telhami, from which countries do most Arab Americans come?
2. Who was the first sitting president to speak at conferences of Arab-American organizations, according to the author?
3. In Telhami's opinion, on what issue are Arab Americans in almost complete agreement?

40

Excruciating moments like those the [in] September [2001] test the identity of especially those whose identity may be challenged. Many Arab and Muslim Americans lost friends in the attacks in New York and Washington. Many had loved ones dispatched to Afghanistan as soldiers to punish those who perpetrated the attacks. Muslims are the largest minority religion in the United States (and the world's largest religious forces). But many also had double fears. They were parents of children. On the one hand, they shared their concerns about the new risks of terrorism for their children; on the other, they were gripped by the haunting fear of their children being targeted in school for who they are.

There is much that's misunderstood about Muslims in America. Although the two communities deal, they differ significantly in their makeup. Most Arab Americans are not Muslim, and most Muslims are not Arab. Most Arab Americans came from Lebanon and Syria, in several waves of immigration beginning in the late 19th century. Most Muslim Americans are from South Asia. Many of the early Arab-Americans assimilated well in American society. Arab-Americans are fond of highlighting prominent Arab-Americans of partial Arab descent. Ralph Nader, George Clooney, Donna Shalala, Spencer Abraham

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In a *New York Times* article appearing a week after the horror [of the terrorist attacks] that befell America on September 11, [2001,] a Muslim woman described her dilemma this way: "I am so used to thinking about myself as a New Yorker that it took me a few days to begin to see myself as a stranger might: a Muslim woman, an outsider, perhaps an enemy of the city. Before last week, I had thought of myself as a lawyer, a feminist, a wife, a sister, a friend, a woman on the street. Now I begin to see myself as a brown woman who bears a vague resemblance to the images of terrorists we see on television and in the newspapers. I can only imagine how much more difficult it is for men who look like [terrorists] Mohamed Atta or Osama bin Laden."

Excruciating moments like those the nation experienced [in] September [2001] test the identity of all Americans, but especially those whose identity may be caught in the middle. Many Arab and Muslim Americans lost loved ones and friends in the attacks in New York and Washington, and others had loved ones dispatched to Afghanistan as American soldiers to punish those who perpetrated the horror (Muslims are the largest minority religion in the U.S. armed forces). But many also had double fears for their own children. On the one hand, they shared the fears of all Americans about the new risks of terror; on the other, they were gripped by the haunting fear of their children being humiliated in school for who they are.

Two Partially Overlapping Communities

There is much that's misunderstood about Arabs and Muslims in America. Although the two communities share a great deal, they differ significantly in their make-up. Most Arabs in America are not Muslim, and most Muslims are not Arabs. Most Arab Americans came from Lebanon and Syria, in several waves of immigration beginning at the outset of the 20th century. Most Muslim Americans are African American or from South Asia. Many of the early Arab immigrants assimilated well in American society. Arab-American organizations are fond of highlighting prominent Americans of at least partial Arab descent. Ralph Nader, George Mitchell, John Sununu, Donna Shalala, Spencer Abraham, Bobby Rahal, Doug

Flutie, Jacques Nasser, Paul Anka, Frank Zappa, Paula Abdul, among many others. Like other ethnic groups in America, Arabs and Muslims have produced many successful Americans whose ethnic background is merely an afterthought.

Arab Americans now number more than 3 million, Muslims roughly 6 million (though estimates range from 3 million to 10 million). The income of Arab Americans is among the highest of any American ethnic group—second only to that of Jewish Americans. Arab Americans have become increasingly politicized over the years. According to a recent survey, proportionately more Arab Americans contribute to presidential candidates than any other ethnic group—and the groups surveyed included Asian Americans, Italian Americans, African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Jewish Americans. Over the past decade especially, Arab-American political clout has increased. Although Arab Americans were long shunned by political candidates, President [Bill] Clinton became the first sitting president to speak at conferences of Arab-American organizations, and both President Clinton and President [George W.] Bush have normalized ongoing consultations with Arab- and Muslim-American leaders. In the fall 2000 election, presidential candidates sought the support of Arab Americans, not only for campaign contributions, but also as swing voters in key states, especially Michigan. The September 11 tragedy, coming just as Arab-American political clout was ascendant, has provided a real test for the community's role in American society and politics.

The Impact of September 11

For Arab and Muslim leaders, the terrorist crisis has been like no other. It has forced them to contemplate profoundly their identity. Are they Arabs and Muslims living in America, or are they Americans with Arab and Muslim background? The answer came within hours after the terrorist attacks. Major Arab and Muslim organizations issued statements strongly condemning the attacks, refusing to allow their typical frustrations with issues of American policy in the Middle East to become linked to their rejection of the terror. Rarely have Arab and Muslim organizations in the United States been so assertive.

The enormity of the horror, the Middle ground of the terrorists, and the terrorists' religion to justify their acts have inevitably discrimination against Arabs and Muslims those, such as Sikhs, who resemble them that both Arabs and Muslims received people and organizations far outweighed tion. Arab and Muslim organizations waiters and calls of empathy from leaders and cans, including many Jewish Americans, for that at stake were the civil liberties of all

Muslim American Leader Condemns Terrorism

The president of the American Muslim Basha, has praised President [George W.] decisive steps to declare war on terrorism protect the Muslim American and Arab A ties from ethnic backlash following the S terrorist attacks. . . .

"When the United States got attacked, cans felt we ourselves had been viola people in those attacks. We are American part of this nation," Basha said. . . .

Basha said members of the Muslim and the United States have stepped forward U.S. law enforcement agencies combat

"Muslim Americans and Arab America their knowledge of languages and other law enforcement agencies to help them fight terrorism. We support in any way against terrorism. I don't think any hu could justify those crimes," Basha said.

He said the true teachings of Islam ha violence and terrorism.

U.S. Department of State International Inform American Leader Condemns Terrorism," Octo

In large part, the public reaction decisions and statements by President his cabinet, members of Congress fr cal political leaders. The president in

The enormity of the horror, the Middle Eastern background of the terrorists, and the terrorists' attempt to use religion to justify their acts have inevitably led to episodes of discrimination against Arabs and Muslims, as well as against those, such as Sikhs, who resemble them. But the support that both Arabs and Muslims received from thousands of people and organizations far outweighed the negative reaction. Arab and Muslim organizations were flooded with letters and calls of empathy from leaders and ordinary Americans, including many Jewish Americans, for most understood that at stake were the civil liberties of all Americans.

Muslim American Leader Condemns Terrorism

The president of the American Muslim Council, Yahia Basha, has praised President [George W.] Bush for his swift, decisive steps to declare war on terrorism and simultaneously protect the Muslim American and Arab American communities from ethnic backlash following the September 11 [2001] terrorist attacks. . . .

"When the United States got attacked, we Muslim Americans felt we ourselves had been violated. We lost many people in those attacks. We are American. We are here as part of this nation," Basha said. . . .

