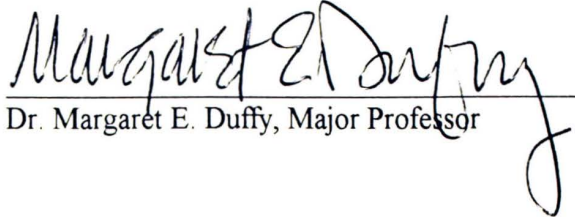# THE REALITY OF VIRTUAL HATE:
A FANTASY THEME ANALYSIS OF THE RHETORICAL VISION
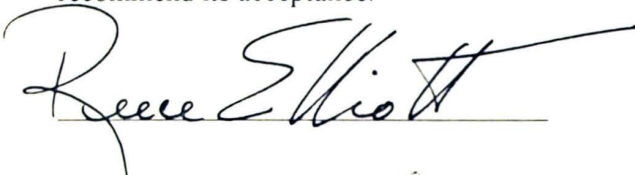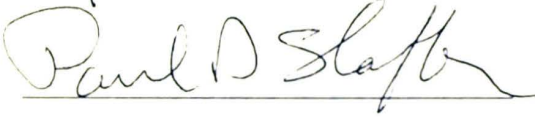# OF HATE GROUPS ONLINE

VICTORIA ANN PALMER

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Victoria Ann Palmer entitled "The Reality of Virtual Hate: A Fantasy Theme Analysis of the Rhetorical Vision of Hate Groups Online." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Communication Arts.

Margaret E. Duffy

Dr. Margaret E. Duffy, Major Professor

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

Reece Elliott

Paul D Slaff

Accepted for the Council:

Parris R. Watts

Dean of the Graduate School

STATEMENT OF PERMISSION TO USE

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Master's degree at Austin Peay State University, I agree that the Library shall make it available to borrowers under the rules of the Library. Brief quotations from this thesis are allowable without special permission, provided that accurate acknowledgment of the source is made.

Permission for extensive quotation from or reproduction of this thesis may be granted by my major professor, or in her absence, by the Head of Interlibrary Services when, in the opinion of either, the proposed use of the material is for scholarly purposes. Any copying or use of the material in this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Signature _____

Date October 27, 1999

THE REALITY OF VIRTUAL HATE:

A FANTASY THEME ANALYSIS OF THE RHETORICAL VISION

OF HATE GROUPS ONLINE

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Arts

Degree

Austin Peay State University

Victoria Ann Palmer

August 1999

DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated to my mother,

Adelaide Amy Brothers Palmer --

who is my inspiration;

and to my children,

Seth Michael, Caitlin Amy, and Megan Elizabeth Joy --

who are my motivation.

Ad astra per aspera.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my major professor, Dr. Margaret Duffy, for her assistance and patient guidance in the completion of this thesis. I would also like to thank the other committee members, Dr. Reese Elliot and Dr. Paul Shaffer, for their assistance and comments.

To my children, Seth, Caitlin, and Megan, and their father, Michael, thank you for your support and understanding of the times when I needed to be left alone with my work. Finally, words are inadequate for the most heartfelt thank you which I owe to my mother, Adelaide B. Palmer, for her encouragement and steadfast support which gave me the vision to believe, the courage to attempt, and the tenacity to persevere which ultimately made this endeavor possible.

ABSTRACT

The emergence of the global interconnectivity of the Internet and the World Wide Web into growing mainstream use has seen the medium evolve into the fifth pillar of mass media. The interactivity of the information that occurs in the computer-mediated environment, combined with the immediate on-demand availability of information, the inferred perception of credibility of the medium, and the persuasive manner in which a message can be presented, unite to create a powerful tool for persuasion, as demonstrated by the growing number of hate groups using the medium to spread their message into the mainstream. The medium confers a degree of legitimacy to anyone, including hate groups, while maintaining the anonymity of a Web site information source. The effective use of the medium by hate groups is further aided by fact that efforts to control hate speech are incompatible with the protection of freedom of speech. This paper uses Bormann's fantasy theme analysis to examine hate group Web sites as a means to understand the overall rhetorical vision of the sites and the resulting implications for persuasion. Four enduring fantasy types were identified, including "Fetching Good Out of Evil," the preordained drama set by God of "Christian soldiers fighting Gods' battles," the "holy emigration of God's chosen people," and the archetypal fantasy of restoration. Common rhetorical visions shared in the Web sites can be summed up in the master analogies of "God's Chosen People," and "We Shall Overcome." This study is one of the first to analyze the establishment of a Web-based rhetorical community, and is only an initial and broad examination of this phenomenon in a virtual environment.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The medium of the Internet is about communication--immediate, on-demand, and consumer-driven. While the roots of the Internet are in academia, government, the military, and the exchange of information, the medium has evolved into a mainstream system of communication with attendant large-scale commercial, industrial, organizational and social relevancies (Rafaeli, 1996).

This paper places the Internet within the context of mass media and proposes that Bormann's symbolic convergence theory and fantasy theme analysis offer an effective means for examination of the medium of the Internet as a tool of communication for persuasive messages by hate groups. The extremist world view of reality as shaped by the rhetorical vision of hate groups may be packaged persuasively in the medium of the Internet and made readily available to a vast audience online, who might never otherwise be exposed to the message. While negative criticisms of the Internet have primarily focused on other areas such as online pornography, the effectiveness of this medium in spreading the rhetorical vision of hate groups is much more insidious with the potential for greater consequent social implications.

Until recently researchers have ignored the Internet and the field of computer-mediated communication in favor of traditional forms of media that fit into models for appropriate research topics and theories of mass communication (Morris & Ogan, 1996).

Previous research has taken many different approaches to analyzing human communication on computer and networked communication systems: exploring the relationships between the characteristics of media systems and individuals using them; computer-mediated communication processes and social-psychological factors, social context factors, and social cues; studies of diffusion and adoption of interactive media; media evolution resulting from use of communication technology; media richness in examining media selection in communication; and studies of language and rhetoric in on-line communication (December, 1996).

The emergence of the global interconnectivity of the Internet and the World Wide Web into growing mainstream use has seen the medium evolve into the fifth pillar of mass media (Cutler, 1990). The interactivity with the information that occurs in the computer-mediated environment, the immediate on-demand availability of information, the inferred perception of credibility of the medium, and the persuasive manner in which a message can be presented, combine to create a powerful tool for persuasion as demonstrated by the growing number of hate groups using the medium to spread their message into the mainstream (Beaupre, 1997; Southern Poverty Law Center, 1998a). Hate groups are able to package their message in a visually persuasive manner, and in the interactive environment of the medium the recipient of a persuasive message may become desensitized and more accepting of the message because of the way in which the individual must interact with the medium and therefore the message itself. The on-line environment allows multiple layers of messages and the user determines the path for the information flow. Potential acceptance of a persuasive message is therefore enhanced by the nature of

the medium in which the message is presented (Hoffman & Novak, 1995). Further, part

of the Internet's power is the ability for groups to present their messages in a mainstream

way and to recruit followers more efficiently because of the medium's effectiveness in

reaching disenfranchised people (Bayles and O'Driscoll, 1997).

The perception of legitimacy and credibility can have a spillover effect onto what

would otherwise be a less credible site. While most media credibility studies of the

Internet are limited, one Pew Research Center (1996) study found that online users judged

the medium as a more credible source than traditional media. Johnson and Kaye's (1998)

study of politically interested Web users found online media were judged more credible

than their traditional versions, although both were judged as only somewhat credible.

Sundar (1998) suggests that online users obtain information from a variety of sources and

may not always process information content with the correct source attribution, and

therefore may later recall and use information without adequately adjusting for validity or

credibility of the source. Beaupre (1997) states that the medium may confer a degree of

legitimacy to anyone, including hate groups, while maintaining the anonymity of a Web

site information source. The effective use of the medium by hate groups is further aided

by fact that efforts to control hate speech are incompatible with the protection of freedom

of speech (Winters, 1996).

As discussed by Cragan and Shields (1981) and Littlejohn (1996), Bormann's

symbolic convergence theory is based upon Bales's research on small-group

communication. This theory suggests that through stories a group creates about itself and

other outside groups a common group identity is constructed with a shared symbolic

understanding of the group and what it means to be a member. The methodology of fantasy theme analysis offers a process for analyzing and understanding these communications. Associated fantasy themes form the basis for what Bormann terms rhetorical visions, larger dramas that consist of longer, more complicated stories. A rhetorical vision is a view of how things have been, are, or will be, and structure a sense of reality through symbolic reproduction rather than direct experience(Littlejohn, 1996).

The rhetorical vision unites group members through a sense of identification with a shared reality. Shared fantasy themes and rhetorical visions may demonstrate that convergence has occured. Fantasy themes therefore constitute an important element in persuasion (Bormann, 1985; Littlejohn, 1996). This study proposes that fantasy theme analysis offers an effective means for examination of the medium of the Internet as a tool of communication for persuasive messages by hate groups.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Internet today is a global system of public and private computer networks,
enabling universities, governments, businesses, and individuals to communicate via
computers, modems and phone lines. The World Wide Web is an interconnected set of
several million sites that all share a common format. With the introduction of Web
browsers in 1994, World Wide Web traffic on the Internet has expanded rapidly (Pike,
1995), with growth of 1,173 percent in 1994 and growth of 15 percent per month by
September of 1996 (Tabnet.com, 1996). In April, 1998, the U.S. Commerce Department
reported that 62 million Americans were using the Internet and more than 100 million
people were online, with Internet traffic doubling every hundred days (U.S. Department of
Commerce, 1998; Weiss, 1998).

In just a short time the new medium of the Internet has grown from an obscure
tool used by government, the military, and academia, to a medium for the masses. The
World Wide Web is the first and current networked global implementation of a
hypermedia computer-mediated environment. It allows users of the medium to provide
and interactively access hypermedia content and to communicate with each other.
Hoffman and Novak (1996) describe these unique forms of interactivity as machine-
interaction and person-interaction.

The emergence of the medium into growing mainstream use has seen it evolve into

the fifth medium of mass media (Cutler, 1990). This fifth medium continues to shrink the communicator's message from a lecture (mass market) to a simple conversation (the individual). While the traditional communication process holds that mass communication is a one-to-many process, the new model underlying communications in a hypermedia computer-mediated environment is a many-to-many communications model. Hoffman and Novak (1995) state that in this new model information is not merely transmitted from a sender to receiver, but instead, mediated environments are created by participants and then experienced. Further, the on-line medium has the potential to transform the individual's identity, resulting in a relative anonymity of users in these environments.

Medium Credibility

The perception of legitimacy and credibility can have a spillover effect onto what would otherwise be a less credible site. While most media credibility studies of the Internet are limited, one Pew Research Center (1996) study found that online users judged the medium as a more credible source than traditional media. Johnson and Kaye's (1998) study of politically interested Web users found online media were judged more credible than their traditional versions, although both were judged as only somewhat credible. Sundar (1998) suggests that online users obtain information from a variety of sources and may not always process information content with the correct source attribution, and therefore may later recall and use information without adequately adjusting for validity or credibility of the source. Beaupre (1997) states that the medium may confer a degree of legitimacy to anyone, including hate groups, while maintaining the anonymity of a Web site information source. The effective use of the medium by hate groups is further aided

by the fact that efforts to control hate speech are incompatible with the protection of freedom of speech (Winters, 1996).

The emergence of on-line scams and urban legends demonstrates the credulous acceptance of on-line information (Moore, 1997; Sclater, 1997; Tompkins, 1997). Ripley (1994) states that the new medium raises issues of social and ethical implications. Checking the reliability of information on the Internet is almost impossible. Any person who wishes to propound a bizarre theory for an audience of millions can post it on the Web (Starobin, 1997).

Hate Groups

As defined by the nonprofit online watchdog organization HateWatch (1998), a hate group is defined as an organization that advocates violence against or unreasonable hostility toward those persons or organizations identified by their race, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, or gender; hate groups may include organizations or individuals that disseminate revised or historically inaccurate information with regard to these persons or organizations.

In identifying hate groups, there are five major categories among the white supremacists: (a) the Christian Identity Churches movement, (b) the Neo-Nazis, © the Ku Klux Klan, (d) the Posse Comitatus, and (e) the Skinhead movement. Groups which can be categorized under different headings may have cross-group affiliations. Black separatist groups are organizations whose ideologies include tenets of racially based hatred; the Nation of Islam is anti-white and to the right of the political spectrum (Anti-Defamation League, 1998; Feagin & Vera, 1995; Kaplan, 1995; Kleg, 1993; Southern

Poverty Law Center, 1998a).

Kaplan (1995) states that the radical right wing groups share common beliefs: a golden age of great happiness, prosperity, and achievement; foundations in scripture; a religious and philosophical dualism world view which holds that the universe is under the dominion of two opposing principles, one good and the other evil; the perception of a theft of culture; a conspiratorial view of history; a vision of their group as a righteous remnant; and an apocalyptic analysis of society and in the millennium of Christian prophecy of a coming ideal society created by revolutionary action (Kaplan, 1995).

A range of white supremacist groups appeared in the 1980s--Aryan Nations, the Silent Brotherhood, the Church of the Creator, the Order--joining forces with various sects of the Ku Klux Klan. Most were interconnected and constituted an underground network which embraced Neo-Nazis among others (Omi & Winant, 1994). Today's complex variety of sometimes cooperating, sometimes competing white supremacy groups typically target African and Jewish Americans as the major villains in United States social and economic problems. Latino and Asian immigrants, as well as homosexuals are also targets. Most white supremacy groups have taken on some of the beliefs and other trappings of the Ku Klux Klan or German Nazism. In recent years white supremacy groups have increasingly worked together and hold annual gatherings where it would not be unusual to see both Klan organization members and Neo-Nazis in attendance (Feagin & Vera, 1995).

In his work looking at Neo-Nazi and Klan members, Ezekiel (1995) notes that studies have shown that extremists come from a variety of diverse backgrounds and form

a representative slice of American society. Yet the mass media and national political leaders have given little sustained attention to this movement. Feagin and Vera's (1995) searches of the Lexis/Nexis database between January 1993 and April 1994 found only four published stories on white supremacist activity and violence in the news media. In contrast, during the same period more than one hundred national media stories focused on anti-Semitic remarks made by a minister of the Nation of Islam black religious group (Feagin & Vera, 1995.)

A 1992 nationwide count found more than 300 active hate groups. White supremacy groups in the United States are estimated to have at least 30,000 hard-core members, with perhaps 200,000 active sympathizers (Feagin & Vera, 1995; Levin & McDevitt, 1993). Ezekiel (1995) states that another 450,000 people who do not purchase movement literature do read it. From the 1970s through the 1990s, white supremacy groups have been involved in hundreds of acts of vandalism, intimidation, and attacks on minority group members; several members of white supremacy groups have been convicted of murder or assault (Feagin & Vera, 1995; HateWatch, 1998; Southern Poverty Law Center, 1998a).

Hate group activities in the United States have been on the rise in the 1990s, but academic information on these groups is limited (Levin & McDevitt, 1995). According to the Southern Poverty Law Center (1998c), the number of hate groups operating in the United States rose significantly in 1997, a year in which the organizations reached increasing numbers of people in mainstream society through white power rock, racist millennial religion, and slickly produced Internet sites. The Southern Poverty Law Center

Intelligence Project, a watchdog organization that has been tracking hate groups in the

United States since 1981, documented 474 hate groups and group chapters involved in

racist behavior, reflecting a rise of 20 percent over 1996. Of the 474 groups counted, 127

were Klan organizations and their chapters; 100 were Neo-Nazi; 42 were Skinheads; 81

were Christian Identity; 12 were black separatist; and 112 followed a hodgepodge of

hate-based doctrines and ideologies (Southern Poverty Law Center, 1998c).

According to Omi and Winant (1994), revitalization, growth and popularity of the

far right may be attributed as a political response to the liberal state and a crisis of identity

engendered by societal changes in the 1960s and economic dislocations of the 1980s.

Ezekiel (1995) extends this concept, stating that fear and a sense of isolation are at the

center of motivation in belonging to these groups; belonging to the group affords

comradeship within a struggle.

Race, racism, and hate speech

Race is a concept that signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by

referring to different types of human bodies (Omi & Winant, 1994). Parallel to the

debates on the concept of race, controversies about the nature of racism have centered on

whether it is an ideological phenomenon based solely on abstract ideas and the content of

thinking characteristic of a group or culture, or a structural phenomenon relating to the

concrete physical makeup of beings. Debate over the advisability and legality of banning

racist hate speech seems to adopt the position that racism is primarily an ideological

phenomenon (Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, & Crenshaw, 1993; Omi & Winant, 1994).

McPhail (1994) states that the transformation of race from a biological category to a

sociological phenomenon to socially constructed reality illustrated the tenuousness of both

the idea of race and the classificatory system which presuppose it.

Racism is the ideology contending that actual or alleged differences among

different racial groups asserts the superiority of one racial group, serving the interest of

the group endorsing it (Doob, 1993). Guillaumin (1995) examines the historical evolution

of racism, power, and ideology, stating that race is more than just a symbolic phenomenon

but brings to each individual different opportunities and constraints. Racism is not limited

to any one group; whites can be the victims of racism by other whites or nonwhites, as

demonstrated by anti-Jewish and anti-Arab prejudice and Nation of Islam anti-white

doctrine (Feagin & Vera, 1995; Omi & Winant, 1994).

Hate speech is defined as an expression that is abusive, insulting, intimidating,

harassing, or which may incite to violence, hatred, or discrimination based on race,

ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation (Lee, 1997). Matsuda et al. (1993) define three

identifying characteristics of racist hate speech: (a) The message is of racial inferiority, (b)

the message is directed against a historically oppressed group, and (c) the message is

persecutory, hateful and degrading. Levin and McDevitt (1995) state that research has

demonstrated that the agents of hate aim to destroy that which intimidates them.

Findings of a study by Cowan and Hodge (1996) suggest that responses to hate

speech are complex and contextual. Matsuda et al. (1993) state that research in the

psychology of racism suggests a related effect of racist hate propaganda--at some level

racial inferiority is planted in the mind as an idea that may hold some truth. Repeated

presentations of the message may be absorbed and interfere with perception and

interaction with members of the targeted group, with the consequent result that the next interaction may involuntarily trigger the hate message.

Despite the growing number of hate groups documented, experts generally are less worried about statistics than impact (Southern Poverty Law Center, 1998a). As discussed by Levin and McDevitt (1993), although about 15 percent of all hate crimes are perpetrated by organized groups, their impact is much more pervasive. Levin and McDevitt (1993) cite the example of Hitler--the leader of the movement may not have been present at the scene of Nazi atrocities, but they were orchestrated by him. In the same way, there may be thousands of alienated youths looking for a role model to express their profound resentment; they may not actually join a hate group but are nevertheless inspired by the presence of such groups and intrigued by their use of symbols of power (Levin and McDevitt, 1993).

Use of technology to disseminate hate messages

Matsuda et al. (1993) discuss how racist hate messages are rapidly increasing and widely distributed through a variety of technologies. Broadcasters of hate messages have successfully used radio and cable access channels, especially since passage of the Cable Act of 1984 which prohibits prior editing of such programs (Fischer, 1996; McConville, 1995; Witkin & Thorton, 1996).

Organized hate groups are, historically, technologically sophisticated. Hamm (1993) and Levin and McDevitt (1993) both note that beginning in 1985 one group set up a Commodore 64 computer with a single telephone modem so that callers could download hate messages from an electronic bulletin board, thereby allowing skinheads, Klansmen,

Neo-Nazis, and Aryan Nations groups to communicate freely with members and potential members across the country.

In March 1995, Klansman Don Black put up the first Neo-Nazi site on the World Wide Web (HateWatch, 1998; Southern Poverty Law Center, 1998d). The Southern Poverty Law Center (1998d) has documented the explosion of hate on the Web over the past three years to 163 active sites by mid-1998: (a) 29 espousing Klan beliefs, (b) 39 Neo-Nazis sites, (c) 27 sites by racist Skinheads, (d) 25 sites by proponents of Christian Identity, and (e) 43 others pushing a variety of hate-based ideologies. According the Southern Poverty Law Center (1998d), almost half those Web sites represent actual groups--organized associations that can be contacted or joined, or from whom racist materials can be ordered. By November 1998 there were over 200 active hate groups sites on the Internet documented by HateWatch (1998).

The Southern Poverty Law Center (1998d) has found that online hate sites run the gamut in what they offer, from easy-to-reproduce Third Reich posters to violently racist and anti-Semitic jokes and cartoons. Many include "chat rooms" where site users can trade news and views. Groups also have the ability to market their wares--anything from Klan robes and Hitler mugs to paramilitary manuals and other publications--and thereby raise revenue. Racist white power bands, formerly limited to insiders and subscribers to certain magazines, now use Net audio tracks to attract new customers (Southern Poverty Law Center, 1998b). According to Goldberg (1995), while some groups engaged in online discussions are unabashedly racist, others cloak themselves in scholarly respectability and scientific objectivity to make their views more palatable.

Efforts to control hate speech are incompatible with the protection of freedom of speech, the most fundamental right protected under the Constitution. Democratic, representative government presumes that people are free to think and say whatever they might, even the unthinkable. A few limited categories of speech are not protected, but the United States position is that expressions of the ideas of racial inferiority or racial hatred are protected. Even the right to engage in cross burning has been defended as legitimate speech; the United States Supreme Court has ruled that such acts are protected by the First Amendment (Feagin & Vera, 1995). Matsuda et al. (1993) and Quittner (1996b) discuss the related argument of the "fresh-air" position which suggests that the most effective way to control hate speech is to allow it; this supposes that when people are exposed to hatred propaganda they will reject and organize against it--that the answer to hate speech is more speech.

Winters (1996) discusses that the scope of some statutes extends to punish symbolic speech, while raising concerns about whether it is appropriate in a free society to punish people for their inner motivations, feelings, and beliefs. The application of hate-crime laws and the many difficulties of applying them are becoming evident as a number of state statutes are in the process of being challenged on grounds of being vague, over-broad, discriminatory, or infringing upon the First Amendment right of free expression (Winters, 1996).

As hate groups take their message online, debate rages over whether and how to control it (Olson, 1997). The United States Congress and other groups have tried to limit free speech on the Internet and online services; the Simon Wiesenthal Center's opposition

to hate groups resulted in a campaign to have online service providers deny these groups online access (Steele, 1996). A panel of three judges extended First Amendment rights to the Internet in June 1996 by ruling the Communications Decency Act unconstitutional. In their decision the judges declared the medium of historic importance and a profoundly democratic channel for communication, and as the most participatory form of mass speech yet developed, deserving of the highest protection from governmental intrusion (Quittner, 1996a).

Rhetoric of racism

McPhail (1994) argues that metaphor provides a starting point for exploring the rhetoric of racism because it emphasizes similarities between race, class, and gender, and illustrates how the principle of negative difference manifests itself theoretically and practically in both symbolic and physical interaction. In terms of rhetorical analysis, states McPhail (1994), metaphor offers a useful vehicle for understanding what for centuries was described in the American context as nothing short of a "race war."

Krippendorff (1980) states that propaganda analysis started out as an instrument for identifying individuals as unethical sources of influence and that rhetoric of propaganda were easily identified in religious or political speeches. For example, in analyzing Nazi propaganda and events from World War II, George (1959) found that content is not an absolute or objective quality of communications and that sender and receiver may radically differ in the way messages are interpreted. Time order and the receiver's situation are crucial in communication. George (1959) notes that to interpret propaganda messages, quantitative indicators are extremely insensitive and shallow in providing insight.

Krippendorf (1980) criticizes the reliance of content analysis on counting qualitative data, in which objectivity is confused with quantification, stating that qualitative study may provide more accurate insight into the communication process.

White supremacist groups have periodically resurfaced on the American political scene since the Civil War, state Omi and Winant (1994). In the view of such groups, racial justice (white supremacy) is perpetually threatened and the legitimate authorities too weak, naive or corrupt to maintain America's "true" identity.

Feagin and Vera (1995) discuss that the supremacists' racist ideology is based on a "we" and "they" imagery that divides humans into different and opposing racial groups. Literature of white supremacy groups is replete with ritualized "nigger" and "coon" language. The black and Jewish enemies of the "white Aryan race" are usually objectified. According to Feagin and Vera (1995), typically the person of color is dehumanized, and this dehumanized status may be used by a group to legitimize violence.

Ezekiel (1995) states that, historically, the Klan has been the anchor of the militant white racist movement, keeping a distance from Nazi groups. Since the 1980s, however, ideology and symbols of the groups have become indiscriminately mixed--what some call a Nazification of the Klan. There is an attraction to, and identification with, images of Hitler's Third Reich; for white racists, the Wehrmacht was an army of brave, skilled men. The groups speak of a Germany in which all classes were brought together in zealous effort by a unique leader who brought a pride based on race to a shamed people. Ezekiel (1995) states that these images of strength speak more loudly today to potential recruits than do the older legends of the Confederacy's "Lost Cause."

Matsuda et al. (1993) state that certain symbols in the context of history carry a message of racial superiority, hatred, persecution, and degradation of certain groups. The swastika, Klan robes, and burning cross are examples of symbols that have no meaning of their own, but convey a powerful message to both the user and message recipient of the symbol in context.

Many white supremacists are officiants in racist rituals, state Feagin and Vera (1995), often wearing ritualized dress and hair styles. Burning crosses and stalking black victims are racial rites. Supremacists see themselves as militant, even Christian, warriors marching against those who threaten "white power." Racist rituals are often not just private ceremonies, but exemplify the objectification of the targeted group (Feagin & Vera, 1995). For hate groups, confrontation is a prime activity, with provocative symbols—the swastika, the Rebel flag, the shaved head and shiny boots—which ensure feedback (Ezekiel, 1995).

The Christian Identity movement, with beliefs that have been adopted by many groups, is a virulently anti-Semitic theology which preaches that only whites have been created by God and are human, and that white "Aryans" are descendants of the biblical tribes of Israel, on earth to do God's work. Imagery includes reference to people of color as "the mud races," having arisen through the mating of humans with animals. Jews are considered as the literal children of Satan, born from the coupling of Eve with the Serpent (Satan). The world is on the verge of the final, apocalyptic struggle between good and evil, in which the Aryans--the children of God--must do battle with the children of Satan--the Jewish conspiracy and its allies--so that the world can be redeemed (Barkun, 1994;

Ezekiel, 1995; Levin & McDevitt, 1993).

Ezekiel (1995) explains that the imagery employed in the movement is ancient: The

black is depicted repeatedly as the ape, an image that appears in the first European

contacts with West Africa before Columbus, while the Jew is referred to as the serpent or

spider--the hidden, cunning force--images seen since the Middle Ages. Ezekiel (1995)

states that the white is depicted as the warrior--a single, beleaguered figure, a straight

young man, or bewhiskered Nordic Berserker--laying about himself with some sharp

pointed (phallic) object such as a sword or a spear, plunging it into the dragon or a serpent

decorated with Jewish stars and Communist hammer and sickle.

All separatist groups agree, short of overthrowing the ZOG (Zionist Occupied

Government) the best path for the racialist right lies in carving out a separate state; this

new entity is referred to as the Aryan Nation or white American bastion and homeland,

and is almost always located in the Pacific Northwest (Barkun, 1994.)

Levin and McDevitt (1993) explore the change in symbolic rhetoric which has

occurred as leaders of organized hate groups have moved to become mainstream rather

than fringe in the image they attempt to project. Many in the white supremacist movement

are making an effort to distance themselves from the various groups that make up much of

the extreme political right, espousing "white separatism" rather than white supremacy,

states Zeskind (1996), and the groups talk in code words and phrases about the issues that

concern middle America. They preach that the "heritage" (meaning: race) of white

Christians is being eroded by "foreign" (meaning: Jewish/ communist) influence; they

lament the rise of "government interference" (meaning: Jews in high places who force

racial integration down the throats of white Americans) in the lives of "average citizens" (meaning: white Christians); they condemn welfare cheating (meaning: blacks), which they see as of overwhelming proportions and on the rise (Zeskind, 1996).

The Ku Klux Klan has changed the tone of its message in the way it is presented for recruiting purposes. Levin and McDevitt (1993) cite the example of the head of the Klan in Florida who urged members to become a group known for hating evil, instead of a group known for hating minorities, while the national leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan suggested that the group does not hate anyone, but "loves the white race."

