



Patrick Buchanan: Over the Line

Overview

In spite of his continuing role as a political commentator for the mainstream media, former Presidential candidate Pat Buchanan now increasingly advances an anti-Semitic, racist, and anti-immigrant ideology. Many of the views he holds are identical to those of self-declared “white nationalists.” Buchanan repeatedly demonizes Jews and minorities and openly affiliates with white supremacists. Among his frequent claims is that the sovereignty of the United States is being undermined by Israeli control and Mexican incursion, beliefs which he disseminates on mainstream cable and network television and in his prolific writings.

Buchanan’s recent activities illustrate his beliefs. From 2006-2008 alone, he discussed “Israel’s Fifth column” within the United States, appeared on a white supremacist radio show, and met privately with leaders of a stridently racist and xenophobic Belgian political party.

Buchanan’s ideological leanings are not new--ADL issued a report on his “venomous crusade” in 1991 and reported on his anti-Semitic rhetoric in his book entitled *Where the Right Went Wrong*, in 2004. ADL’s warnings went unheeded, however, and Buchanan has been given license to escalate his hateful campaign. He has recently intensified his anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant, and racist rhetoric, and his activities demonstrate an increasing embrace of extremist causes. The unveiled and growing anti-Semitism and bigotry behind Buchanan’s mainstream façade is cause for renewed concern.

Ideology

Anti-Semitic and Anti-Israel Statements

Buchanan makes no attempt to hide his anti-Semitic and anti-Israel views, which have become more virulent in recent years, as he repeatedly asserts that Israel controls the United States government. His latest tactic is to express his anti-Semitism via anti-war statements; he argues that Israel/Jews (or the “neo-Cons,” a term he associates with Jews) have the power to dictate U.S. foreign policy. He paints a picture of a U.S.-Israel conspiracy not only to attack Iran, but to shield its decisions from an American public kept in the dark, as Israel allegedly masterminds “our next war.” Buchanan often voices these anti-Semitic views in weekly columns, posted to the Internet.

In a July 2008 column entitled “A Phony Crisis – and a Real One,” Buchanan argues that “Israel and its Fifth Column in this city [Washington, DC] seek to stampede us into war with Iran.” In

“Who’s Planning Our Next War?” a June 2008 column, Buchanan asserts that the decision to attack Iran is not one that Bush can “outsource to Ehud Olmert.” Alluding to meetings between Bush and Israeli officials, Buchanan rhetorically asks, “Is it not time the American people were consulted on the next war that is being planned for us?”

In a January 2007 column, Buchanan advances anti-Israeli rhetoric, couched in anti-war sentiment, in his comments concerning the 2007 Herzliya Conference, a yearly forum in Israel comprised of academics and politicians to discuss strategic and political issues. Buchanan states that “Israel’s war is to be sold as America’s war.” He goes on to argue that “there is no need for war [with Iran]. Yet, Israelis, neocons, and their agents of influence are trying to whip us into one.”

Reaching to blame the Iraq war and an anticipated conflict in Iran on Israel, Buchanan argues in “Who Is Planning Our Next War?” another January 2007 column, that the Israeli government and those loyal to it will deceive the public to enter another war. He writes, “A propaganda campaign, using Israeli agents and their neocon auxiliaries and sympathizers, who stampeded us into war in Iraq, is being prepared to stampede us into war on Iran.”

In 2005, Buchanan authored a chapter for *neo-Conned! Just War Principles: A Condemnation of War in Iraq*, a book co-edited and published by anti-Semite John Sharpe. (In March 2007, the Navy released Lieutenant Commander Sharpe from his duties as Public Affairs Officer due to his leadership of two anti-Semitic groups.) Buchanan titled his chapter “Whose war?” and answers that question by arguing that America’s involvement in Iraq is due mainly to its alliance with Israel. He writes, “Neocons say we attack them because they are Jewish. We do not. We attack them because their warmongering threatens our country, even as it finds a reliable echo in Ariel Sharon.”