Basha said members of the Muslim and Arab communities in the United States have stepped forward with offers to help U.S. law enforcement agencies combat the terrorist threat.

"Muslim Americans and Arab Americans have volunteered their knowledge of languages and other things to American law enforcement agencies to help them catch terrorists and fight terrorism. We support in any way we can the campaign against terrorism. I don't think any human being or religion could justify those crimes," Basha said.

He said the true teachings of Islam have nothing to do with violence and terrorism.

U.S. Department of State International Information Programs, "Muslim American Leader Condemns Terrorism," October 9, 2001.

In large part, the public reaction was a product of quick decisions and statements by President Bush and members of his cabinet, members of Congress from both parties, and local political leaders. The president in particular acted quickly

to make two central points that seem to have resonated with most of the public. The first was that the terrorists did not represent Islam and that Osama bin Laden must not be allowed to turn his terror into a conflict between Islam and the West. The second was that Muslim and Arab Americans are loyal Americans whose rights must be respected. Bush's early appearance at a Washington, D.C., mosque with Muslim-American leaders underlined the message.

The President Acted Correctly

The message seems to have gotten through. Despite the fears that many Americans now associate with people of Middle-Eastern background, a survey conducted in late October [2001] by Zogby International found that most Americans view the Muslim religion positively and that the vast majority of Arabs and Muslims approve the president's handling of the crisis. (Among Arab Americans, 83 percent give President Bush a positive performance rating.) Moreover, 69 percent of Arab Americans support "an all-out war against countries which harbor or aid terrorists."

Certainly, the events of September 11 will intensify the debate within the Arab and Muslim communities in America about who they are and what their priorities should be. One thing is already clear. Although both communities have asserted their American identity as never before and although 65 percent of Arab Americans feel embarrassed because the attacks were apparently committed by people from Arab countries, their pride in their heritage has not diminished. The October survey found that 88 percent of Arab Americans are extremely proud of their heritage. So far, however, the terrorist attacks have not affected the priorities of the Arab public in America as might be expected, given Arab Americans' deep fear of discrimination.

Support for Profiling

Typically, Arab-American organizations highlight such domestic issues as secret evidence and racial profiling and such foreign policy issues as Jerusalem, Iraq, and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. While Arab Americans, like other minorities, are involved in all American issues and are divided as Dem-

ocrats and Republicans, as groups they have different issues about which they tend to agree. This is different from that of American Jews, who have different issues but whose organizations largely focus on their own interest.

Given the fear of profiling that Arab Americans experienced before September 11, one would expect this issue to become central for most of them since September 11. Many it certainly has. Arab-American organizations have focused on it. But the findings of the survey among Arab Americans in October were surprising. Although 32 percent of Arab Americans personally experienced discrimination in the past because of their ethnicity, and although 37 percent of their family members had experienced discrimination before September 11, 36 percent nevertheless support profiling of Arab Americans, while 58 percent did not. 54 percent of Arab Americans believed that government officials are justified in engaging in profiling and inspections of people with Middle-Eastern features.

Palestinian-Israeli Dispute Must Be Resolved

Though their views on profiling have changed since September 11, Arab Americans have been more unanimous on one subject—the Palestinian-Israeli dispute. Seventy-eight percent of those surveyed agreed that "a U.S. commitment to resolving the Palestinian-Israeli dispute would help the war against terrorism." Although most Arab Americans are Christian and mostly from Lebanon and Syria, a minority are Palestinians—their collective identity has been affected by the Palestinian issue. In a survey I commissioned in five Arab countries—Syria, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and the West Bank—majorities in each country consistently ranked the Palestinian issue as "the single most important issue." The role of this issue in the collective consciousness of Arabs and Muslims worldwide is akin to

ocrats and Republicans, as groups they inevitably focus on issues about which they tend to agree. The situation is no different from that of American Jews, who are also diverse, but whose organizations largely focus on issues of common interest.

Given the fear of profiling that Arab Americans had even before September, one would expect this issue to have become central for most of them since September 11. And for many it certainly has. Arab-American organizations, especially, have focused on it. But the findings of the Zogby poll among Arab Americans in October were surprising. Although 32 percent of Arab Americans reported having personally experienced discrimination in the past because of their ethnicity, and although 37 percent said they or their family members had experienced discrimination since September 11, 36 percent nevertheless supported profiling of Arab Americans, while 58 percent did not. Surprisingly, 54 percent of Arab Americans believed that law enforcement officials are justified in engaging in extra questioning and inspections of people with Middle Eastern accents or features.

Palestinian-Israeli Dispute Must Be Resolved

Though their views on profiling have been mixed since September 11, Arab Americans have been considerably more unanimous on one subject—the need to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli dispute. Seventy-eight percent of those surveyed agreed that “a U.S. commitment to settle the Israeli-Palestinian dispute would help the president’s efforts in the war against terrorism.” Although most Arab Americans are Christian and mostly from Lebanon and Syria—and only a minority are Palestinians—their collective consciousness has been affected by the Palestinian issue in the same way that Arab consciousness in the Middle East has been affected. In a survey I commissioned in five Arab states (Lebanon, Syria, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt) . . . majorities in each country consistently ranked the Palestinian issue as “the single most important issue to them personally.” The role of this issue in the collective consciousness of many Arabs and Muslims worldwide is akin to the role that Israel

has come to play in contemporary Jewish identity.

Like all Americans since September 11, Arab and Muslim Americans are searching for solutions to terrorism. Like all Americans, they are also finding new meaning in aspects of their identity to which they might have given little thought a few short months ago.

"Christian nationalists seek to eviscerate the capacity of federal courts to protect religious freedom and equality of all Americans."

The Religious Right Has a Harmful Agenda

Frederick Clarkson

The religious Right seeks to restore a Christianity that never existed, promoting their political agenda for the United States as a Christian nation, based on the viewpoint. Christian theocracy has no historical basis and the religious Right's notion of the United States as a Christian theocracy has no historical basis and no relation to the Constitution. He contends that the religious Right is trying to undermine religious freedom. Frederick Clarkson is the author of *Endgame: The Struggle Between Theocracy and Democracy* and is a columnist for the *Christian Science Monitor*.

As you read, consider the following questions:

1. Why is Roy Moore called "the Ten Commandments judge," in Clarkson's opinion?
2. According to the author, what would the Religious Freedom Restoration Act do?
3. What action does Clarkson argue would be best for America with Christian America?

Frederick Clarkson, "On Ten Commandments Bill, It's Not Just Wrong," *The Christian Science Monitor*, www.csmonitor.com. Copyright © 2004 by Frederick Clarkson. All rights reserved. permission of the author.

"Christian nationalists seek to eviscerate the capacity of federal courts to protect the religious freedom and equality of all Americans."