The White Aryan Resistance (W.A.R.) group was created to have an image that is dynamic, hip, and urban, states Hamm (1993). The group portrays itself as the champion of a white working class against a treasonous white ruling elite, offering a place where alienated skinheads can feel at home. The founder of the group argues that hate is not a crime; rather, the beliefs and actions of the group in are self-defense and protection of freedoms (Winters, 1996.)

Some groups disavow the Klan and Nazi movement in favor of "American patriotism." Further, Levin and McDevitt (1993) examine how many organizations now often cloak their message in the aura and dogma of Christianity. For example, followers of the Christianity Identity movement believe they are simply "doing the work of God."

Symbolic conversion theory

Symbolic convergence is a general theory of rhetoric in which groups create and share fantasies about the group and outside groups and thereby build a shared identity. The theory attempts to provide an explanation that accounts for the creation, raising and

maintenance of group consciousness through communication. Through stories and rituals the members of a group build up a common consciousness--a shared understanding of the group and what it means to be a member (Bormann, Cragan, & Shields 1994; Jackson, 1998; Littlejohn, 1996).

Symbolic convergence theory is based on Bales' research on small-group communication, and was applied by Bormann to rhetorical action in society at large, in which images of reality consist of narratives of how things are believed to be. Stories-- termed fantasy themes--are created in symbolic interaction within groups and are chained out from person to person and group to group (Bormann, 1982; Bormann, Cragan, & Shields 1994; Littlejohn, 1996). According to Bormann, Cragan, and Shields (1994), the original concepts of dramatization and shared fantasy theme were developed by careful and rigorous social scientific methods applied to the study of communication episodes. Restatements, embellishments, extensions, inside cues and jokes, similar works, and reconfiguration flowing from different communicators may be taken as evidence that the fantasy is or has chained and people are or have converged symbolically to a shared reality (Bormann, Cragan & Shields, 1994).

Bormann developed a comprehensive method of dramatistic rhetorical criticism called fantasy theme analysis. Bormann (1972) argues that dramatizing moments can not only chain within small face-to-face groups but through the technologies of mass media to large groups which, in turn, can be chained back into small face-to-face group contexts. Fantasy themes are part of larger dramas that are longer, more complicated stories which catch up groups of people in a symbolic reality, termed "rhetorical visions" by Bormann

(1972). A rhetorical vision is a view of how things have been, are, or will be. As people seek to make sense out of their environment and events around them, they come into contact with fantasies that have been chained out. If they are sufficiently compelling and speak convincingly to the individual's "here and now" problems in a dramatic form, the fantasies can be consolidated into a credible interpretation of reality.

A rhetorical vision is constructed from "fantasy themes" which are the means through which the interpretation is accomplished in communication. A fantasy theme in manifested in the form of a word, a phrase, or a statement that interprets events in the past, envisions events in the future, or depicts events that are removed in time and space from the actual activities of the group. A dramatizing message is one that contains imaginative language, such as a pun or other word play, a double entendre, a figure of speech such as metaphor, simile, personification, an analogy, an anecdote, allegory, fable, or narrative. Bormann, Cragan and Shields (1994) state that in contrast to normal human experience, fantasy themes are organized and artistic.

Criticism of the theory has focused on its usefulness and terminology. Bormann, Cragan, and Shields (1994) explain that fantasy theme and fantasy type are technical terms that refer to dramatized messages that have been shared by an audience. The term "fantasy" does not just refer to the fictitious but is applied to dramatizations that are nonfictional as well as fictitious (Bormann, Cragan & Shields, 1994). The technical term for myth as broad general viewpoint is rhetorical vision, while myth as a specific drama is referred to as fantasy themes.

Likewise, there is a difference between the "persona" in a shared fantasy and the

actual individual. Bormann, Cragan, and Shields (1994) state that this difference is crucial, and give the example of a President as an individual and the President as the persona portrayed in a political commercial in which "the drama puts a spin on the portrayal' (p279.) The persona is the "spin" of the actual individual.

Fantasy theme analysis

Approaches for studying rhetorical visions may be humanistic techniques or qualitative techniques (Cragan & Shields, 1981). Fantasy themes and rhetorical visions consist of dramatis personae (characters), a plot line, a scene, and sanctioning agents.

Characters can be heroes, villains, and other supporting characters. Fantasy themes may graphically describe their characteristics, assign motives to their actions, portray them doing certain things or manifesting certain behaviors, and place them in a given setting or scene (Cragan & Shields, 1981). The plot line is the action or development of the story, the who is doing what to whom (Cragan & Shields, 1981; Littlejohn, 1996). Plot lines may be referred to as scenarios, and may indicate the type and time of the rhetorical vision, as well as giving insight into the structure of the vision (Cragan & Shields, 1981). The scene is the setting where the action takes place. Some fantasy themes may graphically describe a scene, including location, properties, and sociocultural elements (Cragan & Shields, 1981; Littlejohn, 1996.)

The sanctioning agent of the rhetorical vision is a source that legitimatizes the story and justifies its acceptance. The sanctioning agent may be an authority who lends credibility to the story or authorizes its telling and can take the form of an abstract concept such as God, an individual who has a particularly charismatic presence, a sanctioning ideal

like justice or democracy, or a phenomenon, situation or event that makes telling the story seem appropriate (Cragan & Shields, 1981; Littlejohn, 1996).

Cragan and Shields (1981) state that the most salient motives for action are contained in the fantasy themes which describe the sanctioning agent of the drama. Motives are also reflected in attributes ascribed to the dramatis personae, actions accentuated in given scenarios, and descriptions of scenic elements. Fantasy themes of rhetorical visions contain and describe the emotions of the people who participate in the drama and exhibit the valued meanings.

People converge or come to hold a common image as they share fantasy themes. Shared rhetorical visions and the use of fantasy types can be taken as evidence that convergence has occurred. Littlejohn (1996) proposes that fantasy themes therefore constitute an important ingredient in persuasion. Bormann (1985) argues that fantasy themes are not entirely different from reasoned discourse, and states that "the force of fantasy not only accounts for the irrational and nonrational aspects of persuasion but that it provides the ground for the rational elements as well" (p16).

Empirical applications

Symbolic convergence theory and fantasy theme analysis have become well established within the communication studies field. Jackson (1998) notes that in the twenty-five years since its inception, symbolic convergence theory has become an established method of rhetorical criticism that continues to be refined and applied in empirical studies. In their 1994 summative defense of symbolic convergence theory, Bormann, Cragan and Shields reviewed the collective critique of the theory and offered

their response, with a comprehensive recounting of studies, criticisms, the evolution of the theory through developments in response to criticism, and symbolic convergence theory inclusion in textbooks. Application of symbolic convergence theory to communication research has included interpersonal (Doyle, 1985; Glaser & Frank, 1982); small group (Porter, 1976; Bormann, 1975, 1990; Shields, 1981); organizational (Bormann, 1989; Cragan, Duffe, Pairitz, & Jackson, 1985); political (Bormann, Kroll, Watters, & McFarland, 1984; Foss, 1979); mass (e.g., Brown, 1976; Haskins, 1981; Shrag, Hudson, & Bernabo, 1981); intercultural (Chesebro, 1980; Heisey & Trebing, 1983; Shields, 1981b); and marketing communication (Cragan & Shields, 1981, 1992) (Bormann, Cragan, & Shields, 1994, p272-273).

Cragan and Shields (1995) have identified more than 50 published studies that appeared between 1972 and 1992 which draw upon symbolic convergence theory to study communication phenomena. Jackson (1998) states that a bibliography provided by Bormann lists 61 periodical articles and 94 theses and dissertations that have utilized this theory and method, with most of these studies confined to the United States.

Fantasy theme analysis is useful for examining rhetorical content of online hate group sites to understand the overall rhetorical vision of the groups as demonstrated in the sites, and the resulting implications for persuasion.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

For the purposes of this study, five categories of what are termed hate groups--as defined by literature review--were studied: (a) White Nationalists, (b) Neo-Nazis, (c) Ku Klux Klan, (d) the Christian Identity Movement, and (e) Black separatists. One site from each category was selected for this study, using a variety of online searches and listings of hate groups from monitoring organizations to find prominent sites that could easily be found online and would be representative for each category. Fantasy theme analysis was then used to examine the dramatized images and rhetorical content of the selected sites.

Online research was conducted to find hate group sites using the AltaVista and HotBot search engines. Key words used in the search include "Aryan nations," "black power," "hate groups," "Ku Klux Klan," "Neo-Nazi," "white Christian," "white power," and "white supremacy." The key word "Aryan nations" resulted in a finding of 1,936 Web pages using the AltaVista search engine, and 1,211 matches using the HotBot search engine. The key word "black power" resulted in a finding of 7,728 Web pages using the AltaVista search engine, and 3,982 matches using the HotBot search engine. The key word "hate groups" resulting in a finding of 5,151 Web pages using the AltaVista search engine, and 3,534 matches using the HotBot search engine. The key word "Ku Klux Klan" resulted in a finding of 12,665 Web pages using the AltaVista search engine, and 7,938 matches using the Hotbot search engine. The key word "Neo-Nazi" resulting in a

finding of 8,694 Web pages using the AltaVista search engine, and 5,697 matches using the HotBot search engine. The key word "white Christian" resulted in a finding of 1,445 Web pages using the AltaVista search engine, and 1,005 matches using the HotBot search engine. The key word "Christian Identity" resulted in a finding of 2,472 Web pages using the AltaVista search engine, and 1,690 matches using the HotBot search engine. The key word "white power" resulted in a finding of 6,009 Web pages using the AltaVista search engine, and 3,076 matches using the HotBot search engine. The key word "white supremacy" resulted in a finding of 4,999 Web pages using the AltaVista search engine, and 3,178 matches using the HotBot search engine. The HotBot search engine also provided a list of the "ten most visited sites" for each key word.

The Southern Poverty Law Center (1998b) maintains a list of active hate groups based on information gathered by the organization's Intelligence Project, which monitors hate groups' publications and activities; groups which appear to exist only online are not included on this list. HateWatch (1998) is a private, nonprofit Web-based organization that monitors hate group activity on the Internet. Originally begun as a Harvard University library guide called "A Guide to Hate Groups on the Internet," the project has grown into an organization providing online listings of hate groups' Web sites (1998). The Office of International Criminal Justice (1998), a center for excellence at the University of Illinois at Chicago since 1984, provides online information about hate groups (1998). Hate groups sites which appeared in listings by these three organizations were compared against each other and with sites appearing highly ranked in online searches with the Internet search engines to select the sites used in this study.

Based upon prominence in monitoring organizations' listings and through online searches, the following sites were selected for study: (a) Stormfront.org White Nationalist Resource Page, considered the first true racist site on the Internet (Anti-Defamation League, 1998; HateWatch, 1998) available at: http://www.stormfront.org/, (b) National Alliance, the Neo-Nazi organization which the Southern Poverty Law Center (1998) states is growing at unprecedented levels and may have inspired the Oklahoma City bombing, available at http://www.natvan.com/, (c) Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which is linked from the Stormfront page with a note that it was the first site to actively recruit online, available at http://www.k-k-k.com/, (d) Aryan Nations, an organization which follows the Christian Identity doctrine, available at http://www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/, and (e) the Nation of Islam, termed both a Black separatist (Southern Poverty Law Center, 1998) and Black racist (HateWatch, 1998) site, available at http://www.noi.org/.

The analysis of an entire Web site would not be feasible for study through fantasy theme analysis, therefore only selected sections of written text were examined from each site. Graphic elements in the sites were not examined. The written text sections were selected based on one or more of the following: (a) prominence of the written text in a site, appearing near or at the top of the home page, (b) the written text is representative of site, as demonstrated by prominence or emphasis on the home page, or as indicated by title that the text addresses beliefs, principles, or goals of the organization, and (c) the text was more than just a headline, sentence, or short paragraph, and consisted of multiple paragraphs or pages.

Three texts were selected from each site to give a broader vision of the fantasy themes within a site, yet not so great a number as to be unwieldy. The texts were then

analyzed for rhetorical artifacts of symbolic cues, dramatis personae (characters), plot line

(action), scene (setting), and sanctioning agents (legitimatizing authorities), from which

the overall fantasy theme could then be determined. Quotation marks indicate material

directly quoted from the indicated Web site; due to the virtual nature of the medium, no

page numbers are available and cite references indicate the page URL address.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

The overall design of the Web sites examined support the rhetorical messages presented through an aura of professionalism and an authoritative feel to each site. On the surface, the visual appearances of the sites are comparable to any commercial or organizational site that may be found on the Web. The quality of the sites is communicated through professional design, clean and minimal use of graphics with no extremist images presented, an acceptable standard of writing with fair grammar and few typographical errors, and demonstration of technical sophistication through the use elements such as internal and external site links and audio files. As part of a fantasy theme's persuasive power is the quality and manner of presentation, the professional appearance and sophistication of these sites support an aura of believability for the dramas presented.

All quotations in this chapter indicate text quoted verbatim directly from the Web site being examined.

White Nationalist: Stormfront.org (White Nationalist Resource Page)

Maintained by ex-Klansman Don Black, Stormfront.org was the first White Nationalist site to go on the Web in March 1995 (HateWatch, 1998; Southern Poverty Law Center, 1998a). The site is a comprehensive compendium of information, articles, links to other sites, current news items, upcoming events, letters from site readers, a text

library of archived articles, a graphics library, Internet mailing lists to which site visitors may subscribe, German and Spanish language sections, and site activity statistics.

A comprehensive listing of links to other sites which "all offer something worthwhile for White Nationalists" includes a site for "White Singles," and the "White Nationalist News Agency," and links for White Nationalism/White Patriotism (includes National Alliance), White Rights/Racially Conscious Conservatism, Eugenics, Academic Publications on Ethnology and Race, White Roots: Our Heritage and Culture, Political Campaigns (includes "David Duke for Senate" and "Buchanan Brigade"), Legal Defense, Revisionism, Opposition to Zionism and Israeli Terrorism, Christian Identity (includes Aryan Nations), Ku Klux Klan (includes Knights of the Ku Klux Klan), Skinheads, White Power Music, International sites, "The Other Side" (includes HateWatch and the Anti-Defamation League), and Internet mailing lists and news groups.

<u>Fantasy theme I: White Nationalism as defense from exploitation</u>

White Nationalism is addressed in several areas on the site, including "White Nationalism FAQ (Frequently Asked Questions)", "White Nationalism--Key Concepts", and "Why White Nationalism?." The fantasy theme of "White Nationalism" is that "Whites may need to create a separate nation as a means of defending themselves" (www.stormfront.org/whitenat/white_nationalism_faq.htm, 1998). This desire for a separate nation is not based on a perception of superiority or a desire to dominate other races, but rather "to avoid exploitation" (www.stormfront.org/whitenat/white_nationalism _faq.htm, 1998).

Exploitation is used as a symbolic cue, defined in the site as:

Burdensome racial preference schemes in hiring . . . university admissions . . . government contracting and small business loans . . . the denial of rights of free speech and of due process to Whites who are critical of these governmental policies . . . special punishments for assaults committed by Whites if the motives might be racial . . . (and) Whites pay a proportion of the costs of the welfare state that is disproportionate to what they receive in benefits" (www.stormfront.org/whitenat/white_nationalism_faq.htm, 1998).

The argument is further made in the site through the statement:

But the most exploitative aspect . . . is that neither the racial quotas, the business preferences, the loss of freedom of speech, nor the disproportionate contributions to the welfare state have managed to sate the appetites of non-Whites living in the United States. The more Whites sacrifice, the more nonwhites demand (www.stormfront.org/whitenat/white_nationalism_faq.htm, 1998).

Other symbolic cues include "the double standard of racism," "White flight" to escape violence and massive immigration by non-Whites, the "destruction of Western Civilization and increasing 'balkanization' in the United States" because of natural difference between races, and the approaching millennium (www.stormfront.org/whitenat/white_nationalism_faq.htm, 1998).

Dramatis personae in this site are portrayed as tolerant, exploited Whites who are "the average European-American who just commutes to work in the morning . . . and does not want to foment or participate in any 'revolution'," exploitative White liberal elites who have been "utterly naive and misguided" and "guilty of integrationism [sic]," and

"aggressor and hater" non-Whites "who are racist" and "exploiting the race issue for advantage." White Nationalists are portrayed as "courageous men and women fighting to preserve their White Western culture, ideals, and freedom of speech and association" (www.stormfront.org/whitenat/whywhite.html, 1998).

The overall plot line is that conflict will naturally arise from several races inhabiting a single country, because "racial and ethnic groups always compete" (www.stormfront.org/whitenat/concepts.html, 1998). The "morality" of racial integration has been promoted in self-interest by "planters and industrialists interested in cheap labor," while the minority attempts "to conceal its aggressive . . . explicit racial agenda so as to lull the majority into political complacency" and seeks to control the media in order to disseminate only messages of minority victimization and dominate public discourse with "universalisms like 'fairness,' 'tolerance,' and 'compassion' " (www.stormfront.org/ whitenat/ concepts.html, 1998). Whites--the majority race in the country--are exploited victims made to feel "guilty" of racism because the politically correct dogma of racism dictates that by virtue of skin color they are the oppressors. The argument is made that Whites "do not have to move back to Europe to escape the conditions for Whites in America" but rather "can resolve to defend ourselves against this onslaught . . . by peacefully ceding lands already inhabited by non-Whites to separate non-White nations" (www.stormfront.org/whitenat/white_nationalism_faq.htm, 1998).

The scene is set in a nation where "Whites are exploited by fellow Whites," are victims of hate, aggression, and violent assault by non-Whites, and where many have taken part in "a mass migration or 'White flight' away from neighborhoods inhabited by non-

Whites" (www.stormfront.org/whitenat/white_nationalism_faq.htm, 1998). The utopian vision is offered of a peaceful "White nation" formed by "inclusion and exclusion based on ideology and feelings," not isolated from the world but enjoying free trade with neighbor nations, with restoration of civil liberties for Whites and free "from constant threats of violence" (www.stormfront.org/whitenat/white_nationalism_faq.htm, 1998).

The primary sanctioning agents are the principles of fairness and justice.

Fantasy theme II: The "racist" double standard

In "What is Racism?," the fantasy theme is that of a "racist double standard" of Whites "made to feel guilty and 'hateful' " for loving their own people and culture: " 'Black Pride' is said to be a wonderful and worthy thing, but anything that could be construed as an expression of white pride is a form of hatred" (www.stormfront.org/ whitenat/racism.htm, 1998). This fantasy theme also appears in the article "Key Concepts of White Nationalism."

The primary symbolic cues are racism and the issue of difference or equality of races.

A peculiarly American meaning derives from the current dogma that all ethnic stocks are equal. Despite clear evidence to the contrary, all races have been declared to be equally talented and hardworking, and anyone who questions the dogma is thought to be not merely wrong but evil (www.stormfront.org/ whitenat/racism.htm, 1998).

Societal and educational institutions are the primary dramatis personae, with supporting characters in the form of students, Black politicians, and the Black Yahweh

cult.

The scene is set on college campuses, within neighborhoods, in the realm of politics and business, churches, and at the voting booth, for indeed, the argument is made, "America is racked with it (racism)" (www.stormfront.org/whitenat/racism.htm, 1998). Universities in particular are held up in example as promoting the racial "double standard." Argument is made that "college campuses forbid pejorative statements about non-whites [sic] as 'racist,' but ignore scurrilous attacks on whites," and "there are 107 'historically Black' colleges, whose fundamental blackness must be preserved in the name of diversity, but all historically White colleges must be forcibly integrated in the name of . . . the same thing. To resist would be racist" (www.stormfront.org/whitenat/racism.htm, 1998).

The primary plot line is that of the double standard. The argument is made that "since any theory of racial differences has been outlawed, the only possible explanation for Black failure is White racism," (www.stormfront.org/whitenat/racism.htm, 1998), yet:

What appears to be nonwhite racism is so understandable and forgivable that it hardly deserves the name . . . whether an act is called racism depends on the race of the racist. What would surely be called racism when done by Whites is thought to be normal when done by anyone else (www.stormfront.org/whitenat/racism. htm, 1998).

Examples are given from politics, business, media, and the voting process. Black politicians "have argued that only White people can be racist," and "the affirmative action officer of the State Insurance Fund of New York issued a company pamphlet in which she explained that all Whites are racist and that only Whites can be racist" (www.stormfront.

org/whitenat/racism.htm, 1998). The media is guilty of "enormous uproar" over a White on Black murder and the "use of the word 'niggar' [sic] while doing so" but is silent "when members of the Black Yahweh cult carry out ritual murders of random Whites" (www.stormfront.org/whitenat/racism.htm, 1998). At the polls, "if 60 percent of the White voters vote for a White candidate, and 95 percent of the Black voters vote for the Black opponent, it is the Whites who are accused of racial bias" (www.stormfront.org/whitenat/racism.htm, 1998).

A supporting plot line maintains that explanation for "Black failure" must depend on "White wickedness: "The dogma of racial equality leaves no room for an explanation of Black failure that is not . . . an indictment of White people" (www.stormfront.org/whitenat/racism.htm, 1998). The argument is presented that "if Blacks are equal to Whites in every way, what accounts for their poverty, criminality, and dissipation?" (www.stormfront.org/whitenat/racism.htm, 1998). With any theory of racial differences outlawed, "the only possible explanation for Black failure is White racism," whether unconscious, committed through societal institutions, or unknown "millions of White people . . . working day and night to keep Blacks in misery" (www.stormfront.org/whitenat/racism.htm, 1998). Further, "blatant anti-white prejudice, in the form of affirmative action, is now the law of the land," while "anything remotely like affirmative action, if practiced in favor of Whites, would be attacked as despicable favoritism" (www.stormfront.org/whitenat/racism.htm, 1998).

The sanctioning agents are the principles of fairness and justice.

Fantasy theme III : Zionist control of the media

In the article "Zionist control of the media: Who rules America?," the fantasy theme presented is that of an elite Jewish domination and control of the U.S. mass media through news and entertainment which manipulates the image of the world and events, and thereby shapes opinion: "There is no greater power in the world today than that wielded by the manipulators of public opinion . . . the few dozen men who control America's mass news and entertainment media" with "nothing more dangerous to the future of our people" (www.stormfront.org/jewish/whorules.html, 1998).

Symbolic cues include reference to "Jew-controlled entertainment media," "Jewish television and Jewish films," and "Jewish media control" which present messages that include: "a racially mixed couple will be respected, liked, and socially sought after," "homosexuality is a normal and acceptable way of life," " that all races are inherently equal in ability and character," "the White racist--any racially conscious White person--is portrayed as a despicable bigot . . . or as a dangerous psychopath," and "the character of the White race is suspect because of a history of oppressing other races and that any effort by Whites at racial self-preservation is reprehensible" (www.stormfront.org/jewish/whorules.html, 1998).

Dramatis personae include the characterization of White racists stereotyped as a bigoted "gun nut" in television shows, contrasted against the positive portrayals of minority characters such as the "take charge" Black scholar or businessman, sensitive and talented homosexual, and poor but honest and hardworking illegal alien. The manner in which the media are discussed could present it as a dramatic personae: With "nearly monolithic" control, "all of the controlled media--television, radio, newspapers,

magazines, books, motion pictures--speak with a single voice" in presenting a view of the world (www.stormfront.org/jewish/whorules.html, 1998).

The "Jewishness" of the media is exemplified in the dramatis personae of the media heads which the article refers to in detail, including Michael Eisner (Disney and Capital Cities/ABC, Inc.), Gerald M. Levin (Time Warner, Inc.), Peter Chernin (Fox Television and 20th Century Fox Films), Michael Schulhof (Sony Corporation of America), Ronald Perelman and Brandon Tartikoff (New World Entertainment), David Geffen, Jeffrey Katzenberg, and Steven Spielberg (DreamWorks SKG), Edgar Bronfman, Jr. (Seagram Company, Ltd., owner of MCA and Universal Pictures), the Newhouse brothers (media holding company Advance Publications), Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, Jr., Max Frankel, and Joseph Lelyveld (The New York Times), the Sulzberger family (New York Times Company), Katherine Meyer Graham and Donald Graham (The Washington Post Company), and Peter R. Kann (The Wall Street Journal) among many others listed.

In establishing plot line, "the mass media form for us our image of the world and then tell us what to think," accomplished through "heavy-handed suppression of certain news stories," "the blatant propagandizing of history-distorting TV 'docudramas'," and "management of both the news and the entertainment which they present to us" (www.stormfront.org/jewish/whorules.html, 1998). The media present a single view of the world:

In which every voice proclaims equality of the races, the inerrant nature of the Jewish 'Holocaust' tale, the wickedness of attempting to halt a flood of non-White aliens . . . the danger of permitting citizens to keep and bear arms, the moral

equivalence of all sexual orientations, and the desirability of a 'pluralistic' cosmopolitan society (www.stormfront.org/jewish/whorules.html, 1998).

The scene as set by the Web site portrays the media as an entity that "reaches into every home in America" where for many "the real world has been replaced by the false reality of the TV environment" (www.stormfront.org/jewish/whorules.html, 1998). The "Jew-controlled" media are portrayed as "opinion-molding" from newsrooms, television studios, film sets, publishing houses and broadcast stations, disseminating messages through print, broadcast, entertainment, and retail distribution channels (www.stormfront. org/jewish/whorules.html, 1998).

Sanctioning agents are concepts of fairness, justice, and morality.

Neo-Nazis: National Alliance

According to the hate group watchdog organization HateWatch (1998), the Neo-Nazi organization National Alliance has grown dramatically in the last several years, with aggressive use of the Internet and airwaves to attract new recruits. Membership now numbers in the thousands, with known chapters in more than a dozen states.

The National Alliance Web site offers both text and audio sections. Only the written text areas were examined for this study. The site offers information covering group philosophy, activities, history of the organization, and membership requirements. Also available are a book catalog and suggested reading material, archived texts from selected American Dissident Voices broadcasts, current news items, letters from site readers, information about a monthly newsletter and magazine, Internet mailing lists to which site visitors may subscribe, and Swedish, Dutch, French, and German language

sections. The site also hosts the Web site for the National Socialist German Workers Party/American Order.

The texts chosen for fantasy theme analysis were selected for prominence in the site. "What is the National Alliance?" is a primary link and the first near the top of the home page; its two first subsections are "principles" and "goals." Another text-intensive area which features a prominent link on the home page is a "documentary report" titled "Who rules America."

Fantasy theme I: A natural order

The text section entitled "General Principles" includes the subheadings "A Natural Order," "The Law of Inequality," "A Hierarchy of Responsibilities," and "Summary Statement of belief."

The fantasy theme is one of a "natural order" in which the group sees itself as a part of Nature and subject to Nature's law. Within this natural order inequalities have developed as part of the natural evolutionary process. Nature and evolution combined to challenge the Aryan race to a higher level of development, which engender responsibilities which members of the race accept in the "service of Nature" (www.natvan.com/what-is-na/na1.html, 1998).

Symbolic cues include reference to being a part of "Nature," able to determine destiny and responsible "for the destiny of our race," "the Semitic view" which absolves those who hold it "of responsibility for their fate," that the "world is hierarchical" and the Aryan race evolved to a higher level of abilities, that "the races may be ordered according to their levels of development," "egalitarians" believe differences are purely circumstantial

and consequent advantages or disadvantages should be adjusted, and that members of the group have "obligations" to the race and "Nature" to accept responsibilities to ensure continued evolution (www.natvan.com/what-is-na/na1.html, 1998).

Dramatis personae include the "we/us" of the group, which is also identified as "the Aryan (or European) race," "our race," and "Aryan men and women" (www.natvan. com/what-is-na/na1.html, 1998). The force of "Nature" is personified as a character, with reference to "Nature's law," and "the Life Force" (www.natvan.com/what-is-na/na1.html, 1998). The "rest of the world" is referred to as "subjectivists," "supernaturalists," "impious man," "individualists," "egalitarians," and "humanists" (www.natvan.com/what-is-na/na1.html, 1998). The concept of a higher power is described as "a divine but nevertheless manlike being," "God," "Yahweh," "Allah," and "the deity" (www.natvan. com/what-is-na/na1.html, 1998).