Buchanan goes on to criticize those who believe his views are anti-Semitic. He also advances the anti-Semitic charge that Jews in the United States harbor a dual-loyalty to the United States and Israel. He writes, “They charge us with anti-Semitism...The truth is, those hurling these charges harbor a 'passionate attachment' to a nation not our own that causes them to subordinate the interests of their own country and to act on an assumption that, somehow, what's good for Israel is good for America.” Buchanan asks, “Who would benefit from a war of civilizations between the West and Islam? Answer: one nation, one leader, one party. Israel, Sharon, Likud.” He goes further in his comments about Likud, arguing that it “has dragged our [America’s] good name though the mud and blood of Ramallah...”

Racist Statements

Buchanan also makes a number of racist statements, and gives voice to stereotyped characterizations of the black community, most recently focusing on Presidential candidate Barack Obama.* Although Buchanan praised a speech that Obama made during the August 2008 Democratic National Convention, he has stated that Obama received media attention and votes because of his race and that there was truth to a depiction of the Obamas as Muslim terrorists.

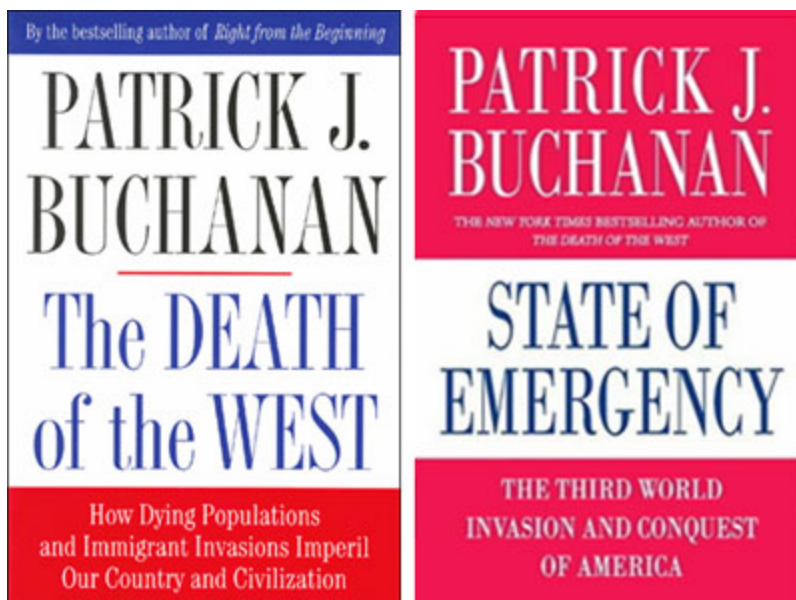
In an August 2008 column entitled “Whitey Need Not Apply,” Buchanan expresses anger about

what he alleges is media favoritism towards Obama due to his race. Buchanan also argues that Obama's race is earning him more votes, ignoring any merit-based qualities that would attract votes for any candidate. Buchanan asks, "What, other than race, explains how Barack rolled up 90-10 margins among black voters while running against Hillary Clinton...?"

In "The Untouchables," a July 2008 column, Buchanan characterizes the controversial *New Yorker* cover that depicts the Obamas as Muslim terrorists as "an exaggeration that contained no small kernel of recognizable truth." Buchanan suggests, "Put glasses on him, and Barack could play Malcolm X in the movies." Buchanan also states of Obama's allegedly preferential treatment by the media, "Barack gets the special-ed treatment [as] our first affirmative action candidate."