The Religious Right Has a Harmful Agenda

Frederick Clarkson

The religious Right seeks to restore a Christian constitution that never existed, promoting their political vision of the United States as a Christian nation, Frederick Clarkson maintains in the following viewpoint. Clarkson argues that the religious Right's notion of the United States as a Christian theocracy has no historical basis and is in direct opposition to the Constitution. He contends that the religious Right is trying to undermine religious freedom in America. Frederick Clarkson is the author of *Eternal Hostility: The Struggle Between Theocracy and Democracy*. He also writes for the *Christian Science Monitor*.

As you read, consider the following questions:

1. Why is Roy Moore called "the Ten Commandments judge," in Clarkson's opinion?
2. According to the author, what would the Constitutional Restoration Act do?
3. What action does Clarkson argue was a judicial break with Christian America?

Frederick Clarkson, "On Ten Commandments Bill, Christian Right Has It Wrong," *The Christian Science Monitor*, www.csmonitor.com, April 21, 2004. Copyright © 2004 by Frederick Clarkson. All rights reserved. Reproduced by permission of the author.

Was the United States founded as a "Christian nation"? For many conservative Christians there is no question about it. In fact, this is one of the primary ideas animating and informing the Christian right in the US. We are likely to hear a great deal about it this election year [2004]—thanks to Roy Moore, the former chief justice of the Alabama Supreme Court, who is at the center of a national campaign to alter the course of history. Depending on whom you talk to, Mr. Moore is alternately a hero, a crackpot, or a demagogue.

Whatever one's view, Moore, known to many as "the Ten Commandments judge," has come to personify a revisionist view of American history—one that, if it gains wide currency, threatens to erode the culture, and constitutional principle, of religious pluralism in the US.

Moore's story is already the stuff of legend. After being elected chief justice, he had a 5,280-pound monument to the Ten Commandments installed in the rotunda of Alabama's state judicial building in 2001. Moore insisted he had a First Amendment right to "acknowledge God" as the "moral foundation of law." The result of the inevitable lawsuit was US District Judge Myron Thompson's decision that Moore had violated the establishment clause of the First Amendment by creating "a religious sanctuary within the walls of a courthouse." When Moore refused to remove the rock, he was removed from office.

Judge Thompson got it right. But Moore and his allies see the decision as a defining moment in their campaign to "overthrow judicial tyranny." At stake over the long haul is the authority of the courts to protect individual civil rights against religious and political majoritarianism.

Constitution Restoration Act

On one front, leaders on the Christian Right are organizing Ten Commandments rallies across the country. The charismatic Moore is often the headliner. A recent rally in Dallas drew 5,000 people. Meanwhile in Congress, US Rep. Robert Aderholt and Sen. Richard Shelby, both of Alabama, have introduced a bill (written by Moore and his lawyer) that would remove jurisdiction from the federal courts over all

matters involving the "acknowledgement" of God in the public arena, including school prayer, the posting of the Ten Commandments in public buildings. The Constitution Restoration Act is retroactive, apparently to undo many federal Court decisions—such as Moore's case.

While the bill is unlikely to pass this year, it has shaped the emerging contours of the debate.¹

Although Moore's movement has gained traction, its core premise has a fundamental flaw: "restoring" a Christian constitution that never existed presents challenges for Moore and his supporters. It tempts to invoke the framers of the Constitution and their contemporary notions of a Biblical republic.

Last August, for example, James Dobson, founder of the Family Research Council, rallied with Moore in front of the Alabama state courthouse.

"I checked yesterday with my research team," Dobson announced. "There are only two references to God in the Constitution." The first, from the preamble, is to securing "the blessings of liberty," which he said "came from God" (although there is no explicit mention to support that view.) The other was the establishment clause that, he said, "has been a source of mischief by the Supreme Court."

Disestablishment of Christian Churches

However, Dobson's researchers missed one reference to God in the Constitution. That's the one barring religious tests for public office and set in motion the disestablishment of Christian churches that had served as arbiters of law and government for 150 years.

Mainstream historian Gary Wills writes that the major innovation was "disestablishment."

"No other government in the history of the world," Wills writes, "had launched itself without the help of recognized gods and their state connected with them."

Christian Right historian Gary North argues that

1. The bill did not pass.

matters involving the "acknowledgement of God" in the public arena, including school prayer, the pledge of allegiance, and the posting of the Ten Commandments in public buildings. The Constitution Restoration Act would be retroactive, apparently to undo many federal and Supreme Court decisions—such as Moore's case.

While the bill is unlikely to pass this year, it does suggest the emerging contours of the debate.¹

Although Moore's movement has gained some political traction, its core premise has a fundamental flaw: It aims to "restore" a Christian constitution that never existed. And this presents challenges for Moore and his allies as they attempt to invoke the framers of the Constitution in support of their contemporary notions of a Biblically based society.

Last August, for example, James Dobson, head of Focus on the Family, rallied with Moore in front of the Alabama state courthouse.

"I checked yesterday with my research team," Dr. Dobson announced. "There are only two references to religion in the Constitution." The first, from the preamble, he said, refers to securing "the blessings of liberty," which, he asserted, "came from God" (although there is nothing in the document to support that view.) The other was the First Amendment's establishment clause that, he said, "has given such occasion for mischief by the Supreme Court."

Disestablishment of Christian Churches

However, Dobson's researchers missed—or ignored—Article Six of the Constitution. That's the one barring religious tests for public office and set in motion disestablishment of the Christian churches that had served as arbiters of colonial citizenship and government for 150 years.

Mainstream historian Gary Wills writes that the framers' major innovation was "disestablishment."

"No other government in the history of the world," he writes, "had launched itself without the help of officially recognized gods and their state connected ministers."

Christian Right historian Gary North agrees. The ratifica-

1. The bill did not pass.

The Religious Right's Scorecard for Congress

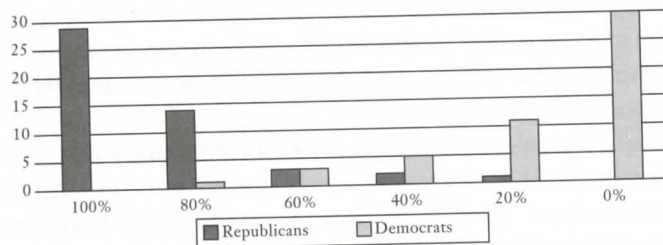
The graphs and tables below tell a story. They portray a Congress that is highly polarized, and they dispel two important myths:

Myth 1) There isn't much difference between the two political parties.

Myth 2) The Religious Right has grown into obscurity.