The primary plot line sets the group as being one with the world in which there is only the one reality of "Nature" as the dramatis personae of a higher force. As a part of Nature, the group enjoys free will to "determine our own destiny" (www.natvan.com/ what-is-na/na1.html, 1998). This is set in contrast to the "Semitic view" of a divine power ruling by supernatural law, through which the proponents "absolve themselves of responsibility for fate" (www.natvan.com/what-is-na/na1.html, 1998). Nature dictates that in the "hierarchical" world, each race" developed special characteristics . . . adapted to its environment . . . (and) advanced along its evolutionary path" (www.natvan.com/what-is-na/na1.html, 1998). Within this context, the "Aryan (or European) race . . . evolved in the more demanding environment of the North" which resulted in abilities for survival,

"planning and self-discipline" and thereby "advanced more rapidly in development of higher mental faculties ... capabilities and ability to lend hand to Nature in task of evolution" (www.natvan.com/what-is-na/na1.html, 1998). The group as a part of Nature has an "inevitable hierarchy of obligations" to evolution, to the race, to be an "agent of progress," an obligation to comrades, and responsibility to a personal best (www.natvan. com/what-is-na/na1.html, 1998). This is in contrast to "the egalitarians" who believe differences are "purely circumstantial and can be changed by changing circumstances," "individualists" who recognize responsibility only to themselves, and "humanists" who "eschew racial responsibility" (www.natvan.com/what-is-na/na1.html, 1998).

The scene includes world in which the "one reality" is dictated by "Nature" in contrast to an individual reality or the reality of "the Semitic view" (www.natvan.com/ what-is-na/na1.html, 1998). The past, the present, the future, and "every sphere of life" all portray broad scenes in which action takes place, while more concrete references to setting include the "demanding environment of the North," " winter," "climate of the tropics," Africa, Europe, good schools, and "good home environment" (www.natvan.com/ what-is-na/na1.html, 1998).

The primary sanctioning agent for the fantasy theme is "Nature," which to the group is representative of a greater life force and is both referred to directly and inferred. Other sanctioning agents include the sense of "obligations and responsibilities," the historical figures of Nietzsche and George Bernard Shaw, and God/"the deity" for the "Semitic view" (www.natvan.com/what-is-na/na1.html, 1998).

Fantasy theme II: A new White world

The section for "National Alliance Goals" includes the subheadings "White Living Space," "An Aryan Society," "A Responsible Government," "A New Educational System," and "An Economic Policy Based on Racial Principles."

The fantasy theme is the forging of a new world from the physical, moral and spiritual debris and ruin of the present world. The creation of a greater White world is reminiscent of a great White society in the past, but one which elevates the society to a new and greater level of development, celebrating only White culture and with all facets of society supporting the goal of racial progress.

Symbolic cues include reference to the millennium, the "spiritual and physical debris" in the "ruins of the present world" caused by destruction of society through "multiculturism," new Aryan societies based on Aryan values, "racial survival," intrusive corrupt government as a "malignant monster" and "the single most dangerous and destructive enemy" of the race, and the "political incorrectness" of "racial patriotism" (www.natvan.com/what-is-na/na2.html, 1998).

Dramatis personae include the "ancestors" and the "we/our people" of the Aryan race, and "our enemies," the "non-Whites," "Semitic" and "non-Aryan" (www.natvan. com/what-is-na/na2.html, 1998). Other dramatis personae include patriots, the government, and government personnel in the form of "politicians and bureaucrats" portrayed as "liars with charisma" and alternately as the ideal of "secular priests in behavior and attitude" (www.natvan.com/what-is-na/na2.html, 1998).

In the plot line of establishing a "White Living Space," the "the sickness of multiculturalism" is eliminated and "a racially clean area" is established in "those parts of

the world suited by climate and terrain" to the Aryan race to ensure "the further development" of the race (www.natvan.com/what-is-na/na2.html, 1998). The concept of a White "living space" with no non-Whites and surrounding open space for expansion is positioned as tantamount to racial survival.

After establishment of the physical "White world," new societies are created "based on Aryan values and compatible with Aryan nature" (www.natvan.com/what-is-na/na2.html, 1998). Diversity exists in Germanic, Celtic, Slavic, and Baltic societies, expressed in "music, art and architecture, literature, philosophy and scholarship, in the mass media, and in the life-styles of the people," but Semitic and "other non-Aryan values and customs" are eliminated (www.natvan.com/what-is-na/na2.html, 1998). An Aryan society celebrates only White culture in dance, music, and film.

"A responsible government" is "wholly committed" to the service of the Aryan race and "subject to no non-Aryan influence" (www.natvan.com/what-is-na/na2.html, 1998). The plot line details "the growth of mass democracy" and "the rise in the influence of the mass media on public opinion" with "the insinuation of the Jews into a position of control over the media" as having transformed the government into a "malignant monster . . . the single most dangerous and destructive enemy our race has ever known" (www. natvan.com/what-is-na/na2.html, 1998). The vision is of a "strong, centralized government spanning several continents" to coordinate "racial cleansing . . . rooting out of racially destructive institutions, and the reorganization of society," with the central task of "a long-term eugenics program involving at least the entire populations of Europe and America" (www.natvan.com/what-is-na/na2.html, 1998).

The plot line of "A New Education System" emphasizes the need for character development in the educational process as "the most radical contribution to Aryan society," a concept which "dates back to ancient Greece" and "enjoyed an all-too-brief revival ... in National Socialist Germany" (www.natvan.com/what-is-na/na2.html, 1998).

The final plot line is of "an economic policy based on racial principles" which espouses that an economic system should be designed and maintained under the principle that "the ultimate aim of all economic policy is racial progress" (www.natvan.com/what-is-na/na2.html, 1998).

The scene is set in the idealized past of "spiritually healthier times" when the Aryan race lived in "our living area and our breeding area" of Europe, temperate zones of the Americas, Australia, and the south of the African continent, contrasted against the scene of destruction brought on by "multiculturalism" in "the ruins of the present world" (www.natvan.com/what-is-na/na2.html, 1998). Most of the scene is an idealized future "of the world for which we are striving," with "a racially clean area of the earth" for "White schools ... neighborhoods ... recreation areas ... workplaces ... farms and countryside" where "there is a feeling of family and comradeship, of a shared heritage and a shared destiny" (www.natvan.com/what-is-na/na2.html, 1998).

Sanctioning agents include the "ancestors" who had created a White world, "patriots," "framers of the U.S. Constitution," and "spirituality" in a broad sense of responsibility and what is right, "a moral compass so that people ... know instinctively what is wholesome and natural and what is degenerate and alien" (www.natvan.com/what-

is-na/na2.html, 1998).

Fantasy theme III: Zionist control of the media

In the text entitled "Who Rules America," the fantasy theme presented is that of an elite Jewish domination and control of the U.S. mass media through news and entertainment which manipulates the image of the world and events and thereby shapes opinion. This is the same fantasy theme as fantasy theme III for the Stormfront.org White Nationalist site. The text for this article is essentially identical for both sites. Further, there is a link to the National Alliance site at the end of the text at the Stormfront site.

Ku Klux Klan: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

The Klan organization operating this site claims heritage from the original Ku Klux Klan founded by General Nathan Bedford Forrest, and prior affiliation with former Klan leaders David Duke and Don Black. The site promotes the organization as "The world's oldest, largest, and most professional Whites' civil rights organization" and issues appeals to "End the Invisible Agenda to Destroy the White Race" and "We must secure the existence of our race and a future for White children" (www.k-k-k.com/belief.html, 1998).

The site includes a statement of beliefs, application for membership, history of the Klan, an explanation for cross burning, various short paragraphs of information and links to several longer texts, a "race traitor" page, site statistics, links to merchandise and other sites, and "White educational" game software. The site also prominently features near the top of the home page a "free speech" disclaimer that it is a political site.

The texts chosen for fantasy theme analysis were the statement of beliefs, the "History of the Klan," and its link "What will we tell our children."

Fantasy theme 1: Decent and honorable people seeking a better future

In the text discussing the statement of beliefs, the fantasy theme is one of a noble group of "good, decent, and honorable people" who seek to better the future "of our children and Western Civilization" through elimination of "anti-White policies," protection of Americans and American jobs, and elimination of immigrants, foreign ownership, and current "liberal" social policies (www.k-k-k.com/belief.html, 1998).

Symbolic cues include "the liberal media" and "liberal media lies," "destruction of our race and nation," Christians, and the White "common bond (shared) by blood and faith" (www.k-k-k.com/belief.html, 1998).

Dramatis personae are the Klan organization and members, "black people," "the liberal media," Catholics, Christians, White people as "good, decent, and honorable Christian people," Klan members, the government, welfare recipients, "foreigners, immigrants, and illegal aliens," and God (www.k-k-k.com/belief.html, 1998).

The plot line is one of "a gathering of White Christian men and women who are joined together because of the common bond they share by blood and faith" in "the oldest, largest, and most professional Whites' rights group in the world . . . committed to upholding and defending Western Christian civilization" and to "stop the destruction of our race and nation" (www.k-k-k.com/belief.html, 1998).

The media are portrayed as "liberal" and promoting lies about the organization "because they want you to be afraid of joining the Klan" and "to keep the good, decent, and honorable Christian people from ever joining our movement" (www.k-k-k.com/belief.html, 1998).

The "Klan Political Agenda" lays out the plot line of the vision "if the Klan were in political power" (www.k-k-k.com/belief.html, 1998). Isolationism would be a key element, as goals include the government placing "America first" over foreign nations or immigrants, protection of "American's birthright" by preventing foreign ownership of American industry and property, protection of "American jobs" now lost to overseas workers, and the closing of the border through the use of "troops on our borders to protect our country from the invasion of illegal aliens" (www.k-k-k.com/belief.html, 1998). Societal action would include "drug testing for welfare recipients," elimination of Affirmative Action programs, and "outlaw (of) homosexuality and inter-racial [sic] marriages" to stop "these abominations against God and nature" to allow America "to return to the great Christian nation it once was" (www.k-k-k.com/belief.html, 1998).

The scene is set in the present and the future; in the present "gathering" of "good, decent, and honorable Christian people" who are working for a discarding of "anti-White policies," and for "the future of our children and Western Christian civilization" through policies of protectionism and isolationism, and legislation of social changes (www.k-k-k. com/belief.html, 1998).

The primary sanctioning agents are God, Christianity, and an appeal to the sense of justice and fairness. The terms "Christians, Christian people, and "Western Christian civilization" are used in the text, and the goal is to return to a "great Christian nation" (www.k-k-k.com/belief.html, 1998). The appeal to justice is made through the unfairness of "liberal media lies" about this organization of "good, decent and honorable Christian people" who simply want to see the return of the country to a "great Christian nation," as

well as through the sense of victimization due to loss of jobs to overseas, rising immigration, foreign ownership of U.S. industry, and perceived preferential social practices (www.k-k-k.com/belief.html, 1998).

Fantasy theme II: Heroic rescue by courageous men to save the White future

In the "History of the Klan," the fantasy theme is heroic rescue by "just and decent ... courageous men" who like a phoenix arise from the ashes of destruction of the nation to stand up against treason and save the future for their children (www.k-k-k.com/, 1998).

Symbolic cues include mention of the Reconstruction period, the forming of the Ku Klux Klan by Nathan Bedford Forrest and "just and decent men of honor," saving the White south, the "tyranny of the federal government," the concept that history is repeating itself on a grander scale and is "affecting America as a whole," and the appeal that "a few good men" will stand up for the future (www.k-k-k.com/, 1998).

The dramatis personae include "White citizens who remained loyal to the southern states," and private citizens who are victims under martial law, "newly freed slaves" and "renegade negroes [sic]," federal troops and a tyrannical federal government, and "carpetbaggers" and "scalawags" (www.k-k-k.com/, 1998). The heroic protagonist takes shape in the dramatis personae of Nathan Bedford Forrest and the "just and decent men of honor" who came together to form the Ku Klux Klan (www.k-k-k.com/, 1998).

The plot line is one of heroic rescue. The South during period of Reconstruction after the War Between the States (Civil War) experienced martial law, "dismal conditions" of burned and seized property, fear of revolt, and "a lawless time when street justice prevailed" (www.k-k-k.com/, 1998). From this chaos "just and decent ... courageous

men" form the Ku Klux Klan and drive "the federal troops back north" and save the "White south from the tyranny of federal government, the extortion of the carpetbaggers, the treason of the scalawags, and the hatred of the numerous renegade negroes [sic]" (www.k-k-k.com/, 1998).

The plot line proposes that history is now being repeated as "our land is once again being destroyed by the same treason" which is now "affecting America as a whole" (www.k-k-k.com/, 1998). The appeal is made that just as the original Klans men rode, there now also is a need for "a few good men willing to stand up for the betterment of their future," or "what will we tell our children of future generations?" (www.k-k-k.com/, 1998).

The scene is set in the past, during the chaos of the period of Reconstruction in the South, and in a present day America potrayed as destroyed by the federal government and self-serving individuals.

The sanctioning agent is the sense of duty and honor. Just as the first men of the Klan came forward, the appeal is made to honor those men and ensure the future of "our children" by being willing to "stand up" against the decay and destruction of the nation (www.k-k-k.com/, 1998).

Fantasy theme III: A lost future in "chains of tyranny"

A link from the "History of the Klan" leads to "What will you tell your children?" The fantasy theme in this text is one of no future for the descendants of White Christian America in a nation of hunger and thought-control, shackled by the "chains of tyranny" of a corrupt government (www.k-k-k.com/children.html, 1998).

Symbolic cues include the loss of the "once great Nation of America," the "tyrant government," "chains of tyranny," "corrupt politicians," a "New World Order," the loss of rights and independent thought, "including the right to own a Bible and to pray," and the call to "stand up for the future of White Christian America" (www.k-k-k.com/children. html, 1998).

Dramatis personae include the future generations of children and grandchildren, and the agents of "a tyrant government" which include "corrupt politicians," "United Nations forces, and "proponents of the New World Order" (www.k-k-k.com/children. html, 1998). The reader is cast as a dramatis personae, as the text places the reader in the story: "What will you tell those youngsters . . . how will you explain . . . will you be able to look them in the eye" and challenges the reader to "stand up for what you know is right and just" and "stand up for the future" (www.k-k-k.com/children.html, 1998).

The primary plot line is one of a lost future, with a "strong, dynamic, and compassionate" nation gone forever, and the "Constitutional Republic that was once America . . . sold to the highest bidder by corrupt politicians" (www.k-k-k.com/children. html, 1998). Citizens are unable to buy food at the corner store because "the money in your pocket is worthless paper" (www.k-k-k.com/children.html, 1998). In a nation that is a police state, police are not "friend and neighbor" but foe, an "agent of a tyrant government, perhaps not even American but a United Nations 'multi-national peacekeeper' " (www.k-k-k.com/children.html, 1998). Rights once enjoyed will be gone forever, independent thought is outlawed, and it is a crime to own a Bible or pray to God. Families are separated as children will be removed to "state run camps for 'education' by

proponents of the New World Order" (www.k-k-k.com/children.html, 1998).

The challenge is issued to stand up for "what you know is right and just" to "save the birthright and inheritance of your children" (www.k-k-k.com/children.html, 1998). The reader has the choice to "stand up for the future of White Christian America" or to do nothing and "watch it die (and) your descendants to live in the chains of tyranny forever more" (www.k-k-k.com/children.html, 1998).

The scene is that of a weak nation, a police state controlled by "a tyrant government" where there are no individual freedoms, no food, and no future.

The sanctioning agent is the principle of what is "right and just" to ensure the future of "White Christian America" (www.k-k-k.com/children.html, 1998).

Christian Identity: Aryan Nations

Founded by Richard Butler in the mid-1970s, over the years Aryan Nations has brought a unity to the white supremacist movement through alignment with wide range of groups. The organization was operating in 26 states and had three chapters in Europe by the end of 1995 (Southern Poverty Law Center, 1998b). According to HateWatch (1998) and the Southern Poverty Law Center (1998b), the Aryan Nations organization has been motivated by the Christian Identity theology which Butler preached at his Church of Jesus Christ Christian on the Aryan Nations compound.

The Aryan Nations Web site is a very large site which includes links to a number of texts, event promotion of a march scheduled in 1999, a statement of beliefs, a catalog of merchandise and reading materials, and solicitations for donations for the 1999 march and for a legal defense fund. There are also links to see the site content in thirteen foreign

languages.

Texts chosen for fantasy theme analysis were selected for their prominence and because they seemed indicative of basic beliefs of the organization. The texts selected were under the link "We Believe," and included a statement of beliefs, text titled "White Racism: Where does it come from?," and a "Foundations Biography of Aryan Nations."

Fantasy theme I: Good triumphs over evil in an apocalyptic battle to make way for Christ's Kingdom on earth

The fantasy theme in the statement of beliefs text is that the Aryan people are the true Israelites and God's true Chosen People, while those who are called Jews are actually descendants of Cain, the result of Eve's seduction by Satan. The "children of light" must fight an apocalyptic battle to destroy the "children of darkness" for Yahweh's people to "return to their special destiny," for a "day of judgement" and "Christ's Kingdom" to be established on earth "as it is in heaven" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

Symbolic cues include reference to the second coming of Christ, preservation of the White race, Jews as the literal descendants of Satan and a natural enemy of the White race, and that "present world problems result from our disobedience to Divine Law" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

Dramatis personae include the "us" and "them" as the personification of good and evil, and the dramatis personae of a supreme being. The "we" of the Aryan Nations is referred to as "His people," and "our race . . . as a people demanded and directed by Yahweh" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998). The White Race is characterized as descending directly from Adam, "father of the White Race only," and

referred to as the "literal children of the Bible," the "twelve tribes of Israel," children of the Most High God (Yahweh), "children of light," "Yahweh's people," "chosen and faithful," "Aryan Race, the true Israel of the Bible," and "saints of the Most High" (www. nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

The "children of Satan" are the descendants of Cain and the "children of darkness," referred to as "the Canaanite Jew," the "natural enemy," and "the usurper" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998). The dramatis personae of a supreme being is referred to as "Jesus The Christ," "Yahweh," "The Most High God," "The Everliving God," "the god of heaven," and "the Most High" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998). Additional dramatis personae are Biblical characters of Adam, Abraham, and his descendants Isaac and Jacob.

The plot line establishes that "Aryan Nations is the ongoing work of Jesus the Christ regathering His people," and that the preservation of the White race is "demanded and directed" by God (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998). The White race today is the direct descendants from Adam and the original twelve tribes of Israel, "now scattered throughout the world and now known as the Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, Teutonic, Scandinavian, Celtic peoples of the earth," and has an "obligation to preserve itself" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

The "literal children of Satan" also inhabit the earth, the descendants of Cain "who was a result of Eve's original sin, her physical seduction by Satan" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998). The "Canaanite Jew" is "the natural enemy of (the) Aryan (White) Race . . . a destroying virus that attacks our racial body to destroy our Aryan

culture and the purity of our Race" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

While the children of darkness work to destroy the Aryan race, those who "resist these attacks are called chosen and faithful" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998). The "battle being fought this day between the "children of light" and "children of darkness" is evidenced in "present world problems," and it is the "obligation" and destiny of the Aryan race to come together to destroy the "children of darkness" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998). This triumph of good over evil will end in "a day of reckoning" and "a day of judgement" when "the usurper will be thrown out by the terrible might of Yahweh's people" to make way for "a day when Christ's Kingdom will be established on earth" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

The text places the scene in the past as "attested by scripture and all secular history," in the present, and the future (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998). The coming apocalyptic battle is depicted as now "being fought this day," while "there is soon to be a day of judgement" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

The sanctioning agent is the supreme being of Yahweh, ("Jesus The Christ," "The Most High God," and "The Everliving God,") the concept of "Divine Law," and the Bible, as evidenced through references to scriptures throughout the text (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

Fantasy theme II: White racism is not hate, but "Love"

In the text titled "White Racism: Where does it come from?," the fantasy theme is that what others identify as "hate" for the motivation for the White Christian Nationalist "fight for the preservation of the Aryan Race" is actually Love, with depths "rooted and

very deep in a real White Nationalist's soul and spirit" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

Symbolic cues include preservation of the Aryan Race, reference to Aryans as "warriors in this Struggle," and that outsiders to the organization cannot "even begin to fathom" their true motivation (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

The primary dramatis personae is the "racist" White Christian Nationalist, portrayed as noble "long standing warriors" personified in everyday characters of the "average White man," the "White housewife," the "White workingman," " and the "White Christian farmer" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998). Even more than just the individual, the dramatis personae is the very essence of "the Struggle" in the motivation of "Love" in the "soul and spirit" of the White Nationalist (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998). The opposing dramatis personae are the news media, "the anti-Christ Jews, mongrel hordes, and liberal White race-mixers" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998). Characters completing the scene include the "mixed racial couple," "child-molester . . . rapist . . . corrupt courts" and an "unmerciful government," "boatload of aliens," and "foreigners" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

The plot line of the text is that the motivation behind the fight for preservation of the Aryan Race by the White Christian Nationalist is actually motivated by deep-rooted "Love," not hate as the news media would portray. The actions of these "long standing warriors in this Struggle"--the scowl and loathing of the "average White man" directed at a mixed-race couple, the "White housewife" throwing down the "jewspaper" she has been reading, the curse of the "White workingman," and the rage in the heart of the "White

Christian farmer"--are not motivated by hate (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998). It is a depth of "Love" so great that "no form of 'hate' could even begin to compare" that causes such reactions to mixing of races, the sentencing of "yet another child-molester or rapist" by "corrupt courts" to a short prison sentence or parole, the influx of illegal aliens, the loss of jobs and money given away to aliens and foreigners through "job preference" and "billions loaned or given away as 'aid'," and the unfairness of the situation to "White citizens who built this land" and to the farmer who "can't get the smallest break from an unmerciful government to save his failing farm" (www.nidlink. com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

The government shows preference for aliens and foreigners at the expense of "White citizens," yet when the White Christian Nationalist reacts he is accused of hate (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998). The plot line explains this is because the true motivation of Love is beyond the comprehension of the "anti-Christ Jews, mongrel hordes, and liberal White race-mixers" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

The scene is set as internalized within the White Nationalist who stands in a "Struggle" for the "fight for preservation for the Aryan Race" in the street, home, workplace, and on the farm (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

The sanctioning agents are the nobility of the emotion of "Love," which has great depth and is " rooted and very deep . . . in soul and spirit," and an appeal to the sense of justice and fairness (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

Fantasy theme III: A duty to serve God and Race, "your Nation"

In the "Foundations Biography of Aryan Nations," the text discusses the foundations of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian and Richard G. Butler, the leader and founder of Aryan Nations.

The fantasy theme is that Aryans should emulate the example set by the leader of Aryan Nations to fulfill their duty to God and their race, which is their nation. The fantasy theme is played out in the saga of Butler, a learned and professional man encountering difficulties because of his beliefs and eventually leaving the business world to answer a higher calling to "serve God and Nation" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998). Successful in business and industry but "deeply troubled" about the nation and the "White Race" and the "threat of Jewish communism," he achieves a greater knowledge through Kingdom Identity and years of study with the founder of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, eventually assuming leadership of the congregation and working to form the foundation for "fulfillment of the mission" as directed by the "Creator of the universe" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

Symbolic cues include the identification of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian as "The true Church of Christ," the "threat of Jewish communism," and the "duty" of "every Aryan son and daughter of Yahweh" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

The primary dramatis personae are Richard G. Butler, the Church of Jesus Christ Christian and its founder, Dr. Wesley Swift, and the Aryan Nations. The Church under Butler is the "continuing direct-line Church of Jesus Christ Christian" as founded by Swift, and "the true Church of Christ" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998). The Aryan Nations are the "Aryan sons and daughters" who are "His people," and through

blood and Race "each citizen of the Nation" is a member of "a kindred people" (www. nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

God as a dramatis personae is referred to as "Jesus the Christ, Yahweh Yahshua," "God," "Yahweh," "the Creator," and "our Father" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998). Supporting dramatis personae include Swift's compatriot, the Rev. Bertrand Comparet, Prophets, "service and political organizations . . . friends, acquaintances, members of fraternal organizations, and business associates," the media, and "alien races" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

The plot line establishes Richard G. Butler as a credible, well-educated World War II veteran and businessman with a broad range of experiences who has traveled and worked abroad. The text recounts his education and training, management experience, and his various roles as "marketing analyst," "engineer," "inventor with patents . . . pilot . . . and Flight Engineer Instructor," with experience in the United States, Africa, and India (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

Butler "returning home from wartime" is depicted as "deeply troubled concerning the future of his nation from what he had observed first hand overseas and events resulting from governmental edicts that seemed to be always contrary to be the best interest of the nation, and of the White Race" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998). While remaining active in business, the future of his nation is always "the closest thing to his heart" as he tries to "arouse attention (of people and organizations) into action concerning the threat of Jewish communism" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

Butler's efforts result in media publicity "nearly disastrous to (his) business and

professional life," but which bring him to Kingdom Identity and the development of a friendship with Dr. Wesley A. Swift, founder of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998). He then spends "years of study" with Swift, "line upon line, precept upon precept, and revelations . . . from Dr. Swift and Rev. Bertrand Comparet," another Identity preacher (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E. html, 1998). Together "they shared the blows of the enemy from their combined efforts in the Christian Defense League," which Butler serves as National Director from 1962 to 1965 (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

Butler continues to hold services for the congregation after Swift's death, and eventually leaves the corporate world to "devote full energy and time to . . . serve God and Nation," and eventually moves to Idaho to "expand the Kingdom Identity program and to form the foundation for a 'Call to the Nation' or Aryan Nations" (www.nidlink. com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998). This is the work Aryan Nations is now engaged in, to "let every Aryan son and daughter of Yahweh know what their duty is to the Covenant that Yahweh their God has made to them" and that "your Race is your Nation" (www. nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

The scene for Butler's activities ranges from the business and academic world of southern California, to the military and wartime service, to industry and business overseas in Africa and India. It is in the setting of Kingdom Identity and Swift's "magnificent library," where he finds enlightenment, and in the Church and the Christian Defense League where Butler is able to "serve God and Nation" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/ index-E.html, 1998). Northern Idaho is the final scene where the Kingdom Identity

program is expanded and the scene set for the "Call to the Nation" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

The sanctioning agent is "Jesus the Christ, Yahweh Yahshua," "God . . . the Creator of the universe . . . Father and God" (www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/index-E.html, 1998).

Black separatist: Nation of Islam

The Nation of Islam site includes general information about the group philosophy, the history of the organization, and biographies of its leaders. This site is small in comparison to the other sites in this study. Resources and links include archived articles, news releases, speeches, information about events, and links to associated groups. An address by the Nation of Islam leader Minister Louis Farrakhan is available via Webcast, and the publication "The Final Call" is available in an online edition.

The texts chosen for fantasy theme analysis were selected for their prominence in the site and because the titles suggested they were indicative of basic beliefs of the organization. The texts selected included "What the Muslims Want," "What the Muslims Believe," and "Giving New Meaning to Race."

Fantasy theme I: A separate state provided as fair compensation

In the text, "What the Muslims Want," the fantasy theme is that of a separate state in which Black men and women may live free from the oppression of White society, government and "White courts" of the "former slave masters," and where they may enjoy equality and freedom of justice, opportunity, education, and religion under their own established society, with freedom from police and mob brutality and race mixing (www.

noi.org/program.html, 1998). This establishment of a separate state or territory is an obligation due to the Black men and women in America as due compensation for the contributions of their slave ancestors to building the country, and is the only solution to end conflict between the races.

Symbolic cues included reference to freedom, justice, and equality, that contributions and suffering of slaves should be recognized, and that there is an obligation for compensation made to their descendants by "former slave masters" (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998).

The primary dramatis personae is the "we" who are "Black men and women" whose "parents and grandparents" were "slaves," with reference made to throughout the text as "our people," "Believers of Islam," " Negro," " Black people," " our people," "Black children," "Muslim teachers," and "the Muslims" (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998).

Other dramatis personae include the "former slave masters," referred to as "White America," "slave master's children, and the institutions of society, referred to as the "police," "federal government," " White courts," and "government of the United States" (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998).

The plot line is one of fair compensation for contributions. The demand is made for "full and complete freedom," "equal justice under the law," and "equality of opportunity" (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998). After "giving 400 years of . . . sweat and blood" and "free labor" which "helped America become rich and powerful," and "receiving in return some of the worst treatment human beings have ever experienced" and

"suffering forced" by "White America," the demand is made for "complete separation" (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998). To achieve this, the Nation of Islam wants to establish a separate state or territory for their people, and believes that "former slave masters" are "obligated to provide such land" and to "maintain and supply (our) needs in this separate territory for the next 20 to 25 years" (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998).

Further, freedom should be granted to "Believers of Islam now in federal prisons," and to "Black men and women under death sentence," there should be an "immediate end to police brutality" and "mob attacks against the so-called Negro," and that "the Federal government should intercede to see that Black men and women tried in White courts receive justice" (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998).