In addition to his most recent focus on Obama, Buchanan makes racist statements about the black community as a whole. He also recasts American history to temper the brutal experience and aftermath of slavery in the United States with what he alleges are the benefits that "White America" has since provided for the black community. In "A Brief for Whitey," a March 2008 column, Buchanan purports to speak for the "Silent Majority," or "White America," and he lists its "convictions, grievances, and demands:"

First, America has been the best country on earth for black folks. It was here that 600,000 black people, brought from Africa in slave ships, grew into a community of 40 million, were introduced to Christian salvation, and reached the greatest levels of freedom and prosperity blacks have ever known...Second, no people anywhere has done more to lift up blacks than white Americans...Where is the gratitude?



Buchanan is a prolific writer, and he demonizes Jews, blacks, and non-white immigrants in his books and columns.

Buchanan also defends racist statements made by others, specifically Don Imus, a radio talk show host who has a long history of making racist and anti-Semitic remarks. In April 2007, Imus faced national criticism following a program during which he called the Rutgers University

women's basketball team "nappy-headed hos." In a column published the following week, Buchanan downplays the severity of Imus's comments by suggesting that "outrageousness is part of the show." Buchanan also dismisses the notion that Imus's words could have any lasting effect by questioning, "Who, after all, believed the slur was true? No one." Buchanan even praises Imus as "among the best interviewers in our business" and suggests that the members of the basketball team "are not 5-year-old girls, and they are capable of brushing off an ignorant comment..."

True to form, Buchanan also argues that as a white man, Imus was actually victimized. Buchanan asserts that Imus faced a "lynch party" not because of his comments, but because he is a "white man, who used a term about black women only black folks are permitted to use with impunity and immunity."

In his 2006 book *State of Emergency: The Third World Invasion and Conquest of America*, Buchanan reveals his racist and anti-immigrant agenda, explaining that "the new Orthodoxy teaches as dogma that race does not matter, that to treat people of different creeds, colors, or cultures differently is immoral in principle and intolerable in practice. The crisis of the new orthodoxy is that it is rooted in an ideology few truly believe. For creed, culture, and ethnicity do matter, immensely."

Buchanan's racist statements earned him the "Thumbs Down Award" in July 2008, given by the National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ) "to an individual or organization for especially insensitive, racist or stereotypical reporting, commentary..."

Anti-Immigrant Statements and Conspiracy Theories

Buchanan also advances a deeply-seeded anti-immigrant ideology, specifically targeting Latinos, Muslims, and Asians. He derides what he alleges are cultural differences between non-white immigrants and white Americans, which he believes threaten to alter the "character" of the United States. Buchanan goes further by alleging the existence of a Mexican conspiracy to annex American land, praising border vigilantes as heroes, and to blaming "diversity" for the April 2007 massacre at Virginia Tech.

One of Buchanan's most widely-employed arguments is that undocumented immigrants, specifically from Mexico, are secretly plotting "La Reconquista," a conspiracy to "invade" the United States and conquer its Southwestern territory, also referred to as "Aztlan." He argues in his 2008 book *Day of Reckoning: How Hubris, Ideology, and Greed Are Tearing America Apart*, that "Mexicans bear an ancient grudge against us as the country that robbed Mexico of half her land..." and demonizes Mexicans as an enemy of United States sovereignty.

In *State of Emergency*, Buchanan declares, "Paralyzed by guilt, we are inviting *La Reconquista*, the reconquest of the Southwest by Mexico... What Mexico's elites have in mind, what they are systematically pursuing, is a sharing of sovereignty in these lost lands and their ultimate recapture, culturally, linguistically, by Mexico, no matter which nation holds title to them."

Buchanan goes into even greater detail and spells out what he calls the “Aztlan Strategy”:

endless migration from Mexico north, the Hispanicization of the American Southwest, and dual citizenship for all Mexican-Americans. The goals: Erase the border. Grow the influence, through Mexican-Americans, over how America disposes of her wealth and power. Gradually circumscribe the sovereignty of the United States. Lastly, economic and political merger of the nations in a bi-national union. And in the nuptial agreement, a commitment to share the wealth and power. Stated bluntly, the Aztlan Strategy entails the end of a sovereign, self-sufficient, independent republic, the passing away of the American nation. They are coming to conquer us.