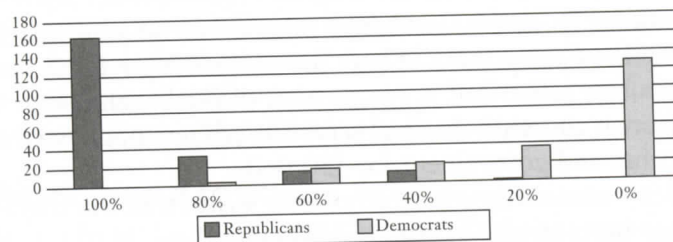
According to ratings of key organizations of the Religious Right, members of Congress who support their agenda overwhelmingly dominate the Republican Party. The following graph is based on how Christian Coalition rated the United States Senate in 2001, the most recent year their scorecards for the U.S. Senate are available.

**U.S. Senate—2001
Christian Coalition Scorecard**



29 Senators voted with Christian Coalition 100% of the time. They were all Republican. 30 Senators received a 0 rating from Christian Coalition meaning they never voted with their issues. They were all Democrat.

**U.S. House of Representatives—2001
Christian Coalition Scorecard**



163 Republicans and 1 Democrat received scores of 100%. 32 Republicans and 3 Democrats received scores of 80%. 16 Republicans and 14 Democrats received scores of 60%. 12 Republicans and 22 Democrats received 40%. 1 Republican and 36 Democrats received 20%. 129 Democrats and no Republicans received 0.

"Scorecards: Snapshots of Congress," www.4religious-right.info, May 1, 2004.

tion of the Constitution was a "judicial break America." Article Six provided a "legal barrier to theocracy" leading "directly to the rise of theocracy," he declares in *Political Polytheism: The Making of a Nation*. Indeed, history shows that the framers of the Constitution sought to establish religious equality among all Americans. But, as Christian nationalists seek to limit the capacity of federal courts to protect the rights and equality of all Americans, we can expect the same tactics and goals will continue to be the story itself.

tion of the Constitution was a "judicial break with Christian America." Article Six provided a "legal barrier to Christian theocracy" leading "directly to the rise of religious pluralism," he declares in *Political Polytheism: The Myth of Pluralism*. Indeed, history shows that the framers of the Constitution sought to establish religious equality among citizens and in government. But, as Christian nationalists seek to eviscerate the capacity of federal courts to protect the religious freedom and equality of all Americans, we can expect that one of their main tactics and goals will continue to be the revision of history itself.

"The religious Right has acted as an often lonely source of resistance to the complete triumph of relativism in our culture and libertinism in our behavior."

The Religious Right Has a Beneficial Agenda

Norman Podhoretz

In the following viewpoint Norman Podhoretz insists that there is no reason to fear that the religious Right is trying to make the United States into a Christian theocracy or has any other harmful agenda. On the contrary, Podhertz argues that the religious Right offers many positive virtues. He maintains that conservative Christian communities help maintain standards of behavior and offer staunch resistance to the triumph of relativism in American culture. Norman Podhoretz is a nationally known author and former editor of *Commentary* magazine.

As you read, consider the following questions:

1. In Podhoretz's opinion, why are Jewish people more likely to fear the Christian Right than other groups?
2. According to the author, why did fundamentalist Christians become politically involved?
3. What is the basis for Podhoretz's argument that liberals are not as unhappy with the Christian Right as they profess to be?

Norman Podhoretz, "Essay: The Christian Right and Its Demonizers," *National Review*, April 3, 2000. Copyright © 2000 by National Review, Inc., 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016. Reproduced by permission.

Who's afraid of the religious Right? Not I, a "New York intellectual," I am precisely the person who is supposed to be trembling with fear at the baneful influence conservative Christians have within the Republican party and, through it, on the whole.

Of course, though to the manner born, I am a New York intellectual. Most members of my generation are located somewhere left of center, and I have migrated to a position on the other side of the street. Yet even the tiny handful of my former fellow travelers who barely tolerate my apostasy, at least in private, still taunt me with a classic piece of New York Jewish humor: "Other than that, Mrs. Lincoln, how did you like the show?"

The "that" in the case of this "Mrs. Lincoln" is the alleged extremism and bigotry for which I have recently attacked [fundamentalists] Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell. That speech may have destroyed my chances of beating George W. Bush in the presidential election. And yet he was only saying out loud what I have said in private to millions of non-Republican-independent Democrats—on whom he had been counting to win the nomination [for president in 2000].

Why then did the speech do him damage? Not that any gains he may have made with the speech will compensate for the losses he sustained as a Jew. Whether religious or not, are not strict Jews, even many Catholics seem to have resented the attack on Robertson and Falwell, since they too have played the role of religion in general in our political life. The old sectarian animosities were transformed into a new tendency among Catholics and Protestants to speak of "traditional values" as more important than specific theological etiology of that sort.

Fear of the Christian Right

But not, I would be willing to bet, among many New York intellectuals (though not among those often imagined), I am Jewish. This makes my reaction untypical. Indeed, a good guess would be

Who's afraid of the religious Right? Not I. And yet, as a "New York intellectual," I am precisely the type of person who is supposed to be trembling with apprehension at the baneful influence conservative Christians have gained within the Republican party and, through it, on the nation as a whole.

Of course, though to the manner born, I am not a typical New York intellectual. Most members of my breed are situated somewhere left of center, and I have long since migrated to a position on the other side of the political divide. Yet even the tiny handful of my former fellows who so much as barely tolerate my apostasy, at least in certain of its aspects, still taunt me with a classic piece of black humor: "Other than that, Mrs. Lincoln, how did you like the play?"

The "that" in the case of this "Mrs. Lincoln" refers to the alleged extremism and bigotry for which John McCain recently attacked [fundamentalists] Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell. That speech may have destroyed McCain's chances of beating George W. Bush in the presidential primaries. And yet he was only saying out loud what is believed by vast numbers of the non-Republican-independents and crossover Democrats—on whom he had been counting to carry him to the nomination [for president in 2000].

Why then did the speech do him damage? The answer is that any gains he may have made with these voters could not compensate for the losses he sustained among others who, whether religious or not, are not strict secularists. In fact, even many Catholics seem to have resented McCain's assault on Robertson and Falwell, since they took it as an attack on the role of religion in general in our politics. On this point, the old sectarian animosities were trumped by a growing tendency among Catholics and Protestants to view seriousness about "traditional values" as more important than the specific theological etiology of that seriousness.

Fear of the Christian Right

But not, I would be willing to bet, among Jews. Now, like many New York intellectuals (though not quite so many as is often imagined), I am Jewish. This makes my attitude doubly untypical. Indeed, a good guess would be that an even higher

percentage of American Jews in general than of New York intellectuals (Jewish or not) are afraid of the Christian Right.

As Jews, my coreligionists are responding in part to inherited—and well-grounded—ancestral anxieties over the prevalence of anti-Semitism in conservative Christian circles. Never mind that, in the justly celebrated quip of Irving Kristol (a New York Jewish intellectual who preceded me in the political migration from left to right), Christians in America today are less interested in persecuting Jews than in marrying their sons and daughters. This undoubtedly poses a threat to what has come to be known as “Jewish continuity.” But it is surely a benign one compared with the experience of the past, when Christian hostility toward Jews more often took forms ranging from discrimination to forced conversion, expulsion, and murder.

