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From Mainstream to Fringe Conspiracy: Examining White Supremacist Literature Before and After the Civil-Rights Movement

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Literature Before and After the Civil-Rights Movement

by

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From Mainstream to Fringe Conspiracy: Examining White Supremacist
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Western Michigan University, 2019

This project analyzes white supremacist literature before and after the Civil-Rights Movement to

examine victimization narratives, siege belief, white supremacist visions of the future, and the

threats found in pre-civil rights white supremacist ideology through Goffman's work on stigma.

The author conceptualizes the previous items by utilizing literature analyzing the modern white

supremacist movement and using it as a basis to conduct a case comparative study. Using

grounded theory, directed approach, and summative content analysis to conduct the study, the

author selects 8 influential white supremacist texts for the analysis. The author notes that in

addition to the shift in victimization rhetoric noted in the literature, there is a swerve into

conspiracy theories by the white supremacist movement- namely a substantial increase in anti-

Semitic conspiracy narratives- unfound in any of the pre-civil rights literature.

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INTRODUCTION

On October 27th, 2018 a man named Robert Bowers walked into a Pittsburgh Synagogue and opened fire, killing 11 worshipers. He is reported as having said "they [Jews] were committing genocide to his people" (Ahmed & Murphy, 2018), namely whites. On October 29th, 2018, Gregory Bush shot and killed two black people at a Kroger grocery store in Kentucky after failing to get inside a black church, with reports circulating he told a bystander "whites don't shoot whites" (Levenson 2018).

These comments reflect narratives used by modern white supremacists to manage stigma and appeal to possible recruits (Dobratz & Shanks-Meile 1997, Berbrier 1999, Berbrier 2000, Adams & Roscingo 2005, Futrell & Simi 2017). While common sense would lead most people to believe that in 2019 such beliefs are on the political fringes, recent events and reports indicate a growing trend of boldness among white supremacist adherents.

As attention grabbing as the violence of the Pittsburgh shooting, and the Charleston "Unite the Right" rally in August 2017 are, they are merely dramatic incidents indicative of a growing trend. The FBI found that in 2017 hate crimes spiked for the third year in a row (BBC 2018), predominantly affecting black and Jewish Americans. Crimes against Jewish Americans increased by 37% compared to 2016, while crimes against African Americans increased by 16% (BBC 2018).

While it may be easy, almost reflexively so, to dismiss white supremacists as "uneducated southern redneck(s), seething irrationality with baseless hatred and hell-bent on causing physical harm" (Berbrier 1999), this stigma would block a complete view of the subject. Adherents to white supremacist ideology are often more complex than the caricatures associated with their movement.

While there are still white supremacist holdouts that openly espouse and advocate racism and violence against non-whites, this project addresses those white supremacists who "work toward political mainstreaming" (Shanks-Meile 1997), or "smooth-talking" Klansmen (Ezekiel 1996) like the "above-board political movement" led like David Duke (Daniels 2016). These

white supremacists recognize the stigma associated with their movement, utilizing strategies to manage their stigma that will be examined later in the project.

Prior to the Civil-Rights Movement, white supremacy was an ideology that one would encounter in everyday circumstances, and in fact helped determine the laws and practices of the United States federal and state governments. The entrenched nature of this ideology was a major contribution to the opposition faced by the Civil-Rights Movement, most prominently in the efforts of state and local governments to resist the desegregation order of the federal government in the 1950's. The standoff between the Arkansas National Guard and federal troops in the ordered desegregation at Little Rock, Arkansas is well known. In 1956, 101 southern congressmen signed "The Declaration of Constitutional Principles", informally the "Southern Manifesto", in opposition to the Brown vs Board of Education judicial order to racially integrate schools.

This project seeks to outline how the white supremacist movement has changed after the Civil-Rights Movement, in effort to better understand how this now stigmatized group may further change as a result of shifting social, and political circumstances. This study found that after the Civil-Rights Movement, white supremacist rhetoric swerved into conspiracy rhetoric to simultaneously delegitimize establishment authority, practices and rationale, and prop up their own legitimacy among adherents- often utilizing vacuous logic.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review details the stigma management, narratives, norms, and other relevant knowledge of the modern white supremacist movement. White supremacists have adopted methods of stigma management as a means of appealing to conservatives, mainstreaming white supremacist thought, and increase recruitment, while cloaking white supremacist rhetoric in mainstream conservative talking points.

It is unclear what the connection between white supremacist narratives and conservative narratives are. White supremacists have adopted conservative rhetoric to try appealing to

conservatives. The conservative response and what influence these efforts have on mainstream conservatism, however is something that is not the subject of this project.

Modern "New Racists" believe that whites are under siege by shifting social norms that are directed by a vast Jewish conspiracy against the white race. This mentality of being under siege leads to white supremacists to believe and utilize narratives of white victimization to manage the stigma associated with their movement and widen the available recruitment pool. New racists utilize other stigma management methods, often concealing their status as a white supremacist to pass as non-racist and avoid scrutiny. Even in private, new racists feel compelled to hide their identity as white supremacists, for fear of being exposed and shunned by the community they reside in.

White supremacists believe in a patriarchal family dynamic similar in form to the cold war "Nuclear Family". There are differences, mainly that males are perceived as racial warriors in the racial holy war, and children are a means to infiltrate mainstream society and spread white supremacist influence.

Finally, the literature review observes threats against modern white supremacy. While law enforcement and watchdog groups do pose significant threat to existing organizations, the white supremacist movement also faces existential threats that all social movements face. Poor leadership, discipline, non-enforcement of norms, and accepting new members that actively challenge established norms are a few of the threats that will be addressed.

WS Stigma and Stigma Management

Stigma, as defined by Goffman, is "the situation of the individual who is disqualified from full social acceptance" with racist beliefs categorized as "blemishes of individual character" by modern standards (Goffman 1986). "He is thus reduced in our minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one" (Goffman 1986). Modern white supremacists are aware that they are stigmatized, and many are trying to reduce that stigma (Dobratz & Shanks-Meile, 1997, Berbrier 1999, Futrell & Simi 2017).

This conscious attempt to manage the stigma against them, rebranding modern white supremacy, is being done to sustain their movement. Like any social movement, they strive to spread their ideology, advance their movement goals, and attract new recruits (Adams & Roscingo 2005). The stigma associated with white supremacists hinders those objectives, as mainstream culture has "vilified racial extremism" (Futrell & Simi 2017).

White supremacist groups remain stigmatized as "uneducated southern redneck(s), seething irrationality with baseless hatred and hell-bent on causing physical harm" (Berbrier 1999). Recruitment prospects will not only remain slim, but less committed or extreme members may leave the movement after a dramatic episode, as occurred with the militia movement in the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing (DHS 2009).

Therefore, modern white supremacists attempt to legitimize themselves by managing this stigma using evasive methods similar to Erving Goffman's "normification", or the "effort on the part of the stigmatized individual to present himself as an ordinary person" (Goffman 1986). "Evasive" white supremacists neither embrace the label of racist, nor do they reject it, they simply bypass it by arguing that hate, irrationality, and violence are wrong – simultaneously arguing that they have nothing to do with racism or white supremacy without addressing it directly (Berbrier 1999). Racist ideologues use the same approaches to propaganda as past ones have. The difference present in modern white supremacists is that they, self-admittedly, alter the framing and language used, repackaging racist narratives into a "digestible" form (Berbrier 1999, Morris 2014).

To support this stigma management, white supremacists created and sustain the narrative that whites are being systematically denigrated and victimized by mainstream society (Berbrier 1999, Berbrier 2000, Simi & Futrell 2009). Liberals and minorities are portrayed as supporters of discrimination against white individuals (Berbrier 1999), putting down those that scientifically argue that race matters. The emergence of this and similar rhetorical devices to manage their stigmatized identity has led to the emergence of "New Racists".

"New Racists" as they are called by Betty Dobratz and Stephanie Shanks-Meile (1994) and Berbrier (1999), (1) deny the stigma of racism, (2) draw succor from "scientific" analyses that portray the human races as having fundamental genetic differences, (3) claim to be merely interested in observing and respecting "differences" among peoples, and (4) appropriate the rhetoric of anti-racism to claim that white people are the ones who need protection (Berbrier 1999, Berbrier 2000). New Racists eschew racial slurs, presenting themselves as erudite intellectuals as they try to distance themselves from the popular perspective of racists being "uneducated, boorish terrorists" (Berbrier 1999). Racial issues are discussed "without a hint of derision, malice, or contempt, avoiding any association with (the image of) hatred or intolerance" (Berbrier 1999).

Whites Under Siege

Conservative movements, suggests McVeigh (1999, p 1463) are predictable as they involve "defensive collective action" in response to perceived "shrinking, rather than expanding, levels of power and influence". Building off that, modern white supremacists argue that whites are now a minority, and therefore capable of being denigrated and victimized wholesale by non-whites, "liberals", and the government (Berbrier 1999).

Adams and Roscingo (2005) found that white supremacist groups wove nationalism, religion, and responsible citizenship to form a sense of collective identity for members and potential recruits. Broadly speaking, white supremacist organizations are all concerned with the "perceived white political deprivation and possibility of becoming a numerical minority", voicing these concerns using rhetoric "representing whites as victims of systematic governmental, legal and societal abuses" (Adams & Roscingo, 2005). Organizations, governments, and policies that don't recognize and/or establish white racial superiority as the truth are portrayed as enemies or obstacles.

For instance, policies such as affirmative action (Shanks-Meile and Dobratz 1991, Berbrier 2000) are argued to be discriminatory against whites, as incompetent non-whites are allegedly chosen over competent whites. Advances made by civil rights organization advocating

on the behalf of minorities, women, and LGBT are at the expense of whites (Blazak 2001). The world of hate groups is "filled with evil conspiracies" and the "righteous crusades" that fight them (Blazak 2001).

This and other factors serves to form a "siege mentality" among white supremacists. While Bar-Tal (2012) formed this theory to analyze nations similar to North Korea, many of the characteristics of a nation suffering from a siege mentality are similar, if not outright identical, to many characteristics of the white supremacist movement.

Bar-Tal (2012) describes siege mentality as the belief that "the rest of the world has highly negative intentions towards one's own society or that one's own society is surrounded by a hostile world" (p. 997). White supremacists, as mentioned previously, believe that liberals and minorities are out to denigrate and victimize the white race. This is done at the direction of ZOG (Zionist Occupied Government), powerful Jewish elites (START, 2017), or simply a result of shifting social norms supporting romantic interracial relationships (Berbrier 2000). As existing white supremacist narratives serve to prove, it is not just nations that portray themselves as the beleaguered moral crusaders.

Many of the functions of siege belief Bar-Tal (2012) outlines also serve to describe the fundamental white supremacist narrative that the white race is under siege. 1) it serves to define to world into simple and manageable terms of "us vs them" [whites against Jew-controlled forces]. 2) it helps satisfy the white supremacist need to establish a firm social identity. 3) it indirectly contributes to the narrative of white genetic, moral, and ethnic, superiority, as it establishes threatening groups as the aggressors.

Finally, Bar-Tal (2012) outlines the consequences of ascribing to siege beliefs. 1) the threatened society "develops negative attitudes towards other societies… accompanied by feelings of xenophobia and chauvinism". 2) the society "becomes extremely sensitive to any information and cues transmitted by other societies that may indicate negative intentions", formed by the "lack of trust and suspicion" exhibited by outsiders. 3) the society forms "internal mechanisms" to increase pressure to conform, unify, and mobilize, which may take the form of

"calls for unity, calls for patching-up or concealment of disagreement within the group, pressure for conformity and obedience, and threatening (and carrying out) negative sanctions against those who disagree with the group". 4) a society that "feels endangered may decide to take a course of action considered extreme and unacceptable", in which they "may disregard any unfavorable and critical reactions from these other groups, which they consider as their adversaries anyway."

Before the Civil-Rights Movement white supremacy was established practice and law, therefore it appears unlikely that siege belief manifested within white supremacist rhetoric. The narrative of whites being under an orchestrated and systematic assault dovetails into the following next section, which covers the myriad forms of victimization white supremacists argue that they're facing.

<div align="center">White Victimization</div>

"It is well established that in intractable conflict, both sides almost always perceive themselves as being victims of the rival" (Bar-Tal, Chernyak-Hai, et al 2009). A sense of victimhood is a foundation of core social beliefs that maintains conflict, as well as a major factor that sustains violence (Bar-Tal, Chernyak-Hai, et al 2009). Portraying whites as victims of great, malevolent forces is a fundamental aspect of managing the stigma associated with white racism (Berbrier 1998). Because of the role victimization plays as a galvanizing force, the victimhood narratives white supremacists use to reinforce group ideology, speak to the public, and recruit new members is a topic relevant to the current thesis.

"Whites and white males are frequently portrayed as victims or potential victims" (Berbrier 2000). Victims being persons characterized by an experience or threat of harm, they are essentially innocent and not seen as responsible for the harm that comes from them, which merits sympathetic responses (Berbrier 2000, Holstein & Miller 1990, Loseke 1992). This narrative reformation serves the white supremacist cause by deflecting responsibility for their problems and assigning causes of one's problems to the alleged victimizer (Gubrium and Holstein 1997), namely non-whites, Jews, and liberals (Berbrier 2000).