Demands are also made that "the government of the United States exempt our people from all taxation as long as we are deprived of equal justice," and that "equal education with separate schools for boys and girls" be provided by the United States government, including "text books and equipment, schools and college buildings" in which "Muslim teachers shall be left free to teach and train their people in the way of righteousness, decency and self respect" (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998).

Finally, call is made for prohibition of "intermarriage or race mixing" and for "the religion of Islam taught without hindrance or suppression" (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998).

The scene is set in an oppressive America, where the group once toiled in slavery and even now does not enjoy the same rights under law, where "thousands of Black people have to subsist on relief or charity or live in poor houses," or are sentenced by

"White courts" to "federal prisons" and "innumerable prisons" (www.noi.org/program. html, 1998).

The scene for the future is of a "separate state or territory--either on this continent or elsewhere" with "fertile and minerally [sic] rich" land and all supplies provided by the United States government, where the group may establish their own society and educational system, and enjoy freedom of religion (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998).

The sanctioning agents are the concepts of justice and fairness.

Fantasy theme II: Resurrection of the righteous, God's chosen people

In the text "What the Muslims Believe," the fantasy theme is that the Muslims in America are God's chosen people and as the "righteous" are the first for "mental resurrection" (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998). The time is at hand for the separation of the races by dividing America, and by "Black people" taking their own names, thereby fully severing any ties between the "former slave masters" and the "freed slaves" (www. noi.org/program.html, 1998). Only when the "so-called Negroes" are separate from the "so-called White Americans" to form their own nation will they obtain true freedom, justice, and equality (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998).

Symbolic cues include reference to resurrection, God's chosen people, the righteous, freedom, equality and justice.

The primary dramatis personae is "we" of the "so-called Negroes" and "the people of God's choice," also referred to in the text as "the rejected and the despised," "the Black man," "slave master's slave," " the Black people of the earth," " freed slaves," "Black peoples," and "righteous Muslims" (The other key dramatis personae is the "One God

whose proper name is Allah," who also appears as "Allah (God) in the Person of Master W. Fard Muhammad, the "Messiah" and the "Mahdi" (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998).

Supporting dramatis personae are "all the Prophets of God," mankind, "so-called White Americans" who are also referred to as " former slave masters," enemies, "friends," and millions of unemployed (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998).

The plot line is that the time of "first judgement" is at hand and has been decreed by God to take place in America (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998). "The most in need" of resurrection are the "so-called Negroes" who are "rejected and despised," and as "the people of God's choice" and "the righteous," will be resurrected first (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998).

Resurrection is "mental resurrection" wherein "the Black man should be freed in name as well as in fact" (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998). This is accomplished through separation of the races the in America and freedom to "go in our own people's names" rather than "the names imposed . . . by former slave masters" (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998). Integration is "hypocritical and is made by those trying to deceive the Black peoples . . . (and) such deception is intended to prevent Black people from realizing that the time in history has arrived for the separation from the Whites of this nation" (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998).

To provide true equality and justice due the "Black man" and to prove they "are truthful about their professed friendship toward the so-called Negro," White people are called upon to "divide up America with their slaves" (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998). Argument is made that America cannot provide enough jobs "for her own millions of

unemployed, in addition to . . . 20,000,000 Black people as well," and that "righteous Muslims should not participate in wars" and should not be forced to participate in such wars unless given "the necessary territory wherein we may have something to fight for" (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998).

Beliefs are based on the Holy Qur'an and "Scriptures . . . brought to the people" by "Allah's Prophets." While there is belief in the "truth of the Bible" it " has been tampered with . . . (and) falsehoods have been added" (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998). Further, Allah (God) has appeared in the Person of Master W. Fard Muhammad as the "long-awaited 'Messiah' . . . and 'Mahdi' " (www.noi.org/program.html, 1998).

The scene is set in American, "this nation," where "this is the time in history for the separation" of the races to occur, so that God will "bring about a universal government of peace wherein we all can live in peace together" (www. noi.org/program. html, 1998).

The sanctioning agent is God, who is referred to as "Allah," supported by the Holy Qur'an, Scriptures, Prophets, the Bible, and principles of righteousness, justice, and equality.

Fantasy theme III: The original people of the earth are called to give new meaning to race

The fantasy theme in the text "Giving New Meaning to Race" is that the Black race is the "original people of the earth" from which came all other races (www.finalcall. com/MLFspeaks/race.html, 1998). As the original "aboriginal people of the earth," race had no meaning until the White race taught a concept of race which included a doctrine of

inferiority for people of color (www.finalcall.com/MLFspeaks/race.html, 1998). The original people of the earth are now "being called upon by Allah" to give the "new and true meaning to race" which will end "race" as it has been known and allow "human beings to address each other as human beings" and "all become one in Christ" (www.finalcall.com/MLFspeaks/race.html, 1998).

Symbolic cues include reference to White domination of the earth teaching racial inferiority, the Black race as the original people of the earth, and the Black race "being called upon by Allah" (www.finalcall.com/MLFspeaks/race.html, 1998).

The primary dramatis personae is the "we" who are "Black men and women" and "brothers and sisters", with references in the text including "inferior people," " aboriginal people," "the children of Ham (one of the sons of Noah)," "Black woman . . . the mother of civilization," and "community" (www.finalcall.com/MLFspeaks/race.html, 1998).

Other dramatis personae include "Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful," "the Honorable Elijah Muhammad," " White people," " the White man," and "the superior White race," the family of man, and Jesus (www.finalcall.com/MLFspeaks/race.html, 1998).

The plot line is that the White race has "exercise their rule over the inhabitants of the earth" for the past 6,000 years, which has "advanced a philosophy of White supremacy" and gave meaning to race which "created hatred and mischief among the family of men" (www.finalcall.com/MLFspeaks/race.html, 1998). This meaning of race will now change because "Black people are being called upon by Allah through the Honorable Elijah Muhammad to give new and true meaning to race" (www.finalcall.com/

MLFspeaks/race.html, 1998).

While "race has no meaning to the aboriginal people of the earth," it is "White man" who taught the meaning of race as "the inferiority of Black and . . . all colors other than White . . . and gave meaning to race in education, politics, religion, justice and all fields of human endeavor" (www.finalcall.com/MLFspeaks/race.html, 1998). It is argued that:

> Religion, Christianity in particular, enforced a falsehood that the we (the Black race) were the children of Ham (one of the sons of Noah), cursed and doomed to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the superior White race (www. finalcall.com/MLFspeaks/race.html, 1998).

Black people are the "original people of the earth. Out of us came all other races" (www.finalcall.com/MLFspeaks/race.html, 1998). They are now called upon by Allah to "give new and true meaning to race," as taught by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, including recognition of pride, "deep spiritual value" and of the "tremendous accomplishments Black people have made to advancement of civilization" (www.finalcall. com/MLFspeaks/race.html, 1998). To achieve a "new and true meaning for race" there must be an end to racism through elimination of terms which suggest inferiority, recognition of the need for unity, political alliances, knowledge of self, an end to "White violence on Black people," pooling of intellectual and financial resources, and commanding respect through "a clean, self-respecting, moral community that respects family and is hard working" (www.finalcall.com/MLFspeaks/race.html, 1998).

The scene is set on earth for the past 6,000 years, and the future where there is a

"new and true meaning to race" (www.finalcall.com/MLFspeaks/race.html, 1998).

The sanctioning agent is Allah through the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, with reference also made to the Holy Qur'an and Christ.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The written content examined in the Web sites for this study all meet Bormann's (1985) model of dramatizing messages illustrative of a past event or descriptive of a future event other than the here-and-now of the group, are organized and artistic with protagonists and antagonists to provide drama, and provided coherent accounts that simplify and form the social reality of the participants. Associated fantasy themes form the basis for a rhetorical vision of how things have been, are, or will be. The resulting rhetorical vision pulls group members together and gives them a sense of identification through a shared reality. Through this process individuals converge or come to hold common images as they share fantasy themes. As discussed by Bormann (1985):

> The . . . main task in making a fantasy theme analysis is to find evidence that symbolic convergence has taken place, that groups of people have shared a fantasy. When similar dramatizing material such as wordplay, narratives, figures, and analogies crops up in a variety of message in different contexts, such repetition is evidence of symbolic convergence (p. 6).

Fantasy themes therefore constitute an important ingredient in persuasion, states Bormann (1985) and:

> much of what has commonly been thought of as persuasion can be accounted for on the basis of group and mass fantasies. The fantasizing is accompanied by

emotional arousal; the dreams embodied in the fantasies drive participants toward actions and efforts to achieve them (p. 9).

A fantasy type is a stock scenario that appears repeatedly in the rhetoric of a group, by the same or similar dramatis personae (Bormann, 1985; Foss, 1989). Bormann (1985) has identified several enduring fantasy types which have been expressed throughout the history of the United States which are demonstrated in the Web sites examined.

The first is the significant fantasy type that Bormann (1985) terms "Fetching Good Out of Evil" (p.44), which may be seen in the National Alliance, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations, and Nation of Islam sites. According to Bormann (1985), this fantasy type provides an explanation of when those who are God's chosen people fall into a time of troubles it is because they are not living up the covenant that he has with them. When the chosen people use the time of troubles to understand the error of their ways and to find God's way, the result is a "glorious happy ending, a time of regeneration and rebirth" (Bormann, 1985, p.43).

A second fantasy type is the preordained drama set by God of "the Christian soldier fighting God's battles and overcoming adversaries to establish the true church . . . An active and, if need be, violent, bloody vision" (Bormman, 1985, p.45). This fantasy type is particularly demonstrated in the Aryan Nations site, while the National Alliance and Knights of the Ku Klux Klan sites contain similar rhetoric of a preordained battle that will establish a new world.

A third fantasy type proposed by Bormann (1985) is that of a "holy emigration of

God's chosen people" (p. 44). This may be seen in the separatism called for by the Stormfront, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and Nation of Islam sites, while the National Alliance and Aryan Nations sites are more strident in their call for a new world for God's chosen people, the White race.

The fourth fantasy type is that of restoration, which is demonstrated in all the Web sites examined. As discussed by Bormann (1985) the archetypal fantasy of restoration is a central recurring form throughout the history of the United States, in which the drama portrays a nation fallen on evil times, the need for restoration and a return to its foundation, and renewal of basic values and ideals. Bormann (1985) has traced the progress of the enduring fantasy type of restoration from the Puritan settlements through United States history to Ronald Reagan's 1980 inaugural address, thereby providing "evidence for its longevity and staying power" (p. 3). The restoration fantasy has shown to provide a "powerful and successful partial answer to the problems of rhetoric of unity" (Bormann, 1985, p. 239).

The restoration fantasy type returns society to its orginal foundations or sees society as built on rotten foundations as evidenced by societal troubles and a state of decline, and seeks to overthrow the system which has caused it to stray from the right path and to establish a new, more perfect society. All the Web sites examined in this study contain comparable language which supports the argument that the restoration drama is a powerful fantasy type for these groups.

Bormann (1985) suggests that because a rhetorical vision depends on drama, it has a particular power that argument and evidence do not. He further states:

If the critic can illuminate how people arrange themselves into social hierarchies, how they acted to achieve goals embedded in their dreams, and how they were aroused by the dramatic action and the dramatis personae within the manifest content of their rhetoric, his insights will make a useful contribution to understanding the movements and its adherents (Bormann, 1972, p.400).

A rhetorical vision is a putting together of various shared fantasies which collectively provide a credible interpretation of reality. It is possible to understand the group's rhetorical vision as composed of fantasy theme elements of dramatis personae, plot lines, and scenes. Rhetorical visions are often integrated by the sharing of message which contains a master analogy which pulls the elements of the vision into a meaningful whole which can usually be summed up by a key word or slogan (Bormann, 1985; Foss, 1989).

It can be suggested that all the sites share two common rhetorical visions which can be summed up in the master analogies of God's Chosen People, and We Shall Overcome. Bormann (1985) suggests that "the rhetorical appeal to the drama of God's chosen people gave to every . . . action a sense of importance." This vision has suggested that the group has been chosen in some way, either through the sacred because they were selected by God and "had read the scriptures right" (p. 49), or through the secular because of "innate fitness" (p. 49). Bormann (1985) uses the example of Abraham Lincoln alluding to this archtypal fantasy "in his annual mesage to Congress in 1862 when he said that the people held 'the power' and have 'the responsibility' " (p. 49). Similar sacred or secular statements can be found in all the Web sites examined, with the National

Alliance, Aryan Nations, and Nation of Islam sites all specifically referring to the group as being God's chosen people.

Bormann (1985) states that the history of rhetorical visions in the United States and Europe indicates that there are few more powerful appeals than that contained in the vision of "We Shall Overcome" (p. 50). Stemming from beliefs of predestination and the inevitability that God's chosen people will triumph, Bormann (1985) notes that this vision has sustained groups throughout history, from the Puritans to "The Progressives (who) thought that progress was inevitable and fought to achieve it; the Nazis throught that they were inevitable and struggled for theiry thousand-year Reich; the Communists . . . Even today, politicians" (Bormann, 1985, p. 50). The fantasy types of the emigration of the chosen people and restoration combine to support the "We Shall Overcome" vision in the Web sites that the group will endure and triumph in restoration and establishment of a right and proper world.

Participants in a rhetorical vision constitute a rhetorical community (Bormann, 1985; Foss, 1989). Bormann (1985) explains that developing a sense of community involves the creation of a common consciousness, such as that found in participation in a rhetorical vision, and identification of a collective self. A personna may be used to identify the group, or some human being such as the founder of a movement may come to be a symbolic personna to stand for the entire movement (Bormann, 1985). Establishment of the group identity usually involves division between the we of the group and outsiders, who are portrayed as the they, unsympathetic, or evil. Bormann (1985) states that fantasies which clearly define the groups are crucial to the emergence of its consciousness.

As all the Web sites examined contain protagonists and antagonists with the development of group identity characterized in "we" and "they" language, it can be argued that the rhetorical visions as seen in these Web sites establish the basis for the formation of a virtual rhetorical community.

As discussed in the Literature Review, users of the Internet and World Wide Web must be aware of the persuasive characteristics of the medium and associated concerns about source credibility and information integrity. While the Web sites examined in this study may be accused of falsifying, fabricating, or distorting evidence, none are deceptive about the intent of the communication and appear to be straightforward in their statements of beliefs. All may be accused of the unethical persuasive means of being specious--if not in true reasoning--certainly through the persuasiveness of the imagery implied in a Web site. In the meaing of specious as having deceptive attraction or allure and a false look or truth or genuineness, the nature of the medium is such that the sites give the appearance of authority, even while the veracity of the information may be suspect.

Further, emotional appeals to principles of fairness and justice are powerfully persuasive, and can be found in all the Web sites in this study. The legitimizing authority in the form of a greater force--whether this force is referred to as God, Jesus Christ, Yahweh, Allah, or even Nature for the Aryan Nations Christian Identity theology--is a common theme throughout the sites, and serves to further enhance the credibility and persuasiveness of the sites.

As of December 6, 1998, at 07:16:49 am GMT, one Internet statistic source listed 4,845,849 domains registered worldwide, with a weekly growth rate of 91,070

(www.netnames.com, 1998). On February 8, 1999 at 07:19:27 am GMT, the number of domains registered worldwide had increased to 5,130,769. Six months later, on August 29, 1999 at 05:27:15 GMT this number has increased to10,360,072 (domainstats.com, 1999).

The explosive growth of the medium of the Internet and the World Wide Web and the powerful opportunities it offers to present a persuasive message on a global scale can be used to promote messages to an increasingly greater and diverse audience. While a teen might not ask his parents to drive him to a Klan meeting or to an Aryan Nations rally, the information of these or any other groups which at one time were considered isolated extremists is now readily available to him, or to anyone, at any time, anywhere. Joining the rhetorical community of a hate group is as easy as going online.

This study is one of the first to analyze the establishment of a Web-based rhetorical community, and is only an initial and broad examination of this phenomenon in a virtual environment. Further study of the use of the Internet and World Wide Web by hate groups should be conducted. Such studies might include: (a) a more in-depth examination of the rhetorical vision of a particular group, particularly those espousing millennial apocalyptic visions or the Christian Identity theology, (b) examination of the graphics, symbols, and images used in hate group sites, and (c) desensitization studies which examine whether the interactive nature of the medium may influence a recipient of a persuasive message to become desensitized and more accepting of a hate message because of the manner in which the individual must interact with the medium and therefore the message itself.

As the technology-savvy extreme goes mainstream, the implications for the effectiveness of this medium in communicating the rhetorical visions of hate groups has the potential for insidious social consequences. As the growth of the medium continues to expand into use by increasing numbers of individuals in the population, so too will the potential for Web-based rhetorical communities to grow and flourish. For a rhetorical community which advocates hate, the global unity enabled through the Internet and World Wide Web allows unlimited opportunities to communicate and reiterate its rhetorical visions of divisiveness and hate, and to urge a call to action based upon those beliefs.

REFERENCE LIST

REFERENCE LIST

Anti-Defamation League (1998). Focus on hate on the Internet. Retrieved September 10, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://www.adl.org/focus_sheets/focus_ internet.html

Aryan Nations (1998). Retrieved November 8, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/

Bales, F., & O'Driscoll, P. (1997, March 28). Cybercults earn money, recruit on Web: Having Web site suggests credibility. USA Today, A2.

Barkun, M. (1994). Religion and the racist right. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Beaupre, B. (1997, February 18). Internet pumps up the volume of hatred. USA Today, A1.

Bormann, E.G. (1972). Fantasy and rhetorical vision: The rhetorical criticism of social reality. Quarterly Journal of Speech, 58, 396-407.

Bormann, E.G. (1982). Fantasy and rhetorical vision: Ten years later. Quarterly Journal of Speech, 68, 288-305.

Bormann, E.G. (1985) The force of fantasy: Restoring the American dream. Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University.

Bormann, E.G.,Cragan , J.F., & Shields, D.C. (1994). In defense of symbolic convergence theory. Communication Theory, v4, n4, 259-294.

Cowan, G., & Hodge, C. (1996). Judgements of hate speech: The effects of target group, publicness, and behavioral responses of the target. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, v26, n4, 355-375.

Cragan, J.F., & Shields, D.C. (1981). Applied communication research: A dramatistic approach. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press.

Cragan, J.F., & Shields, D.C. (1992). The use of symbolic theory in coporate strategic planning. Journal of Applied Communication Research, 20, 199-218.

Cragan, J.F., & Shields, D.C. (1995). Symbolic theories in applied communication: Bormann, Burke, and Fisher. Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press.

Cutler, B. (1990). The fifth medium. American Demographics, June 1990. In Shimkin, D., Stolerman, H., & O'Connor, H. (1992). State of the art: Issues in mass communication. New York: St. Martin's Press.

December, J. (1996). Units of analysis for Internet communication. Journal of Communication, v46, n1, 15-30.

Doob, C.B. (1993). Racism: An American cauldron. New York: Harper Collins College Publishers.

Ezekiel, R.S. (1995). The racist mind: Portraits of American Neo-Nazis and Klansmen. New York: Penguin Group.

Feagin, J.R., and Vera, H. (1995). White racism. New York: Routledge.

Fischer, R.L. (1996, May). Hate fills the airwaves. USA Today, v 124, n2612, 46-49.

Foss, Sonia K. (1989). Rhetorical criticism. Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press.

George, A.L. (1959). Propaganda analysis: A study of inferences made from Nazi propaganda in World War II. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson.

Guillaumin, C. (1995). Racism, sexism, power and ideology. New York: Routledge.

Goldberg, K. (1995). Battling cyber-Nazis. The Progressive, v 59, n5, 13.

Hamm, M.S. (1993). American skinheads: The criminology and control of hate crime. Westport: Praeger.

HateWatch (1998). Retreived September 10, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://hatewatch.org

Hoffman, D.L., & Novak, T.P. (1995). Marketing in hypermedia computer-mediated environments: Conceptual foundations. Project 2000 Working Paper No. 1, Owen Graduate School of Management, Vanderbilt University.

Hoffman, D.L., & Novak, T.P. (1996). A new marketing paradigm for electronic commerce. Project 2000 Working Paper, Owen Graduate School of Management, Vanderbilt University.

Jackson , B.G. (1998). Linking the immediate with the mass-mediated theatre in organizations: The case for symbolic convergence theory. The University of Calgary. Retreived September 23, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://www.it.com.pl/scos/jackson.htm

Johnson, T.J., & Kaye, B.K. (1998). Cruising is believing?: Comparing Internet and traditional sources on media credibility issues. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, v75, n2, 325-340.

Kaplan, J. (1995). A guide to the radical right. The Christian Century, v112, n23, 741-745.

Kleg, M. (1993). Hate, prejudice and racism. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (1998). Retreived November 10, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://www.k-k-k.com/

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (1998). What will you tell your children? Retreived November 10, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://www.k-k-k.com/ children.html, 1998

Krippendorff, K. (1980). Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.

Lee, J.J. (1997). Understanding hate speech as a communication phenomenon: Another view on campus speech code issues. Communications and the Law, v19, n2, 55-77.

Levin, J., & McDevitt, J. (1993). Hate crimes: The rising tide of bigotry and bloodshed. New York: Plenum Press.

Levin, J., & McDevitt, J. (1995). The research needed to understand hate crime. The Chronicle of Higher Education, v 41, n47, B1-2.

Littlejohn, S.W. (1996). Theories of human communication. Belmont: Wadsworth

Matsuda, M.J., Lawrence, C.R. III, Delgado, R., & Crenshaw, K.W. (1993). Words that wound: Critical race theory, assaultive speech, and the First Amendment. Boulder: Westview Press.

McConville, J. (1995). Extremist groups spread message via cable access. Broadcasting and Cable, v125, n18, 8.

McPhail, M.L. (1994). The rhetoric of racism. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America.

Moore, M. (1997, March 28). Internet Angle Forces Media to Get Plugged In. USA Today, A5.

Morris, M., & Ogan, C. (1996). The Internet as mass medium. Journal of Communication, v46, n1, 39-50.

Nation of Islam (1998). Retreived November 8, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://www.noi.org/

Nation of Islam (1998). Giving new meaning to race. Retreived November 8, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://www.finalcall.com/MLFspeaks/race.html

Nation of Islam (1998). The Muslim Program. Retreived November 8, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://www.noi.org/program.html

National Alliance (1998). Retreived November 8, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://www.natvan.com/

NetNames International, Ltd. (1998). Retreived December 6, 1998; February 8, 1999; and August 29, 1999 from the World Wide Web: http://www.netnames.com and http://www.domainstats.com

Office of International Criminal Justice (1998). OICJ Online: Extremist groups. Retrieved September 11, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://www.acsp.uic.edu.index. shtml

Olson, E.G. (1997, November 24). As hate spills onto the Web, a struggle over whether, and how, to control it. The New York Times, v147, pC11, D11.

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1994). Racial formation in the United States from the 1960s to the 1990s. New York: Routledge.

Pew Research Center for the People and the Press (1996). One in ten voters online for Campaign '96. Available at http://www.people-press.org/tec96-1.htm. In Johnson, T.J., & Kaye, B.K. (1998). Cruising is believing?: Comparing Internet and traditional sources on media credibility issues. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, v75, n2, 325-340.

Pike, J. (1995). Cyberstats. Federation of American scientists cyberstrategy project. Retreived March 13, 1997 from the World Wide Web: http://www.fas.org/ cp/netstats

Quittner, J. (1996a). Free speech on the Net: A panel of federal judges overturns the Communications Decency Act. Time, v147, n26, 56-57.

Quittner, J. (1996b, June 24). Home pages for hate: A campaign to limit the voices of white supremacists on the Internet has defenders of the First Amendment worried. Time, v147, n4, 69.

Rafaeli, S. (1996). Why communication researchers should study the Internet: A dialogue. Journal of Communication, v46, n1, 5-13.

Ripley, C. (1994). The Media & The Public. New York: The H.H. Wilson Company.

Sclater, A. (1997, April 17). On the Net, Tales Too Tall to be True. USA Today, D10.

Southern Poverty Law Center (1998a). Retreived October 19, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://www.splcenter.org/

Southern Poverty Law Center (1998b). Klanwatch: Active hate groups. Retreived October 19, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://www.splcenter.org/ klanwatch/kw-2.html

Southern Poverty Law Center (1998c). The year in hate: Number of hate groups rose significantly in 1997. Retreived October 19, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://www.splcenter.org/klanwatch/ kw-4e1.html.

Southern Poverty Law Center (1998d). 163...Hate groups find home on the Net. Retreived October 19, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://www.splcenter.org/ klanwatch/kw-4e2.html

Starobin, P. (1997). Mucking about in cyberspace. National Journal, v 29, n5, 244.

Steele, S. (1996). Taking a byte out of the First Amendment: How free is speech in cyberspace? Human Rights, v23, n2, 14-17.

Stormfront.org White Nationalist Resource Page (1998). Retreived November 5, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://www.stormfront.org/

Sundar, S.S. (1998). Effect of source attribution on perception of online news stories. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, v75, n1, 55-68.

Tabnet.com (1996). Marketing on the Web. Retrieved March 18, 1997 from the World Wide Web: http://tabnet.com/market

Tompkins, W. (1997, March 6). Criminals lock onto Internet: Old swindles show up on new medium. The Leaf-Chronicle, D1.

U.S. Department of Commerce (1998). The emerging digital economy. Retreived April 12, 1998 from the World Wide Web: http://www.ecommerce.gov/

Weiss, E. (1998, April 16). Net use doubling every 100 days. USA Today. A1.

Winters (Ed.) (1996). Hate crimes. San Diego: Greenhaven Press.

Witkin, G., & Thorton, J. (1996). Pride and prejudice: Racist hate groups. U.S. News & World Report, v121, n3, 74-77.

Zeskind, L. (1996). White-shoed supremacy: A resurgent white racial consciousness is afoot, eschewing the militia look. The Nation, v262, n23, 21-25.

APPENDIX A

WHITE NATIONALISTS: STORMFRONT.ORG WEB SITE TEXT

White Nationalism FAQ

by Yggdrasil

Q. What is White Nationalism?

A. The idea that Whites may need to create a separate nation as a means of defending themselves.

Q. Do White Nationalists feel they are superior to other races?

A. No. The desire of White Nationalists to form their own nation has nothing to do with superiority or inferiority.

Q. Do White Nationalists seek to dominate other races?

A. Not at all. In fact, formation of a White nation removes any possibility of White dominance of other races, as well as the plausibility of the accusation that Whites wish to dominate others.

Q. Do White Nationalists seek to insulate themselves from competition from other races?

A. No. A separate White nation would establish a policy of free trade with its new neighbors. Labor markets are global, and the formation of a White nation would not protect Whites from economic competition.

Q. Well if White Nationalists don't feel superior, don't want to dominate others, and don't seek protection from competition, then why would they want a separate nation?

A. To avoid exploitation.

Q. Exploitation? This is rich! So how is it that Whites are exploited?

A. It is a long list. Burdensome racial preference schemes in hiring, racial preference schemes in university admissions, racial preference schemes in government contracting and small business loans. Beyond quotas there is the denial of rights of free speech and of due process to Whites who are critical of these governmental policies. We have special punishments for assaults committed by Whites if the motives might be racial. In addition, Whites pay a proportion of the costs of the welfare state that is disproportionate to what they receive in benefits.

But the most exploitative aspect of the situation is that neither the racial quotas, the business preferences,
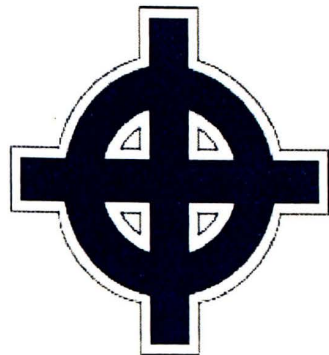
the loss of freedom of speech, nor the disproportionate contributions to the welfare state have managed to sate the appetites of non-Whites living in the United States.

The more Whites sacrifice, the more non-Whites demand. Many Whites are beginning to believe that no amount of tribute, other than mass suicide, would satisfy the non-White demands.

If our presence stirs up that much hatred in the hearts of non-Whites, then the only sensible course of action is to separate ourselves from them.

Q. You claim that non-Whites are the aggressors and haters in race relations. Aren't you afraid that most Whites will think this is ridiculous?