Never mind, too, that the charges of anti-Semitism which have been made against Pat Robertson are unsustainable. True, he has written a few off-the-wall things about an alleged conspiracy between Freemasons and Jewish bankers to take over the world in the 18th century. It is also true that he has sharply criticized “Jewish intellectuals and media activists” of today for playing a part in “the assault on Christianity.”

Yet unlike the crackpot theory about the 18th century, his charge against the intellectuals and media activists of Jewish origin cannot so easily be dismissed. (It is important to recognize, however, that these particular persons tend to be the ones who have been described as “non-Jewish Jews.”)

Furthermore, with regard to the concerns of present-day “Jewish Jews,” Robertson has been a staunch friend. He has supported Israel through thick and thin; and when the Soviet Union still existed, he contributed large sums of money to help Jews emigrate. Would that all Christians were so anti-Semitic. . . .

Anti-Semitism Has Declined Among Christians

Speaking first as a Jew, even if I shared to some degree in the paranoid interpretation of the Christian Right's agenda, I would still not be afraid of it. For quite apart from the sharp decline of anti-Semitism among Christians, there seems to me not the remotest chance that any Supreme Court—not

even one composed of five Antonin Scalias and Thomases—would read the First Amendment of “an establishment of religion” as sanctioning to be declared officially Christian.

Moreover, the paranoid interpretation in no more basis in reality than paranoia does in general. Evangelical and fundamentalist Christianity content to render unto Caesar what was Caesar's, concentrate on saving their own souls. What has motivated them in politics, first behind Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority and Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, was not to impose their own views and mores on the rest of the country: Far from being an aggressive movement, it was a defensive one. They were trying to protect themselves from the aggressions of the liberal culture against them, with the aid of the courts, the media, and the ubiquitous media.

The Religious Right Works for F

The broader evangelical tradition, from which the Religious Right emerged, proved politically self-conscious and reformist from its beginnings in the early nineteenth century. Though evangelicals were as ideologically committed as they are now, there can be little doubt that much of the impetus for the fight against slavery and the abuse of women (led) the fight against slavery and the abuse of women, though the specific issues that the Christian Right has focused upon in the 1990s have changed—abortion, homosexuality, gun control, prayer in the schools—the point to note is that a determination to reconstruct or reconstruct society in terms of a larger human good has remained constant. One does not have to agree with all or even any of the Christian Right's policies in order to see how profoundly American its brand of conservatism really is.

Grant Wacker, National Humanities Center, October 1994

In this the Christian Right failed—so did the people who persuaded them that the only way to defend themselves was the abandonment of that particular field and old insularity.

even one composed of five Antonin Scalia and four Clarence Thomases—would read the First Amendment's prohibition of "an establishment of religion" as sanctioning this country to be declared officially Christian.

Moreover, the paranoid interpretation in this instance has no more basis in reality than paranoia does in any other situation. Evangelical and fundamentalist Christians were once content to render unto Caesar what was Caesar's and to concentrate on saving their own souls. What drew them into politics, first behind Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority and then Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, was not any wish to impose their own views and mores on the rest of us. On the contrary: Far from being an aggressive move, it was a defensive one. They were trying to protect their own communities from the aggressions the liberal culture was committing against them, with the aid of the courts, the federal bureaucracies, and the ubiquitous media.

The Religious Right Works for Human Good

The broader evangelical tradition, from which the Christian Right emerged, proved politically self-conscious and socially reformist from its beginnings in the early nineteenth century. Though evangelicals were as ideologically diverse then as they are now, there can be little doubt that many joined (if not led) the fight against slavery and the abuse of alcohol. Although the specific issues that the Christian Right has focused upon in the 1990s have changed—abortion, homosexuality, gun control, prayer in the schools—the important point to note is that a determination to reach out and construct or reconstruct society in terms of a larger image of human good has remained constant. One does not need to agree with all or even any of the Christian Right's prescriptions in order to see how profoundly American its missionary-like activism really is.

Grant Wacker, National Humanities Center, October 2000.

In this the Christian Right failed—so dismally that some of the people who persuaded them that political activism was the only way to defend themselves are now counseling an abandonment of that particular field and a retreat into the old insularity.

But now let me put on my intellectual's hat and explain why in that capacity I do not fear the Christian Right either. Take, to begin with, the cultural backwardness—in shorthand, the William Jennings Bryan anti-intellectual streak—that repels so many of my fellow intellectuals. Where an issue like the teaching of creationism is concerned, one does not need to be an uncritical Darwinist to think the intellectuals have a point—and the recent poll showing overwhelming support for including creationism in the curriculum makes that point stronger. But what the intellectuals ignore is that there has been a reversal of roles between the Bryan and [Clarence] Darrow traditions.¹ Nowadays a far greater threat to scientific progress and cultural freedom comes from the secular Left than from the religious Right—as witness the promulgation of speech codes on the campus, and the attempts there to proscribe any deviation from the officially approved line on subjects as diverse as IQ, homosexuality, and affirmative action.

Virtues of the Religious Right

But it would be dishonest of me to suggest that my attitude toward the religious Right is merely characterized by an absence of fear. For I must confess that I think this movement has certain positive virtues.

For one thing, the conservative Christian communities have served as a reminder of the religious foundations on which this country was established and on whose capital its democratic system still draws. And for another, the religious Right has acted as an often lonely source of resistance to the complete triumph of relativism in our culture and libertinism in our behavior.

On this latter issue, I have long suspected that there is a parallel between the attitudes of many liberals today and the way the French took shelter under the American nuclear umbrella during the Cold War while simultaneously gratifying themselves with luxuriant outbursts of contempt against us. Such liberals, I think, are not quite so unhappy as they

1. William Jennings Bryan and Clarence Darrow were opposing attorneys in the Scopes trial over the teaching of evolution in schools.

profess to be that there is a force in this country whose existence helps set limits to libertine tendencies that they themselves worry about, especially when they have the courage to fight even if they were in complete isolation. And so they rely on the "umbrella" of the Christian Right, while denouncing it more loudly as they quietly benefit from its protection.

profess to be that there is a force in this country whose very existence helps set limits to libertine tendencies that they themselves worry about, especially when they have children, but that they do not know how to restrain and would lack the courage to fight even if they were in command of the necessary arguments. And so they rely on the "nuclear umbrella" of the Christian Right, while denouncing it all the more loudly as they quietly benefit from its protection.

"The JDL [attempts to] . . . change the Jewish image through sacrifice and through all necessary means . . . even strength, force and violence."

The Jewish Defense League Is Justified

Jewish Defense League

Jewish people have a right to defend themselves, their rights, property, institutions, and honor by any means necessary, including the most violent, the Jewish Defense League (JDL) argues in the following viewpoint. The organization maintains that its use of violence is justified by the attacks of Nazis and other anti-Semitic groups. The JDL seeks to replace the image of the Jew as weak, frightened, and incapable of fighting back with the image of a Jew who is strong, courageous, and capable of defending him or herself. The JDL is an international organization that advocates violence, if necessary, to protect Jewish people from anti-Semitism.