White supremacists, therefore, utilize five primary narratives as they portray whites as a victimized minority (Berbrier 2000). 1) they argue that whites are oppressed victims of discrimination (Berbrier 2000). 2) they argue that white rights are being abrogated (Berbrier 2000). 3) argue that whites are stigmatized and shamed for being white (Berbrier 2000). 4) that in the short term this results in deflated self-esteem (Berbrier 2000). 5) and in the long term, the survival of the white race is threatened (Berbrier 2000). These five victim claims all hinge on drawing equivalence comparisons between whites and nonwhites, then lamenting the "double standard" that exists for whites (Berbrier 2000).

The victim claims of white supremacists "are rooted in the argument that whites are victims of discrimination" (Berbrier 2000). For instance, in a KKK publication called The Crusader, David Duke wrote the following as he described the purpose of the Ku Klux Klan: "We want an end to discrimination against the White majority. We believe that the white people of America have become an oppressed majority… Culturally, the white people are victims of massive race-hate propaganda in the mass media" (Berbrier 2000).

As a consequence of whites being discriminated against, white supremacists allege, rights are being denied to whites that are granted to blacks, Jews, or other nonwhites. The most widespread allegation it manifests as, is the argument that whites are being denied the right to their own culture (Berbrier 2000). This, and similar arguments, are a part of an equivalence strategy white supremacists use to refer to the notion of universal rights (Berbrier 2000). In making this argument, they implicitly deny negative intent (Sykes and Matza 1957), any hate or resentment aimed at others is a logical consequence of the racial discrimination and the abrogation of rights that whites allegedly experience (Berbrier 2000).

White supremacists then argue that due to white rights being denied, whites who express any pride in their race will be shamed and stigmatized, derided as racists, bigots and haters (Berbrier 2000). This claim to thwarted pride, Berbrier (2000) argues, is the "linchpin to the racists' allegations about victimization. It presents whites not only as victims, but as cornered victims…". As a core belief, white supremacists believe that whites are told by society, liberals,

and minorities, that they should "not to take pride in their 'heritage' but rather to 'hate their own kind'" (Berbrier 2000).

These assaults on their racial identity results in low self-esteem among whites, white supremacists argue (Berbrier 2000). Comparing themselves yet again to Jews and nonwhites, white supremacists argue that racial pride and identity are necessary for a racial group to survive (Berbrier 2000). This reframing of the narrative acts as a "dramatization of injury and innocence", which is central to any articulation of victimization (Holstein and Miller 1990). Injuries perpetrated by the "system" against the white race include "destruction" of pride and identity, being "crushed" having the "spirit broken down", and higher rates of suicide among whites that occur because of this "alienation" (Berbrier 2000).

The past four victim narratives ultimately culminate in the threatened survival of the white race. "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children" said white supremacist David Lane. His "14 words" are famous among white supremacists and, as acknowledged by Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (1997), serve to summarize the "core" of white supremacist and separatist movement ideology. Interracial marriage and sexual relations, particularly those producing offspring, are commonly held as existential threats against the white race (Daniels 2016, Ferber 2000).

This white supremacist strategy of "covering" (Goffman 1986) racism under the guise of advocacy serves modern white supremacists well. Arguing a status of victimhood conceals or eclipses their stigmatized status as racists (Berbrier 2000), just as it serves to make their arguments tolerable to the mainstream and "more moderate sympathizers" who "would normally disagree with extremist views" (Omi and Winant 2013). The purpose, as Wilmot Robertson, the pioneer of modern "new racism", concedes, is "by no means to renounce racism and white supremacy, but to make it more "digestible" (Robertson 1974).

"Most frequently what is presented is an abstract argumentation that hits affectively laden buzzwords believed to resonate with the contemporary value system: for example, heritage, preservation, culture, survival, and discrimination. White supremacist rhetoric is designed

precisely to speak very abstractly about pride and heritage preservation, and as little as possible concretely about hatred for others or discomfort with difference" (Berbrier 2000).

White Power Masks

The stigmatized nature of white supremacy has not only lead to white supremacists to reframe or repackage their racist narratives, but for them to act differently in public and private circumstances. White supremacists usually engage in the concealment strategy of impression management, hiding characteristics often associated with white supremacist ideology. Tattoos symbolizing white supremacist ideals are covered, Nazi and Neo-Nazi paraphernalia is hidden, and racial slurs are avoided, as white supremacists cordially interact with who they perceive as their enemies (Simi & Futrell 2009, Simi & Futrell 2010).

Sometimes this masking is done simply to avoid public scrutiny and ridicule, while other times it's a conscious effort to go unnoticed so that they may game the system they perceive as aligned against them (Simi & Futrell 2009, Simi & Futrell 2010). For instance, a 2006 report by the FBI Counterterrorism Division (FBI 2006) notes the threat posed by white nationalists and skinheads infiltrating police departments to disrupt investigations against fellow members, and to recruit other department members. Meanwhile, the Southern Poverty Law Center reports evidence of white supremacists joining the United States military to receive combat training, gain access to weapons and explosives, and recruit US military personnel into white supremacy (SPLC 2008).

Public Masks

Because modern white supremacists are stigmatized, they often engage in behavior to conceal themselves from scrutiny. Simi & Futrell (2009) note the efforts of Aryan white supremacists to negotiate this stigma in their everyday lives. "They conceal their Aryan identity to avoid the constant ire, indignation, and conflict they face from others" (Simi & Futrell 2009). Dealing with stigma, even one that the individual may be proud of and committed to, is socially and psychologically demanding (Edgerton 1993; Goffman 1986). Covering stigma limits scrutiny and scorn from others and reduces pressures for change (Kanuha 1999).

As discussed previously, white supremacists view themselves as a victimized group. With such a salient identity, activism is something that cannot be switched on and off as one enters different contexts (Simi & Futrell 2009), but something that informs their decisions on an everyday basis. White supremacists have thereby begun to adopt methods used by other stigmatized groups. Covering such a salient identity creates dissonance, however (Simi & Futrell 2009). White supremacists, namely Aryans, manage this dissonance by adopting the perspective that concealing their identity is a form of activism, or "everyday resistance" (Simi & Futrell 2009).

In fact, such behavior is common within the white supremacist community. Aryans have used coded language to discretely praise prominent figures, namely Adolph Hitler, by replacing the letters of the alphabet with numbers. For example, the initials AH, or Adolph Hitler's name, are coded to 18, representing the first letter -A- and the eighth letter -H-. More commonly, Aryans use the code "88", which correspond to HH, or "Heil Hitler" (Simi & Futrell 2010).

Privately Unmasked

While white supremacists must watch themselves carefully in public contexts, they are much less restrained in private contexts. Simi and Futrell have published many works, articles and books, that examine the spaces Aryan white supremacists use to sustain their commitment to their beliefs and manage possible cognitive dissonance. Places where Aryans let their public masks slip are places such as the home, White Power Music concerts, white power parties, and other contexts where they are alone with other Aryans or separated from those in opposition to their beliefs (Simi & Futrell 2010).

However, there are times where white supremacists feel like they can't fully unmask in their private spaces. Aryans report feeling like they must be discrete even in their own homes, for fear of non-Aryan neighbors or landlords finding out (Simi & Futrell 2010). Even some white supremacist websites have taken to sanitizing content to diminish the associated stigma.

Websites such as Stormfront, a forum and news service that caters to the white supremacist movement, have changed their rules to manage the stigma associated with white

supremacy. Rules include provisions of no racial or ethnic slurs, no openly denigrating other races, and other rules that seem out of place in a white supremacist run website (Bowman-Grieve 2009).

However, this guarded behavior in even private spaces is reflective of larger fears within the white supremacist movement. Law enforcement and watchdog groups are existential threats against white supremacist groups (Freilich, Chermak, & Caspi 2009), and have a history of shutting down white supremacist gathering points- such as the Aryan Nations compound in the early 2000's. Such fears of exposure shall be discussed next.

Fear of Exposure

White supremacists whom engage in the stigma management method of masking have reported fears of being exposed as white supremacists (Simi & Futrell 2009, Simi & Futrell 2010, Futrell & Simi 2004). These fears stem concern to deal with ire, indignation, and judgement from outsiders in their everyday lives (Simi & Futrell 2009), and scrutiny from law enforcement and watchdog groups (Freilich, Chermak, & Caspi 2009).

White supremacists fear that being publicly exposed will signal the end of their current private life (Simi & Futrell 2009, Simi & Futrell 2010). In the aftermath of the Charlottesville "Unite the Right" rally, the violence broadcast on live television, and a terrorist attack against United States citizens, many "Alt-Right" activists were doxed (Blum 2017). This often resulted in their employers firing them, not wanting to be associated with the broadcasted violence. In a few cases, their families also publicly disowned or shunned them. "It's hard to get a job, hard to make a living, hard to have a normal social life when all your friends and family know you believe in ethnic cleansing" (Blum 2017).

Fear of public exposure is one of many reasons why white supremacists mask their motives, beliefs, and rhetorical devices. Masking talking points with popular mainstream conservative arguments may give white supremacists a greater range of people to recruit, but it more immediately helps the group escape scrutiny from existential threats. Law enforcement, watchdog groups, and other powerful groups have been instrumental in breaking up white

supremacist organizations, meeting places, and internet forums. These threats against the white supremacist movement contribute greatly to the motive of white supremacists to manage stigma by masking and reframing white supremacist beliefs.

<center>The Ideal White Family</center>

"…Many whites see themselves as victims of the multicultural, pc, feminist onslaught [and this] would be laughable if it were not for the sense of mental crisis and the reactionary backlash that underpin these beliefs" (Gallagher 1995). Central to this backlash is a sense of confusion over the meanings of both masculinity and whiteness (Gallagher 1995, Steinberg 1995).

The white supremacist movement has been "able to attract some of these disillusioned white males, who now believe that their interests are not being represented" (Ferber 2000). The white supremacist movement argues that the "demasculinzation" of white men is a primary cause of the problems facing our society today (Ferber 2000). Like their narratives of white victimization (Berbrier 2000), white supremacists "blame women and the women's movement for this demasculinzation, positing a conspiratorial, politically correct environment where men are under attack" (Ferber 2000). The white supremacist movement "may be appealing because they resonate with widely held assumptions about gender and racial identity" (Ferber 2000).

The white supremacist ideal of masculinity centers around the narrative of a powerful male, often romanticized as a warrior. Aryans idealize the patriarchal structure where men are esteemed protectors of family and race, while women default to subordinate roles of motherhood and homemaker (Simi & Futrell, 2010). "Aryan ideology prescribes that men must be warrior combatants. In their role as fathers, men are expected to prepare themselves and their family for the enduring racial struggle (Simi & Futrell, 2010). Activities in social gatherings usually reflects this. The Aryan World Congress often hosted athletic competitions, survival workshops, and self-defense demonstrations (Balch 2006). Aryan gatherings include rituals where newly inked tattoos are slapped while chanting racist slogans and songs, and a "slam dance" where Aryan

men aggressively push, crash, and act out moves of a mock fight which occasionally escalates into actual brawls (Simi & Futrell, 2010).

The white supremacist movement is primarily a male lead and driven movement. While there is some push within the community for women to participate in primarily male roles (Balch 2006), a woman's duty is typically as housekeepers, to have white babies for the good of the white race, or sexualized objects for the majority male movement (Simi & Futrell, 2010).

The role of children is likewise segregated by gender, boys will become tomorrow's race warriors, while girls will become tomorrow's housekeepers. Parents interviewed by Simi and Futrell (2010) described the responsibility of raising children as rearing children as a righteous task essential for strengthening the movement (Simi & Futrell, 2010, p. 20).

White supremacist parents, namely Aryan parents as studied by Simi, Futrell, and Bubolz (2016), do what all parents of all political and cultural leanings do- control their children's environment by exposing them to "positive" role models. Not only does the process of socializing children into the white supremacist movement lead to future members, but it helps their parents close the psychological distance between everyday life and the political extremism promoted by the movement (Simi, Futrell, & Bubolz 2016).

Additionally, children may also be used to discreetly thumb their nose at the powers that allegedly denigrate and degrade the white race, while further normalizing racism in their lives. In public, children sometimes wear covert clothing styles that include jersey shirts bearing the numbers "14", "88", and "18", code for the "14 words" mantra, "Heil Hitler", and "Adolph Hitler" respectively (Simi & Futrell, 2010). Aryans that were interviewed by Simi and Futrell (2010) named their children "Hunter" after the main character of a WS novel that assassinated Jews and interracial couples, "Forrest" after the founder of the Ku Klux Klan, and "Ariana" which they derived from "Aryan" (Simi & Futrell, 2010). Such actions also serve as a signal to others within the movement that they are also members.

Finally, Aryan white supremacists have made efforts to make their children pass unnoticed in mainstream society as deliberate. "They imagine their boys attending college,

taking professional jobs, and rising to influential positions where they can change society with their white power vision" (Simi & Futrell, 2010).