A. Not in the slightest. For the past 30 years most Whites have taken part in a mass migration or "White flight" away from neighborhoods inhabited by non-Whites. Aggressors don't flee. For example, on a per-capita basis, Blacks are 49 times more likely to assault a White than a White is to assault a Black. Assaults by Whites against Blacks are approximately 40 times scarcer than they would be if races were randomly mixed and assault rates did not vary by race. The best measure of racism is the number of non-economically motivated attacks. White score low in this regard, non-Whites high.

The fact is that non-Whites are clamoring to enter this country in droves. Whites are fleeing en masse to formerly uninhabited areas to escape these new arrivals.

Q. But how can Whites be exploited when it is Whites who have enacted these racial preferences, the taxation, the welfare payments and set immigration quotas?

A. Excellent question! It is true that Whites are exploited by their fellow Whites. In fact, we do not expect any resistance by non-Whites to the formation of a separate nation. We expect White integrationist elites to resist. They are the ones who have a great deal to lose.

Q. If life in America is so bad for Whites why don't you just move back to Europe?

A. We are a majority. We do not have to move back. We can resolve to defend ourselves against this onslaught. We have the option of peacefully ceding lands already inhabited by non-Whites to separate non-White nations. We would save money, and could restore our civil liberties and free ourselves from constant threats of violence by so doing.

Q. What would your separate state look like?

A. The truth is we don't know yet. Our separate state would follow the geographic outlines of White flight. The model for this state would be the modern gerrymander created by the Voting Rights Act to create majority non-White congressional districts. We would simply cede these to a separate nation. The mechanics of this process will be explained more fully later in a post entitled "sweating the details."

Q. Would all Whites be welcome in your separate state?

A. Absolutely. There would be no restriction by country of origin, and no genetic tests, skin color or hair color tests or any nonsense like that. The only restriction would be that those who would wish to recreate

the present system by importing non-Whites and then encouraging their hostility would not be welcome. They would have to remain in or move to the lands ceded to the non-Whites.

Q. You are proposing that inclusion and exclusion be based on ideology and feelings. Won't your act of nation splitting turn into a witch hunt?

A. For White liberals it is definitely going to feel like a witch hunt! When the time comes, those who are guilty of "integrationism" should do the sensible thing and flee. It will spare us all a lot of pain.

Q. Is this White nation something that you intend to pursue right away?

A. No. The White nation is, by most accounts, about 20 years off. When the rest of the U.S. begins to look like Southern California it will happen more or less automatically, without much of a push from us.

Q. Why do you use the term "European-American?"

A. All Whites are descended from European immigrants, and we are not actually "White." The term European-American has political significance for two reasons. First, it recognizes that most people in the U.S. of European extraction have intermarried to such an extent that it is no longer possible to identify American Whites as "Irish" or "German" or "Italian." But more important, use of the term "European-American" is intended to recognize that White elites in the United States have exploited differences based on religion and European national origin to divide European-Americans, with the intention of rendering us unable to defend ourselves against non-White demands.

Q. What is White separatism?

A. White separatists will agree on most points with White Nationalists, except that he may not see a need to establish a separate nation within the present territorial boundaries of the U.S.

Q. What is a White supremacist?

A. That is a White who wishes to subjugate other races by force, ordinarily by military conquest. White supremacists are very rare in 1997, and there is no visible trend or base of support which would allow them to carry such a political program into effect.

Other articles by Yggdrasil can be found in Stormfront's Library of Texts .

Counter reset Nov. 25, 1997

White Nationalism--Key Concepts

by Yggdrasil

Concept 1 - There is nothing sacred about having several races in the same country.

If having several different races in the same country works, then fine. Keep the arrangement. If it doesn't, then scrap it. There are no moral imperatives involved in the deciding whether to have one country or several. The issue should be decided based on practicality. The solution that reduces conflict and provides the greatest degree of happiness to the most people is the one to be pursued.

In the United States, we are taught that racial integration is a moral imperative. This morality is the self-interested creation of planters and industrialists interested in cheap labor. It is a morality created to facilitate what Alvin Toffler describes as the "second wave" industrial economy.

It was very much in the interests of planters and industrialists to import whomever they wish to facilitate rapid growth and keep wages low. Any cultural and non-economic costs of learning to adapt to one another were imposed on the existing inhabitants and were not borne by the planters or industrialists individually.

In other parts of the world, races come to be included in the same nation by way of military conquest and colonization. For colonizers, drawing borders in such a way as to include several races makes it possible to pit one race against another, rendering the colony easier to control. Niccolo Machiavelli describes the strategy in his work "The Prince."

Concept 2 - When several races are placed in a single country, conflict arises.

For all the talk about the "brotherhood of man" examples of several races getting along in a single country for an extended period are either few or non-existent.

Racial and ethnic groups always compete.

With the advent of "multiculturalism" the U.S. is rapidly balkanizing. It is only a matter of time before conflict escalates.

Concept 3 - Races will choose different methods of competition depending on their circumstances.

In the United States, we are taught that majorities always oppress minorities.

In truth, both minority and majority races compete for status and power in a multi-racial county. They

typically compete using different means and strategies. Obviously, a minority will attempt to conceal its aggressive agenda so as to lull the majority into political complacency.

To be successful, minorities must be content with indirect racial victories masked from majority view by universalisms like "fairness," "tolerance" and "compassion". To be successful, minorities must conceal their explicit racial agenda from the majority. Thus, minorities will seek to dominate the public discourse concerning the terms of their interaction with the majority.

However, the achilles heel of minority control is their ability to keep the non-elite members of their own group content with the fruits of this indirect aggression against the majority.

Once a significant number of any racial minority becomes dissatisfied and desires the more intense pleasures of direct racial confrontation with the majority, the game is very near an end.

In contrast, with raw numbers on their side, majorities will almost always assert their racial interests in direct ways. Because of this, it is easy to portray a majority as crude and insensitive when it begins to assert its racial interests in the public debate even if only in self-defense.

Concept 4 - A minority will expend great effort in defining the conditions of its interaction with the majority.

The most successful minorities will expend great amounts of energy convincing their racial opponents that they are not competing. Competition and conflict take many forms. Outright violence gets the headlines. However, less visible forms of ethnic conflict always occur. The political struggles for preferences and group advantages that take place in the legislatures always favor organized minorities over complacent majorities.

Successful minorities will attempt to dominate all communications media to the point where they can prevent the dissemination of any message that calls attention to minority racial and ethnic dominance. Only messages of minority victimization are allowed to pass. Serious discussion of these issues in books and periodicals directed at the elites are spoken in "code" so that they cannot alarm the majority.

Control of the terms of interaction between minority and majority demands sufficient control over public morality to ensure that demands to block negative messages will be obeyed by the majority elites. It does not require direct ownership or control over all communications media.

Concept 5 - Majority elites typically benefit from the presence of minority races and will ordinarily oppose the racial interests of their own kind.

Think about it! An elite would never allow the importation of a racial minority unless it benefitted from the minority's presence. So naturally, once the minority has arrived, the majority elite will protect that minority as long as the majority elite continues to benefit.

It makes perfect sense that the elite will invent new secular moral imperatives of tolerance and respect for minorities and demand that the majority learn, believe and follow those new imperatives.

Concept 6 - New immigrants struggle to gain supremacy over the earlier arrivals.

If you examine the history of the migrations to the United States, it is clear that each new wave of arrivals struggles to supplant the earlier arrivals and that most such groups succeed.

The earliest arrivals were the Puritans 1620-1680 (largely, descendants of Danish invaders of England). Once they subdued the indians, later arrivals of English Episcopalians sought to displace the puritans economically and politically. The contest was fought with cultural and political tools, and the new Episcopal arrivals won.

When the earlier arriving Celtic "Anglo Saxons" inhabiting the Southern States attempted to secede, this new Episcopal elite fought the bloodiest war in U.S. history to suppress them.

Beginning in 1880, a new wave of Jewish and Southern European immigrants began arriving in the U.S. they too supplanted the earlier English Episcopalian elite in wealth, education and political power within 50 years of their arrival.

Immigrant groups will invest a great deal of effort creating myths surrounding the hardships encountered on first arrival to deflect attention from their quick acquisition of economic and political power. The myths about hardship and "discrimination" confer upon these new elites "victim status" which insulates them from criticism by the less fortunate and more complacent descendants of earlier arrivals.

Concept 7 - **The masses of a majority race are likely to go along with importation of different races as long as the majority elite demands that new immigrants assimilate.**

If the majority elite demands that the new arrivals assimilate, this is a recognition that the current inhabitants do not have to give up their culture to accommodate the new arrivals. New arrivals must strive to become as much like the existing inhabitants as possible and must strive to limit the potential sources of friction.

Once the elites of the majority race drop their demands for minority assimilation, the minorities will tend to accentuate their differences with the majority. Conflict, whether cultural, political or physical, will escalate.

Concept 8 - **Majority elites will abandon integrationism as soon as it ceases to benefit them.**

Until approximately the mid-1980's large corporations and government bureaucracies created hundreds of thousands of middle management positions to be filled by "generalist" college graduates.

New computer technologies are rapidly replacing these "generalist" knowledge workers. Prior to the advent of these technologies, "how you behaved" was more important than your technical knowledge. To be assured a middle class position in one of these bureaucracies, you only needed to learn the liberal propaganda at college. Not much else mattered.

In exchange for belief in liberalism and integrationism, Euro-American elites were rewarded with middle class jobs. In short, they were bought off. There were direct economic rewards for liberalism.

That is no longer so.

Race based hiring preferences have largely eliminated access to these middle management jobs in government and regulated utilities. Technology is eliminating these positions in the private sector.

In the past, you went to college to learn what to say. One slip of the anti-egalitarian tongue and you ended up in the mail room. Absent 1300 plus combined SAT scores and critical knowledge skills, you will end up in the mail room anyway if you are White.

Increasingly, the behavior and manners of egalitarian belief are becoming less relevant to earning a middle class living.

Correspondingly, the economic incentives for mouthing integrationist and egalitarian viewpoints are eroding dramatically. This is an economic trend that will not reverse itself any time soon.

In the future it is going to become much more difficult for the minority elites to find sufficient numbers of Euro-American front men throughout our institutions to lull the majority back to sleep. Anti-egalitarian dissenters will proliferate from within the information elites.

It is going to be much more difficult to sustain the idea in the minds of the average European-American that this is their country.

Why White Nationalism?

by Yggdrasil

There are two answers to the question: "Why White Nationalism?"

1. The futility of Conservatism!

As we approach the millenium, the destruction of Western Civilization in the United States is so complete that there is little left to conserve. The original understanding that brought our ancestors to the United States was the melting pot, the "color blind society" in which individuals would be judged on merit and not on skin color. The original understanding or social contract has been broken. Individuals are no longer judged by their own merit. The color blind society has simply disappeared. As a practical matter, it will never return. As a consequence there is no longer any reason for a European-American (or anyone else, for that matter) to attempt to slow down the rush towards a balkanized United States. You cannot slow down something that has already occurred.

2. To assert European-American interests in this new balkanized society.

All efforts of liberals at maintaining racial peace in the United States are guided by the false assumption that hostility and anger by non-Whites is provoked by "White racism." The truth is that non-Whites would be hostile toward us even if every European-American were a saint.

In every non-homogenous country in the world non-Whites have powerful racial animosities. (See Yggdrasil's lesson #2). These reactions occur whether Europeans are present or not. However, White liberals imagine that once these people arrive on our shores they lose that natural and universal propensity to dislike people of other races.

To the liberal mind, Black and brown people arriving here either become "saints," devoid of the natural inclination of men everywhere to dislike people with different skin color, or become "new socialist man," motivated solely by calculations of economic self-interest and utterly devoid of racial awareness. Thus, to a liberal, whenever Blacks or browns become angry, they must have been provoked by "White racism."

Now this unfortunate assumption places the average European-American in a rather awkward position. Every time Black and brown people raise a stink about their status or treatment, the liberal assumes that there must be hidden White racism somewhere, and that the way to appease the Blacks and browns is to adopt new employment quotas, more contract set-asides, new standards for race-normed testing or admissions procedures, more stringent "hate crime" laws, more stringent censorship of White speech to filter out anything that might be giving such offense, and if all that fails, direct cash handouts (paid for by the middle class, of course). Now Black and brown people are not fools, they know they are being

rewarded for raising a ruckus. So far, they keep getting the same rewards for it. More ruckus leads to more benefits, more advantages, more tribute, and more humiliation of the average White by their own elites. What a country!

Now for the average European-American who just commutes to work in the morning, has very little racial anger, and certainly doesn't want to foment or participate in any "revolution," all of these concessions present a dilemma. At some point, these undeserved burdens have to stop. Yet the average European-American has been so tolerant of their imposition, and the White liberal elites in charge have been so utterly naive and misguided in their judgments about race, that there is no visible mechanism or group that could possibly stop what is now beginning to look like a massive racially-based attack.

There are no European-American leaders who are willing to stand up and state the obvious. It is the Blacks and browns who are racist. It is the Blacks and browns who are exploiting the race issue for advantage. At some point, the White liberal elites are either going to have to say "no" to the Black and brown racial aggressors, or those White elites will have to be replaced with someone who can.

Thus there is a practical advantage to be gained by bringing White Nationalism out into the open. These White liberal elites are going to have to understand that there are competent rebels within their midst (within the information elites described by Herrenstein and Murray) who feel a moral obligation to dissent and organize average European-Americans to resist their practice of rewarding Black and brown racial aggression. It does not matter whether this practice arises out of a sincere (if obviously silly) notion that only White racism could cause Black and brown hostility, or whether this practice is conscious aggression on the part of an alienated White liberal elite motivated by a need to show contempt for their fellow European-Americans. Either way, it is going to stop. The only question is how "messy" the process of stopping these practices is going to get.

What Is Racism?

The 'racist' double standard: how whites are made to feel guilty and "hateful" for loving their own people and culture.

by Thomas Jackson

There is surely no nation in the world that holds "racism" in greater horror than does the United States. Compared to other kinds of offenses, it is thought to be somehow more reprehensible. The press and public have become so used to tales of murder, rape, robbery, and arson, that any but the most spectacular crimes are shrugged off as part of the inevitable texture of American life. "Racism" is never shrugged off. For example, when a white Georgetown Law School student reported earlier this year that black students are not as qualified as white students, it set off a booming, national controversy about "racism." If the student had merely murdered someone he would have attracted far less attention and criticism.

Racism is, indeed, the national obsession. Universities are on full alert for it, newspapers and politicians denounce it, churches preach against it, America is said to be racked with it, but just what **is** racism?

Dictionaries are not much help in understanding what is meant by the word. They usually define it as the belief that one's own ethnic stock is superior to others, or as the belief that culture and behavior are rooted in race. When Americans speak of racism they mean a great deal more than this. Nevertheless, the dictionary definition of racism is a clue to understanding what Americans **do** mean. A peculiarly American meaning derives from the current dogma that all ethnic stocks are equal. Despite clear evidence to the contrary, all races have been declared to be equally talented and hard- working, and anyone who questions the dogma is thought to be not merely wrong but evil.

The dogma has logical consequences that are profoundly important. If blacks, for example, are equal to whites in every way, what accounts for their poverty, criminality, and dissipation? Since any theory of racial differences has been outlawed, the only possible explanation for black failure is white racism. And since blacks are markedly poor, crime-prone, and dissipated, America must be racked with pervasive racism. Nothing else could be keeping them in such an abject state.

All public discourse on race today is locked into this rigid logic. Any explanation for black failure that does not depend on white wickedness threatens to veer off into the forbidden territory of racial differences. Thus, even if today's whites can find in their hearts no desire to oppress blacks, yesterday's whites must have oppressed them. If whites do not consciously oppress blacks, they must oppress them

Unconsciously. If no obviously racist individuals can be identified, then societal **institutions** must be racist. Or, since blacks are failing so terribly in America, there simply must be millions of white people we do not know about, who are working day and night to keep blacks in misery. The dogma of racial equality leaves no room for an explanation of black failure that is not, in some fashion, an indictment of white people.

The logical consequences of this are clear. Since we are required to believe that the only explanation for non-white failure is white racism, every time a non-white is poor, commits a crime, goes on welfare, or takes drugs, white society stands accused of yet another act of racism. All failure or misbehavior by non-whites is standing proof that white society is riddled with hatred and bigotry. For precisely so long as non-whites fail to succeed in life at exactly the same level as whites, whites will be, by definition, thwarting and oppressing them. This obligatory pattern of thinking leads to strange conclusions. First of all, racism is a sin that is thought to be committed almost exclusively by white people. Indeed, a black congressman from Chicago, Gus Savage, and Coleman Young, the black mayor of Detroit, have argued that only white people **can** be racist. Likewise, in 1987, the affirmative action officer of the State Insurance Fund of New York issued a company pamphlet in which she explained that **all** whites are racist and that **only** whites can be racist. How else could the plight of blacks be explained without flirting with the possibility of racial inequality?

Although some blacks and liberal whites concede that non-whites can, perhaps, be racist, they invariably add that non-whites have been forced into it as self-defense because of centuries of white oppression. What appears to be non-white racism is so understandable and forgivable that it hardly deserves the name. Thus, whether or not an act is called racism depends on the race of the racist. What would surely be called racism when done by whites is thought to be normal when done by anyone else. The reverse is also true.

Examples of this sort of double standard are so common, it is almost tedious to list them. When a white man kills a black man and uses the word "nigger" while doing so, there is an enormous media uproar and the nation beats its collective breast; when members of the black Yahweh cult carry out ritual murders of random whites, the media are silent (see AR of March, 1991). College campuses forbid pejorative statements about non-whites as "racist," but ignore scurrilous attacks on whites.

At election time, if 60 percent of the white voters vote for a white candidate, and 95 percent of the black voters vote for the black opponent, it is whites who are accused of racial bias. There are 107 "historically black" colleges, whose fundamental blackness must be preserved in the name of diversity, but all historically white colleges must be forcibly integrated in the name of the same thing. To resist would be racist.

"Black pride" is said to be a wonderful and worthy thing, but anything that could be construed as an expression of white pride is a form of hatred. It is perfectly natural for third-world immigrants to expect school instruction and driver's tests in their own languages, whereas for native Americans to ask them to learn English is racist.

Blatant anti-white prejudice, in the form of affirmative action, is now the law of the land. Anything remotely like affirmative action, if practiced in favor of whites, would be attacked as despicable favoritism.

The Alien Grip on Our
News and Entertainment Media Must Be Broken

Who Rules America?

By the Research Staff of National Vanguard Magazine
PO Box 330, Hillsboro, West Virginia 24946 USA. FAX# 304-653-4690

There is no greater power in the world today than that wielded by the manipulators of public opinion in America. No king or pope of old, no conquering general or high priest ever disposed of a power even remotely approaching that of the few dozen men who control America's mass news and entertainment media.

Their power is not distant and impersonal; it reaches into every home in America, and it works its will during nearly every waking hour. It is the power which shapes and molds the mind of virtually every citizen, young or old, rich or poor, simple or sophisticated.

The mass media form for us our image of the world and then tell us what to think about that image. Essentially everything we know — or think we know — about events outside our own neighborhood or circle of acquaintances comes to us via our daily newspaper, our weekly news magazine, our radio, or our television.

It is not just the heavy-handed suppression of certain news stories from our newspapers or the blatant propagandizing of history-distorting TV "docudramas" which characterizes the opinion-manipulating techniques of the media masters. They exercise both subtlety and thoroughness in their management of both the news and the entertainment which they present to us.

For example, the way in which the news is covered: which items are emphasized and which are played down, the reporter's choice of words, tone of voice, and facial expressions; the wording of headlines; the choice of illustrations — all of these things subliminally and yet profoundly affect the way in which we interpret what we see or hear.

On top of this, of course, the columnists and editors remove any remaining doubt from our minds as to just what we are to think about it all. Employing carefully developed psychological techniques, they guide our thought and opinion so that we can be in tune with the "in" crowd, the "beautiful people," the "smart money." They let us know exactly what our attitudes should be toward various types of people and behavior by placing those people or that behavior in the context of a TV drama or situation **comedy and**

having the other TV characters react to them in the Politically Correct way.

Molding American Minds

For example, a racially mixed couple will be respected, liked, and socially sought after by other characters, as will a "take charge" Black scholar or businessman, or a sensitive and talented homosexual, or a poor but honest and hardworking illegal alien from Mexico. On the other hand, a White racist — that is, any racially conscious White person who looks askance at miscegenation or at the rapidly darkening racial situation in America — is portrayed, at best, as a despicable bigot who is reviled by the other characters, or, at worst, as a dangerous psychopath who is fascinated by firearms and is a menace to all law-abiding citizens. The White racist "gun nut," in fact, has become a familiar stereotype on TV shows.

The average American, of whose daily life TV-watching takes such an unhealthy portion, distinguished between these fictional situations and reality only with difficulty, if at all. He responds to the televised actions, statements, and attitudes of TV actors much as he does to his own peers in real life. For all too many Americans the real world has been replaced by the false reality of the TV environment, and it is to this false reality that his urge to conform responds. Thus, when a TV scriptwriter expresses approval of some ideas and actions through the TV characters for whom he is writing, and disapproval of others, he exerts a powerful pressure on millions of viewers toward conformity with his own views.

And as it is with TV entertainment, so it is also with the news, whether televised or printed. The insidious thing about this form of thought control is that even when we realize that entertainment or news is biased, the media masters still are able to manipulate most of us. This is because they not only slant what they present, but they establish tacit boundaries and ground rules for the permissible spectrum of opinion.

As an example, consider the media treatment of Middle East news. Some editors or commentators are slavishly pro-Israel in their every utterance, while others seem nearly neutral. No one, however, dares suggest that the U.S. government is backing the wrong side in the Arab-Jewish conflict and that it served Jewish interests rather than American interests to send U.S. forces to cripple Iraq, Israel's principle rival in the Middle East. Thus, a spectrum of permissible opinion, from pro-Israel to nearly neutral, is established.

Another example is the media treatment of racial issues in the United States. Some commentators seem almost dispassionate in reporting news of racial strife, while others are emotionally partisan — with the partisanship always on the non-White side. All of the media spokesmen without exception, however, take the position that "multiculturalism" and racial mixing are here to stay, and that they are good things.

Because there are differences in degree, however, most Americans fail to realize that they are being manipulated. Even the citizen who complains about "managed news" falls into the trap of thinking that because he is presented with an apparent spectrum of opinion he can escape the thought controllers' influence by believing the editor or commentator of his choice. It's a "heads I win, tails you lose" situation. Every point on the permissible spectrum of public opinion is acceptable to the media masters — and no impermissible fact or viewpoint is allowed any exposure at all, if they can prevent it.

The control of the opinion-molding media is nearly monolithic. All of the controlled media — television, radio, newspapers, magazines, books, motion pictures — speak with a single voice, each reinforcing the

other. Despite the appearance of variety, there is no real dissent, no alternative source of facts or ideas accessible to the great mass of people which might allow them to form opinions at odds with those of the media masters. They are presented with a single view of the world — a world in which every voice proclaims the equality of the races, the inerrant nature of the Jewish "Holocaust" tale, the wickedness of attempting to halt a flood of non-White aliens from pouring across our borders, the danger of permitting citizens to keep and bear arms, the moral equivalence of all sexual orientations, and the desirability of a "pluralistic," cosmopolitan society rather than a homogeneous one. It is a view of the world designed by the media masters to suit their own ends — and the pressure to conform to that view is overwhelming. People adapt their opinions to it, vote in accord with it, and shape their lives to fit it.

Electronic News & Entertainment Media

Continuing government deregulation of the telecommunications industry has resulted, not in the touted increased competition, but rather in an accelerating wave of corporate mergers and acquisitions that have produced a handful of multi-billion-dollar media conglomerates. Whenever you watch television, whether from a local broadcasting station or via a cable or satellite dish; whenever you see a feature film in a theater or at home; whenever you listen to the radio or recorded music, whenever you read a newspaper, book, or magazine — it is very likely that the information or entertainment you receive was produced and/or distributed by one of these megamedia companies.

The largest media conglomerate today is Walt Disney Company, whose chairman and CEO, Michael Eisner, is a Jew. The Disney empire, headed by a man described by one media analyst as "a control freak," includes several television production companies (Walt Disney Television, Touchstone Television, Buena Vista Television), its own cable network with 14 million subscribers, and two video production companies.

As for feature films, the Walt Disney Picture Group, headed by Joe Roth (also a Jew), includes Touchstone Pictures, Hollywood Pictures, and Caravan Pictures. Disney also owns Miramax Films, run by the Weinstein brothers, who have produced such ultra-raunchy movies such as The Crying Game, Priests, and Kids.

When the Disney Company was run by the Gentile Disney family prior to its takeover by Eisner in 1984, it epitomized wholesome, family entertainment. While it still holds the rights to Snow White, under Eisner the company has expanded into the production of graphic sex and gratuitous violence. In addition to TV and movies, the corporation owns Disneyland, Disney World, Epcot Center, Tokyo Disneyland, and Euro Disney.

Disney also sells annually well over a billion dollars worth of consumer products: books, toys, and clothing. In August 1995 Eisner acquired Capital Cities/ABC, Inc., to create a media empire with annual sales of $16.5 billion. Capital Cities/ABC owns the ABC Television Network, which in turn owns ten TV stations outright in such big markets as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and Houston. In addition, it has 225 affiliated stations in the United States and is part owner of several European TV companies.

ABC's cable subsidiary, ESPN, is headed by president and CEO Steven Bornstein, who is a Jew. The corporation also has a controlling share of Lifetime Television and the Arts & Entertainment Network

cable companies. ABC Radio Network owns 11 AM and ten FM stations, again in major cities such as New York, Washington, and Los Angeles, and has over 3,400 affiliates.

Although primarily a telecommunications company, Capital Cities/ABC earned over $1 billion in publishing in 1994. It owns seven daily newspapers, Fairchild Publications (Women's Wear Daily), Chilton Publications (automotive manuals), and the Diversified Publishing Group.

Time Warner, Inc., is the second of the international media leviathans. The chairman of the board and CEO, Gerald M. Levin, is a Jew. Time Warner's subsidiary HBO is the country's largest pay-TV cable network.

Warner Music is by far the world's largest record company, with 50 labels, the biggest of which is Warner Brothers Records, headed by Danny Goldberg. Stuart Hersh is president of Warnervision, Warner Music's video production unit. Goldberg and Hersch are both Jews.

Warner Music was an early promoter of "gangsta rap." Through its involvement with Interscope Records, it helped popularize a new genre whose graphic lyrics explicitly urge Blacks to commit acts of violence against Whites.

In addition to cable and music, Time Warner is heavily involved in the production of feature films (Warner Brothers Studio) and publishing. Time Warner's publishing division (editor-in-chief Norman Pearlstine, a Jew) is the largest magazine publisher in the country (Time, Sports Illustrated, People, Fortune).

Levin may soon be back as number-one media magnate if the planned deal with Turner Broadcasting System is completed. When Ted Turner, the Gentile media maverick, made a bid to buy CBS in 1985, there was a panic in media boardrooms across the nation. Turner had made a fortune in advertising and then had built a successful cable-TV news network, CNN. Although Turner employed a number of Jews in key executive positions in CNN and had never taken public positions contrary to Jewish interests, he is a man with a large ego and a strong personality and was regarded by Chairman William Paley and the other Jews at CBS as uncontrollable: a loose cannon who might at some time in the future turn against them. Furthermore, Jewish newsman Daniel Schorr, who had worked for Turner, publicly charged that his former boss held a personal dislike for Jews.

To block Turner's bid CBS executives invited billionaire Jewish theater, hotel, insurance, and cigarette magnate Laurence Tisch to launch a "friendly" takeover of the company, and from 1986 till 1995 Tisch was the chairman and CEO of CBS, removing any threat of non-Jewish influence there. Subsequent efforts by Turner to acquire a major network have been obstructed by Levin's Time Warner, which owns nearly 20 percent of CBS stock and has veto power over major deals.

Thus, despite being an innovator and garnering headlines, Turner has never commanded the wealth and power to be a true media master. Turner may have decided: if you can't lick 'em, join 'em. If TBS merges with Time Warner, Levin will become Turner's boss, and CNN, the only rival to the network news, will come under complete Jewish control.

Viacom, Inc., headed by Sumner Redstone (born Murray Rothstein), is the third largest megamedia corporation in the country, with revenues of over $10 billion a year. Viacom, which produces and

distributes TV programs for the three largest networks, owns 12 television stations and 12 radio stations. It produces feature films through Paramount Pictures, headed by Jewess Sherry Lansing.