Buchanan does not confine his anti-immigrant beliefs to demonizing Latinos; he also advances an anti-Muslim ideology, which he also spells out in his 2002 book, *Death of the West: How Dying Populations and Immigrant Invasions Imperil Our Country and Civilization*. He writes, “The day of Europe is over. The coming mass migrations from the Islamic world will so change the ethnic composition of the Old Continent that Europeans will be too paralyzed by a threat of terrorism to intervene in North African, the Middle East, or the Persian Gulf...As their populations become more Arabic and Islamic, paralysis will set in.”

Buchanan proves himself to be an equal-opportunity bigot. In addition to attacking Latinos and Muslims, Buchanan blames Korean immigration, as well as “diversity” in general, for the tragic April 2007 shooting spree at Virginia Tech, in which a Korean student murdered 32 students and faculty. In *Day of Reckoning* Buchanan writes, “...the most recent reminder of diversity in Virginia...was the massacre of thirty-two students and teachers at Virginia Tech by an immigrant madman.”

In “The Dark Side of Diversity,” a May 2007 column, Buchanan argues that the shooter, born in 1984, “was among the 864,000 Koreans here as a result of the Immigration Act of 1965, which threw the nation’s doors open to the greatest invasion in history...” He claims that the shooting “cannot be divorced from what’s been happening to America since the immigration act brought tens of millions of strangers to these shores...” Buchanan writes that the source for many of the article’s statements was VDare, a “website that covers the dark side of diversity.” VDare regularly features the work of anti-immigrant figures, racists, and anti-Semites.

Ties to Extremists

Buchanan affiliates with various anti-Semites, white supremacists, anti-immigrant extremists, and conspiracy theorists. He contributes to their publications, cites their work, appears on their radio shows, and his Website features links to their Websites. Conversely, extremists praise Buchanan and look to him as a successful purveyor of hateful views in mainstream media and politics.

Contributing to and using extremist works

Buchanan contributes to works published by and praising extremists. In 2006, he authored the

“Foreword” to *Shots Fired: Sam Francis on America’s Culture War*, a compilation of the works of the late Sam Francis, a white supremacist and frequent speaker at white supremacist American Renaissance conferences. Buchanan praises Francis’s character and work and explains that Francis’s “great gifts” included having “one of the finest minds of his generation” and a “brave heart to pursue and tell the truth.” Following his death in 2005, Buchanan wrote an article dedicated to Francis, whom he called “my brave and generous friend.” Buchanan also references the work of Francis several times in *State of Emergency*, his 2006 anti-immigrant book.

Anti-Semite John Sharpe co-edited and published *neo-Conned! Just War Principles: A Condemnation of War in Iraq*, referred to earlier as a collection of views which includes a Buchanan essay. Sharpe, a former naval officer, attended a 2006 conference organized by American Renaissance and was placed on administrative leave from the Navy due to his leadership of two anti-Semitic organizations, the Legion of St. Louis and the IHS Press.