<div align="center">Threats Against the White Supremacist Movement</div>

With the stigmatized status of the modern white supremacist movement, it is no surprise that federal, state, and local law enforcement- combined with watchdog groups such as the SPLC and ACLU pose existential threats. However, these threats are merely the most open. Like all other social movements, white supremacist organizations face internal and external threats.

As Freilich, Chermak, & Caspi, (2009) observed, WS organizations experienced growth and longevity when they 1) have able leadership, 2) set forth a clear ideological message and goals 3) undertook concrete actions to advance their ideology and goals, 4) have the finances to do so, 5) took advantage of political opportunities, and 6) were internally cohesive.

Oklahoma Constitutional Militia (OCM) was a fringe, four-man white supremacist movement that were all arrested after engaging in crime to raise money. OCM "neither grew nor amounted to an important extremist organization" due to poor leadership, not setting forth a coherent message, conduct successful actions, or take advantage of opportunities (Freilich, Chermak, & Caspi, 2009). OCM's recruitment efforts failed at every turn, as the leader's recruitment material were little more than published rants (Freilich, Chermak, & Caspi, 2009).

By contrast, the Aryan Nations, National Alliance, and Public Enemy Number 1 (PEN1) rose in prominence and influence because they exhibited the six key factors mentioned above (Freilich, Chermak, & Caspi, 2009) in their early years. The Aryan Nations began a slow decline following the desertion of many of their founding, core members (Balch, 2006). These members left after the organization came under national scrutiny when an attendee of the Aryan Nations' 1983 Aryan World Congress, Robert Mathews, founded a terrorist cell named "The Order" (Balch, 2006) after The Turner Diaries' secretive white supremacist organization.

Following the mass desertion, the poor leadership of the Aryan Nations' leader and founder, Richard Butler, slowly destroyed the Aryan Nations. The founding members

compensated for Butler's poor leadership in the early years, but without them the Aryan Nations withered (Balch, 2006). In-fighting was common, staff turnover lead to greenhorns being put into positions of leadership, justified paranoia rose after Butler's bodyguard turned out to be a federal plant, and economic and funding issues plagued the organization (Balch, 2006). Butler's incompetence as a leader worsened these issues as he gave proven troublemakers refuge, often countermanding his lieutenants and undermining their authority (Balch, 2006).

There were many other issues that contributed to the decline and death of the Aryan Nations, but the key factors were: desertion of key members following increasing government scrutiny, Butler's poor leadership, inability to enforce organizational norms, and a tendency to take in "bad apples" who did nothing to contribute to the organization (Balch, 2006).

WS Narratives, and Inevitable Radicalization

As it stands, the modern white supremacist movement creates an environment in which radicalization is the inevitable result. White supremacists believe that the white race is under siege. Whether they believe in a global Jewish conspiracy by Zionist Occupied Governments (ZOG) is irrelevant, as all white supremacists agree that whites are experiencing genocide caused by shifting norms allegedly encouraging racial intermarriage, open immigration policies, and shifting racial demographics towards a white minority-majority status (START, 2017). Because of these shifting norms, white supremacists believe that whites are being stigmatized, victimized, and brutalized (Berbrier 2000).

"We want an end to discrimination against the White majority. We believe that the white people of America have become an oppressed majority... the white people are victims of massive race-hate propaganda in the mass media" (Berbrier 2000). Whites are being denied the right to their own culture, whites who express pride in their race and heritage are shamed, this victimization makes whites have low self-esteem, and it all culminates in the threatened survival, the deliberate genocide, of the white race (Berbrier 2000).

This brings us back to Bar-Tal's (2012) siege mentality. As observed in a previous section, some characteristics don't fit the white supremacist movement because it is a theory for

analyzing nation-states. However, one consequence of a siege mentality is as follows: "A society that feels endangered may decide that its need to survive is so paramount that all means can be used" (Bar-Tal 2012).

"…Many whites see themselves as victims of the multicultural, pc, feminist onslaught [and this] would be laughable if it were not for the sense of mental crisis and the reactionary backlash that underpin these beliefs" (Gallagher 1995). Though white supremacists attempt to manage their stigma by focusing on narratives of white victimization, there is always an underlying implication that this victimization is caused by non-whites, Jews, and liberals (Berbrier 2000). These beliefs of victimization further manifest in the "Racial Holy War" belief among white supremacists (START 2017), stating whites are currently fighting for their right for survival, or that there will be an inevitable, apocalyptic struggle between whites and their oppressors. One of the most famous murder sprees in the United States, Charles Mason and his cult killing 5 people, was done to incite one of these race wars (Berson 2017) to say nothing of several other mass killings before and since.

Before Robert Bowers killed 11 Jews in a Pittsburgh Synagogue on October 27th, 2018, he said he "couldn't sit by and watch my people get slaughtered. Screw your optics, I'm going in" and after his arrest he told an officer "they [Jews] were committing genocide to his people (Ahmed & Murphy, 2018). Dylan Roof killed 9 blacks in a historic black church in Charleston on June 17, 2015, because he believed that black people "rape white women daily" (Chicago Tribune, 2016). Timothy McVeigh, who was radicalized by the white supremacist novel The Turner Diaries (Berger, 2016), executed the deadliest terrorist attack before 9-11 in retaliation for he saw as the unjust actions of the federal government at Ruby Ridge, and Waco (McVeigh, 2001).

These occurrences, coupled with influential white supremacist admission in Wilmot Robertson, shows that despite the stigma management organized by the modern white supremacist movement, it is still, at heart, a violent extremist movement.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

With the literature review in mind, the research questions are as followed:

1. What perceived stigma towards the white supremacist movement (WS) existed before the Civil-Rights Movement?
2. Are there indications of a siege mentality among WS's before the Civil-Rights Movement? If so, where did they emerge, and what characteristics are observed?
3. How do WS victimization narratives before the Civil-Rights Movement compare to WS victimization narratives after the Civil-Rights Movement?
4. How did WS conduct themselves in public and private before the Civil-Rights Movement, compared to after the Civil-Rights Movement?
5. What threats were directed towards the pre-Civil-Rights Movement WS movement?
6. How did pre-Civil-Rights Movement WS perceive the future of the United States, compared to post Civil-Rights Movement WS?

METHODOLOGY

This project seeks to outline how the white supremacist movement has changed after the Civil-Rights Movement, to better understand how this now stigmatized group may change because of shifting social, and political circumstances. To achieve this, the study analyzes pre Civil-Rights Movement and post Civil-Rights Movement white supremacist literature, conducting a comparative case study. A purposive thematic analysis and interpretation of white supremacist literature will be conducted to delineate, define, and categorize typology of white supremacist narratives.

The Civil-Rights Movement in question would be the 1954-1968 movement. The Pre-Civil-Rights Movement will encompass the years 1900-1954, while post will encompass 1968-2016. The study will focus on literature, whether it be pseudo-academic writings, composition of speeches or editorials, or other, from prominent white supremacists. Four influential texts will be selected from each era, and have their historical importance commented on to justify selection

for the purposes of this study. Influential texts are defined as, 1) a text that inspired readers, or lead them to do historically significant actions, 2) a text that is remarked upon to this very day, 3) a text that argued a perspective, or made a case, that was later built upon by others, or 4) a text written by white supremacists who, in their day, had substantial authority within the movement. A selected text may satisfy one, or all of these criteria. Texts may be fictional novels, as in the case of The Turner Diaries, persuasive pieces such as Take Your Choice: Separation or Mongrelization, or non-fictional scholarly pieces that used the science of the day, as The Passing of the Great Race exemplifies.

The author used grounded theory as a guideline for qualitative analysis, utilized because it is among the most influential models for qualitative data analysis, and because of the flexibility inherent in the approach (Lindlof & Taylor 2011). Letting emergent theory remain grounded between the data and categories in which they're coded, allowing them to develop through the process of constant-comparative method (or comparing units of data with each other), and letting codes, categories, and category definitions continue to change dynamically (Lindlof & Taylor 2011), will remained relevant during the study. Flexibility and a comprehensive approach was vital to this project.

Additionally, a combination of directed approach and summative content analysis was used to analyze the texts selected for this project. Directed approach allowed for the wide range of research on this subject to inform the research questions, (Hsieh & Shannon 2005) highlighting the differences and similarities found between pre Civil-Rights Movement, and post Civil-Rights Movement white supremacists. Summative content analyses, by comparison, help highlight trends found within white supremacist texts, (Hsieh & Shannon 2005) and between white supremacist texts.

How Coding was Conducted

Coding was conducted by reading through the selected texts, making note of passages that contain key points, notable rhetoric, or contained narratives that made frequent appearances. A practice of open coding was used. Most of the notes were passages directly quoted from the

selected texts, with keywords relevant to the passage noted. "It is through the process of open coding that categories are built, named, and have attributes ascribed to them" (Lindlof & Taylor 2011, p. 251). Each selected text had their own Microsoft Word document. Once three texts were read in full, preliminary axial coding was conducted to note any emerging trends, or possible cohesive categories, in the texts. Preliminary categories were noted, and this pattern continued twice more: reading two post-Civil Rights texts and open coding, followed by axial coding, then reading the rest of the texts, conducing open coding, then the last round of axial coding. In total, 29 categories were observed during the study. 19 categories were discarded or integrated into other categories because; they didn't appear within three or more of the selected texts, were tautological in nature, weren't fully explained within the selected texts and left too much to interpretation, or were too similar to larger, more consequential themes.

Of the categories integrated to form larger theories there are 13. They are as followed: Innately Immoral Blacks/Nonwhites- formed from Immoral Blacks and Immoral Nonwhites; Oppositional Corruption/Immorality/Inconsistency- formed from Opposition Corruption, Opposition Immorality, Opposition Hypocrisy, and Opposition Argument Flaws; Historical Inaccuracies, Logical Fallacies, and Deceptive Arguments- formed from Historical Revisionism, Fallacious Logic, Argumentative Misdirection, and Inconsistent Citations; and Civilizations, History, and Technology is the Product of Race- formed from Racial Civilizations, Racial History, and White Technological Dominance.

Selected Texts

This section outlines the texts selected for this project. Two paragraphs will be given to summarize the selected text, note it's historical relevance or influence, and justify its selection for this project.

Before the Civil-Rights Movement (1900-1954)

The Clansman: A Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan was written by Thomas F. Dixon Jr. and published first in 1905. Better known for its film adaptation released in 1915, The

Birth of a Nation, the movie is credited with helping the dwindling KKK become a nation-wide organization after it hit theatres (Rice, 1972).

While the movie was more influential than the book because it reached a wider audience, this book was selected because it reflects what, at the time, white supremacists perceived as real history (NPR 2015) and because it focuses on the Ku Klux Klan, portraying them as a force of justice and stability. Additionally, the book directly focuses on the Reconstruction era, a period of social unrest in the south following the end of the civil war, and efforts to reshape the social norms regarding race.

The Passing of the Great Race was written by eugenicist Madison Grant and published first in 1916. It analyzes European history from a racial perspective, arguing that the "Nordic race" is genetically superior than the other races, and serves as the key racial group driving human development. The book, and by extension Grant, argued for birth-control, anti-race mixing laws, segregation of the races, and sterilization to protect Nordic purity (Sussman 2017).

This book is influential to the white supremacist movement in that Adolf Hitler credited it with inspiring him, even calling it "my Bible" in a personal letter to Grant (Kühl, 2002, p. 85). "This is a practical, merciful, and inevitable solution to the whole problem, and can be applied to an ever-widening circle of social discards, beginning always with the criminal, the diseased, and the insane, and extending gradually to types which may be called weaklings rather than defectives, and perhaps ultimately to worthless racial types" (Grant 1916, p. 30).

The Tragic Era: The Revolution After Lincoln was written by Claude Bowers, and published in 1929. A retelling of the Reconstruction era after the American Civil, Bowers wrote it in a conscious attempt to "show us the torture chambers" where "guiltless southern Whites" were "literally" tortured by vicious Black Republicans (Kendi 2016, p 335).

This book was selected because it also directly focuses on the reconstruction era. What distinguishes it from The Clansmen, is that it communicates the alleged persecution whites faced during the reconstruction era, rather than a narrative glorifying the white supremacist cause.

Studying this text would give valuable insight into the victim narratives before the civil-rights era.

Take Your Choice: Separation or Mongrelization was written by Theodore G. Biblo and published in 1947. This book argues that for the white race to remain pure, racial segregation must remain as a part of the United States. To desegregate would invite genetic and cultural "Mongrelization" that would devalue the white race and eventually cause its death.

This book was selected because it was one of the last major pieces of white supremacist literature published before the start of the Civil-Rights Movement in 1954. Theodore Biblo was an influential politician for his time, whose name was synonymous with the white supremacist movement (Kendi 2016). Moreover, this book's main topic was the discussion of racial desegregation raised after WWII. This book is one of the first to communicate the white supremacist narrative of white racial genocide caused by interracial relationships.