As you read, consider the following questions:

1. According to the JDL, what is the true solution to the Jewish problem?
2. What is the purpose of anti-Semitic hatred and contempt for Jewish people, in the JDL's opinion?
3. According to the JDL, what will ensure its success?

Jewish Defense League, "Five Principles of the Jewish Defense League," www.jdl.org. Copyright © by the Jewish Defense League. Reproduced by permission.

The Jewish Defense League [JDL] is controversial, yet the most effective, of all organizations. Founded in 1968 by Rabbi Meir Kahane, in memory, the activist group has been responsible for such issues as, but certainly not limited to, Soviet war criminals, Jew-hatred and Jewish self-defense. The JDL is on the front page of every major newspaper. Headquarters in Los Angeles, California, JDL devotes its modest resources to the defense of Diaspora Jewish communities and Jewish interests in its own inimitable fashion.

There is no issue facing the Jewish people that the JDL won't tackle and unlike the so-called "moderate" Jewish establishment organizations the JDL does not waste time and study what needs to be done for the Jewish people. The JDL takes concrete action to solve Jewish problems.

To better understand why JDL does what it does, one must read the 5 principles of the JDL to guide the association of our work.

The 5 principles of the JDL are:

Ahavat Yisrael—Love of Jewry

The Jewish Defense League came into being to bring Jewish people to the concept of Ahavat Yisrael, the Jewish people, indivisible and united, from world Jewry for and the feeling of pain of all Jews. It is a movement that is dedicated specifically to the Jewish people and that allocates its time, resources, energy, and money to the Jewish people. It realizes that in the end . . . with the Jewish people, the Jew can look to no one but another Jew for the true solution to the Jewish problem in the Diaspora, the Exile and the return of all Jews to Eretz Israel. It sees the immediate need for the Jewish people over any other "ism" and ideology and calls it the Jewish yardstick: "Is it good for the Jews?"

Hadar—Dignity and Pride

JDL teaches the concept of Hadar . . . the Jewish edge of Jewish tradition, faith, culture, language, and pain and peoplehood. Hadar is the need

The Jewish Defense League [JDL] is the most controversial, yet the most effective, of all Jewish organizations. Founded in 1968 by Rabbi Meir Kahane, of blessed memory, the activist group has been responsible for bringing such issues as, but certainly not limited to, Soviet Jewry, Nazi war criminals, Jew-hatred and Jewish self-defense to the front page of every major newspaper. Headquartered in Southern California, JDL devotes its modest resources to the defense of Diaspora Jewish communities and Jewish interests in its own inimitable fashion.

There is no issue facing the Jewish people today that the JDL won't tackle and unlike the so-called "respectable" Jewish establishment organizations the JDL doesn't form committees and study what needs to be done for years on end, thus wasting precious time and accomplishing absolutely nothing! The JDL takes concrete action to solve Jewish problems.

To better understand why JDL does what it does one must read the 5 principles of the JDL to get a better appreciation of our work.

The 5 principles of the JDL are:

Ahavat Yisrael—Love of Jewry

The Jewish Defense League came into being to educate the Jewish people to the concept of Ahavat Yisrael . . . one Jewish people, indivisible and united, from which flows the love for and the feeling of pain of all Jews. It sees the need for a movement that is dedicated specifically to Jewish problems and that allocates its time, resources, energies and funds to Jews. It realizes that in the end . . . with few exceptions . . . the Jew can look to no one but another Jew for help and that the true solution to the Jewish problem is the liquidation of the Exile and the return of all Jews to Eretz Yisrael . . . the land of Israel. It sees the immediate need to place Judaism over any other "ism" and ideology and calls for the use of the yardstick: "Is it good for the Jews?"

Hadar—Dignity and Pride

JDL teaches the concept of Hadar . . . pride in and knowledge of Jewish tradition, faith, culture, land, history, strength, pain and peoplehood. Hadar is the need to have pride in Ju-

Violence Is Sometimes Necessary

The story is told of two Jews being taken out by anti-Semites to be shot. As they were both placed against the wall, blindfolds were placed over their eyes and one cried out: "The blindfold is too tight!"

At which point the other frantically whispered: "Quiet, don't make trouble . . ."

The advertisement appeared in *The New York Times* on June 24, 1969. Over a picture of a group of tough-looking pipe-wielding youngsters was the question:

Is this any way for a nice Jewish boy to behave?

The question did not wait for an answer. That followed immediately:

Maybe. Maybe there are times when there is no other way to get across to the extremist that the Jew is not quite the patsy some think he is.

Maybe there is only one way to get across a clear response to people who threaten seizure of synagogues and extortion of money. Maybe nice Jewish boys do not always get through to people who threaten to carry teachers out in pine boxes and burn down merchant's stores.

Maybe some people and organizations are *too* nice. Maybe in times of crisis Jewish boys should not be that nice. Maybe—just maybe—nice people build their own road to Auschwitz.

The text went on to state the problems that had arisen and unorthodox militant solutions to them. It ended with the words: "We are speaking of Jewish survival."

The ad was placed by the Jewish Defense League, which had decided to "make trouble," and after its appearance the Jewish community was never quite the same.

Meir Kahane, *The Story of the Jewish Defense League*, 1975.

daim and not allow it to be disgraced and defiled by beating and desecration of Jewish honor. This is the concept that the great Jewish leader Zev Jabotinsky attempted to instill in the oppressed and degraded masses of Eastern Europe during the holocaust over 5 decades ago. The Anti-Semite's hatred and contempt for the Jew is an attempt to degrade us. It is an attempt to instill within the Jew a feeling of inferiority. It is an attempt that all too often succeeds in promoting Jewish self-hatred and shame in an attempt to escape one's Jewishness.

Hadar is pride! Hadar is self-respect! Hadar ing a Jew!

Barzel—Iron

JDL upholds the principle of Barzel . . . iron both move to help Jews everywhere and to ish image through sacrifice and through all . . . even strength, force and violence. The image of the Jew as a weakling, as one who upon and who does not fight back is an im changed. Not only does that image cause in Jews but it is a self-perpetuating thing bec away or because a Jew allows himself to be guarantees that another Jew in the future because of the image he has perpetuated. J ate a physically strong, fearless and cou fights back. We are changing an image bor Galut, an image that must be buried becau We train ourselves for the defense of Jewi We learn how to fight physically, for it is b and not have to than have to and not know

Mishmaat—Discipline and Unity

Mishmaat . . . discipline and dedication . . . Jew the knowledge that he (or she) can ar must be done, and the unity and streng bring this into reality. It was the lack of c that led continually to the destruction of It is Jewish unity and self-discipline that umph of the Jewish people.