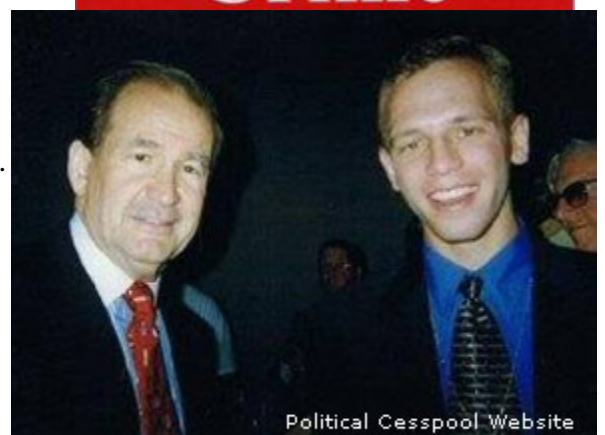
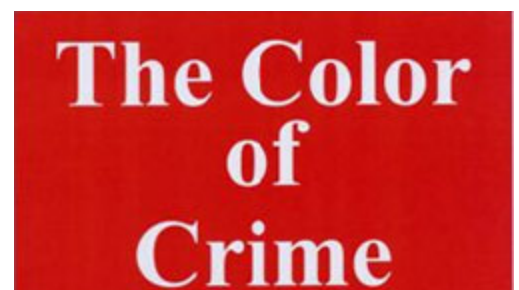
In addition to providing material for extremist publications, Buchanan incorporates the research and writings of extremists into his own articles and books. In *State of Emergency*, Buchanan, more than once, cites “The Color of Crime,” a 1999 study published by the white supremacist New Century Foundation (NCF), the organization behind American Renaissance. In spite of NCF’s history of espousing racist views and hosting conferences that feature white supremacists as speakers, Buchanan simply refers to the group as “right-leaning” within the August 2007 column, in which he also cites some of the findings of the 1999 study. From the material taken from NCF, Buchanan concludes that “the real repository of racism in America...is to be found not in the white community, but the African-American community.”

In *Death of the West*, Buchanan also discusses NCF and cites research in a book authored by its leader, white supremacist Jared Taylor. Buchanan describes Taylor as “a controversial figure in the debate on crime and race.”

Appearances on extremist radio shows

In addition, Buchanan has appeared as a guest on several Internet radio programs hosted by individuals who ascribe to anti-Semitic, white supremacist, anti-immigrant, and/or conspiracy-oriented philosophies.

Buchanan has appeared twice on the *Political Cesspool*, a Tennessee-based Internet and AM radio show hosted by white supremacist James Edwards. In June 2008, Buchanan went on the show to promote his new book, *Churchill, Hitler, and the Unnecessary War: How Britain Lost Its Empire and the West Lost the World*. Edwards commented that Buchanan’s publicist initiated and arranged the appearance. During the interview, Buchanan posits that World War II was unnecessary and that the British “blundered...to bring about a war with Germany,” a war he claims Hitler did not want. Buchanan also states, “Had there been no war, there



White supremacist James Edwards features this photo of himself and Buchanan on the Website of the Political Cesspool, Edwards’s radio show.

would have been no Holocaust..."

When Edwards mentions Charles Lindbergh, Buchanan defends the American aviator hero who led America First, a group opposed to U.S. intervention in World War II. Lindbergh claimed that powerful Jews in America were trying to push the United States into war against the Nazis to preserve Jewish interests. Buchanan states, "Good for you for bringing up Colonel Lindbergh's name because his reputation has been blackened because of a single speech he gave and a couple of paragraphs in it where he said that...the Jewish community is beating the drums for war...but frankly, no one has said what he said was palpably untrue."

Buchanan first appeared on the *Political Cesspool* show in September 2006 to promote *State of Emergency*. During his interview, Buchanan explains how "we are being invaded by people of different cultures." He argues that Americans "cannot survive a bifurcated culture or a heavily Hispanicized culture, tilted towards Mexico...I think that's the beginning of the end of the United States."

Edwards regularly invites anti-Semites, neo-Nazis, white supremacists, Holocaust deniers, conspiracy theorists and anti-immigrant leaders to voice their views on his show. He is not only a radio host; he appears and speaks at events hosted by racist groups and has been involved in the Council of Conservative Citizens, a white supremacist group.

The radio show of the Minuteman Project, an anti-immigrant group whose members engage in armed, vigilante border patrol, lists Buchanan as its premier guest. Buchanan appeared on the show in September 2006 to promote his anti-immigrant book *State of Emergency*, released that year.