Post Civil-Rights Movement (1968-2016)

Dispossessed Majority was written by Wilmot Robertson and published first in 1972. It has been edited and republished multiple times, with my copy being republished in 1996. This book was one of the first major white supremacist books published after the end of the Civil-Rights Movement, arguing that the white race has forced out of its rightful position as leader of the United States.

This book was selected because Wilmot Robertson is a founding father of modern "New Racism", establishing the rhetorical methods those that followed him would build upon. Furthermore, it is the first of a series of books in which Robertson argues that white supremacists need to engage in stigma management.

The Turner Diaries was written by William Pierce under the penname Andrew Macdonald and first published as a book in 1978. Most of the novel takes the form of a diary written by "Earl Turner", as he fights a brutal race war that starts in the United States before it spreads to the rest of the world after his death.

This book is influential in that it reportedly inspired Timothy McVeigh to bomb the Alfred P. Murrah Building in Oklahoma City, in 1995 (Simi & Futrell 2010). The book was found in his car, and he sent several of his friends copies of the book with notes encouraging them to read it (ADL, ND). In addition, the Anti-Defamation League says that it is "probably the most widely read book among far-right extremists" (ADL ND).

RHOWA! This Planet is Ours was written by Ben Klassen and first published in 1987. The book is a compilation of Ben Klassen's writings, which spans the topics of race, ethnicity, interracial relationships, and other topics important to the white supremacist movement.

This book was selected primarily because it coined the term "Racial Holy War" or "RHOWA", which has and will continue to be an important narrative among the white supremacist movement. Additionally, Ben Klassen was an influential white supremacist that founded a sub movement, the Church of the Creator, that is still active to this day. Finally, Klassen was an influential anti-Christian white supremacist, arguing in this book the Jews created Christianity to weaken the white race.

My Awakening was written by David Duke, and first published in 1998. This book covers what David Duke, a very influential white supremacist, says lead him into the white supremacist movement. Notably the author of this study has been unable to find a physical copy for a reasonable price and is therefore using a digital copy transcribed and downloadable for free by SolarGeneral.com, a White Nationalist news site. To that end, any page number used to refer to a passage within the text will correspond to the page number of this pdf document.

This book was selected because David Duke has been described by some scholars as a "smooth talking" Klansmen (Ezekiel 1996) that leads an "above-board political movement" (Daniels 2016). Furthermore, it covers the topic of and perspective of someone who joined the white supremacist movement, valuable insight relevant to the project.

FINDINGS

Pre/Post Similarities

The following themes were trends and narratives found across three or more of the selected texts. There are times when these narratives, or examples given, will overlap with two or more themes that have been noted prior. This section will focus on trends found across the pre-civil rights and post-civil rights texts.

Expert Racists: *"The breed to which the Southern white man belongs has conquered every foot of soil on this earth their feet have pressed for a thousand years. A handful of them hold in subjection three hundred millions in India. Place a dozen of them in the heart of Africa, and they will rule the continent unless you kill them-"* (Dixon, 1970, p. 186)

Across the selected texts there seems to be an emergent narrative that alleges white supremacists are innately skilled, experts, or are otherwise notably capable in some manner. To further illustrate this theme, The Clansman: A Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan, has in the first chapter a Union doctor, Doctor Barnes, and Elsie Stoneman, a Union nurse and main character, praise a Confederate colonel- Ben Cameron. Barnes tells a story of how Ben Cameron survived charging a Union line, getting shot thrice, before jamming a flag down the barrel of a Union cannon, which- for some unexplained reason- made the Union soldiers erupt into cheers. Doctor Barnes takes it one step further, saying that "One such man is worth more to this Nation than every negro to have ever set his flat foot on this continent!" (Dixon, 1970, p. 8)

Another notable take on this narrative would be the innate combat skill of white supremacists within this book. When it comes time for the Ku Klux Klan to forcibly disarm the black soldiers and militia in Book 4, Chapter 4, not a single person- white or black- is killed save for the criminals responsible for Marion's sexual assault a few chapters prior. Ten divisions of 100 men go through the ten townships of the county, disarming every black man without incident. At the same time, 250 Klansmen march on the militia armory, opening fire on the surprised militia and forcing their surrender within minutes.

Likewise, Take Your Choice: Separation or Mongrelization and Dispossessed Majority both stake their authority on the expertise of the writers, or those quoted in favor of white supremacy. "For nine years I have read, studied, and analyzed practically all the records and

everything written throughout the entire world on the subject of race relations, covering a period of close on to thirty thousand years" (Bilbo, 1947, p. 7). Wilmot Robertson in comparison continually overstates or glosses over the legitimacy of quoted white supremacists, holocaust deniers, scientific racists, and others- which will be further examined in a later WS narrative.

Moral Racists: *"On the pages of this book the author has tried to give you the indisputable truth, expose forces and influences that seek the amalgamation of our races and has pointed out the only proper solution to America's greatest domestic problem"* (Bilbo, 1947, p. 8).

In addition to portraying white supremacists as innate experts, the selected texts often characterize them as being moral in the face of opposition, or otherwise of upstanding character. The Clansmen: A Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan, often portrays it's white supremacist cast as morale individuals. Ben Cameron is described as a soldier who "had early learned to respect a brave foe, and bitterness had long melted out of his heart" (Dixon, 1970, p. 61). Dr. Cameron, his father is describe as having a "genial temper, the wide range of his knowledge, the charm of his personality, and his heroism in suffering had captivated the surgeons who attended him and made him friends of every jailer and guard" (Dixon, 1970, p. 115). Finally, when the Ku Klux Klan has captured Gus and are putting him on trial for sexually assaulting Marion, they open with a prayer, "Have mercy on the poor, the weak, the innocent, and defenseless, and deliver us from the body of the Black Death. In a land of light and beauty and love our women are prisoners of danger and fear" (Dixon, 1970, p. 319).

The Passing of the Great Race, Take Your Choice: Separation or Mongrelization, and the Dispossessed Majority all share similarities. The authors portray themselves, and those they quote, as being free from bias, factual, and only wanting to bring clarity to a deeply divided subject. "This book is not a condemnation or denunciation of any race, white, black, or yellow because I entertain no hatred or prejudice against any human being on account of his race or color- God made them so. I have endeavored to bring to attention of the white, the yellow, and the black races the incontrovertible truths of history over a span of thirty-thousand years, all in an honest attempt to conserve and protect and perpetuate my own white race" (Bilbo, 1947, p. 7).

Because whites are the innately superior race, white supremacists argue that there are innate differences between the races. These innate differences, be they biological or God-Given, means racial mixing results in inferior offspring. "…the mingling of the superior with the inferior will result in the lowering of the higher is just as certain as the fact that half the sum of six and two is only four" (Bilbo, 1947, p. 52).

Additionally, there are two factors that supposedly contribute to a higher birthrate among nonwhites. First, Wilmot Robertson claims without citation (another theme that will be examined) that black infants "have a faster maturation rate than white infants, just as animals have a faster maturation rate than human beings" (Robertson, 1996, p. 228). Secondly, Madison Grant claims that races "gradually breeds the other out" and "the lowering of the birth rate among the most valuable classes, while the birth rate of the lower classes remains unaffected, is a frequent phenomenon of prosperity. Such a change becomes extremely injurious to the race if unchecked… (Grant, 1916, p. 28).

Because of these factors, and the slippery slope of racial interbreeding that results from ending racial segregation (to be discussed further later) the white race is at risk. Thereby white supremacists appeal both to the narrative of white victimization, and a crisis facing the white race. White supremacists, as many of their organizations have claimed and will claim, are not about denigrating, assaulting, or otherwise victimizing non-whites- but rather are about protecting the innately different, and superior, white race from injustice and extinction.

The Turner Diaries goes far to portray a crisis whereupon the only recourse to protect the white race from extinction is through violence. After their truck bombing of an FBI building, the main character, Earl Turner, lays out his rationale. "It is a heavy burden of responsibility for us to bear… But there is no way we can destroy the System without hurting many thousands of innocent people- no way. It is a cancer too deeply rooted in our flesh. And if we don't destroy the System before it destroys us- if we don't cut this cancer out of our living flesh- our whole race will die" (Macdonald, 1996, p. 42). This passage exhibits a common white supremacist terrorist violence justification, that their targets will destroy them- and the white race- if they

aren't stopped. It also exemplifies a trend across most of the selected texts, in that the actions being advocated and done by white supremacists are in response to a crisis, a narrative that will be examined further.

This category most directly relates to Research Question 1, which asks whether white supremacists faced stigma before the Civil-Rights Movement. There is no notable stigma directed towards white supremacists, according to the selected texts. For instance, in The Clansmen Dr. Barnes, a Union Doctor, says the following about Ben Cameron, a Confederate Colonel, "One such man is worth more to this Nation than every Negro that has ever set his flat foot on this continent" (Dixon 1970). Dixon uses a Union Doctor as a voice to first show that the Union didn't believe in racial equality, with Abraham Lincoln later used to continue this trend. Even Senator Stoneman, the fictionalized Thaddeus Stevens, doesn't believe in racial equality, breaking down at the end of the book and admitting he only led the Reconstruction effort out of vengeance for Robert E. Lee burning down his steel mills. The white supremacist ideology and its adherents are portrayed as moral and mainstream, thereby little to no stigma is discerned from pre-Civil-Rights Movement texts. As Goffman states, "By definition, of course, we believe the person with a stigma is not quite human" (Goffman 1986). If the selected texts are of any indication, particularly before the Civil-Rights Movement, it's the opposition to the white supremacist ideology which are portrayed as not human.

As exemplified by Senator Biblo, the stigma towards white supremacists before the Civil-Rights Movement was little to nonexistent. In fact, it appears that it was their opposition, those that supported racial equality and racial integration, faced far more stigma then the established norm of white supremacy. Those revelations support to the conclusion that white supremacists behaved in public as they did in private, and vice-versa, with little variation in their rhetoric and conduct.

Innately Immoral Blacks/Nonwhites: *"There is no better evidence of the decline of the American Majority than the continuing success of black racism"* (Robertson, 1996, p. 226).

At the same time the selected white supremacist texts have emphasized white supremacist expertise and morality, so to do they emphasize the innate moral bankruptcy found within nonwhites. The Clansmen: A Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan has four notable black individuals, along with numerous black minor or background characters. Old Aleck and Gus are full-blooded African Americans, a drunken conman and a brutal rapist respectively. They are further remarkable in that Aleck represents the dim-witted black man, while Gus represents a brutal predator. Lydia Brown and Silas Lynch are different in that they're mixed race and are using Senator Stoneman's grudge against the Confederacy to enact Reconstruction. Most black minor characters are presented as corrupt, incompetent, and poorly disciplined, "now a Negro electorate controlled the city government, and gangs of drunken negroes, its sovereign citizens, paraded the streets at night firing their muskets unchallenged and unmolested" (Dixon, 1970, p. 155). Those few black characters who aren't corrupt distinguish themselves in their subservience and loyalty to their white masters, such as Alecks wife, who stays behind when he leads all the slaves from his master's plantation.

Wilmot Robertson's Dispossessed Majority distinguishes itself here, in that it fixates on the racial or ethnic background of all individuals mentioned or quoted within the book. Notably, Robertson alleges- without citation- that the US's rising crime rate can be credited to illegal immigrants rioting and burning down "government installations" (Robertson, 1996, p. 52), implying that nonwhites cannot comment without bias on several subjects by first identifying them as "minority" or "Jewish", and that the Jews are behind countless detrimental and subversive plots against the Majority- non Spanish speaking- white race. Notably, on page 175, Wilmot Robertson names about 100 supposedly Jewish scholars to try and prove that there is disproportionate Jewish influence within academia, like other fields. This fallacious argument of counting Jews will be further examined later.

This trend becomes notably more virulent in the texts RAHOWA! This Planet is Ours, and The Turner Diaries. The majority of RAHOWA is dedicated to advancing anti-Semitic narratives, and supporting its allegation that the Jewish people are behind a thousands of years old conspiracy to denigrate, dilute, and destroy the White Race. For instance, Klassen alleges

that they covertly instigated every notable war, revolution, instability, or atrocity in the history of the Western society. According to him, they were behind the fall of the Roman Empire, the French Revolution, World War I, World War II and the fall of Nazi Germany, the fire-bombing of Dresden, the Vietnam War, and even the Imperial/Metric system split. "We have an almost endless list of Jewish atrocities to choose from that if we wanted to cover them all, we could write a 24 volume encyclopedia on the subject and still not exhaust the material evidence" (Klassen 1987, p. 5).

By contrast, The Turner Diaries takes place in a setting where a dystopic police state named "The System" has taken over the United States. In this text the main character continually mentions a fictional law called "The Cohen Act" which outlawed all private ownership of firearms in the United States. This in turn, the main character alleges, allowed Black Americans to victimize whites, particularly women, wholescale. The main character alleges that this had been planned by Jewish individuals, "I have a suspicion that their [Feminist group] leaders, most of whom are Jewesses, had this outcome in mind from the beginning" (Macdonald 1996, p. 58).