Bitachon—Faith in G-d and the of the Jewish People

Faith in Hashem our G-d and in the gre people, our Torah, our religion and our l chon. It is a faith that is built by our be The Jewish G-d of Hosts, and the incre history that has seen us overcome the fl have arisen to wipe us out in every gene in Hashem our G-d and the permanenc

Hadar is pride! Hadar is self-respect! Hadar is dignity in being a Jew!

Barzel—Iron

JDL upholds the principle of Barzel . . . iron . . . the need to both move to help Jews everywhere and to change the Jewish image through sacrifice and through all necessary means . . . even strength, force and violence. The Galut [Diaspora] image of the Jew as a weakling, as one who is easily stepped upon and who does not fight back is an image that must be changed. Not only does that image cause immediate harm to Jews but it is a self-perpetuating thing because if a Jew runs away or because a Jew allows himself to be stepped upon, he guarantees that another Jew in the future will be attacked because of the image he has perpetuated. JDL wants to create a physically strong, fearless and courageous Jew who fights back. We are changing an image born of 2000 years in Galut, an image that must be buried because it has buried us. We train ourselves for the defense of Jewish lives and rights. We learn how to fight physically, for it is better to know how and not have to than have to and not know how.

Mishmaat—Discipline and Unity

Mishmaat . . . discipline and dedication . . . creates within the Jew the knowledge that he (or she) can and will do whatever must be done, and the unity and strength of willpower to bring this into reality. It was the lack of discipline and unity that led continually to the destruction of the Jewish people. It is Jewish unity and self-discipline that will lead to the triumph of the Jewish people.

Bitachon—Faith in G-d and the Indestructability of the Jewish People

Faith in Hashem our G-d and in the greatness of the Jewish people, our Torah, our religion and our land of Israel is Bitachon. It is a faith that is built by our belief in Hashem. . . . The Jewish G-d of Hosts, and the incredible saga of Jewish history that has seen us overcome the flood of enemies that have arisen to wipe us out in every generation. It is this faith in Hashem our G-d and the permanence and survival of the

Jewish people that in turn gives faith to the ultimate success of the Jewish Defense League. No matter how difficult, no matter how impossible the task may seem . . . if it is a good task . . . if it is a holy task . . . it will succeed because it must.

The sources for the philosophy and actions of the Jewish Defense League are Jewish sources. They stem from the wellsprings of Jewish tradition and have their roots in Jewish teachings. In the Torah, the Talmud, in the teachings of our sages throughout the ages in Jewish practice throughout history, the concepts of Ahavat Yisrael, Hadar Yisrael, Barzel Yisrael, Mishmaat Yisrael and Bitachon are hallowed. At the same time an eternal debt is owed to the Jews of our era who also recognized that these concepts are indeed Jewish and who fought the assimilated Jewish tide to put them into practice. We refer to the great Zev Jabotinsky, . . . his followers and his movement of which we consider ourselves to be a spiritual part, and sitting in heaven righteously alongside Jabotinsky is the founder and eternal spiritual leader of the Jewish Defense League, Rabbi Meir Kahane. . . . May the Almighty grant us the understanding to recognize and act on our problems forthrightly and the courage to go out to battle against our enemies in the face of all obstacles . . . from within and without.

"[The Jewish Defense League is] a terrorist, extremist, militant, Zionist group."

The Jewish Defense League Promotes Hate and Violence

Angela Valkyrie

Angela Valkyrie claims in the following that the Jewish Defense League (JDL) is an organization that promotes hate and violence and whose membership is increasing daily. She maintains that the JDL is a threat to Americans because members have a violent personality combined with a superiority complex that leads to behavior motivated by hate and fear. Angela Valkyrie is on AlterMedia.info, a white supremacist, and a

As you read, consider the following questions:

1. According to Valkyrie, why was Irving Berlin killed in 1980?
2. Who was the founder of the JDL, and what was his role?
3. What does the author argue was the purpose of the JDL Squad?

Angela Valkyrie, "The JDL: Jewish Hate Group," *AlterMedia.info*, 24, 2003. Copyright © 2003 by AlterMedia. Reproduced by permission.

"[The Jewish Defense League is] a racist, terrorist, extremist, militant, Zionist hate group."

The Jewish Defense League Promotes Hate and Violence

Angela Valkyrie

Angela Valkyrie claims in the following viewpoint that the Jewish Defense League (JDL) is an extremist group that promotes hate and violence and whose membership is increasing daily. She maintains that the JDL is a threat to all Americans because members have a victim mentality combined with a superiority complex that leads to criminal behavior motivated by hate and fear. Angela Valkyrie writes for AlterMedia.info, a white supremacist, anti-Semitic Web site.

As you read, consider the following questions:

1. According to Valkyrie, why was Irv Rubin arrested in 1980?
2. Who was the founder of the JDL, in Valkyrie's opinion?
3. What does the author argue was the job of the Chaya Squad?

Angela Valkyrie, "The JDL: Jewish Hate Group," www.altermedia.info, November 24, 2003. Copyright © 2003 by AlterMedia. Reproduced by permission.

There is a Jewish hate group in America. No one in the media seems to want you to know that they exist. But they do exist. And, Altermedia.info USA wants you to know about them. Or more specifically, I want you to know more about them.

This Jewish extremist hate group in America is called the Jewish Defense League (JDL). They claim to have 6,000 members. They are a racist, terrorist, extremist, militant, Zionist hate group. JDL member numbers are growing in the United States every day.

Americans, especially European-Americans need to be aware of the threat the JDL are to us and to the Nation as a whole. Since the mainstream media won't give this topic the attention it deserves, I will.

In December of 2001 in Los Angeles, CA John Gordon of the L.A. U.S. attorney's office announced that two members of the Jewish Defense League had been arrested on conspiracy and terrorist charges. They had been plotting to bomb a mosque in Culver City, CA. The two suspects were identified as Irv Rubin, 56, and Earl Krugel. Irv Rubin had been the National Chairman of the JDL since 1970. This was not the first time that Irv Rubin had been in trouble with the law. Rubin had been arrested at least 50 times on other counts prior to the conspiracy and terrorism charges of December 2001.

As leader of the Jewish Defense League, Rubin had instituted civilian patrols, organized militant programs of firearms and the martial arts.

In 1980, Irv Rubin was known to be soliciting the murders of anyone he considered to be a "Nazi" in the United States. The police charged him with solicitation with murderous intent but then he was acquitted of the charges.

Jewish Defense League Founder

Two of Irv Rubin's favorite JDL slogans were, "I want every Jew, a .22," he has said. "Keep alive with a .45."

The Jewish Defense League was founded in 1968 by well-known Zionist Rabbi Meir Kahane, who left the JDL in 1985 to serve on the Israeli Parliament and then was mysteriously assassinated in 1990.