Its publishing division includes Prentice Hall, Simon & Schuster, and Pocket Books. It distributes videos through over 4,000 Blockbuster stores. It is also involved in satellite broadcasting, theme parks, and video games.

Viacom's chief claim to fame, however, is as the world's largest provider of cable programming, through its Showtime, MTV, Nickelodeon, and other networks. Since 1989, MTV and Nickelodeon have acquired larger and larger shares of the juvenile television audience. Redstone, who actually owns 76 percent of the shares of Viacom ($3 billion), offers Beavis and Butthead as teen role models and is the largest single purveyor of race-mixing propaganda to White teenagers and sub-teens in America and Europe. MTV pumps its racially mixed rock and rap videos into 210 million homes in 71 countries and is the dominant cultural influence on White teenagers around the world.

Nickelodeon has by far the largest share of the four-to-11-year-old TV audience in America and also is expanding rapidly into Europe. Most of its shows do not yet display the blatant degeneracy which is MTV's trademark, but Redstone is gradually nudging the fare presented to his kiddie viewers toward the same poison purveyed by MTV.

With the top three, and by far the largest, media conglomerates in the hands of Jews, it is difficult to believe that such an overwhelming degree of control came about without a deliberate, concerted effort on their part.

What about the other big media companies?

Number four on the list is Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, which owns Fox Television Network and 20th Century Fox Films. Murdoch is a Gentile, but Peter Chernin, who heads Murdoch's film studio and also oversees his TV production, is a Jew.

Number five is the Japanese Sony Corporation, whose U.S. subsidiary, Sony Corporation of America, is run by Michael Schulhof, a Jew. Alan J. Levine, another Jew, heads the Sony Pictures division.

Most of the television and movie production companies that are not owned by the largest corporations are also controlled by Jews. For example, New World Entertainment, proclaimed by one media analyst as "the premiere independent TV program producer in the United States," is owned by Ronald Perelman, a Jew who also owns Revlon cosmetics. The chairman at New World, Brandon Tartikoff (formerly head of entertainment programming at NBC), is also a Jew.

The best known of the smaller media companies, DreamWorks SKG, is a strictly kosher affair. DreamWorks was formed in 1994 amid great media hype by recording industry mogul David Geffen, former Disney Pictures chairman Jeffrey Katzenberg, and film direction Steven Spielberg, all three of whom are Jews. The company produces movies, animated films, television programs, and recorded music. Considering the cash and connections that Geffen, Katzenberg, and Spielberg have, DreamWorks may soon be in the same league as the big three.

Two other large production companies, MCA and Universal Pictures, are both owned by Seagram

Company, Ltd. The president and CEO of Seagram, the liquor giant, is Edgar Bronfman, Jr., who is also president of the World Jewish Congress.

It is well known that Jews have controlled the production and distribution of films since the inception of the movie industry in the early decades of this century. This is still the case today.

Films produced by just the five largest motion picture companies mentioned above — Disney, Warner Brothers, Sony, Paramount (Viacom), and Universal (Seagram) — accounted for 74 percent of the total box-office receipts for the year to date (August 1995).

The big three in television network broadcasting used to be ABC, CBS, and NBC. With the consolidation of the media empires, these three are no longer independent entities. While they were independent, however, each was controlled by a Jew since its inception: ABC by Leonard Goldenson, CBS first by William Paley and then by Laurence Tisch, and NBC first by David Sarnoff and then by his son Robert. Over periods of several decades these networks were staffed from top to bottom with Jews, and the essential Jewishness of network television did not change when the networks were absorbed by other corporations. The Jewish presence in television news remains particularly strong.

As noted, ABC is part of Eisner's Disney Company, and the executive producers of ABC's news programs are all Jews: Victor S. Neufeld (20-20), Bob Reichbloom (Good Morning America), and Rick Kaplan (World News Tonight).

CBS was recently purchased by Westinghouse Electric Corporation. Nevertheless, the man appointed by Laurence Tisch, Eric Ober, remains president of CBS News, and Ober is a Jew.

At NBC, now owned by General Electric, NBC News president Andrew Lack is a Jew, as are executive producers Jeff Zucker (Today), Jeff Gralnick (NBC Nightly News), and Neal Shapiro (Dateline).

The Print Media

After television news, daily newspapers are the most influential information medium in America. Sixty million of them are sold (and presumably read) each day. These millions are divided among some 1,500 different publications. One might conclude that the sheer number of different newspapers across America would provide a safeguard against minority control and distortion. Alas, such is not the case. There is less independence, less competition, and must less representation of majority interests than a casual observer would think.

The days when most cities and even towns had several independently owned newspaper published by local people with close ties to the community are gone. Today most "local" newspapers are owned by a rather small number of large companies controlled by executives who live and work hundreds or even thousands of miles away. The fact is that only about 25 percent of the country's 1,500 papers are independently owned; the rest belong to multi-newspaper chains. Only 100 of the total number have circulations of more then 100,000. Only a handful are large enough to maintain independent reporting staffs outside their own communities; the rest must depend on these few for all of their national and international news.

In only 50 cities in America are there more than one daily newspaper, and competition is frequently nominal even among them, as between morning and afternoon editions under the same ownership. Examples of this are the Huntsville, Alabama, morning News and afternoon Times; the Birmingham, Alabama, morning Post Herald and afternoon News; the Mobile, Alabama, morning Register and afternoon Press; the Springfield, Massachusetts, morning Union, afternoon News, and Sunday-only Republican; the Syracuse, New York, morning Post-Standard and afternoon Herald-Journal — all owned by the Jewish Newhouse brothers through their holding company, Advance Publications.

The Newhouse media empire provides an example of more than the lack of real competition among America's daily newspapers: it also illustrates the insatiable appetite Jews have shown for all the organs of opinion control on which they could fasten their grip. The Newhouses own 26 daily newspapers, including several large and important ones, such as the Cleveland Plain Dealer, the Newark Star-Ledger, and the New Orleans Times-Picayune; the nation's largest trade book publishing conglomerate, Random House, with all its subsidiaries; Newhouse Broadcasting, consisting of 12 television broadcasting stations and 87 cable-TV systems, including some of the country's largest cable networks; the Sunday supplement Parade, with a circulation of more than 22 million copies per week; some two dozen major magazines, including the New Yorker, Vogue, Mademoiselle, Glamour, Vanity Fair, Bride's, Gentlemen's Quarterly, Self, House & Garden, and all the other magazines of the wholly owned Conde Nast group.

This Jewish media empire was founded by the late Samuel Newhouse, an immigrant from Russia. When he died in 1979 at the age of 84, he bequeathed media holdings worth an estimated $1.3 billion to his two sons, Samuel and Donald. With a number of further acquisitions, the net worth of Advance Publications has grown to more than $8 billion today.

The gobbling up of so many newspapers by the Newhouse family was in large degree made possible by the fact that newspapers are not supported by their subscribers, but by their advertisers. It is advertising revenue — not the small change collected from a newspaper's readers — that largely pays the editor's salary and yields the owner's profit.

Whenever the large advertisers in a city choose to favor one newspaper over another with their business, the favored newspaper will flourish while its competitor dies. Since the beginning of this century, when Jewish mercantile power in America became a dominant economic force, there has been a steady rise in the number of American newspapers in Jewish hands, accompanied by a steady decline in the number of competing Gentile newspapers — primarily as a result of selective advertising policies by Jewish merchants.

Furthermore, even those newspapers till under Gentile ownership and management are so thoroughly dependent upon Jewish advertising revenue that their editorial and news reporting policies are largely constrained by Jewish likes and dislikes. It holds true in the newspaper business, as elsewhere, that he who pays the piper calls the tune.

Three Jewish Newspapers

The suppression of competition and the establishment of local monopolies on the dissemination of news and opinion have characterized the rise of Jewish control over America's newspapers. The resulting ability of Jews to use the press as an unopposed instrument of Jewish policy could hardly be better

illustrated than by the examples of the nation's three most prestigious and influential newspapers: the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, and the Washington Post. These three, dominating America's financial and political capitals, are the newspapers which set the trends and the guidelines for nearly all the others. They are the ones which decide what is news and what isn't, at the national and international levels. They originate the news; the others merely copy it. And all three newspapers are in Jewish hands.

The New York Times is the unofficial social, fashion, entertainment, political, and cultural guide of the nation. It tells America's "smart set" which books to buy and which films to see; which opinions are in style at the moment; which politicians, educators, spiritual leaders, artists, and businessmen are the real comers. And for a few decades in the last century it was a genuinely American newspaper.

The New York Times was founded in 1851 by two Gentiles, Henry J. Raymond and George Jones. After their deaths, it was purchased in 1896 from Jones's estate by a wealthy Jewish publisher, Adolph Ochs. His great-grandson, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, Jr., is the paper's current publisher and CEO. The executive editor is Max Frankel, and the managing editor is Joseph Lelyveld. Both of the latter are also Jews.

The Sulzberger family also owns, through the New York Times Co., 33 others newspapers, including the Boston Globe, purchased in June 1993 for $1.1 billion; twelve magazines, including McCall's and Family Circle with circulations of more than 5 million each; seven radio and TV broadcasting stations; a cable-TV system; and three book publishing companies. The New York Times News Service transmits news stories, features, and photographs from the New York Times by wire to 506 other newspapers, news agencies, and magazines.

Of similar national importance is the Washington Post, which, by establishing its "leaks" throughout government agencies in Washington, has an inside track on news involving the Federal government.

The Washington Post, like the New York Times, had a non-Jewish origin. It was established in 1877 by Stilson Hutchins, purchased from him in 1905 by John R. McLean, and later inherited by Edward B. McLean. In June 1933, however, at the height of the Great Depression, the newspaper was forced into bankruptcy. It was purchased at a bankruptcy auction by Eugene Meyer, a Jewish financier and former partner of the infamous Bernard Baruch, the industry czar in America during the First World War.

The Washington Post is now run by Katherine Meyer Graham, Eugene Meyer's daughter. She is the principal stockholder and board chairman of the Washington Post Co. In 1979, she appointed her son Donald publisher of the paper. He now also holds the posts of president and CEO of the Washington Post Co.

The Washington Post Co. has a number of other media holdings in newspapers, television, and magazines, most notably the nation's number-two weekly newsmagazine, Newsweek.

In a joint venture with the New York Times, the Post publishes the International Herald Tribune, the most widely distributed English language daily in the world.

The Wall Street Journal, which sells 1.8 million copies each weekday, is the nation's largest-circulation daily newspaper. It is owned by Dow Jones & Company, Inc., a New York corporation which also publishes 24 other daily newspapers and the weekly financial tabloid Barron's, among other things. The chairman and CEO of Dow Jones is Peter R. Kann, who is a Jew. Kann also holds the posts of chairman

and publisher of the Wall Street Journal.

Most of New York's other major newspapers are in no better hands than the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal. In January 1993, the New York Daily News was bought from the estate of the late Jewish media mogul Robert Maxwell (born Ludvik Hoch) by Jewish real-estate developer Mortimer B. Zukerman. The Village Voice is the personal property of Leonard Stern, the billionaire Jewish owner of the Hartz Mountain pet supply firm.

Other Mass Media

The story is pretty much the same for other media as it is for television, radio and newspapers. Consider, for example, newsmagazines. There are only three of any note published in the United States: Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report.

Time, with a weekly circulation of 4.1 million, is published by a subsidiary of Time Warner Communications, the new media conglomerate formed by the 1989 merger of Time, Inc., with Warner Communications. The CEO of Time Warner Communications, as mentioned above, is Gerald Levin, a Jew.

Newsweek, as mentioned above, is published by the Washington Post Company, under the Jewess Katherine Meyer Graham. Its weekly circulation is 3.2 million.

U.S. News & World Report, with a circulation of 2.3 million, is owned and published by the aforementioned Mortimer B. Zuckerman, who has taken the position of editor-in-chief of the magazine for himself. Zuckerman also owns the Atlantic Monthly and New York's tabloid newspaper, the Daily News, which is the sixth-largest paper in the country.

Or consider books. There are literally thousands of publishers in the United States, and among these thousands are many with little or no direct Jewish control; there are some which actually dare to publish books not approved by the Jewish Establishment. But all of the latter publishers are very small, and their books seldom reach the great mass of Americans who buy their reading material from drugstore news racks or from the chain bookstores.

Among the giant publishing conglomerates, however, the situation is quite kosher. Three of the six largest book publishers in the United States, according to Publisher's Weekly, are owned or controlled by Jews. The three are first-place Random House (with its many subsidiaries, including Crown Publishing Group), third-place Simon & Shuster, and sixth-place Time Warner Trade Group (including Warner Books and Little, Brown).

As pointed out above, the Newhouse family owns Random House, and Gerald Levin is CEO of Time Warner Communications, of which Time Warner Trade Group is a division. Simon & Shuster is a subsidiary of Viacom, Inc., of which the chairman and CEO is Sumner Redstone, as already noted.

Another publisher of special significance is Western Publishing. Although it ranks only 13th in size among all U.S. publishers, it ranks first among publishers of children's book, with more than 50 percent of the market. Its chairman and CEO is Richard Snyder, a Jew, who just replaced Richard Bernstein, also a Jew.

Our Responsibility

Those are the facts of media control in America. Anyone willing to spend a few hours in a large library looking into current editions of yearbooks on the radio and television industries and into directories of newspapers and magazines; into registers of corporations and their officers, such as those published by Standard and Poors and by Dun and Bradstreet; and into standard biographical reference works can verify their accuracy. They are undeniable, and when confronted with them Jewish spokesmen customarily will use evasive tactics. "Ted Turner isn't a Jew!" they will announce triumphantly, as if that settled the issue. If pressed further, they will accuse the confronter of "anti-Semitism" for even raising the subject. It is fear of this accusation which keeps many persons silent who know the facts.

But we must not remain silent on this most important of issues! The Jewish control of the American mass media is the single most important fact of life, not just in America, but in the whole world today. There is nothing — plague, famine, economic collapse, even nuclear war — more dangerous to the future of our people.

By permitting the Jews to control our news and entertainment media, we are doing more than merely giving them a decisive influence on our political system and virtual control of our government; we also are giving them control of the minds and souls of our children, whose attitudes and ideas are shaped more by Jewish television and Jewish films than by parents, schools, or any other influence.

The Jew-controlled entertainment media have taken the lead in persuading a whole generation that homosexuality is a normal and acceptable way of life; that there is nothing at all wrong with White women dating or marrying Black men, or with White men marrying Asiatic women; that all races are inherently equal in ability and character — except that the character of the White race is suspect because of a history of oppressing other races and that any effort by Whites at racial self-preservation is reprehensible.

We must oppose the further spreading of this poison among our people, and we must break the power of those who are spreading it. It would be intolerable for such power to be in the hands of any alien minority, with values and interests different from our own. But to permit the Jews, with their 3,000-year history of nation-wrecking, from ancient Egypt to Russia, to hold such power over us is tantamount to race suicide. Indeed, the fact that so many White Americans today are so filled with a sense of racial guilt and self-hatred that they actively seek the death of their own race is a deliberate consequence of Jewish media control.

Once we have absorbed and understood the fact of Jewish media control, it is our inescapable responsibility to do whatever is necessary to break that control. We must shrink from nothing in combating this evil power which has fastened its deadly grip on our people and is injecting its lethal poison into their minds and souls. If we fail to destroy it, it certainly will destroy our race.

Let us begin now to acquire knowledge and take action toward this necessary end.

For more information about National Vanguard Books or the National Alliance visit http://www.natvan.com *or* http://www.natall.com.

APPENDIX B

NEO-NAZIS: NATIONAL ALLIANCE WEB SITE TEXT

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

A Natural Order

We see ourselves as integral with a unitary world around us, which evolves according to natural law. In the simplest words: There is only one reality, which we call Nature: not the "my reality" and "your reality" of the subjectivists and not the separate spiritual and physical realms of the supernaturalists. We are a part of Nature and subject to Nature's laws. Within the scope of these laws we are able to determine our own destiny. If we err in our efforts there is no one to protect us from the consequences of our folly or our weakness. In other words, we ourselves are responsible for everything over which we have the power of choice: in particular, for the state of our environment and for the destiny of our race.

This view may be contrasted with the Semitic view, which separates man from the rest of the world and postulates a divine but nevertheless manlike being who rules man and the world by supernatural law. Those who hold this view absolve themselves of responsibility for their fate. When faced with an undesired outcome of events they say, "It is God's (or Yahweh's or Allah's) will. "They believe that it is not necessary for men to concern themselves with the future beyond planning for their own needs, because their god has everything under control.

During the time when Europe was most strongly under the influence of Semitic ideology (and also today in some countries under Islamic rule, as well as among some fundamentalist Jewish and Christian sects in America and elsewhere), it was considered impious for a man to infringe upon the deity's prerogatives: specifically, to attempt to understand or influence the phenomena of Nature, or to change venerable social institutions.

The Law of Inequality

Our world is hierarchical. Each of us is a member of the Aryan (or European) race, which, like the other races, developed its special characteristics over many thousands of years during which natural selection not only adapted it to its environment but also advanced it along its evolutionary path. Those races which evolved in the more demanding environment of the North, where surviving a winter required planning and self-discipline, advanced more rapidly in the development of the higher mental faculties-including the abilities to conceptualize, to solve problems, to plan for the future, and to postpone gratification-than those which remained in the relatively unvarying climate of the tropics. Consequently, the races vary today in their capabilities to build and to sustain a civilized society and, more generally, in their abilities to lend a conscious hand to Nature in the task of evolution.

Furthermore, just as the races may be ordered according to their levels of development, so may the individuals within a race. Some are better able to understand the world around them than others; some are more creative; some have better self-discipline or a stronger will; some have a more highly developed sense of responsibility. In a well-ordered society these differences will be reflected in varying degrees of influence or control over the course of the society being exercised by the various members of the society. according to their varying individual qualities.

In contrast to our view is that of the egalitarians, who believe that the differences in the levels of civilization of the different races and the differences in the social positions of individuals in our society are purely circumstantial and can be changed easily by changing the circumstances: e.g., the level of civilization in Black Africa can be brought up to the European level and kept there by providing economic and technical aid to make up for past "injustices," such as colonialism; and any individual can fill any position in society if he is given certain "advantages," such as good schools and a good home environment. Differences in attainment, standard of living, and degree of social influence, among races and among individuals, are therefore unnatural and unjust and should be done away with, according to the egalitarians.

A Hierarchy of Responsibilities

As individuals who are conscious of our own nature and of our relationship to the rest of the world, we have an inevitable hierarchy of obligations or responsibilities.

First, we have an obligation to the Nature of which we are a part to participate as effectively as we can in its eternal quest for higher levels of development, higher forms of life.

This obligation has been recognized and expressed by our poets and philosophers throughout our history. Friedrich Nietzsche told us that our first responsibility is to help prepare the world for the coming of a higher type of man. George Bernard Shaw wrote that we are obliged to serve the Life Force in its striving to know itself more fully; i.e., to achieve higher levels of consciousness.

Second, we have an obligation to our race as a collective agent of progress. Nature has refined and honed the special qualities embodied in the Aryan race so we would be better able to fulfill the mission allotted to us. Even though Nature also has developed other forms of life, including other races of man, we have a special obligation to our own race: to ensure its survival, to safeguard its unique characteristics, to improve its quality.

Third, we have an obligation to those members of our race who are most conscious of their own obligations and most active in meeting them. Thus, there is a bond of comradeship between us and those who also are working for the same cause.

Finally, we have a responsibility to ourselves to be the best and strongest individuals that we can be.

Our acceptance of this hierarchy of responsibilities is in contrast to the attitude of the individualists, who do not recognize a responsibility to anyone but themselves; and to that of the humanists, who eschew their racial responsibility.

Return to "What is..." Directory || Return to National Alliance Main Page

Summary statement of belief

We may summarize in the following statement the ideology outlined above:
We see ourselves as a part of Nature, subject to Nature's law. We recognize the inequalities which arise as natural consequences of the evolutionary process and which are essential to progress in every sphere of life. We accept our responsibilities as Aryan men and women to strive for the advancement of our race in the service of Life, and to be the fittest instruments for that purpose that we can be.

Return to "What is..." Directory || Return to National Alliance Main Page
Back to top of page

NATIONAL ALLIANCE GOALS

White Living Space
An Aryan Society
A Responsible Government
A New Educational System
An Economic Policy Based on Racial Principles
Return to "What is..." Main Page
Return to National Alliance Main Page

Our goals follow from this world view, and like it they are evolutionary. That is, our goals for the next decade are steps on the way to our goals for the next quarter-century. which in turn are steps on the way to the things we want to achieve a century from now, and so on. It may seem unrealistic for us to describe in detail the type of world we are aiming at a millennium or even a century hence, because, although we know the principles which must govern that world, we cannot be sure exactly how they will be realized. Not only are there the uncertainties of fortune, but we expect to learn from our experiences and to modify accordingly the ways in which we implement our principles.

Nevertheless. it is useful to have a concrete picture now of the world for which we are striving, even though we understand that this picture will evolve, and its details will change. If we think of the world that we want to forge from the ruins of the present world, we might fix our sights on things as we would make them a quarter-century hence, after our enemies have been vanquished, the strife of revolution has subsided, and the spiritual and physical debris of this era has been cleared away. We can then describe, at least in outline, certain essential features that new world must have.

They are, in brief:

White Living Space

In spiritually healthier times our ancestors took as theirs those parts of the world suited by climate and terrain to our race: in particular, all of Europe and the temperate zones of the Americas. not to mention Australia and the southern tip of Africa. This was our living area and our breeding area, and it must be so again. After the sickness of "multiculturalism." which is destroying America, Britain, and every other Aryan nation in which it is being promoted. has been swept away, we must again have a racially clean area of the earth for the further development of our people. We must have White

schools, White residential neighborhoods and recreation areas, White workplaces, White farms and countryside. We must have no non-Whites in our living space, and we must have open space around us for expansion.

We will do whatever is necessary to achieve this White living space and to keep it White. We will not be deterred by the difficulty or temporary unpleasantness involved, because we realize that it is absolutely necessary for our racial survival. The long-term demographic trend toward a darker world which the disastrous policies of the last century have caused must not only be halted; it must be reversed.

Return to "What is..." Directory || Return to National Alliance Main Page

An Aryan Society

We must have new societies throughout the White world which are based on Aryan values and are compatible with the Aryan nature. We do not need to homogenize the White world: there will be room for Germanic societies, Celtic societies, Slavic societies, Baltic societies, and so on, each with its own roots, traditions, and language. What we must have, however, is a thorough rooting out of Semitic and other non-Aryan values and customs everywhere. We must once again provide the sort of social and spiritual environment in which our own nature can express itself in music, in art and architecture, in literature, in philosophy and scholarship, in the mass media, and in the life-styles of the people.

In specific terms, this means a society in which young men and women gather to revel with polkas or waltzes, reels or jigs, or any other White dances, but never to undulate or jerk to negroid jazz or rock rhythms. It means pop music without Barry Manilow and art galleries without Marc Chagall. It means films in which the appearance of any non-White face on the screen is a sure sign that what's being shown is either archival newsreel footage or a historical drama about the bad, old days. It means neighborhoods, schools, work groups, and universities in which there is a feeling of family and comradeship, of a shared heritage and a shared destiny. It means a sense of rootedness, which in turn engenders a sense of responsibility and energizes a moral compass, so that people once again know instinctively what is wholesome and natural and what is degenerate and alien. It means spiritual feeling coming from the soul and unencumbered by superstition or dogma, soaring free and reaching far above today's priest-ridden, church-bound spirituality.

Return to "What is..." Directory || Return to National Alliance Main Page

A Responsible Government

We must have a government wholly committed to the service of our race and subject to no non-Aryan influence. It must be a government guided by fixed principles, yet able to respond in a flexible way to challenges and opportunities. It must be structured and organized in a way suited to its purpose of safeguarding and advancing the race, and it must be as immune to corruption and subversion as human genius can make it.

In America we have had ample experience with two tendencies in government. During the first century or so of the American republic, we had a government which to a large degree embodied the principle that the best government is the least government, reflecting the general distrust of governments which was shared by many of the framers of the U.S. Constitution. This government provided for the national defense, for the mails, and for a number of other functions more or less helpful or necessary to the orderly existence of the nation, but it interfered relatively little in the lives of its citizens and left most of them to take care of their personal needs in the way they saw fit.

With the growth of mass democracy (the abolition of poll taxes and other qualifications for voters, the enfranchisement of women and of non-Whites), the rise in the influence of the mass media on public opinion, and the insinuation of the Jews into a position of control over the media, the U.S. government was gradually transformed into the malignant monster it is today: the single most dangerous and destructive enemy our race has ever known.

Many patriots look back fondly at the government as it was in its first phase, when it was less democratic and less intrusive in the lives of citizens. Perhaps the time will come when we can afford to have a minimal government once again, but that time lies in the remote future. The fact is that we need a strong, centralized government spanning several continents to coordinate many important tasks during the first few decades of a White world: the racial cleansing of the land, the rooting out of racially destructive institutions, and the reorganization of society on a new basis.

The central task of a new government will be to reverse the racially devolutionary course of the last few millennia and keep it reversed: a long-term eugenics program involving at least the entire populations of Europe and America. Such a task is necessarily intrusive, and it will require large-scale organization.

The structural details of a new government are important, but they are not a matter of principle. One might even get the job done by continuing with mass democracy, simply by replacing the people who control the mass media with Alliance members, and perhaps that is a reasonable way to proceed during a transitional period. In the long run, however, we want an honest government, not one which hides behind the carefully managed illusion that tens of millions of voters are its real rulers. A government of and by politicians is not only grossly inefficient, it remains too susceptible to corruption and subversion, regardless of who controls the organs of public opinion.

We need a government every branch of which is staffed by people carefully selected and trained for their responsibilities, not by people who are merely liars with charisma. We need a government of men and women who actually *respect* that government, and

whose attitude toward its mission is essentially *religious*: a government more like a holy order than like any existing secular government today. It might not be too much to say that the most important single institution in the government we want will be the one which selects, trains, and tests the people who will be the judges and the legislators and the executives in that government people who will be more like *secular priests* in their behavior and their attitude toward their work than like today's politicians and bureaucrats. The institution which prepares these people for their work must be incorruptible and single-minded, with our principles engraved in the souls of its teachers.

Return to "What is..." Directory || Return to National Alliance Main Page

A New Educational System

A proper educational system serves three purposes: it passes a people's cultural, intellectual, and spiritual heritage from generation to generation; it teaches skills and techniques; and it guides the character development of individuals from childhood to adulthood. The first purpose is served by teaching facts and ideas: language, history, science, ethics, and so on.

The second purpose is served by teaching the child or young adult how to do things which will be useful to himself and/or society: how to play a musical instrument, how to weld, how to manage a business, how to type, how to repair a motor vehicle, how to fight with and without weapons, how to draw, how to swim, how to raise children, how to grow food, how to build a house.

The third purpose is served by challenging, testing, conditioning: by forcing the child to exercise his will, to discipline himself, to endure discomfort, to make plans and carry them out, to overcome fears, to accept responsibility, to be truthful, and generally to develop and strengthen those traits of character valued by a healthy Aryan society.

The present educational system in America completely neglects the third purpose and does poorly with the first two, even in those fortunate areas not yet encumbered with an appreciable "multicultural" contingent. The most important reason for its poor performance is that it has lost any clear understanding of purpose. In order to pass on a people's cultural, intellectual, and spiritual heritage, it must first know the answer to the question: *Which* people's heritage? Today such a question is Politically Incorrect and there fore not admissible.

Even half a century ago, before it became Politically Incorrect to understand that the heritage to be passed on is European, there was no depth of purpose. The *reason* for passing on the European heritage is not just to help young people qualify for higher-paid employment or become better dinner-table conversationalists. It is to instill in them a consciousness of what it means to be European-a *race* consciousness-and

thereby to make racial patriots of them Facts and ideas have a spiritual component, and this component must be emphasized in the educational process.

There certainly will be sexual and occupational specialization in the second area of educational activity, and sexual specialization in the third. Even in the first area, children undoubtedly will be separated according to ability: not every child needs to learn Greek and Latin and the infinitesimal calculus to acquire a feeling for his race and its ways. Nevertheless, a proper educational system should provide a common body of knowledge and understanding shared by everyone, so that every member of the society has a fully developed sense of peoplehood. The boy who aims at becoming a machinist should read Homer, at least in translation, and the boy who plans to teach literature should understand what it means to be a good welder, at least to the extent of trying his hand at it.