The Cohen Act, combined with a Supreme Court ruling that laws criminalizing sexual assault as unconstitutional, lead to a surge in sexual assault and similar crime against White Americans. "Nowadays gangs of Black thugs hang around parking lots and school playgrounds and roam the corridors of office buildings and apartment complexes… Gang rapes in school classrooms have become an especially popular new sport" (Macdonald 1996, p. 58).

Finally, My Awakening utilizes David Duke's assertions that genetics, namely race, determine the physical and psychological traits of the individual. Duke alleges that it is genetic factors that create a supposedly disproportionately criminal Black America, "Even after learning of the epidemic Black crime wave that had struck down so many of our people; I did not hate Blacks…. One doesn't have to hate the tiger to avoid his lair. Blacks do not intentionally do harm. They do what comes natural to them in an alien environment that costs them their soul and spirit" (Duke 1998, p. 125-6).

Oppositional Corruption/Immorality/Inconsistency: *"That [black militancy] would come to a halt once Negroes achieved both equal opportunity and equal results is the purest form of wishful thinking. Who would be the judges? Black activists? Militant black politicians? And how are equal results to be measured?"* (Robertson, 1996, p. 226)

Another common narrative touched upon briefly in previous themes would be the supposed corruption, or immorality of nonwhites and whites who don't support the white supremacist ideology. This corruption is often portrayed or alleged to be widespread or endemic within the opposition. All the selected texts, save for The Passing of the Great Race, portray the opposition to White Supremacy as corrupt, morally bankrupt, and logically inconsistent-particularly opposition from white liberals. This theme may have been observed in passing before now, but will now be examined in full.

To begin with, The Clansmen and The Tragic Era both portray Reconstruction as an era in which southern whites were victimized by corrupt northerners who used Black Americans as proxies to inflict vengeance upon the South for the Civil War. This narrative is sustained through many of the selected texts, if mentioned in passing for most of them.

The corruption ran deep within the political establishment. The same witnesses were used multiple times to convict numerous people in aiding Lincoln's assassination (Dixon, 1970, p. 104). Cotton thieves operated through a ring of treasury agents, confiscating millions of cotton bales hidden throughout the South. Congressmen and figures with access to public funds frequent a gambling house in Washington D.C., gambling so much of it away that nearly every member of the House of Representatives owes the gambling hall. After Dr. Cameron is arrested they arrest an old black man, then try to torture a confession out of him that implicates Dr. Cameron for murder. These and other corrupt and immoral methods characterize those in charge with sustaining Reconstruction according to The Clansmen.

"Under military rule, the South was securely bound by the chains of the conqueror. Federal soldiers were everywhere. Northern agitators flocked to the Southern states to excite and inflame the mobs of Negroes and turn them against their former masters. Carpetbaggers,

scalawags, corrupt politicians, dishonorable military commanders infested the land" (Bilbo, 1947, p. 32).

Similarly, Robertson continually implies that those who oppose white racial superiority do so not because they legitimately believe that it to be false, but because they have put too much into their research. "If heredity [genetics] was proved beyond a shadow of a doubt to be the central factor in human achievement, the proof would almost certainly be rejected in the present climate of modern thought. Anti-hereditarians have too much at stake, both physically and spiritually, to abandon their cause for any reason, least of all a negative scientific verdict on the validity of their ideas and programs" (Robertson, 1996, p. 20).

Robertson, Klassen, and Duke also portray the racial integration of schools and the Civil-Rights Movement as a reiteration of Reconstruction, to say nothing of The Turner Diaries' dystopic setting. "The Supreme Court lent a hand by striking down the poll tax and literacy tests, two political safeguards which the South had erected against any recurrence of the Black Power of Reconstruction days. By the late 1950's… a whole new generation of carpetbaggers-converged on the South to heighten the tension and fuel the violence that greeted the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision" (Robertson, 1996, p. 221-222).

Additionally, this theme manifests in the authors' attempts to portray their opposition as utilizing logically fallacious arguments, a trend found across all the post-civil rights literature, and in Take Your Choice. The following passage encompasses this narrative, "The liberal civil-rights books made the arguments of segregationists seem stupid and banal. I read that Whites are opposed to integration because of sexual insecurity; that Whites want to oppress Blacks so they can keep them economically subjugated and exploited (the Marxist interpretation); that segregationists hate Blacks simply because of their color" (Duke, 1998, p. 31).

Furthermore, in the absence of acceptance by society, white supremacists seem to try and attach stigma to their enemies. While portrayals of their opposition, especially white opposition, as corrupt or immoral does manifest within the pre-Civil-Rights Movement texts, it is particularly virulent in the post-Civil-Rights Movement texts. It has been noted before that WS

portray white northerners involved in the Reconstruction era as misguidedly punishing the south for the Civil War. No such interpretation occurs in the post-Civil-Rights Movement texts.

Robertson dedicates sections to examining five types of whites who willingly support the various beliefs and efforts white supremacists allege will destroy the white race. Robertson goes on a long winded classification of these groups, which go by names such as "Gracchites", "Pussyfooters", and "Proditors", but they all share immoral traits and are liberals, something Robertson stresses at one point. "Gracchites and Trucklers are hypocritical, opportunistic, fearful or pseudo-liberals. Pussyfooters are reluctant or fitful liberals. Old Believers belong to the disappearing breed of honest liberals" (Robertson 1996, p. 111). Proditors, meanwhile are outright disloyal to whites, "but to America, their nation" (Robertson 1996, p. 112).

In this last category Robertson names Thomas Paine, for accusing Washington of treachery in 1796, John Brown, the leader of the 1859 Harper's Ferry attack, and Jane Fonda and Ramsey Clark for working with the enemy during the Vietnam war. Robertson then holds up Alger Hiss, a US government official accused of being a Soviet spy in 1948, as the greatest example of this group. "Hiss is the supreme case of the brilliant mind, cut loose from all racial moorings, turning against itself. In his *Divine Comedy*, Dante reserved the greatest torments for Judas, Cassius, and Brutus… He might have been hard put to conceive of a circle of hell adequate for the likes of Alger Hiss" (Robertson 1996, p. 115).

Historical Inaccuracies, Logical Fallacies, and Deceptive Arguments: *"If any Negro reads this chapter and has just reason to think that he does not possess the inferior qualities of mind, body, and spirit which the greatest and most reliable scientists have pointed out, then let him thank God for that portion of white blood which flows through his veins, because of the sin of miscegenation on the part of one or more of his ancestors"* (Bilbo, 1947, p. 81).

Numerous times within the selected texts, authors rely on misdirection, fallacious arguments, or glossing over inconsistencies to make their case. Among the most notable occurs within The Clansmen. Dixon portrays Secretary of War Stanton as one of the vengeful northerners trying to punish the South for the Civil War, which entails refusing to pass along

many of President Lincoln's pardons of wrongly convicted Confederate officers and soldiers. By contrast, Lincoln is portrayed as a sympathetic, kindly president doing his best to navigate the national crisis that the Civil War was, eager to patch up wounds and return the nation to normal.

When Elsie Stoneman reports Stanton's actions, which may constitute treason, Lincoln confronts him in his office. Stanton didn't resign until after the failed impeachment of Andrew Johnson in 1968, which forces Dixon to follow this historical timeline and paint himself into a corner. An argument ensues, and in the end, Stanton offers Lincoln his resignation letter, which the president refuses before returning to the Oval Office. There is no word of Lincoln assigning guards to watch Stanton, or of any plans to otherwise resolve this situation. To the reader's knowledge, Lincoln deliberately leaves in office a man he knows is insubordinate and used his office to advance a misguided vendetta. Similar scenarios occur across the selected texts.

Secondly, multiple of the selected texts rely on an "Appeal to Authority" fallacy, citing Abraham Lincoln to further white supremacist conclusions. The Clansmen, Take Your Choice, The Dispossessed Majority, RAHOWA!, and My Awakening all portray Abraham Lincoln as someone who believes that racial segregation is necessary for the survival of the nation, "The Nation cannot now exist half white and half black, any more than it could exist half slave and half free" (Dixon, 1970, p. 47). Additionally, the selected texts constantly refer to a plan Lincoln had to resolve slavery, colonizing South America, and Africa with the United States' black population, "Within twenty years, we can peacefully colonize the Negro in the tropics…. We can never attain the ideal Union our fathers dreamed, with millions of an alien, inferior race among us, whose assimilation is neither possible nor desirable" (Dixon, 1970, p. 47).

According to accounts, Lincoln did believe colonizing Africa or Central America with the African-American population would resolve slavery as late as August 1862 (Pruitt, 2012). However, Lincoln later seemed to have changed his perspective, editing it out of the Emancipation Proclamation and never again mentioning it in public (Pruitt, 2012). Furthermore, in his last speech on April 11th, 1865, he supported suffrage for any black man who served the

Union during the Civil War (Pruitt, 2012), which would not have made sense if he intended to fund efforts to relocate them.

Focusing on Take Your Choice: Separation or Mongrelization, the argument premise relies on one great slippery slope fallacy, that by removing racial segregation the races shall slowly intermingle, which will produce interracial offspring, thereby leading to the slow decline of Whites in the US and its eventual destruction. "Every child is a child of its race, inheriting his racial qualities from thousands of ancestors" (Biblo, 1947, p. 79). Similarly, each chapter is headed by quotes from the Bible or historical figures, attempting to portray racial segregation as rational and just.

Senator Bilbo, in his effort to portray his own perspective as rational and moral, makes many Ad Hominem, Strawman, False Premise, False Dichotomy, and numerous other logical fallacies. The following passage contains most of his characterizations of his opposition.

"The miscegenationists confront the alternatives of separation or amalgamation, and choose the latter boldly, supporting their position by advancing a philosophy which denies the validity of race. They say that man, regardless of his several biological variations, is essentially the same, that race is constituted of biological evidences which are "superficial", and for that reason races are "equal". The miscegenationists, however, are weakened by their own conclusions for if races are "equal" it is difficult to see that any biological advantage would flow from commingling them" (Bilbo, 1947, p. 10).

Bilbo refers to anyone who opposes racial segregation as "miscegenationists", because he believes that allowing the social mixing of races leads directly to an epidemic of racial interbreeding- slippery slope, and strawman. Next, Senator Bilbo mischaracterizes his opposition's rationale, saying that because they support racial integration and believe in racial equality any unmentioned biological advantage would be null and void – a false conclusion.

Wilmot Robertson's The Dispossessed Majority, often utilizes similar methods to create deceptive arguments. There are many occasions within the text where Robertson names a scientific racist and spends more time building up their legitimacy and tearing down their

opponent's credibility than examining their science. Often, he skims over their theories, rationality, evidence, and conclusions, and instead fixates on the reprisals against them. Starting on page 23, Robertson lists a long series of racial determinist scientists who were attacked, abused, or ambushed by people who opposed their conclusions. "The war… against all scientific research into genetically induced behavior all too frequently descended from words to acts- often rather sordid acts" (Robertson, 1996, p. 23).

This trend of logically fallacious arguments is ever-present within this text. Much later he cites the father of Holocaust denial uncritically. "He [Paul Rassinier] specifically denied the existence of gas chambers and charged they were a deliberate hoax devised by Zionists to secure reparations from Germans, and obtain moral and military support for the State of Israel" (Robertson, 1996, p. 161). Robertson then cites many supposed experts to support these assertions. He gives a brief summary on what makes them experts, one of which has the claim of expertise in him being a career electrical engineer, then devotes a whole page to recount their suffering, ostracization, assaults, extraditions, and imprisonment in various nations. One sentence stands out, "He was arrested a few moments before he was to appear on a television interview program" (Robertson, 1996, p. 161). Robertson and David Duke capitalize on these allegations by making the fallacious argument that if race was not genetically, morally, and intellectually determinant, why does their opposition devote so much effort into countering and silencing them through immoral methods?

"Race was still the unspeakable historical determinant, although the loudest denouncers and deniers of race were, as always, the biggest racists. The very desperation of the denials lent substance to the claim that history clusters about race; that race is writ large in every obscure paragraph and every lustrous page of the human record; that where there is no race consciousness there is no historical consciousness… that the essence of history is the rise and fall of races" (Robertson, 1996, p. 556).

Additionally, Robertson, and to a lesser extent, David Duke, interchangeably offer numerous citations and notations in support of their claims, and insert their own, unsupported,

opinions. When citations are offered they are sometimes, in the case of Robertson, related only tangentially to the topic at hand, don't offer much information, or are so esoteric as to be irretrievable. An example of this trend would be the following passage, which goes uncited, "The current wave of minorities brings with it some dangerous and expensive baggage. Approximately 150,000 legal and illegal Haitians, more than a few infected with tuberculosis, venereal disease and AIDS, made their way to Florida between 1981 and 1990" (Robertson, 1996, p. 51).

Of further note is Robertson's literal attempt to redefine racism. "Racism, accordingly, can be described as the overt or covert expression of the concept of race at one or more levels of human activity- in politics, art, religion, business, community life, and in the privacy of the home" (Robertson 1996, p. 7). That the author does not define racism as the belief in one race's innate superiority, and instead "the expression of the concept of race" further demonstrates his efforts cloak himself in erudition. Furthermore, such a definition would support white supremacist victimization narratives, as it could easily be interpreted as claiming that any concepts or comments about race, veiled or unveiled, are racist in nature.