In August 2006, Buchanan gave an interview on the radio program of Alex Jones, a conspiracy theorist. He makes a number of anti-immigrant comments and supports the outlawed separate-but-equal doctrine, stating:

I grew up in Washington D.C. It was a segregated city, a southern city, but at the same time, African Americans or black Americans and white Americans, we were marinated in the same culture. We had the same teams, we rooted for, we watched the same TV shows, listened to the same radio, went to the same movies. When we went to schools, the schools may have been segregated, public schools, but we studied the same literature, studied the same language, the same history, the same heroes, the same holidays. We were one people.

Meeting with far-right European politicians



Buchanan met privately with Frank Vanhecke and Filip Dewinter, leaders of the Vlaams Belang, a racist, xenophobic political party in Belgium.

Buchanan has also supported and personally met with those who demonize minorities, specifically Muslims. Two examples are Frank Vanhecke and Filip Dewinter, leaders of the Vlaams Belang, a now-defunct racist and xenophobic far-right Belgian political party. In February 2007, Vanhecke and Dewinter visited Washington, DC on a four-day “study tour,” and attended a taping of the *McLaughlin Group*, a mainstream news program which Buchanan co-founded and on which he often appears. Following the taping, Buchanan posed for pictures with Vanhecke and Dewinter and met privately with them.

After the *McLaughlin Group* taping, the Vlaams Belang leaders gave a lecture in Washington, DC, at the invitation of The Robert Taft Club, a right-wing group affiliated with The American Cause, an organization Buchanan founded in 1993. In their speech, entitled “Immigration, Multiculturalism, and the End of Free Speech in Europe,” Vanhecke and Dewinter argued that the large influx of Muslim immigrants in Flanders and Europe generally represents a danger to Western culture.

Links to extremist Websites and praise from extremists

Buchanan’s extremist affiliations are also evident on his Website, which provides links to anti-Semitic and anti-immigrant sites, including one dedicated to showcasing the work of Joe Sobran, a former senior editor for the *National Review* whose anti-Semitic bias contributed to his firing by that magazine. Sobran authored the “Afterword” to *Shots Fired! Sam Francis on America’s Culture War* and spoke at a conference honoring Francis in 2007. Sobran also spoke at a 2002 event organized by the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), an organization that promotes Holocaust denial. In response to public concerns over him speaking to such an audience, he wrote that he “never heard any of them [IHR members] say anything that would strike an unprejudiced listener as unreasonable or bigoted.”

Buchanan’s Website also links to For the Cause, an anti-immigrant Website run by Buchanan’s own Webmaster, Linda Muller. For the Cause “supports all the men and women enlisted in Minuteman organizations across the USA. [Its] goal is to ensure every Minuteman [MM] group - large or small - is recognized and applauded for their service to our country.” Buchanan’s Website also provides a link to the racist Website VDare.

As Buchanan touts the work of anti-Semites and anti-immigrant figures, he receives heavy praise from extremists. James Edwards, the host of the *Political Cesspool*, credits his experience volunteering for the 2000 Buchanan presidential campaign with inspiring him to become politically active. In July 2008, Edwards posted an article entitled “Why I love Pat Buchanan” to his blog, claiming to “love” Buchanan “because he tells it like it is.” In concluding a June 2008 interview with Buchanan, Edwards states, “Mr. Buchanan, thank you so much for coming back on our program, for fighting for our people.”

Several extremists cite Buchanan’s work and post it to their Websites. VDare contains an “archive” of Buchanan’s articles. National Vanguard, a now-defunct neo-Nazi organization, and its successor, European Americans United, have both posted Buchanan’s work to their news sites. David Duke, an anti-Semite and former Ku Klux Klan leader, posts Buchanan’s work to his Website. Additionally, the white supremacists and anti-Semites who frequent the white

supremacist Internet forum Stormfront often post Buchanan's articles. *The Muslim Observer*, a widely circulated weekly that has published conspiratorial, anti-Israel, and anti-Semitic articles, included one of Buchanan's pieces in a March 2007 issue; in the piece, Buchanan discusses a possible American attack on Iran and explains that "Israel wants Iran attacked yesterday. The neocons need a new war to make America forget the disaster they wrought in Iraq."