The Jewish Defense League Promotes Violence

The JDL [Jewish Defense League] was a Jewish movement that began with the limited goals of orthodox Jewish neighborhoods in New York City. It was created by young black and Puerto Rican hoodlums protesting local instances of anti-Semitism. Eventually it embraced a universal program of fighting for Jewish rights worldwide. The group was self-sustaining and drew support from mainstream Jewish organizations in the United States or from the State of Israel. The JDL was founded in 1968 by Rabbi Meir Kahane, who began to recruit Jewish men as vigilantes to protect Jews and Jewish property in the Williamsburg and Crown Heights areas and elsewhere in the New York City area. The group had graduated from vigilantism and terrorism against alleged anti-Semites to burglarizing homes and businesses [Palestine Liberation Organization United States] and launching attacks on Soviet diplomatic offices and personnel. According to the FBI, the group was responsible for at least 37 terrorist acts in the United States during the period from 1968-1983, while the Intelligence Community Assessment of Terrorism Events (ITER) developed on behalf of the United States Central Intelligence Agency by Edward F. Mickolus recorded 100 acts from 1968-1987, making the JDL second only to the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces in the Americas (FALN) as the major domestic terrorist group in the United States. Nevertheless the JDL is a legally incorporated corporation and has officially disavowed responsibility for the actions carried out by its members. Bombing accounted for 16 percent of all JDL terrorist activities; shooting for 16 percent; while arson attacks, vandalism, threats, and verbal harassment accounted for 16 percent.

Sean Anderson and Stephan Sloan, *Historical Dictionary of the Jewish Defense League*

It was Kahane who originally coined the term "Jew baiting," "every Jew a .22." He created the Kach group within the JDL, whose job was to instill fear in the hearts of the would-be converts, according to Rabbi Meir Kahane. He was also responsible for the intermarriage of Jews and non-Jews, maintaining the purity of the Jewish race.

Kahane was jailed many times for his related militant activities and was sentenced to life in prison. He finally decided to move his operations to London.

The Jewish Defense League Promotes Violence

The JDL [Jewish Defense League] was a Jewish self-defense movement that began with the limited goals of protecting orthodox Jewish neighborhoods in New York City from depredations by young black and Puerto Rican hoodlums and to protest local instances of anti-Semitism. Eventually the JDL embraced a universal program of fighting for Jewish interests worldwide. The group was self-sustaining and lacked any support from mainstream Jewish organizations in the United States or from the State of Israel. The JDL was founded in 1968 by Rabbi Meir Kahane, who began to organize young Jewish men as vigilantes to protect Jews and Jewish businesses in the Williamsburg and Crown Heights areas of Brooklyn and elsewhere in the New York City area. Within a year the group had graduated from vigilantism and demonstrations against alleged anti-Semites to burglarizing the files of the [Palestine Liberation Organization United Nations] Mission and launching attacks on Soviet diplomatic, trade, and tourism offices and personnel. According to the FBI, the JDL was responsible for at least 37 terrorist acts in the United States in the period from 1968–1983, while the International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorist Events (ITERATE) database developed on behalf of the United States Central Intelligence Agency by Edward F. Mickolus recorded 50 such incidents from 1968–1987, making the JDL second only to the Puerto Rican FALN . . . as the major domestic terrorist group. Nonetheless the JDL is a legally incorporated political action group and has officially disavowed responsibility for any violent actions carried out by its members. Bombings accounted for 78 percent of all JDL terrorist activities; shootings accounted for 16 percent; while arson attacks, vandalism, kidnapping, threats, and verbal harassment accounted for the rest.

Sean Anderson and Stephan Sloan, *Historical Dictionary of Terrorism*, 1995.

It was Kahane who originally coined the popular JDL slogan, “every Jew a .22.” He created the Kahane’s Chaya Squad, a group within the JDL, whose job was to, and I quote, “instill fear in the hearts of the would-be criminals against Jews” according to Rabbi Meir Kahane. He adamantly spoke out against the intermarriage of Jews and the importance of maintaining the purity of the Jewish race.

Kahane was jailed many times for breaking the law in JDL related militant activities and was sentenced to prison before he finally decided to move his operations to Israel.

Kach Movement

After Kahane immigrated to Israel he formed the Kach movement.

The Kach movement was most famous for its platform calling for the removal of the the entire Israeli-Arab population from Israel and transferring them "elsewhere." The Kach movement under Rabbi Kahane demanded the demolition and complete annihilation of all Palestinian territories followed by unlimited Jewish-Israeli settlement and the complete and final colonization of Palestine.

Rabbi Kahane considered Israel to be the chosen nation by G-d and the exclusive owners of the Holy Land. He was a self-confirmed Zionist who loathed American Democracy. He is quoted here as having said, "Judaism is not Thomas Jefferson and the Middle East is not the Midwest."...

Terrorist Activities

So now you are a bit more informed about the Jewish Defense League than you were before. Now you know what the media does not want you to know.

In closing, I give you a short compiled list summarizing a few JDL activities to look over:

- The 1985 murder of Alex Odeh, director of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.
- Terrorist bombings.
- Plotting to bomb a mosque in Culver City, CA in December of 2001.
- Conspiracy and terrorism charges.
- Organized militant programs of firearms and the martial arts.
- Solicitation with murderous intent.
- Ties with Mossad, the Israeli Zionist militant extremist group.
- Explosives and stockpiled weaponry.
- Blatant hatred towards Christians, Arab-Americans, Muslims, Blacks and European-Americans. . . .
- Training Jewish children to use guns and martial arts.
- JDL slogans like; "I want every Jew, a .22" and "Keep alive with a .45."
- Mysterious assassinations.

- Convicted felons owning and handling firearms.
- Website advertising weapons courses at Camp David.
- Stirring up hatred by faking "anti-Semitic" letters.
- Twisting the truth and using it as propaganda.
- The JDL belief that intermarriage is forbidden. Jews must perpetuate the Jewish race by having children with Jews who are not only religiously Jewish but ethnically Jewish.
- Whole-heartedly dedicating their lives to fighting the "Zionist" war using violence, intimidation tactics and terrorism.
- Victim mentality scapegoating combined with a superiority complex that leads to self-righteous behavior motivated by hate and fear.

With all that read, is the JDL a terrorist hate group? Decide for yourself.

- Convicted felons owning and handling firearms.
- Website advertising weapons courses at Camp Jabotinsky.
- Stirring up hatred by faking "anti-Semitic" activity.
- Twisting the truth and using it as propaganda.
- The JDL belief that intermarriage is forbidden because Jews must perpetuate the Jewish race by having children who are not only religiously Jewish but ethnically Jewish.
- Whole-heartedly dedicating their lives to fighting a holy war using violence, intimidation tactics and murder.
- Victim mentality scapegoating combined with a superiority complex that leads to self-righteous criminal behavior motivated by hate and fear.

With all that read, is the JDL a terrorist hate group?
Decide for yourself.