Finally, we revisit Wilmot Robertson naming Jewish scholars. Robertson, on page 175 of The Dispossessed Majority, attempts to prove that there is a disproportionate Jewish influence within the academic field by naming perhaps 100 Jewish scholars. What is notable here is that he never offers any citation in support of their ethnic or religious backgrounds, does not outline what they have done in their field of study, and doesn't reveal their field of study or their specialty. To the reader's knowledge they may well all be in the same field of study, or scattered about the uncountable, at times niche, specialties in academia- thereby undercutting Robertson's "evidence" of alleged disproportionate influence. Given time and effort, one could likely write an equally long, if not longer, list of scientists with freckles.

Crisis of the Modern Day: *"If Majority members would only comprehend that the whole point… of minority racism is not to obtain equality but to obtain superiority, most of the misunderstandings and misinterpretations of contemporary Negro behavior would be avoided. In*

its dynamic stages racism can only be controlled or suppressed by superior force, a force most effectively provided by an opposing or countervailing racism" (Robertson, 1996, p. 226).

Many of the selected texts attempt to portray the subject they write about as in response to a crisis until then unimaginable. The only text that does not do so is, once again, The Passing of the Great Race. A narrative across several of the selected texts is that the implementation of racial equality would lead to the slow decline of the white race. "The South stands for blood, for the preservation of the blood of the white race. To preserve her blood, the white South must absolutely deny social equality to the Negro regardless of what his individual accomplishments might be" (Bilbo, 1947, p. 51).

This overarching narrative is held as biological fact, religious doctrine, and common sense. Therefore, any attempt to implement racial equality must be individuals wishing harm upon the white race for one reason or another or those who are misled. The Clansmen, The Tragic Era, Take Your Choice, and the Dispossessed Majority all either focus on the Reconstruction Era itself, or address Reconstruction somewhere within. Across the selected texts, Reconstruction is portrayed as one of the darkest times in the United States' history, where "Droves of brutal negroes roam[ed] at large, stealing, murdering, and threatening blacker crimes… Desperadoes are here teaching these negroes insolence and crime in their secret societies" (Dixon., 1970, p. 214-5).

The Clansmen and The Tragic Era both portray the Reconstruction era as a period of time in which the White South was victimized by northerners out of misguided revenge for the Civil War. Take Your Choice was written in response to what Senator Bilbo believed would be the gradual end of the white race, the racial integration of society.

Reconstruction occurred, according to the selected texts, because "A master hand has organized a conspiracy in Congress to crush the President. They curse his policy of mercy as imbecility, and swear to make the South a second Poland" (Dixon, 1970, pg. 9). The reference to Poland refers to the Polish Commonwealth, which at the time was occupied and annexed by Russia- sparking multiple nationalist revolts, the largest being the 1863 "January Uprising".

While much of the pre-civil rights literature emphasizes the supposed inferiority of blacks "with the intelligence of children and the instincts of savages" (Dixon, 1970, p. 289), it is mostly directed to heighten the threat they pose to white women now that they're freed from slavery.

"As he bowed his thick next in pompous courtesy, she caught with a shiver the odor of pomade on his black half-kinked hair. He stopped on the lower step, looked back with smiling insolence, and gazed intently at her beauty. The girl shrank from the gleam of the jungle in his eyes and hurried within" (Dixon, 1970, p. 208).

Much of the victimization focus by the pre-civil rights WS literature is on women, particularly the young. Though Elsie Stoneman, the "girl" mentioned above, spent much of the Civil War traveling with Union armies, tending wounds, and singing songs to injured soldiers, here she is helpless when faced with the veiled predations of Silas Lynch, a half-black man. In fact, the turning point of the book is Marion being assaulted and raped in her own home by Gus and three other black men. "A single tiger-spring, and the black claws of the beast sank into the soft white throat and she was still" (Dixon, 1970, p. 304).

This threat against white women is often mentioned in the same breath with other supposed threats, "they want to eat in the restaurants with white people… they want intermarriage between whites and blacks, the right to date your daughters and to become your sons-in-law (Bilbo, 1947, p. 56)" but as seen in this passage, the emphasis is on interracial marriage.

Meanwhile, all of the post-civil rights texts follow Berbrier's (2000) observed victimization narratives to try and claim the inevitable, if not imminent, destruction of the white race. 1) whites are oppressed victims of discrimination. 2) white rights are being abrogated. 3) whites are stigmatized and shamed for being white. 4) that this results in deflated self-esteem. 5) and in the long term, the survival of the white race is threatened. Often whenever these victimization narratives are mentioned, the authors lament the "double standard" that whites face and point blame at non-whites, Jews, and liberals for this set of circumstances.

Texts after the Civil-Rights Movement, as observed in the literature review, refocus onto the white race as a whole. When it comes to victimization directed towards individuals it is often different based on age or gender. White women are frequently portrayed as victimized by black men, often physically assaulted or sexually assaulted. White children face similar victimization narratives, mostly physical assaults- with few examples of them being sexually assaulted by black individuals.

By far the greatest increase in white victimization narratives is directed towards white men. The Turner Diaries often write about the main character's thoughts regarding conservatives, libertarians, and liberals, with very few kind remarks. The main character often claims that liberalism was designed by the Jewish Conspiracy to weaken white men in their plot to exterminate the white race. The following passage is one of the most notable:

"The corruption of our people by the Jewish-liberal-democratic-equalitarian plague which afflicts us is more clearly manifested in our soft-mindedness, our unwillingness to recognize the harder realities of life, than in anything else. Liberalism is an essentially feminine, submissive world view. Perhaps a better adjective than feminine is infantile. It is the world view of men who do not have the moral toughness, the spiritual strength to stand up and do single combat with life…" (Macdonald 1996, p. 42)

Civilizations, History, and Technology is the Product of Race: *"From the earliest dawn of history, it has been the White Race that has written it, and achieved all the major accomplishments that were worth writing about"* (Klassen, 1987, p. 18).

Across several of the named texts, there is a constant theme that civilization and history are racially determinist. White supremacists claim that all technology and civilization worth remarking upon was created or founded by whites. This belief stems not only from the belief that whites are racially superior, but that non-whites- with blacks often used as an example- are inferior and incapable of creating a lasting, and relevant civilizations. Though the bias-induced blindness may be apparent to an outside observer, this by no means diminishes its prevalence among white supremacists. This theme has been observed in all of the selected texts in various

iterations. The following passage encompasses their rationale, "Every child is a child of its race, and there is no escape from the almightiness of heredity. However weak the white man, his ancestors produced the greatness of Europe; however strong the black, his ancestors never lifted themselves from the darkness of Africa" (Bilbo, 1947, p. 52).

The pre-Civil-Rights Movement texts portray racial equality and integration as the primary threat towards the prevailing white supremacist ideology. The selected texts' portrayal of their opposition as corrupt, immoral, and willing to do near anything to advance racial equality continues to shape their rhetoric. "Dr. Patterson either willingly, willfully, or with no care, thought or vision of the future of his race prevaricates when he says that segregation of race or color is discrimination… He could be just plain stupid and not know what he is doing; but regardless of the reason behind his preachments, he is sowing the seeds that will destroy him and his kind" (Bilbo, 1947, p. 66).

These threats manifest primarily as loss of political power, social authority, and the right to self-defense- which would only occur if a society, a civilization, is racially integrated. The white supremacist interpretation of the Reconstruction era encapsulates all three. "Under military rule, the South was securely bound by the chains of the conqueror. Federal soldiers were everywhere. Northern agitators flocked to the Southern states to excite and inflame the mobs of Negroes and turn them against their former masters…. Negro troops wearing the uniform of the United States Army and armed with bayonets were stationed throughout the South to maintain order over a people already conquered, poverty-stricken, and possessing no arms! (Bilbo, 1947, p. 32)"

Building off white supremacists claims of expertise, the selected texts portray the white race as the driving force behind society as we know it. "Practically all the major inventions were created by the White Man, practically all the engines of war were in the hands of the White Man, or at least under his control. The only meaningful weapons the mud races then had were those the White Man had voluntarily given him, or traded to him… Furthermore, the White Man was supreme, unchallenged, in all technology… No matter what field of endeavor we want to

examine, the White Man had it all" (Klassen, 1987, p. 3). This further demonstrates the fallacious logic often found within white supremacist rhetoric, and demonstrates their white-Eurocentric bias of history.

This culminates in pre-Civil-Rights Movement white supremacists' perception of the future of the United States. As mentioned prior, the white supremacist ideology was the norm of the day. The only authors that address racial integration and equality are Madison Grant and Senator Biblo, and even than in different ways.

Madison Grant approaches the issue from a vague scientific perspective, never directly addressing the possible future of the United States. Instead he addresses interracial offspring, the alleged innate superiority of the white race, how two races cannot coexist within the same nation, and how the less developed races outbreed the more developed. "Where two races occupy a country side by side, it is not correct to speak of one type as changing into the other…. Those possessing these favorable variations will flourish at the expense of their rivals, and their offspring will not only be more numerous, but will also tend to inherit such variations. In this way one type gradually breeds the other out. In this sense, and in this sense only, do races change" (Grant, 1916, p. 28).

Senator Bilbo, by contrast, deals mainly with the rising calls and implementation for racial equality and racial integration. As noted in prior sections, the Senator believed that the end of racial segregation would lead to a slippery slope of racial interbreeding and the death of the white race. He argued that the only way to prevent this would be to maintain and expand racial segregation on the basis that the races were fundamentally different.

If Senator Bilbo believed that the future of the white race was in question, the authors of the post-civil rights texts believe that the white race is in peril. Corroborating Berbrier's (2000) categorization of white supremacist victimhood narratives, Robertson, Klassen, "Macdonald", and Duke all portray whites as a victimized majority in their works. The end result, as Berbrier observed, is the claim that the existence of the white race is threatened.

The authors propose one of two solutions to the threatened existence of the white race. Robertson and Duke advocate the creation of racial ethnostates, claiming that multiculturalism threatens the existence of the white race and that the mere social interaction of the races is grounds for the degeneration of the white race. "The best hope for the survival of the white race in America is the peaceful fragmentation of the nation into ethnostates, separate and independent states based on geography and on the racial and cultural homogeneity of the various population groups. The melting pot failed because the ingredients refused to dissolve" (Robertson 1996, p. 56).

Klassen and "Macdonald" are far more militant, claiming numerous times throughout their works that the shadowy Jewish conspiracy would refuse to allow a peaceful resolution. They argue that the only way for the White race's survival is the ethnic cleansing of the world, and the extermination of all non-whites.

"The White Race has reached the end of the line. We are now facing brutal, bloody extermination. We are now embroiled in a deadly racial war of survival, whether we want to admit it or not, whether we want to face it or not. The fiendish Jews have not only revved up the pathological hatred of their own species, but they have incited the hatred of all the mud peoples in the world against us" (Klassen 1987, p. 3).

<div align="center">Pre/Post Differences</div>

The following themes were observed mainly in the post-civil rights literature. While there may be some examples from pre-civil rights literature, they are not as common, nor as extensive as they are in the post literature.

Emergence of Anti-Semitic Rhetoric: *"Instead of submitting anti-Semitism to the free play of ideas, instead of making it a topic for public debate in which all can join, Jews and their liberal supporters have managed to organize an inquisition in which all acts, writings, and even thoughts critical of Jewry are treated as a threat to the moral order of mankind. The pro-Semite has consequently made himself the mirror image of the anti-Semite"* (Robertson, 1996, p. 186-7).

In the pre-civil rights literature, there is little to no anti-Semitic rhetoric save for a few sentences in The Passing of the Great Race of their supposed inferiority to the White race. By contrast, all the selected post-civil rights texts demonstrated substantial anti-Semitic narratives. The longest chapter, at 49 pages, in The Dispossessed Majority was on the Jews and how they supposedly had a disproportional influence in many areas such as the media, academia, and the US government. The entire plot line of The Turner Diaries is based on the WS narratives of white victimization and white genocide being directed by a shadowy Jewish conspiracy. RAHOWA! fixates completely on the Jewish people, openly stating that they are behind an ancient conspiracy to subjugate and destroy the white race and have covertly engineered every major war, atrocity, and instability that has befallen white majority countries- including Reconstruction. My Awakening, meanwhile devotes over two-hundred pages to anti-Semitic narratives and conspiracies, interspaced with David Duke's insistence that he is not anti-Semitic and rejects that term.