It is by pursuing the third purpose, however, that a new educational system will make the most radical contribution to Aryan society. Education which concerns itself with the development of the whole person and focuses as strongly on forming character as on imparting knowledge or teaching skills dates back to ancient Greece, and it enjoyed an all-too-brief revival earlier this century in National Socialist Germany, before being outlawed by the advocates of permissiveness. Today permissiveness rules throughout the Aryan world. "Education" is something which takes place only in designated buildings for a few hours on prescribed days, under conditions approaching chaos. Inside or outside these buildings, discipline is minimal. Children grow up in a world without standards of performance, without clear guidelines for behavior, without any strong source of authority. We see the products of this system all around us: too many weak, indecisive men and too many unfeminine women; a general lack of significant goals and self-confidence; a self-indulgent population without self-discipline or inner strength, restlessly seeking "happiness."

By ensuring that each child born to our race grows into the strongest, most capable, most responsible, and most conscious future citizen that his genes make possible, we will gain an enormous advantage over any race without such an educational system.

An Economic Policy Based on Racial Principles

There are two fundamental criteria which must be used for judging each and every governmental intervention in economic matters. They are, first, the long-range welfare and progress of the race; and second, human nature. Which is to say that in evaluating any economic policy we must ask ourselves two questions: Will this policy ultimately be beneficial or detrimental to the quality of our race? And is it in accord with human nature?

We look first at the racial effects of a policy and insist that they must be positive-or at least not negative-and then we insist that the policy be based on a clear and realistic understanding of human nature, so that it is workable.

We can understand better the significance of these two principles if we consider briefly two quite different economic systems, Marxism and *laissez-faire* capitalism.

Marxist economics has human happiness rather than racial progress as its ostensible aim, and it is based on assumptions that are at odds with reality and with human nature. It aims at providing material comfort for everyone, more or less equally. It cannot even admit the possibility of racial progress, because that implies that some types of men are inherently superior to others and that some directions of development are more desirable than other directions.

Whether one prefers the Marxist goal of the greatest happiness for the greatest number or the National Alliance goal of stronger, wiser, and more beautiful men and women is a matter of one's values. It was not on its choice of values that Marxism foundered, however, but on its refusal to recognize the fact of human inequality and the nature of human motivation. When people are not permitted to work for their own profit and advancement, they do not work well; and when a society's leaders do not attain their positions through their own merit, that society is likely to be ill led.

In contrast to the Marxist system, we recognize the need to permit people to compete, to reap the fruits of their labor, and to exercise leadership according to their demonstrated ability. They will work harder and more efficiently and will order themselves in a hierarchy of ability. The result will be a stronger, better led, and more prosperous society. There will of course, be those individuals who will not work or whose natural abilities are such that they cannot compete effectively. Rather than following the Marxist path of robbing the successful in order to reward the unsuccessful, we must take measures to ensure that society's lowest elements do not multiply and become more numerous in later generations.

The *laissez faire* capitalist system provides another illustrative contrast. Under such a system the society as a whole has no goals: there are only the goals of individual men and women. The capitalist system, like ours, provides strong incentives for individuals: the strong, aggressive, and clever rise and prosper, and the weak, indecisive, and stupid remain at the bottom. Leaders tend to be capable-at least, in the capitalist economic environment, with its special conditions.

Without a unifying principle, however, a capitalist society easily can fall prey to certain inherent weaknesses. One of these weaknesses is the instability which leads the rich to become richer and the poor to become poorer, not solely because of differences in ability but because the possession of capital gives the possessor an enormous advantage in the competition for more capital. When personal gain is the *only* advantage in the competition for more capital. When personal gain is the *only* motivation in a society, those who already are rich can arrange things to favor themselves: they can buy the legislation they want, and they can block threats to their power in ways which may be destructive to the welfare of the society as a whole. They

can hold down the price of labor, limit healthy competition within the society, and exploit the environment without regard for the long-range consequences.

The overly rigid social stratification resulting from unrestricted capitalism can lead to endemic class hostility and even to class warfare. It can slow racial progress by making the ability to acquire and hold capital the supreme survival trait.

We need an economic system which, in contrast to Marxism, allows individuals to succeed in proportion to their capability and energy, but which, in contrast to capitalism, does not allow them to enga8e in socially' or racially harmful activity, such as stifling competition or importing non White labor. We need to structure our economic system so that it cannot fall prey to the instability of capitalism. We need to maintain social flexibility, so that capable and energetic individuals always have the possibility of rising. We need to ensure that capital does not have the possibility of changing society's rules to suit itself. The way to achieve and maintain an economic system which meets these criteria is to design and govern the system subject to the supreme principle: the ultimate aim of all economic policy is racial progress.

Who Rules America

The Alien Grip on Our News and Entertainment Media Must Be Broken

By the Research Staff of National Vanguard Books
Box 330, Hillsboro, West Virginia 24946 USA

There is no greater power in the world today than that wielded by the manipulators of public opinion in America. No king or pope of old, no conquering general or high priest ever disposed of a power even remotely approaching that of the few dozen men who control America's mass news and entertainment media.

Their power is not distant and impersonal; it reaches into every home in America, and it works its will during nearly every waking hour. It is the power which shapes and molds the mind of virtually every citizen, young or old, rich or poor, simple or sophisticated.

The mass media form for us our image of the world and then tell us what to think about that image. Essentially everything we know -- or *think* we know -- about events outside our own neighborhood or circle of acquaintances comes to us via our daily newspaper, our weekly news magazine, our radio, or our television.

It is not just the heavy-handed suppression of certain news stories from our newspapers or the blatant propagandizing of history-distorting TV "docudramas" which characterizes the opinion-manipulating techniques of the media masters. They exercise both subtlety and thoroughness in their management of both the news and the entertainment which they present to us.

For example, the way in which the news is covered: which items are emphasized and which are played down, the reporter's choice of words, tone of voice, and facial expressions; the wording of headlines; the choice of illustrations -- all of these things subliminally and yet profoundly affect the way in which we interpret what we see or hear.

On top of this, of course, the columnists and editors remove any remaining doubt from our minds as to just what we are to think about it all. Employing carefully developed psychological techniques, they guide our thought and opinion so that we can be in tune with the "in" crowd, the "beautiful people," the "smart money." They let us know exactly what our attitudes should be toward various types of people and behavior by placing those people or that behavior in the context of a TV drama or situation comedy and having the other TV characters react to them in the Politically Correct way.

Molding American Minds

For example, a racially mixed couple will be respected, liked, and socially sought after by other characters, as will a "take charge" Black scholar or businessman, or a sensitive and talented homosexual, or a poor but honest and hardworking illegal alien from Mexico. On

the other hand, a White racist -- that is, any racially conscious White person who looks askance at miscegenation or at the rapidly darkening racial situation in America -- is portrayed, at best, as a despicable bigot who is reviled by the other characters, or, at worst, as a dangerous psychopath who is fascinated by firearms and is a menace to all law-abiding citizens. The White racist "gun nut," in fact, has become a familiar stereotype on TV shows.

The average American, of whose daily life TV-watching takes such an unhealthy portion, distinguishes between these fictional situations and reality only with difficulty, if at all. He responds to the televised actions, statements, and attitudes of TV actors much as he does to his own peers in real life. For all too many Americans the real world has been replaced by the false reality of the TV environment, and it is to this false reality that his urge to conform responds. Thus, when a TV scriptwriter expresses approval of some ideas and actions through the TV characters for whom he is writing, and disapproval of others, he exerts a powerful pressure on millions of viewers toward conformity with his own views.

And as it is with TV entertainment, so it is also with the news, whether televised or printed. The insidious thing about this form of thought control is that even when we realize that entertainment or news is biased, the media masters still are able to manipulate most of us. This is because they not only slant what they present, but they establish tacit boundaries and ground rules for the permissible spectrum of opinion.

As an example, consider the media treatment of Middle East news. Some editors or commentators are slavishly pro-Israel in their every utterance, while others seem nearly neutral. No one, however, dares suggest that the U.S. government is backing the wrong side in the Arab-Jewish conflict and that it served Jewish interests rather than American interests to send U.S. forces to cripple Iraq, Israel's principal rival in the Middle East. Thus, a spectrum of permissible opinion, from pro-Israel to nearly neutral, is established.

Another example is the media treatment of racial issues in the United States. Some commentators seem almost dispassionate in reporting news of racial strife, while others are emotionally partisan -- with the partisanship always on the non-White side. All of the media spokesmen without exception, however, take the position that "multiculturalism" and racial mixing are here to stay, and that they are good things.

Because there are differences in degree, however, most Americans fail to realize that they are being manipulated. Even the citizen who complains about "managed news" falls into the trap of thinking that because he is presented with an apparent spectrum of opinion he can escape the thought controllers' influence by believing the editor or commentator of his choice. It's a "heads I win, tails you lose" situation. Every point on the permissible spectrum of public opinion is acceptable to the media masters -- and no impermissible fact or viewpoint is allowed any exposure at all, if they can prevent it.

The control of the opinion-molding media is nearly monolithic. All of the controlled media -- television, radio, newspapers, magazines, books, motion pictures -- speak with a single voice, each reinforcing the other. Despite the appearance of variety, there is no real dissent, no alternative source of facts or ideas accessible to the great mass of people which might allow them to form opinions at odds with those of the media masters. They are presented

with a single view of the world -- a world in which *every* voice proclaims the equality of the races, the inerrant nature of the Jewish "Holocaust" tale, the wickedness of attempting to halt a flood of non-White aliens from pouring across our borders, the danger of permitting citizens to keep and bear arms, the moral equivalence of all sexual orientations, and the desirability of a "pluralistic," cosmopolitan society rather than a homogeneous one. It is a view of the world designed by the media masters to suit their own ends -- and the pressure to conform to that view is overwhelming. People adapt their opinions to it, vote in accord with it, and shape their lives to fit it.

And who are these all-powerful masters of the media? As we shall see, to a very large extent they are Jews.

Electronic News & Entertainment Media

Continuing government deregulation of the telecommunications industry has resulted, not in the touted increased competition, but rather in an accelerating wave of corporate mergers and acquisitions that have produced a handful of multi-billion-dollar media conglomerates. Whenever you watch television, whether from a local broadcasting station or via a cable or satellite dish; whenever you see a feature film in a theater or at home; whenever you listen to the radio or recorded music; whenever you read a newspaper, book, or magazine -- it is very likely that the information or entertainment you receive was produced and/or distributed by one of these megamedia companies.

The largest media conglomerate today, with 1997 revenues of $23 billion, is the Walt Disney Company. Its chairman and CEO, Michael Eisner, is a Jew. The Disney empire, headed by a man described by one media analyst as "a control freak," includes several television production companies (Walt Disney Television, Touchstone Television, Buena Vista Television) and cable networks with more than 100 million subscribers altogether.

As for feature films, the Walt Disney Picture Group, headed by Joe Roth (also a Jew), includes Touchstone Pictures, Hollywood Pictures, and Caravan Pictures. Disney also owns Miramax Films, run by the Weinstein brothers, who have produced such ultra-raunchy movies as *The Crying Game, Priest,* and *Kids.*

When the Disney Company was run by the Gentile Disney family prior to its takeover by Eisner in 1984, it epitomized wholesome, family entertainment. While it still holds the rights to *Snow White,* under Eisner the company has expanded into the production of a great deal of so-called "adult" material. In addition to TV and movies, the corporation owns Disneyland, Disney World, Epcot Center, Tokyo Disneyland, and Euro Disney.

Disney also sells annually well over a billion dollars worth of consumer products -- books, toys, and clothing -- through 636 Disney stores. In August 1995 Eisner acquired Capital Cities/ABC, Inc, which owns the ABC Television Network, which in turn owns ten TV stations outright in such big markets as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Houston. In addition, it has 225 affiliated stations in the United States and is part owner of several European TV companies.

ABC's cable subsidiary, ESPN, is headed by president and CEO Steven Bornstein, who is a Jew. The corporation also has a controlling share of Lifetime Television and the Arts & Entertainment Network cable companies. ABC Radio Network owns 26 AM and FM stations, again in major cities such as New York, Washington, and Los Angeles, and has over 3,400 affiliates.

Although primarily a telecommunications company, Capital Cities/ABC earned over $1 billion in publishing in 1997. It owns seven daily newspapers, Fairchild Publications (Women's Wear Daily), Chilton Publications (automotive manuals), and the Diversified Publishing Group.

Time Warner, Inc., with 1997 revenues of more than $13 billion, is the second of the international media leviathans. Time Warner leapfrogged over the Walt Disney Company to first place among media giants when it acquired Turner Broadcasting System in 1996, but it slipped back into second place in 1997. The chairman of the board and CEO of Time Warner, Gerald M. Levin, is a Jew. Time Warner's subsidiary HBO is the country's largest pay-TV cable network.

Until the purchase in May 1998 of PolyGram by Edgar Bronfman, Jr., Warner Music was America's largest record company, with 50 labels, the biggest of which is Warner Brothers Record. Warner Music was an early promoter of "gangsta rap." Through its involvement with Interscope Records (prior to Interscope's acquisition by MCA) it helped popularize a genre whose graphic lyrics explicitly urge Blacks to commit acts of violence against Whites.

In addition to cable and music, Time Warner is heavily involved in the production of feature films (Warner Brothers Studio, Castle Rock Entertainment, and New Line Cinema) and publishing. Time Warner's publishing division (editor-in-chief Norman Pearlstine, a Jew) is the largest magazine publisher in the country (Time, Sports Illustrated, People, Fortune).

The deal which temporarily made Gerald Levin number-one media magnate -- the acquisition of Ted Turner's Turner Broadcasting System -- also took one of the few remaining Gentiles out of the top ranks of media bosses. When Ted Turner, the Gentile media maverick, made a bid to buy CBS in 1985, there was panic in media boardrooms across the nation. Turner had made a fortune in advertising and then had built a successful cable-TV news network, CNN. Although Turner employed a number of Jews in key executive positions in CNN and had never taken public positions contrary to Jewish interests, he is a man with a large ego and a strong personality and was regarded by Chairman William Paley and the other Jews at CBS as uncontrollable: a loose cannon who might at some time in the future turn against them. Furthermore, Jewish newsman Daniel Schorr, who had worked for Turner, publicly charged that his former boss held a personal dislike for Jews.

To block Turner's bid CBS executives invited billionaire Jewish theater, hotel, insurance, and cigarette magnate Laurence Tisch to launch a "friendly" takeover of the company, and from 1986 till 1995 Tisch was the chairman and CEO of CBS, removing any threat of non-Jewish influence there. Subsequent efforts by Turner to acquire a major network have been obstructed by Levin's Time Warner, which owns nearly 20 percent of CBS stock and has veto power over major deals.

Thus, despite being an innovator and garnering headlines, Turner never commanded the "connections" required to be a true media master. He finally decided, if you can't lick 'em, join 'em, and he sold out to Levin.

Number three on the list, with 1997 revenues of just over $13 billion, is Viacom, Inc, headed by Sumner Redstone (born Murray Rothstein). Viacom, which produces and distributes TV programs for the three largest networks, owns 13 television stations and 12 radio stations. It produces feature films through Paramount Pictures, headed by Jewess Sherry Lansing.

Its publishing division includes Simon & Schuster, Scribner, The Free Press, and Pocket Books. It distributes videos through over 4,000 Blockbuster stores. It is also involved in satellite broadcasting, theme parks, and video games.

Viacom's chief claim to fame, however, is as the world's largest provider of cable programming, through its Showtime, MTV, Nickelodeon, and other networks. Since 1989 MTV and Nickelodeon have acquired larger and larger shares of the juvenile television audience. Redstone, who actually owns 76 per cent of the shares of Viacom, until recently offered Beavis and Butthead as teen role models and currently is the largest single purveyor of race-mixing propaganda to White teenagers and sub-teens in America and Europe. MTV pumps its racially mixed rock and rap videos into 210 million homes in 71 countries and is the dominant cultural influence on White teenagers around the world.

Nickelodeon has by far the largest share of the four-to-11-year-old TV audience in America and also is expanding rapidly into Europe. Most of its shows do not yet display the blatant degeneracy which is MTV's trademark, but Redstone is gradually nudging the fare presented to his kiddie viewers toward the same poison purveyed by MTV.

The new boy on the megamedia block is Edgar Bronfman, Jr., president and CEO of Seagram Company, Ltd., the liquor giant. His father, Edgar Bronfman, Sr., is president of the World Jewish Congress. Seagram owns two large production companies, MCA and Universal Pictures (now merged under the name Universal Studios). Among its many other properties, MCA owns Interscope Records, the foremost promoter of "gangsta rap."

Bronfman became the biggest man in the record business in May 1998 when he also acquired control of PolyGram, the European record giant, by paying $10.6 billion to the Dutch electronics manufacturer Philips. With the expected revenue from PolyGram added to that from MCA and Universal, Bronfman will have the fourth largest media empire, with annual revenues around $12 billion. One especially unfortunate aspect of the PolyGram acquisition is that it gives Bronfman control of the world's largest producer of classical music CDs: PolyGram owns the Deutsche Grammophon, Decca-London, and Philips record companies.

With the top four media conglomerates in the hands of Jews, it is difficult to believe that such an overwhelming degree of control came about without a deliberate, concerted effort on their part.

What about the other big media companies?

Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, which owns Fox Television Network, 20th Century Fox Films, and Fox 2000, is the fifth largest megamedia corporation in the country, with 1997 revenues of over $11 billion. It is the only other media company which comes even close to the top four. Murdoch is a Gentile Australian, but Peter Chernin, who is president and CEO of Fox Group, which includes all of News Corporation's film, television, and publishing operations in the United States, is a Jew. Under Chernin, as chairman of Fox 2000, is Laura Ziskin, a Jewess. Jew Peter Roth works under Chernin as president of Fox Entertainment. News Corporation also owns the *New York Post* and *TV Guide,* and they are published under Chernin's supervision.

Most of the television and movie production companies that are not owned by the largest corporations are also controlled by Jews. For example, New World Entertainment, proclaimed by one media analyst as "the premiere independent TV program producer in the United States," is owned by Ronald Perelman, a Jew who also owns Revlon cosmetics and offered a job to Monica Lewinsky when Bill Clinton was trying to keep her quiet.

The best known of the smaller media companies, DreamWorks SKG, is a strictly kosher affair. DreamWorks was formed in 1994 amid great media hype by recording industry mogul David Geffen, former Disney Pictures chairman Jeffrey Katzenberg, and film director Steven Spielberg, all three of whom are Jews. The company produces movies, animated films, television programs, and recorded music. Considering the cash and connections that Geffen, Katzenberg, and Spielberg have, DreamWorks may soon be in the same league as the big four.

It is well known that Jews have controlled the production and distribution of films since the inception of the movie industry in the early decades of this century. This is still the case today.

Films produced by just the four largest motion picture companies mentioned above -- Disney, Warner Brothers, Paramount (Viacom), and Universal (Seagram) -- accounted for two-thirds of the total box-office receipts for the year 1997.

The big three in television network broadcasting used to be ABC, CBS, and NBC. With the consolidation of the media empires, these three are no longer independent entities. While they were independent, however, each was controlled by a Jew since its inception: ABC by Leonard Goldenson, CBS first by William Paley and then by Laurence Tisch, and NBC first by David Sarnoff and then by his son Robert. Over periods of several decades these networks were staffed from top to bottom with Jews, and the essential Jewishness of network television did not change when the networks were absorbed by other corporations. The Jewish presence in television news remains particularly strong.

For example, the executive producers of all three of the main network news programs are Jews. The executive producer of ABC's *World News Tonight with Peter Jennings* is Paul Friedman. The executive producer of *NBC Nightly News with Tom Brokaw* is Neal Shapiro. The executive producer of *CBS Evening News with Dan Rather* is Al Oritz. If you prefer *CBS This Morning News* instead, the executive producer is Al Berman, who also is a Jew. Or if you get your news from CNN, the boss there is Rick Kaplan, also a Jew.

The Print Media

After television news, daily newspapers are the most influential information medium in America. Sixty million of them are sold (and presumably read) each day. These millions are divided among some 1,500 different publications. One might conclude that the sheer number of different newspapers across America would provide a safeguard against minority control and distortion. Alas, such is not the case. There is less independence, less competition, and much less representation of majority interests than a casual observer would think.

The days when most cities and even towns had several independently owned newspapers published by local people with close ties to the community are gone. Today most "local" newspapers are owned by a rather small number of large companies controlled by executives who live and work hundreds or even thousands of miles away. The fact is that only about 25 per cent of the country's 1,500 papers are independently owned; the rest belong to multi-newspaper chains. Only 100 of the total number have circulations of more than 100,000. Only a handful are large enough to maintain independent reporting staffs outside their own communities; the rest must depend on these few for all of their national and international news.

In only 50 cities in America are there more than one daily newspaper, and competition is frequently nominal even among them, as between morning and afternoon editions under the same ownership. Examples of this are the Huntsville, Alabama, morning *News* and afternoon *Times;* the Birmingham, Alabama, morning *Post Herald* and afternoon *News;* the Mobile, Alabama, morning *Register* and afternoon *Press;* the Springfield, Massachusetts, morning *Union,* afternoon *News,* and Sunday-only *Republican;* the Syracuse, New York, morning *Post-Standard* and afternoon *Herald-Journal* -- all owned by the Jewish Newhouse brothers through their holding company, Advance Publications.

The Newhouse media empire provides an example of more than the lack of real competition among America's daily newspapers: it also illustrates the insatiable appetite Jews have shown for all the organs of opinion control on which they could fasten their grip. The Newhouses own 26 daily newspapers, including several large and important ones, such as the Cleveland *Plain Dealer,* the Newark *Star-Ledger,* and the New Orleans *Times-Picayune;* Newhouse Broadcasting, consisting of 12 television broadcasting stations and 87 cable-TV systems, including some of the country's largest cable networks; the Sunday supplement *Parade,* with a circulation of more than 22 million copies per week; some two dozen major magazines, including the *New Yorker, Vogue, Mademoiselle, Glamour, Vanity Fair, Bride's, Gentlemen's Quarterly, Self, House & Garden,* and all the other magazines of the wholly owned Conde Nast group.

This Jewish media empire was founded by the late Samuel Newhouse, an immigrant from Russia. When he died in 1979 at the age of 84, he bequeathed media holdings worth an estimated $1.3 billion to his two sons, Samuel and Donald. With a number of further acquisitions, the net worth of Advance Publications has grown to more than $8 billion today.

The gobbling up of so many newspapers by the Newhouse family was in large degree made

possible by the fact that newspapers are not supported by their subscribers, but by their advertisers. It is advertising revenue -- not the small change collected from a newspaper's readers -- that largely pays the editor's salary and yields the owner's profit.

Whenever the large advertisers in a city choose to favor one newspaper over another with their business, the favored newspaper will flourish while its competitor dies. Since the beginning of this century, when Jewish mercantile power in America became a dominant economic force, there has been a steady rise in the number of American newspapers in Jewish hands, accompanied by a steady decline in the number of competing Gentile newspapers -- primarily as a result of selective advertising policies by Jewish merchants.

Furthermore, even those newspapers still under Gentile ownership and management are so thoroughly dependent upon Jewish advertising revenue that their editorial and news reporting policies are largely constrained by Jewish likes and dislikes. It holds true in the newspaper business as elsewhere that he who pays the piper calls the tune.

Three Jewish Newspapers

The suppression of competition and the establishment of local monopolies on the dissemination of news and opinion have characterized the rise of Jewish control over America's newspapers. The resulting ability of the Jews to use the press as an unopposed instrument of Jewish policy could hardly be better illustrated than by the examples of the nation's three most prestigious and influential newspapers: the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Washington Post*. These three, dominating America's financial and political capitals, are the newspapers which set the trends and the guidelines for nearly all the others. They are the ones which decide what is news and what isn't, at the national and international levels. They originate the news; the others merely copy it. And all three newspapers are in Jewish hands.

The *New York Times* is the unofficial social, fashion, entertainment, political, and cultural guide of the nation. It tells America's "smart set" which books to buy and which films to see; which opinions are in style at the moment; which politicians, educators, spiritual leaders, artists, and businessmen are the real comers. And for a few decades in the last century it was a genuinely American newspaper.

The *New York Times* was founded in 1851 by two Gentiles, Henry J. Raymond and George Jones. After their deaths, it was purchased in 1896 from Jones's estate by a wealthy Jewish publisher, Adolph Ochs. His great-great-grandson, Arthur Sulzberger, Jr., is the paper's current publisher and the chairman of the New York Times Co. The executive editor is Joseph Lelyveld, also a Jew (he is a rabbi's son).

The Sulzberger family also owns, through the New York Times Co., 33 other newspapers, including the *Boston Globe*, purchased in June 1993 for $1.1 billion; twelve magazines, including *McCall's* and *Family Circle* with circulations of more than 5 million each; seven radio and TV broadcasting stations; a cable-TV system; and three book publishing companies. The New York Times News Service transmits news stories, features, and photographs from the *New York Times* by wire to 506 other newspapers, news agencies, and

magazines.

Of similar national importance is the *Washington Post*, which, by establishing its "leaks" throughout government agencies in Washington, has an inside track on news involving the Federal government.

The *Washington Post*, like the *New York Times*, had a non-Jewish origin. It was established in 1877 by Stilson Hutchins, purchased from him in 1905 by John R. McLean, and later inherited by Edward B. McLean. In June 1933, however, at the height of the Great Depression, the newspaper was forced into bankruptcy. It was purchased at a bankruptcy auction by Eugene Meyer, a Jewish financier and former partner of the infamous Bernard Baruch, industry czar in America during the First World War.

The *Washington Post* is now run by Katherine Meyer Graham, Eugene Meyer's daughter. She is the principal stockholder and the board chairman of the Washington Post Co. In 1979 she appointed her son Donald publisher of the paper. He now also holds the posts of president and CEO of the Washington Post Co.

The Washington Post Co. has a number of other media holdings in newspapers, television, and magazines, most notably the nation's number-two weekly newsmagazine, *Newsweek*.

In a joint venture with the *New York Times*, the *Post* publishes the *International Herald Tribune*, the most widely distributed English language daily in the world.

The *Wall Street Journal*, which sells 1.8 million copies each weekday, is the nation's largest-circulation daily newspaper. It is owned by Dow Jones & Company, Inc, a New York corporation which also publishes 24 other daily newspapers and the weekly financial tabloid *Barron's*, among other things. The chairman and CEO of Dow Jones is Peter R. Kann, who is a Jew. Kann also holds the posts of chairman and publisher of the *Wall Street Journal*.

Most of New York's other major newspapers are in no better hands than the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*. In January 1993 the New York *Daily News* was bought from the estate of the late Jewish media mogul Robert Maxwell (born Ludvik Hoch) by Jewish real-estate developer Mortimer B. Zuckerman. The *Village Voice* is the personal property of Leonard Stern, the billionaire Jewish owner of the Hartz Mountain pet supply firm. And, as mentioned above, the *New York Post* is owned by News Corporation under the Jew Peter Chernin.

News Magazines

The story is pretty much the same for other media as it is for television, radio, films, music, and newspapers. Consider, for example, newsmagazines. There are only three of any note published in the United States: *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report*.

Time, with a weekly circulation of 4.1 million, is published by a subsidiary of Time Warner Communications, the new media conglomerate formed by the 1989 merger of Time, Inc, with Warner Communications. The CEO of Time Warner Communications, as mentioned

with Warner Communications. The CEO of Time Warner Communications, as mentioned above, is Gerald Levin, a Jew.

Newsweek, as mentioned above, is published by the Washington Post Company, under the Jewess Katherine Meyer Graham. Its weekly circulation is 3.2 million.

U.S. News & World Report, with a weekly circulation of 2.3 million, is owned and published by the aforementioned Mortimer B. Zuckerman, who also has taken the position of editor-in-chief of the magazine for himself. Zuckerman also owns the *Atlantic Monthly* and New York's tabloid newspaper, the *Daily News,* which is the sixth-largest paper in the country.

Our Responsibility

Those are the facts of media control in America. Anyone willing to spend a few hours in a large library looking into current editions of yearbooks on the radio and television industries and into directories of newspapers and magazines; into registers of corporations and their officers, such as those published by Standard and Poors and by Dun and Bradstreet; and into standard biographical reference works can verify their accuracy. They are undeniable, and when confronted with them Jewish spokesmen customarily will use evasive tactics. "Ted Turner isn't a Jew!" they will announce triumphantly, as if that settled the issue. If pressed further they will accuse the confronter of "anti-Semitism" for even raising the subject. It is fear of this accusation which keeps many persons silent who know the facts.