Mainstream Presence

In spite of the increasingly abundant evidence of Buchanan's extremist views and affiliations, mainstream news programs continue to feature him as a legitimate conservative commentator. The Website of *The McLaughlin Group*, a mainstream political commentary program on network television, describes Buchanan as "a regular member...for much of the program's history." He frequently appears on the show to debate American politics alongside other mainstream commentators. Buchanan also appears, with regularity, as a guest commentator on news programs syndicated throughout the United States. Buchanan does not tone down his rhetoric in front of the camera, however. He makes anti-Semitic, sexist, racist, and anti-immigrant statements in front of a national audience.



Buchanan posed with Vlaams Belang leaders Frank Vanhecke and Filip Dewinter on the set of *The McLaughlin Group*.

Denigrating women and minorities

In a July 2007 episode of *The McLaughlin Group*, Buchanan alleges that "the rise of women to power in a civilization is very often the mark of its decline."

During an October 2007 appearance on MSNBC's *Hardball with Chris Matthews*, Buchanan suggests that black male residents from the "south side" of Chicago are categorically unintelligent by describing Barack Obama as "not what you would expect from a black guy from the south side of Chicago. He's something...you'd expect in a Harvard seminar for undergraduates or something."

Anti-Semitic and anti-immigrant comments

In a November 2007 appearance on FOX News's *Hannity and Colmes*, Buchanan argues "You've got a wholesale invasion, the greatest invasion in human history, coming across your southern border, changing the composition and character of your country." He used his mainstream exposure on the show to promote the existence of "La Reconquista," the conspiracy theory that Mexicans are conspiring to forcibly annex the Southwestern United States. Buchanan states, "I do believe we're going to lose the American Southwest...I think it is almost inevitable. If we do not put a fence on that border...you're going to have 100 million Hispanics in the country, most of them new immigrants from Mexico that [sic] believes that belongs to them."

In April 2007, MSNBC invited Buchanan to give commentary about the anti-immigrant Minutemen as an “MSNBC Analyst.” He states on camera, “The Minutemen are American citizens, and I think they’re American heroes... We have a massive invasion of this country... Thank the Lord for the good folks of the Minutemen.” Buchanan’s Website featured a video clip of this statement under the heading “VIDEO: Pat Buchanan: Minutemen Are American Heroes.”

Expressing his anti-Semitic views on a February 2, 2007, episode of *The McLaughlin Group*, Buchanan explains, “If you want to know ethnicity and power in the United States Senate, 13 members of the Senate are Jewish folks who are from 2 percent of the population.

Extremism hiding under a veneer of respectability

Buchanan increasingly demonizes Jews, blacks, and non-white immigrants. He has progressed from merely flirting with extremist ideology and associating with haters and has gone on to adopt their positions.

Buchanan’s mainstream acceptability has given him license to increase his hateful rhetoric and gain a wider audience. National media outlets legitimize Buchanan’s decades-long history of anti-Semitism and bigotry by presenting him as a respectable source of political commentary and ignoring his publicly hateful statements and open affiliations with anti-Semites and racists. Cable and network television stations syndicate his appearances throughout the country, and mainstream newspapers and magazines often print his articles. A prolific writer, Buchanan releases a book nearly every two years, each increasingly taking the view that non-white immigrants destroy Western culture.

In his June 2008 interview on the white supremacist *Political Cesspool* radio show, in speaking about his plans for the future, Buchanan said that he has "one book in mind." In his next book, he plans to discuss how the "the wars of race and ethnicity and culture are going to replace the old wars...of ideology and dynasty and empire."

Buchanan has made his trajectory clear. He will continue to promote bigotry and anti-Semitism as long as he is given a platform to do so.

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