Regarding Robertson's Dispossessed Majority, much of the chapter is devoted to looking for Jews tangentially related to major historical US figures or events, throwing in some quotes, occasionally offering citations which may or may not be at all related to the topic at hand, and otherwise advancing a narrative that they are disproportionately influential. He supports the common anti-Semitic conspiracies that they control the mass media (Robertson 1996, p. 169-177), the wealth and industry of the United States (Robertson 1996, p. 177-186), and the government (Robertson 1996, p. 164-169). Robertson begins naming persons, government departments, and organizations that are supposedly Jewish or Jewish owned, offering inconsistent to nonexistent citations during much of this time. This leaves the reader to either take him at his word or painstakingly cross examine every claim of his. "Several federal agencies and government advisory groups were also in Jewish hands. The National Security Council was especially renowned for the number of Jews on its Staff" (Robertson, 1996, p. 167-168).

While Robertson attempts to veil his anti-Semitism in erudition, Klassen makes no effort in RAHOWA! This Planet is Ours. After Klassen opens the book by claiming that whites are the most superior inventors, he states that a Jewish conspiracy covertly orchestrated the first World

War. "This condition [superior White invention] prevailed much unchallenged until the beginning of World War 1. When the Jews engineered this treacherous, fratricidal war of Whites killing Whites, the most insane, ghastly holocaust of bloodletting in the history of mankind (up to that time) it was then that the wall of the White Man's citadel began to crack" (Klassen, 1987, p. 3).

This narrative of an all-powerful Jewish conspiracy against the White race persists throughout his entire work and is in fact one of the major focuses of this text. As observed earlier, Klassen credits them with orchestrating the First and Second World Wars, the Vietnam War, the French Revolution, and the Fall of the Roman Empire- to name but a few "Jewish atrocities". The second major focus being his denouncements of religion- mainly Christianity, which he claims is a Jewish hoax perpetrated to weaken the White race. The Turner Diaries also sustains many of these same conspiracy narratives, to the extent that observing them separately would be tautological.

"The White Man's brain has been deranged by an alien poison. It is interlaced and interlarded into his religion, called Christianity. It is being administered by the world's most deadly parasite, the perfidious and treacherous Jew. The essence of that poison is capsulized in the Sermon on the Mount: love your enemies: turn the other cheek…" (Klassen, 1987, p. 5).

By contrast, David Duke's My Awakening follows many of the previous literature, alleging disproportionate influence in favor of the Jewish people, and that any criticism of the Jewish people or Israel invites allegations of anti-Semitism. That the first chapter discussing the Jewish people is titled "The Jewish Question" does little to help his case. This victimization narrative is present in all the post-civil rights texts, if in different variations.

"In the last decade of the 20th century, to criticize the Jewish people, religion, or the nation of Israel is considered the worst of moral crimes. Jews are the most sacred of sacred cows, and anyone with a negative word about them finds himself labeled an "anti-Semite" (Duke, 1998, p. 158). Here Duke preempts allegations of anti-Semitism by saying his conspiracy

peddling isn't racist in nature, but merely a critique of a "sacred" group of people. Similar efforts of stigma management dot his work.

Passages mirroring the above, interspaced with insistent protests that he himself is not anti-Semitic, make up the majority of the next 200 pages of the text. Among the allegations he makes, Duke claims criticism of "Jews as a group is viewed as the moral equivalent of condoning mass murder" (Duke, 1998, p. 159); that once accused of anti-Semitism one "faces an intractable enemy organized around the world- one that will do whatever it takes to discredit, intimidate, and destroy him" (Duke 1998, p. 183); and that Jewish academics, "media moguls" and others supported the Civil-Rights Movement to the point where "the "civil-rights" movement found most of its leadership and financial support in the Jewish community" (Duke 1998, p. 206). To top it all off, David Duke also tells a story about how he got an almost fatal case of food poisoning in Israel and alleges that it had been an assassination attempt, though he admits that he has no proof (Duke 1998, p. 382).

A notable example of an anti-Semitic conspiracy narrative found across three of the post texts, The Dispossessed Majority, RAHOWA!, and My Awakening, is the friendly fire incident on the USS Liberty during the 1967 Six Day War. Robertson mentions the incident in passing to further his allegation that Jewish interests control mass media, as he claims that Israel had been given good press- with no explanation as to what that means- despite a series incidents. His recount shares most of its similarities in his allegations that the White House, at the order of Jewish interests, covered up the incident- an allegation that Klassen and Duke parrot.

Klassen is more dramatic in his account, giving a blow-by-blow after-action report that recounts everything that occurred- just viewed through a white supremacist lens. "Thirty-four Americans were killed and 75 were wounded… our traitorous President and military staff in Washington sent strict orders for nearby U.S. ships of the Sixth Fleet to turn the other way and ignore all pleas for help… The Jewish press at home clamped a tight lid on all information regarding this dastardly attack…" (Klassen 1987, p. 9). The motive for this and the other alleged

"Jewish atrocities", as frequently stated within his text, is the supposed Jewish plot to exterminate the White race.

David Duke's account of the incident alleges that there is very little room for Israel to claim a case of mistaken identity, though he offers no citations or supporting sources. Contrasted with Klassen's work, Duke alleges that the attack was intentional because the Liberty would "learn of preparations for an invasion of Syria the next day" (Duke, 1998, p. 287). The rationale is not explained any further than that, though Duke alleges that "If they failed in their mission to sink the Liberty and blame it on the Egyptians, the Israelis knew they could pass it off as a mistake. They also knew that their massive influence in government and the press would help them cover up" (Duke 1998, p. 288).

These trends seem to corroborate an observation made by Goffman, that stigmatized groups may create a publication where group ideology is formed. More relevant, these publications are where, "The names of well-known friends and enemies of the "group" are cited, along with information to confirm the goodness or badness of these people. Success stories are printed, tales of heroes of assimilation who have penetrated new areas of normal acceptance. Atrocity tales are recorded, recent and historic, of extreme mistreatment by normals" (Goffman 1986, p. 25).

Self-Sealing Rhetoric: *"Race was still the unspeakable historical determinant, although the loudest denouncers and deniers of race were, as always, the biggest racists. The very desperation of the denials lent substance to the claim that history clusters about race; that race is writ large in every obscure paragraph and every lustrous page of the human record; that where there is no race consciousness there is no historical consciousness… that the essence of history is the rise and fall of races"* (Robertson 1996, p. 556).

More commonly known as a vacuous fallacy, self-sealing rhetoric is a sentence or argument structured in such a way as to be incapable of proven wrong. A hypothesis or a theory that is incapable of being proven wrong is perhaps one of the easiest examples to spot, with Sigmund Freud's theory of the unconscious mind one of the most well-known. This theme merits

its own section both due to it being found mostly in the post-civil rights texts, the nature of the fallacy, and its notable presence in the texts.

Post-civil rights texts often utilize such rhetoric when making their case to the reader. Sometimes this fallacious logic is paired with a strawman fallacy, at other times the authors (namely Robertson and Duke) offer no citation in support save for their own word. The most common manifestation of this rhetoric would be phrases to the effect of, "If one examines deeply enough" so and so conclusion becomes obvious. "If we study the Jewish modus operandi carefully, we find it is planned, deliberate and deadly, not only in their take over of Palestine, but of the world" (Klassen 1987, p. 9). This rhetoric often appears when supporting anti-Semitic conspiracy narratives or alleging similar supporting conspiracies against the white race.

Notably demonstrated when the post-texts discuss the Holocaust. All four of the selected texts either engage in outright Holocaust denial, RAHOWA! and The Turner Diaries, or allege that the extent of the Holocaust was fabricated to achieve some end, The Dispossessed Majority and My Awakening. "Since there has been no extensive public debate on what occurred in Nazi concentration camps in World War II, it may be some time before the facts are finally established" (Robertson 1996, p. 162). This passage attempts to manage stigma associated with Holocaust denial by stating that since there had been no "public debate" about concentration camps, the truth has yet to be fully established.

Vacuous arguments also often appear when the authors attempt to support the legitimacy of scientific racists, or academics who offer theories, conclusions, or even quotes that appear to support white supremacist rhetoric. In his book, David Duke and the author of his foreword often use vacuous rhetoric to try and enhance Duke's legitimacy and, by extension, trustworthiness. "David Duke devotes most of the book to his views on race and its implications for society and evolution, but it is also an exciting and revealing story of a man known only as a caricature painted by hostile media" (Duke 1998, p. 2). This passage and numerous others throughout the book allege that David Duke is deliberately misrepresented by most media, and that the reader cannot trust those sources to present an unbiased representation.

The foreword even has a passage addressing David Duke's inconsistent citations. "In a style to be expected from a sincere oppositional who is truth-telling as best he can, David Duke's ultimate challenge to his reader not to take his word for it, but to check it out yourself. Toward that end he provides on the order of a thousand references and footnotes. The gauntlet is clearly thrown down, here is the evidence, here are the sources: check it out yourself" (Duke 1998, p. 6).

Shunned for Questioning/Being Right: *"The road to dogma starts with assertions of knowledge based in authority…Not only are criticism and questioning not encouraged, they are condemned. The questioner is shunned, outcast, outlawed and labeled a heretic, hater and evil sinner. David Duke is a questioner"* (Duke 1998, p. 6).

Given the well-known stigmatized nature white supremacists face, and the above two themes, it is rational that within their texts the post-civil rights authors acknowledge the stigma that they face. Robertson bemoans the victimization of scientific racists, Macdonald crafts a dystopic setting that oppresses the white race and ruthlessly suppresses dissent, Klassen alleges a shadowy worldwide Jewish conspiracy trying to stamp out forbidden thought, and Duke waxes philosophical as he recounts the persecution he allegedly faced even as a child.

Robertson differs from the other three by not only utilizing white supremacist victimization rhetoric, but also redefines racism to suit his own ends. "Racism, accordingly, can be described as the overt or covert expression of the concept of race at one or more levels of human activity- in politics, art, religion, business, community life, and in the privacy of the home" (Robertson 1996, p. 7). Robertson uses his definition of racism to advance the alleged double standard whites face regarding racial matters, claiming that Blacks, Jews, and other minorities are free to be "racist", but whites aren't. This in turn feeds into Robertson's allegations that any and all scientists or academics that try to argue in favor of genetic determinism, particularly genetic racial differences, are attacked, discredited, or otherwise shunned by society and academia. "…all such imaginative attempts to establish racial identity seem to be forbidden to the Majority. From a minority standpoint this taboo is quite understandable. The further back Majority [white] racial history is perused, the more inevitable is its collision with the Aryan theory" (Robertson 1996, p. 71-72).

Contrasted with The Turner Diaries, which is set in a dystopic setting where any white individual who voices or appears to voice dissent against "The System" are shunned, victimized, and often imprisoned. A notable example of this theme would be an anti-racist march that occurs as the violence escalates between "The Organization" and "The System". Whites are pressed, coerced by violence and threats, into marching in a demonstration against the terrorist violence that had occurred up until then. Any white individual who doesn't join the march as it progresses is beaten by the mob, sometimes lethally, and near the end of the march any white marcher who doesn't look like they're chanting loud enough suffers the same fate.

In RAHOWA! This Planet is Ours, Klassen portrays Nazi Germany as a target of the Jewish conspiracy against the White race. "…Germany was smashed for her unspeakable sin of challenging the Jew… All this, with the help of the perfidious treachery emanating out of the White House in Washington, skillfully orchestrated by powerful and sinister Jews behind the scenes…. When the Jews smashed the Germans in 1945, the most intelligent and progressive nation in Europe, they won the most significant major victory in their three thousand year history. The White Race, on the other hand, on a worldwide basis suffered the most disastrous racial setback in its 100 thousand year existence" (Klassen 1987, p. 3). Similar narratives are also present in the other post civil rights texts, with Robertson writing the following, "Then came Hitler. Although World War II was another desperate attempt by Germany to set up a continental empire in Europe, it was also a bitter war between Germans and Jews" (Robertson 1996, p. 160).

David Duke's My Awakening, also continually observes the victimization Duke experienced. "Duke has endured an intense and unrelenting smear campaign for decades. Once you read this book you will know why he has been attack by those of immense power. He challenges all the sacred cows of modern life, and he does so with intelligence and emotion" (Duke 1998, p. 5). This theme persists throughout much of his book, used as often to legitimize David Duke and his ideology as to attack his detractors. "The Anti-Defamation League may have been founded to counter bigotry, sadly it has transformed into one of the most bigoted of organizations. Wielding the two mega-smears of "racist" and "anti-Semitic" it attacks whomsoever it dislikes" (Duke 1998, p. 8).

Here, Goffman's concepts on stigma is most relevant. In observing the stigma now inherent in being a white supremacist, the post text authors can prepare WS adherents who are passing as normal for the stigma they will face should their identity come out. They provide adherents "with instruction in the tricks of the trade" (Goffman 1986, p. 20) used to argue against the prevailing status quo in society and academia. Reading such texts also provides moral support in the absence of other white supremacists, which Goffman notes is important for a stigmatized person to feel "comfort" and "like any other normal person" (Goffman 1986, p. 20).

To reiterate an earlier observation, stigmatized groups- in this case white supremacists- may create a publication where group ideology is formed. More relevant, these publications are where, "The names of well-known friends and enemies of the "group" are cited, along with information to confirm the goodness or badness of these people. Success stories are printed, tales of heroes of assimilation who have penetrated new areas of normal acceptance. Atrocity tales are recorded, recent and historic, of extreme mistreatment by normals" (Goffman 1986, p. 25).