But we must not remain silent on this most important of issues! The Jewish control of the American mass media is the single most important fact of life, not just in America, but in the whole world today. There is nothing -- plague, famine, economic collapse, even nuclear war -- more dangerous to the future of our people.

Jewish media control determines the foreign policy of the United States and permits Jewish interests rather than American interests to decide questions of war and peace. Without Jewish media control, there would have been no Persian Gulf war, for example, and no continued beating of the drums for another war against Iraq.

By permitting the Jews to control our news and entertainment media we are doing more than merely giving them a decisive influence on our political system and virtual control of our government; we also are giving them control of the minds and souls of our children, whose attitudes and ideas are shaped more by Jewish television and Jewish films than by parents, schools, or any other influence.

The Jew-controlled entertainment media have taken the lead in persuading a whole generation that homosexuality is a normal and acceptable way of life; that there is nothing at all wrong with White women dating or marrying Black men, or with White men marrying Asiatic women; that all races are inherently equal in ability and character -- except that the character of the White race is suspect because of a history of oppressing other races; and that any effort by Whites at racial self-preservation is reprehensible.

We must oppose the further spreading of this poison among our people, and we must break the power of those who are spreading it. It would be intolerable for such power to be in the hands of *any* alien minority, with values and interests different from our own. But to permit the Jews, with their 3,000-year history of nation-wrecking, from ancient Egypt to Russia, to hold such power over us is tantamount to race suicide. Indeed, the fact that so many White Americans today are so filled with a sense of racial guilt and self-hatred that they actively seek the death of their own race is a *deliberate* consequence of Jewish media control.

Once we have absorbed and understood the fact of Jewish media control, it is our inescapable responsibility to do *whatever is necessary* to break that control. We must shrink from *nothing* in combating this evil power which has fastened its deadly grip on our people and is injecting its lethal poison into their minds and souls. If we fail to destroy it, it certainly will destroy our race.

Let us begin now to acquire knowledge and take action toward this necessary end.

Owners, managers, and corporate relationships change from time to time, of course. All of the names and other data in this report have been checked carefully and are accurate as of November 1998.

[Main Page | Whats New | Free Speech | Letters | Who Rules America]
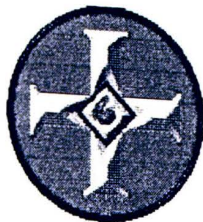[Phone numbers | What is the National Alliance | National Vanguard Magazine | Catalog]

American Dissident Voices (Transcripts | Broadcast Schedule | Internet Radio | Ftp)

APPENDIX C

KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN WEB SITE TEXT

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Things the liberal media told you that just aren't true.

1. The Klan hates black people.

   This is a lie and the liberal media knows it. We believe everyone has a right to be proud of their race, which means White people have a right to be proud also. Therefore we believe that anti-White policies should be discarded and that people should be hired, promoted, and given scholarships according to their ability and not because we feel sorry for them or because they have the "politically correct" color of skin.

2. The Klan is against Catholics.

   That is another liberal media lie. We believe that all Christians, regardless of their religious preference need to work in harmony for the future of our children and Western Christian Civilization.

3. If you join the Klan you will have to break the law and commit crimes against black people.

   The liberal media says this even though it is not true because they want you to be afraid of joining the Klan and going to jail. They know that if White people ever join together we will be able to stop the destruction of our race and nation. This lie is told to keep the good, decent, and honorable Christian people from ever joining our movement. Klan members take a pledge not to commit crimes.

What the Klan really is.

1. The Klan is a gathering of White Christian men and women who are joined together because of the common bond they share by blood and faith. Each person is an individual and we do not attempt to do your thinking for you.
2. The Klan is the oldest, largest, and most professional Whites Rights group in the world. Our membership draws from all walks of life. We are committed to upholding and defending Western Christian civilization.

The Klan Political Agenda.

1. America First!

The very first responsibility of our government is to protect the welfare (jobs, health, future) of AMERICANS - not those in Mexico, Vietnam, Somalia, Haiti, or some other third world country. It is time to take America back.

2. Drug testing for Welfare Recipients.

Not everyone who is on welfare is taking drugs. We are aware of that, but there are many, especially in housing projects in large urban areas, who are taking drugs. If they have enough money for drugs, they don't need your money. If a welfare recipient is a drug user, their welfare check, food stamps, public housing, and etc. should be cut.

3. Protect America's Birthright.

If the Klan were in political power laws would be enacted that would prevent American industry and property from being sold to foreigners. America should be owned by Americans - not Japanese, Arabs or Jews.

4. Do away with Affirmative Action Programs.

People in America should be hired, promoted or given scholarships based on ability, not because they have the right color of skin or because we feel sorry for them or because we are trying to appease some kind of self-inflicted guilt.

5. Protect American Jobs.

Americans are loosing jobs to foreign nations because our industry is moving to Mexico to obtain cheap labor which is often only 60 or 70 cents an hour. American industry is also enticed to move to Mexico in order to save millions because of non-existing environmental laws. The criminals in Washington have passed NAFTA and are now selling us out with GATT.

6. Close our Border.

The flood of illegal aliens coming across our borders needs to be stopped. If we can put 43,000 soldiers in South Korea to protect their borders, 500,000 soldiers in Saudi Arabia to protect their borders. Why can not we put troops on our borders to protect our country from the invasion of illegal aliens? We must protect the future of our children, not the future of the children of Mexico.

7. Outlaw homo-sexuality and inter-racial marriages.

Until 20 or so years ago, nearly all states had 'sodomy' and miscegenation laws and statutes that were strictly enforced. Since that time they have been repealed or are ignored, the results are obvious with the plague of AIDS now ravaging our land. Both of these abominations against God and nature must be stopped if America is ever to return to the great Christian nation it once was.

Click here for a statement of our beliefs.

Click here for an application to join The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

History of the Klan

At the end of the War Between the States in April of 1865 marked the beginning of a terrible time of trouble for the White citizens who remained loyal to the southern states. This infamous chapter of American History is known as the Reconstruction period.

Although large portions of the south were untouched by military action during the war, the problems after the war touched all and were severe. Private homes and farms were burned, personal property seized, under the continuing state of martial law. Some of the seized property was given to some of the newly freed slaves, Who many feared would rise up in revolt at any moment. Many individual cases did occur, and the law turned a blind eye too often to be tolerated. It was a lawless time when street justice prevailed.

It was out of these dismal conditions that just and decent men of honor came together forming the Ku Klux Klan. Led by Nathan Bedford Forrest in Tennessee, by 1877 these courageous men had driven the federal troops back north. For a time they saved the white south from the tyranny of the federal government, the extortion of the carpetbaggers, the treason of the scalawags, and the hatred of the numerous renegade negroes.

Today we are seeing history repeat itself. Our land is once again being destroyed by the same treason. This time it is not only confined to the south, but it is affecting America as a whole. Now, even as it was then, when the original klansmen rode it started with a few good men willing to stand up for the betterment of their future. So white man what will we tell our children of future generations. Do you plan to spread the light of hope or extinguish it?

THE FIERY CROSS

Due to questions on why we light the cross, here is an explanation. The fiery cross is a Klan symbol representing the ideals of Christian civilization. Out of the Holy Bible comes the wonderful story of Calvary's rugged but holy cross. The cross is a symbol of sacrifice, service, and a sign of the Christian religion. Sanctified and made holy nearly 19 centuries ago by the suffering and the blood of Christ. It is a constant reminder that Christ is our criterion of character and his teachings are our rule of life--- blood bought, holy, sanctified, and sublime. We have added the fire to signify that "Christ is the light of the world." As light drives away the darkness and the gloom so a knowledge of the truth dispels ignorance

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

QUOD SEMPER , QUOD UBIQUE

QUOD AB OMNIBUS

Non Silba   Seb Anthar

What will you tell your children??

"How will you explain what happened to the once great nation of America when your children or grandchildren ask you why?"

What will you tell those youngsters clustered at your knees? How will you tell them that their nation, once strong, dynamic and compassionate a few years ago, is now gone? How will you explain to them that no longer can you go to the corner store and buy food for them because the money in your pocket is just worthless paper? How will you tell them that the policeman on the corner is no longer a friend and neighbor, but an agent of a tyrant government, perhaps not even American but a United Nations 'multi-national peacekeeper'? How will you explain that the Constitutional Republic that once was America is now gone, sold to the highest bidder by corrupt politicians? How will you explain why you allowed this to happen? What will you say when it is a crime for your children to own a Bible or pray to God, or when independent thought is outlawed? How will you comfort them when they are taken to state run camps for 'education' by proponents of the New World Order? How will you explain that the rights you enjoyed are now gone forever? So, what will you tell your children? What excuse will convince them that you did all you could to preserve the future for them? Will you be able to look them in the eye and tell them that is how it was meant to be, you couldn't help it? OR............. Will you stand up for what you know is right and just and start to save what is the birthright and inheritance of your children? Will you pull your head out of the sand and stand up for the future of White Christian America before it is to

late, or will you watch it die, your descendants to live in the chains of tyranny forever more? The choice is yours White man, but what will you tell your children?
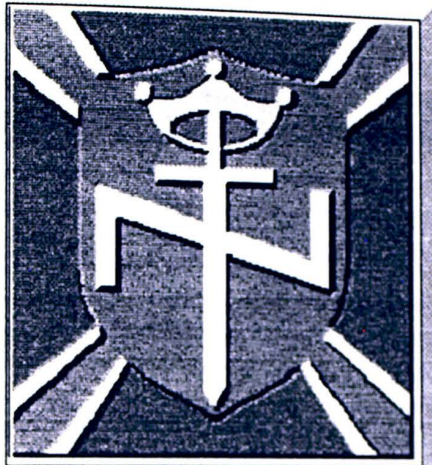
Return to Home Page

APPENDIX D

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY: ARYAN NATIONS WEB SITE TEXT

ARYAN NATIONS

Lightning   LinkSites

Aryan Nations is Not a New Right-Wing Organization
Suddenly Appearing on the Scene

Aryan Nations is the on-going work of Jesus The Christ regathering His people, calling His people to a state for their nation to bring in His Kingdom! We hail His Victory!

WE BELIEVE in the preservation of our Race, individually and collectively, as a people as demanded and directed by Yahweh. We believe our Racial Nation has a right and is under obligation to preserve itself and its members

WE BELIEVE that Adam, man of Genesis, is the placing of the White Race upon this earth. Not all races descend from Adam. Adam is the father of the White Race only. (Adam in the original Hebrew is translated: "to show blood in the face: turn rosy.") Genesis 5:1

WE BELIEVE that the true, literal children of the Bible are the twelve tribes of Israel, now scattered throughout the world and now known as the Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, Teutonic, Scandinavian, Celtic peoples of the earth. We know that the Bible is written to the family of Abraham, descending from Shem back to Adam. Yahweh blessed Abraham and promised that he would be the "father of nations." This same promise continued through the seedline of Abraham's son Isaac, and again to Isaac's son Jacob, the patriarch of the twelve tribes, whose name Yahweh changed to Israel (Meaning: "he will rule as God"). Genesis 32:28; Exodus 12:31; 16:4; 19:20; Revelations 21:12

WE BELIEVE that there are literal children of Satan in the world today. These children are the descendants of Cain, who was a result of Eve's original sin, her physical seduction by Satan. We know that because of this sin there is a battle and a natural enmity between the children of Satan and the children of The Most High God (Yahweh). Genesis 3:15; 1 John 3:12

WE BELIEVE that the Cananite Jew is the natural enemy of our Aryan (White) Race. This is attested by scripture and all secular history. The Jew is like a destroying virus that attacks our racial body to destroy our Aryan culture and the purity of our Race. Those of our Race who resist these attacks are called "chosen and faithful." John 8:44; 1 Thessalonians 2:15; Revelations 17:14

WE BELIEVE that there is a battle being fought this day between the children of darkness (today known as Jews) and the children of light (Yahweh, The Everliving God), the Aryan Race, the true Israel of the bible. Revelations 12:10-11

WE BELIEVE in the gam-ma'di-on (ga'ma'di-on), n.; pl. -DIA (-a). [MGr.,

dim. of gamma.] A cross formed of four capital gammas (I'), esp. in the figure of a swastika. Gamma among early Christians symbolized Christ as a cornerstone of the church. WEBSTERS DICTIONARY.

WE BELIEVE that the present world problems result from our disobedience to Divine Law.

WE BELIEVE that there is a day of reckoning. The usurper will be thrown out by the terrible might of Yahweh's people, as they return to their roots and their special destiny. We know there is soon to be a day of judgment and a day when Christ's Kingdom (government) will be established on earth, as it is in heaven. "And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms and it shall stand forever. The saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey Him." Daniel 2:44; 7:18; 7:27

WHITE RACISM: Where does it come from?

What is the actual driving force behind the "racist" White Christian Nationalist's fight for the preservation of the Aryan Race? The news media would scream an immense and piercing shriek of "HATE" if they could catch the slightest whisper of such a question coming from ruddy Aryan lips. But those long standing warriors in this Struggle know that the answer has a much greater depth and meaning than the anti-Christ Jews, mongrel hordes and liberal White race-mixers could even begin to fathom. . . that of LOVE.

The depths of Love are rooted and very deep in a real White Nationalist's soul and spirit, no form of "hate" could even begin to compare. At least not a hate motivated by ungrounded reasoning. It is not hate that makes the average White man look upon a mixed racial couple with a scowl on his face and loathing in his hear. It is not hate that makes the White housewife throw down the daily jewspaper in repulsion and anger after reading of yet another child-molester or rapist sentenced by corrupt courts to a couple short years in prison or on parole. It is not hate that makes the White workingman curse about the latest boatload of aliens dumped on our shores to be given job preference over the White citizens who built this land. It is not hate that brings rage into the heart of a White Christian farmer when he reads of billions loaned or given away as "aid" to foreigners when he can't get the smallest break from an unmerciful government to save his failing farm.

No, it is not hate, It is LOVE...

FOUNDATIONS BIOGRAPHY OF ARYAN NATIONS

Pastor Richard G. Butler

Who are we, and who is Richard G. Butler? We are the continuing direct-line Church of Jesus Christ Christian as originally founded by Dr. Wesley Swift of Lancaster, California. After Dr. Swift's death, the church has been carried on by Richard G. Butler. The Church of Jesus Christ Christian is The true Church of Christ, teaching not the "doctrines of men" - but rather the doctrines of the Prophets and Jesus The Christ, Yahweh Yahshua....

Mr. Butler received his formal education and training in southern California, including Aeronautical Engineering at Los Angeles City College. His early experience in the aircraft industry included management of maintenance assembly and repair of major assemblies for commercial and military aircraft in the United States, Africa and India.

In 1946, and the following 18 years, he organized and operated a machine plant

for the production and precision machining of automotive parts and engine
assemblies and aircraft parts. Subsequently from 1964 through 1973, Mr. Butler
was a marketing analyst for new inventions. In 1968 he became a Senior
Manufacturing Engineer for Lockheed Aircraft Co. at their Palmdale, California,
plant, where extensive development was under way for the L-1011 aircraft. He
resigned from this corporate associateship to devote full energy and time to his
greatest and all-consuming desire to serve God and Nation.

Pastor Butler is a co-inventor for rapid repair of tubeless tires and holds both
U.S. and Canadian patents thereon. He is a pilot and during World War II was
among other duties, a Flight Engineer Instructor in the U.S. Air Force. His
background reflects a broad experience in the United States and foreign
countries concerning alien races, their work habits, status of "culture" and
"religions."

Returning home from wartime activities in 1946, Mr. Butler was deeply
troubled concerning the future of his nation from what he had observed first
hand overseas and events resulting from governmental edicts that seemed to be
always contrary to the best interest of the nation, and of the White Race, in
particular. While active in business life, the closest thing to his heart was the
future of his nation; therefore, most all available spare time was spent studying
and delving into various service and political organizations, trying to arouse
attention of friends, acquaintances, members of fraternal organizations, and
business associates into action concerning the threat of Jewish communism.

The media publicity received from these efforts, while nearly disastrous to
business and professional life, turned out to be the greatest of all blessings, in
that he was let to Kingdom Identity with the meeting and forming of the closest,
most rewarding of all personal relationships with Dr. Wesley A. Swift, starting
in 1961 and continuing until Dr. Swift's passing in 1971.

The years of study were spent under Dr. Swift in his magnificent library with
line upon line, precept upon precept, and revelations over the years from Dr.
Swift and Rev. Bertrand Comparet. They shared the blows of the enemy from
their combined efforts in the Christian Defense League, of which Pastor Butler
was the National Director from 1962 to 1965.

Upon the passing of Dr. Swift, Mr. Butler continued holding services for the
congregation of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, until he moved to northern
Idaho to expand the Kingdom Identity program and to form the foundation for a
"Call to the Nation" or Aryan Nations.

We seek to let every Aryan son and daughter of Yahweh know what their duty
is to the Covenent (Constitution) that Yahweh their God has made with them as

Nations of His people and His blessings come to, or are withheld from, a Nation—so is it that each citizen of the Nation is either blessed or cursed. The rewards are in direct proportion to the ACTION and WILL of the Nation, for our people have the "Law written on their hearts." We seek to live and establish a government under the Law of God, for Your Race is your Nation.

FIDELITY

That for which we fight is to safeguard the existence and reproduction of our Race, by and of our Nations, the sustenance of our children and the purity of our blood, the freedom and independence of the people of our Race, so that we, a kindred people, may mature for fulfillment of the mission allotted to us by the Creator of the universe, our Father and God. Hail His Victory!

● *To print this page in black text, click here*

THE ARYAN WARRIOR

Aryan Nations Restructures Nationwide
Traitors Advised to Get Out
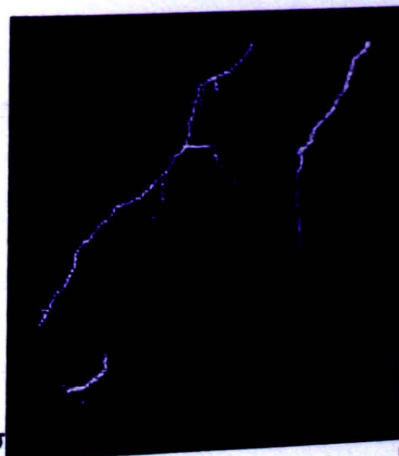
Lightning **LinkSites**

APPENDIX E

BLACK SEPARATIST: NATION OF ISLAM WEB SITE TEXT

THE MUSLIM PROGRAM

What The Muslims Want

This is the question asked most frequently by both the whites and the blacks. The answers to this question I shall state as simply as possible.

1. We want freedom. We want a full and complete freedom.

2. We want justice. Equal justice under the law. We want justice under the law. We want justice applied equally to all, regardless of creed or class or color.

3. We want equality of opportunity. We want equal membership in society with the best in civilized society.

4. We want our people in America whose parents or grandparents were descendants from slaves, to be allowed to establish a separate state or territory of their own--either on this continent or elsewhere. We believe that our former slave masters are obligated to provide such land and that the area must be fertile and minerally rich. We believe that our former slave masters are obligated to maintain and supply our needs in this separate territory for the next 20 to 25 years--until we are able to produce and supply our own needs.

Since we cannot get along with them in peace and equality, after giving them 400 years of our sweat and blood and receiving in return some of the worst treatment human beings have ever experienced, we believe our contributions to this land and the suffering forced upon us by white America, justifies our demand for complete separation in a state or territory of our own

5. We want freedom for all Believers of Islam now held in federal prisons. We want freedom for all black men and women now under death sentence in innumerable prisons in the North as well as the South.

We want every black man and woman to have the freedom to accept or reject being separated from the slave master's children and establish a land of their own.

We know that the above plan for the solution of the black and white conflict is the best and only answer to the problem between two people.

6. We want an immediate end to the police brutality and mob attacks against the so-called Negro throughout the United States.

We believe that the Federal government should intercede to see that black men and women tried in white courts receive justice in accordance with the laws of the land--or allow us to build a new nation for ourselves, dedicated to justice, freedom and liberty.

7. As long as we are not allowed to establish a state or territory of our own, we demand not only equal justice under the laws of the United States, but equal employment opportunities- **NOW!**

We do not believe that after 400 years of free or nearly free labor, sweat and blood, which has helped America become rich and powerful, so many thousands of black people should have to subsist on relief or charity or live in poor houses.

8. We want the government of the United States to exempt our people from ALL taxation as long as we are deprived of equal justice under the laws of the land.

9. We want equal education--but separate schools up to 16 for boys and 18 for girls on the condition that the girls be sent to women's colleges and universities. We want all black children educated, taught and trained by their own teachers.

Under such schooling system we believe we will make a better nation of people. The United States government should provide, free, all necessary text books and equipment, schools and college buildings. The Muslim teachers shall be left free to teach and train their people in the way of righteousness, decency and self respect.

10. We believe that intermarriage or race mixing should be prohibited. We want the religion of Islam taught without hinderance or suppression.

These are some of the things that we, the Muslims, want for our people in North America.

What The Muslims Believe

1. **WE BELIEVE In the One God whose proper Name is Allah.**

2. **WE BELIEVE in the Holy Qur'an and in the Scriptures of all the Prophets of God.**

3. **WE BELIEVE in the truth of the Bible, but we believe that it has been tampered with and must be reinterpreted so that mankind will not be snared by the falsehoods that have been added to it.**

4. WE BELIEVE in Allah's Prophets and the Scriptures they brought to the people.

5. WE BELIEVE in the the resurrection of the dead--not in physical resurrection--but in mental resurrection. We believe that the so-called Negroes are most in need of mental resurrection; therefore they will be resurrected first.

Furthermore, we believe we are the people of God's choice, as it has been written, that God would choose the rejected and the despised. We can find no other persons fitting this description in these last days more that the so-called Negroes in America. We believe in the resurrection of the righteous.

6. WE BELIEVE in the judgement; we believe this first judgement will take place as God revealed, in America...

7. WE BELIEVE this is the time in history for the separation of the so-called Negroes and the so-called white Americans. We believe the black man should be freed in name as well as in fact. By this we mean that he should be freed from the names imposed upon him by his former slave masters. Names which identified him as being the slave master's slave. We believe that if we are free indeed, we should go in our own people's names--the black people of the Earth.

8. WE BELIEVE in justice for all, whether in God or not; we believe as others, that we are due equal justice as human beings. We believe in equality--as a nation--of equals. We do not believe that we are equal with our slave masters in the status of "freed slaves."

We recognize and respect American citizens as independent peoples and we respect their laws which govern this nation.

9. WE BELIEVE that the offer of integration is hypocritical and is made by those who are trying to deceive the black peoples into believing that their 400-year-old open enemies of freedom, justice and equality are, all of a sudden, their "friends." Furthermore, we believe that such deception is intended to prevent black people from realizing that the time in history has arrived for the separation from the whites of this nation.

If the white people are truthful about their professed friendship toward the so-called Negro, they can prove it by dividing up America with their slaves.

We do not believe that America will ever be able to furnish enough jobs for her own millions of unemployed, in addition to jobs for the 20,000,000 black people as well.

10. WE BELIEVE that we who declare ourselves to be righteous Muslims, should not participate in wars which take the lives of humans. We do not believe this nation should force us to take part in such wars, for we have nothing to gain from it unless America agrees to give us the necessary territory wherein we may have something to fight for.

11. WE BELIEVE our women should be respected and protected as the women of other nationalities are respected and protected.

12. WE BELIEVE that Allah (God) appeared in the Person of Master W. Fard Muhammad, July, 1930; the long-awaited "Messiah" of the Christians and the "Mahdi" of the Muslims.

We believe further and lastly that Allah is God and besides HIM there is no god and He will bring about a universal government of peace wherein we all can live in peace together.

Giving New Meaning to
RACE

(Editor's note: The following text is reprinted from Vol. 12 No. 24)

In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. We thank Him for raising up in our midst the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. I greet all of you with the greeting words of peace, As-Salaam Alaikum.

To Congressman Kweisi Mfume, distinguished members of this panel, brothers and sisters, our subject is the meaning of race in America. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad taught us that in this last 6,000 years that white people were to exercise their rule over the inhabitants of the earth. This they have done. Race had no meaning to the aboriginal people of the earth until the white man came to our planet and gave meaning to race.

The Holy Qur'an teaches, "we created you into tribes and families that you may know one another" (and not hate one another). However, the meaning that this new family on our earth, the white race, gave to race created hatred and mischief among the family of man. They advanced a philosophy of white supremacy over the Black, brown, red and yellow.

We (Black people) were brought to America and have been taught every day that we are an inferior people and we believed it. As Jesus said, "As a man thinketh in his heart so is he."

Religion, Christianity in particular, enforced a falsehood that we were the children of Ham (one of the sons of Noah), cursed and doomed to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the superior white race. They went throughout the earth teaching the red, the brown, and the yellow, the inferiority of Black and the inferiority of all colors other than white. White people gave meaning to race in education, politics, religion, justice and all fields of human endeavor.

Now we (Black people) are being called upon by Allah through the Honorable Elijah Muhammad to give new and true meaning to race and in that new and true meaning those whites who applied a wicked meaning to race call us reverse racists.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad taught us that we are not Black because we are cursed, we are Black because we are the original people of the earth. Out of us came all other races. They started from one blood and that one blood is the original family of the earth, the aboriginal Black people.

This is giving new and true meaning (to race). Why is this necessary? Before the Honorable Elijah Muhammad gave a new and true meaning to race, they made us feel that the kinkiness of our hair, the broadness of our nose, the thickness of our lips and the Blackness of our skin was a badge of inferiority.

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad had to teach us why we should be proud of who and what we are and make us take value of ourselves and of the deep spiritual value and the tremendous accomplishments that

black people have made to the advancement of civilization.

This is giving new and true meaning to race. But in the end, we must understand that race has a beginning and race will have an ending. There has to be an end to race in order for human beings to address each other as human beings. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad said, "The Black man is not a race. We are a nation, from infinity to infinity." Paul said of Christ, that in Him there is no Jew, no Greek, no male, no female, no bond, no free. All become one in Christ.

That means that nationalism will have an end: racism will have an end: sexism will have an end: and humanity will then have a new beginning, if we understand the true Christ doctrine. We must give new meaning to race and end it forever. Black people must take it upon ourselves to end racism once and for all.

How do we end racism? We meet too much as an inferior with white people as a superior; that's the meaning white folk gave to race&æthey're the majority, we're the minority. We have to get rid of these terms that suggest inferiority to who and what we are.

Second, as a people, we must recognize the need for unity, and let nothing hinder us from coming together as a family.

Why? Only in our unity can we end racism from a position of power.

The unity of the Congressional Black Caucus forced a new relationship with President Clinton. They're giving a new meaning to race.

The President knew he had to make some kind of a deal with the Congressional Black Caucus in order to get his legislative agenda through.

That's power. That's unity. The Congressional Black Caucus must not break that unity and we in leadership must establish that unity.

Third, we must seek the knowledge of self, we must learn to love one another and then we will be able to stop all white violence on Black people.

Fourth, we must learn the value of the Black woman and respect and honor her as the mother of civilization.

Fifth, by pooling our resources intellectually and financially we will not have to sit around begging white people to do for us what we can unite and do for ourselves.

A clean, self respecting, moral community that respects family and is hard working and developing strategies for our own liberation commands respect. We don't have to demand it, we will command it. Wherever we (Muslims) go white people respect our presence because we have given true and new meaning to race. We don't smoke, we don't drink. We don't gamble, we don't chase women, we won't chase men. We're organized, we're united. We're pooling our resources to do for self.

I recognize the value of everyone of these participants. I also recognize, however, that if we make an

VITA

Victoria Ann Palmer was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in June 1957, and moved with her family to New Jersey in 1958. She attended public schools in South Orange and Glen Ridge, New Jersey, and graduated from Glen Ridge High School in June 1975. She attended Hood College in Frederick, Maryland, from 1975 to 1976. In 1977 she entered the University of Bridgeport, Connecticut, where she received her Bachelor of Science degree in Graphic Design in 1982.

After working for more than fifteen years in marketing and advertising in the recreation and leisure, financial, graphic arts, and retail industries, she entered Austin Peay State University in Clarksville, Tennessee, in January 1997. She received her Master of Arts degree with honors, with a major in Communication Arts in December 1999.