CONCLUSIONS

It is the conclusion of this study that the aftermath of World War Two and the Civil-Rights Movement had a profound effect on the way white supremacists structure their arguments to combat the stigmatization of their ideology. As noted before, the pre-civil rights texts portrayed white supremacist thought as the most prevalent and accepted race ideology of its time in the United States. While their opposition was at time mentioned, they were interchangeably portrayed or alleged to be incompetent, immoral, corrupt, and biased for one reason or another- a line of attack that persists in white supremacist rhetoric to this day.

The only indications of siege mentality found before the Civil-Rights Movement occurs when the status quo is objectively threatened, as occurred in Reconstruction and in the lead up to the Civil-Rights Movement. Reconstruction is without exception portrayed as one of the darkest times within the United States' history by the selected white supremacist texts, a period in which whites were widely victimized by government forces and Black Americans; and a narrative that The Turner Diaries seems to appropriate and expand. Senator Bilbo alleges that racial integration

will doom not only the white race to a slow extinction, but the United States to a slow decline-narratives that many of the selected texts also sustain.

When it comes to the victimization of whites and white supremacists before the Civil-Rights Movement, the selected texts portray the victimization experienced by white women as the most abhorrent. While there is abundant white male victimization portrayed within the texts, the victimization of women is held up as the most horrifying and used as a call to action. Marion's sexual assault in The Clansmen is the catalyst that inspires the Ku Klux Klan to engage in its terrorist actions, actions that are greatly white-washed within the book.

As indicated by these factors, and by value of white supremacy being held as a legitimate ideology and science, white supremacists were free to speak their mind and advocate their ideology with little stigmatization. This can be indicated not only by the laws and practices of their time, such as racial segregation, but that their opposition- by contrast- experienced more struggles and opposition to their agenda.

Since white supremacy was the dominant ideology of its time, the greatest threats against organizations and individuals espousing the ideology was a challenge to the status quo, such as Reconstruction and the Civil-Rights Movement. The texts before the Civil-Rights Movement portray racial integration, racial equality, and African Americans rising to positions of authority at grave detriment to White Americans and the United States- a narrative that persists in the post-civil rights texts. White supremacists feared a loss of political power, social authority, and self-defense. "Negro troops wearing the uniform of the United States Army and armed with bayonets were stationed throughout the South to maintain order over a people already conquered, poverty-stricken, and possessing no arms!" (Bilbo, 1947, p. 32).

Due to its status as the dominant ideology, the pre-civil rights texts largely portray the future of the United States as good. The only author who casts its future in doubt would be Senator Bilbo, who feared that the desegregation of the nation will lead to its ruin. Though they wrote about the Reconstruction, Dixon and Bowers believed that it occurred because vengeful northerners wanted to get revenge upon the South, not because they believed in racial equality.

This is one point where the pre and post texts diverge, as after the Civil-Rights Movement each author without exception portrays the future of White America and the future of the White Race as in peril. While Biblo said that for the white race to survive racial segregation must persist, White Supremacists after the Civil-Rights Movement seem split on whether segregation or worldwide ethnic-cleansing will be necessary for the survival of the white race. Even then, it is a possibility that the erudition-cloaked white supremacists, namely Wilmot Robertson and David Duke, continue to cloak their true beliefs.

"The White Race has reached the end of the line. We are now facing brutal, bloody extermination. We are now embroiled in a deadly racial war of survival, whether we want to admit it or not, whether we want to face it or not" (Klassen 1987, p. 3).

The themes found in common among the pre and post-civil rights literature show that though the circumstances and prominence of white supremacist ideology shifted greatly after the Civil-Rights Movement, much of the underlying content stayed the same. Those whites who subscribed to the ideology were portrayed both as experts in one respect or another, and as upstanding moral characters. Those who opposed white supremacy, whether white or non-white, are portrayed as incompetent, immoral, corrupt, and biased. Historical inaccuracies, logical fallacies, and deceptive arguments make numerous appearances as white supremacists attempt to make the case for their ideology, such as their claim that all relevant civilizations, history, and technology are products of race- namely the White race.

While before the Civil-Rights Movement white supremacists had the advantage of being the dominant racial ideology in the United States, after the Civil-Rights Movement they lost that advantage. The ideology, which relied heavily on flawed science and since debunked theories, appears to have swerved into the realm of conspiracy theories to survive.

One of the most notable findings of this project is that before the Civil-Rights Movement there is little to no anti-Semitic rhetoric found within the selected texts. By contrast, after the Civil-Rights Movement there are constant allusions and allegations of a shadowy Jewish conspiracy to degrade, subjugate, and wipe the white race from existence within all of the

selected texts. These anti-Semitic allegations manifest in the supposed disproportionate influence, if not domination, of the Jewish people in the media, academia, and the government-namely the United States government.

Robertson spends much of his chapter on the Jewish people naming as many Jewish people and supposed Jewish run groups as he can, often without supporting evidence. Klassen claims that Christianity is a Jewish conspiracy to weaken the White race, to make it easier for the Jewish conspiracy to destroy them. The entire premise of The Turner Diaries is that this Jewish conspiracy has taken over the United States, and through their control of the mass media, government, and economy have orchestrated a slow, subversive genocide against the White Race. Duke spends much of his time claiming that he is not anti-Semitic, as he alleges that the very label is a weapon used by Jewish organizations to silence dissenters. While it is possible this divergence in anti-Semitic rhetoric may have manifested out of the text selection, the escalation in anti-Semitic rhetoric is still noteworthy not only due to its explosion in prominence, but in its vehemence.

Vacuous rhetoric, or rhetoric structured in a way as to be incapable of being proven wrong, also rises in prominence after the Civil-Rights Movement. This rhetoric appears most often when advancing white supremacist conspiracy theories, such as the conspiracies of Jewish led or directed groups working to exterminate the white race. Vacuous rhetoric also appears at times when authors attempt to dismiss allegations by their opposition, propping up one's legitimacy, or when discussing major events such as The Holocaust.

Finally, the post-civil rights texts demonstrate numerous themes that state that those challenging the new status quo will be shunned for either being objectively right, or questioning the dominant perspective. In addition to Berbrier's (2000) observed victimization narratives, post-civil rights texts observe that ostracization often occurs from supporting the white supremacist ideology, or rhetoric and science that support it.

DISCUSSION

The rise in anti-Semitic conspiracy rhetoric in post-Civil-Rights Movement is perhaps one of the most unexpected observations of this project. The only anti-Semitic passages noted in the pre civil rights literature was in The Passing of the Great Race, which merely alleged that the Jewish people were genetically inferior to the white race. The author of this project proposes an explanation that the United States white supremacist community adopted much of its anti-Semitic rhetoric and conspiracies from the German Nazi party. Though Senator Bilbo doesn't communicate any noteworthy anti-Semitic narratives within his book, which was published in 1947, a single influential text cannot encapsulate all of the white supremacist ideology of its time. Furthermore, it is possible that the Civil-Rights Movement was a catalyst that lead the US white supremacists to adopt anti-Semitic rhetoric.

That the post-civil rights authors demonstrate sympathies towards Nazi Germany and Adolf Hitler, engaging in Holocaust denial within their works, is a telling indicator of their stance on the war's morality. Furthermore, Ben Klassen alleges within his work that the Civil War and Reconstruction occurred due to the oft-mentioned Jewish conspiracy against the White Race (Klassen 1987, p. 20), in direct contradiction to Dixon and Bowers' depiction of the era.

That modern white supremacists must engage in vacuous rhetoric is an indication of their conspiracy theory-based attempts to manage stigma. Berbrier's observations of white supremacist victimization narratives (2000) fail to mention how common this fallacious argument style is. This vacuous rhetoric appears to be intended to preemptively inoculate the reader against now mainstream ideology while simultaneously undercutting its legitimacy. The post-civil rights theme of being shunned for questioning mainstream society also appears intended to fortify the reader's belief in the white supremacist movement.

This interpretation may also be extended to the theme of white victimization inherent in modern white supremacist rhetoric. It may serve to prepare white supremacists for backlash from the community once their ideology is revealed. The WS belief that their cause is not only just,

but necessary for the survival of the white race, may make them feel absolved of the stigma associated with their ideology.

Furthermore, it seems that the stigmatized nature of the white supremacist ideology is what helps fuel and sustain the modern movement. As observed within this project, and by existing literature, white supremacists rely on victimization narratives to appeal to their recruitment pool and otherwise manage their stigma. As Goffman says, a stigmatized person "tends to hold the same beliefs about identity as we do… His deepest feelings about what he is may be his sense of being a "normal person", a human being like anyone else, a person, therefore, who deserve a fair chance and a fair break" (Goffman 1986, p. 7). All of the post-Civil-Rights Movement texts dwell upon the victimization of whites, that belief of victimization appears to now be a normal part of their identity.

This study found that after the Civil-Rights Movement, white supremacist rhetoric swerved into conspiracy rhetoric to simultaneously delegitimize establishment authority, mainstream practices and mainstream rationale, and prop up their own legitimacy among adherents- often utilizing vacuous logic. All three themes found in the post-civil rights literature, emergence of anti-Semitic conspiracies, self-sealing rhetoric, and observing the stigma for adhering to white supremacy, exhibit logic similar to the political conspiracy fringe. This in turn infers that the white supremacist ideology continues to persist because it appeals directly to those who question the legitimacy of the political and social establishment. Narratives of white victimization and whites under siege appear not only geared to widen recruitment but appear tailored specifically to radicalize and rationalize the anti-Semitic conspiracies found in modern white supremacist rhetoric. Conservative movements involve "defensive collective action" in response to perceived "shrinking, rather than expanding, levels of power and influence" (McVeigh 1999, p. 1463). Any loss of privilege and power could be considered victimization by those who once benefited from the status quo, which seems to be depicted in the following passage: "That [black militancy] would come to a halt once Negroes achieved both equal opportunity and equal results is the purest form of wishful thinking. Who would be the judges?

Black activists? Militant black politicians? And how are equal results to be measured?" (Robertson, 1996, p. 226).

As stated earlier, white supremacists have adopted methods of stigma management as a means of appealing to conservatives, mainstreaming white supremacist thought, and increase recruitment, while cloaking white supremacist rhetoric in mainstream conservative talking points. White supremacists who "work toward political mainstreaming" (Shanks-Meile 1997), like David Duke, seem to have used white victimization narratives to slowly wedge themselves back into relevance within politics today. That the political establishment and US society seems ill-prepared to deal with them should be concerning to everyone involved.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

One of the limitations of this study is that the most recent white supremacist text selected for qualitative analysis was published in 1998. This in turn leaves open the possibility that since then white supremacists have altered existing rhetoric, created new narratives, or otherwise shifted their rhetoric to manage their stigma and to increase recruitment. The rise of the modern "Alt-Right" also brings this limitation into greater perspective.

To that end, the author of this project would like to outline possible avenues for further research on this subject. The emergence of anti-Semitic conspiracy rhetoric after the Civil-Rights Movement raises the question as to its origins. While the author has already proposed that the German Nazi party had an influential effect on the United States white supremacist movement, the existence if not the extent of this influence remains unexplored. Furthermore, the author and literature observed that victimization narratives seem central to the modern white supremacist system of belief. Finding out how white supremacist belief shift if one concludes that white victimization doesn't occur, or otherwise studying another group that lost their stigmatized and/or victimized identity would be valuable in understanding how stigmatized groups change once considered "normal.

Similarly, it is possible that the selected texts in either era do not portray a complete picture of the white supremacist movement. While there is existing literature, this author could

not find literature on the topic of pre-civil rights, or pre-World War II white supremacist anti-Semitic rhetoric. Whether or not anti-Semitic rhetoric before these events are in any way distinct from other white supremacist rhetoric seems to be an unobserved object of study.

The existing literature on the rise of the Alt-Right is slim given its recent emergence, and the full influence of white supremacist ideology within the movement remains in question. The observation that modern white supremacists rely on conspiracy laden rhetoric invites case-comparative studies between white supremacists and other categories of conspiracy theorists. Similarly, studying how and analyzing why conspiracy theories emerge may be relevant to understanding how and why white supremacy persists. Furthermore, the author believes that studying the logical heuristics used by white supremacists in defense of their ideology, stigma management, or otherwise furthering their goals is a worthy pursuit.

As observed earlier in this project, the connection between modern white supremacists and conservatives remains a subject worthy of study. Of note is what appears to be the adoption of white supremacist rhetoric by conservatives, or the possibility of white supremacists infiltrating mainstream conservative politics like they have done with police departments and the United States Military. Finally, the author proposes studying the apparent divide within the white supremacist community on whether peaceful preservation of the white race remains possible given their beliefs in white victimization, and an ancient Jewish conspiracy against them.

 If recent events are of any indication, the conspiracy laden white supremacist movement will not vanish if left alone- the movement will only alter its rhetorical strategies as it grows more violent. As time passes and their goals for a white ethnostate or a racial holy war go unmet, there will only be more Robert Bowers and Dylan Roofs.

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