

A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF MOTIVE ATTRIBUTION
IN THE ALTERNATIVE PRESS

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Remember we are talking about revolution not revelation; you can miss the target by shooting too high as well as too low. First there are no rules for revolution any more than rules for love or rules for happiness, but there are rules for radicals¹

In 1963, only a decade ago, Mark Sherwin could and did assert that those attracted to demagogues were frightened, frustrated paranoids. "A deep inferiority claims them all; in some the lack of identity is so aching that only in clinging to a group of their compeers can they find a semblance of selfhood."² To Sherwin, such people represented less than three percent of the American population. However, it is now more difficult to characterize either demagogues or their followers. Indeed it is difficult to estimate the number of people attracted to demagogues in 1974, in part because it is difficult to say with certainty just who the demagogue is. Sherwin, in his description of extremists, considered Malcolm X to be the paradigm of Black demagoguery, and only a handful of social critics would have argued with that assessment at that

¹Saul D. Alinsky, Rules for Radicals (New York, 1972), p. xviii.

²Mark Sherwin, The Extremists (New York, 1963), p. 227.

time. Today, one could draw sharp debate with such a charge in many quarters. It is not just that evaluations of Malcolm X have changed, but that the entire range of acceptable rhetorical practice has increased greatly. One now finds many who embrace both violence and coercion as legitimate components of persuasion. For example, Jack L. Daniel, the former director of Black Studies at the University of Pittsburgh, addressed himself to the question during a symposium held at the University of Kansas in 1969. Daniel noted first that "I view it sometimes as 'tricknology' when one uses 'militancy' as the antithesis of 'communication' especially when on the Black-white scene it is implied that 'communication' has broken down and 'militancy' has set in."³ Daniel then made his case for a rhetoric of violence by endorsing what he termed Malcolm X's fundamental lesson of communication for Blacks.

I say it with no anger. I say it with very careful forethought. This language that you and I have been speaking to this man in the past hasn't reached him. And you can never really get your point across to a person until you learn how to communicate with him. If he speaks French, you can't speak German. You have to learn what language he speaks and then speak to him in that language He's talking the language of violence while you and I are running around with this little chicken picking type of language and think he's going to understand.

Let's learn his language. If his language is with a shotgun, get a shotgun. Yes, I said if he only understands

³Donn W. Parson and Wil A. Linkugel (eds.), Militancy and Anti-Communication (Lawrence, Kansas, 1969), p. 66.

the language of a rifle, get a rifle. If he only understands the language of a rope, get a rope. But don't waste time talking the wrong language to a man if you really want to communicate with him. Speak his language-- there's nothing wrong with that language. If something was wrong with that language, the federal government would have stopped the cracker from speaking it to you and me.⁴

Daniel concluded that the American society will only respond to one form of communication, and in his words, "white America chose violence for itself."⁵ What the Daniel speech illustrates is that the equation between persuasion and a language of violence, which may be spoken and used with justification, is not made only by the demagogue in the streets, but has been embraced by segments of academia as well.

It is not just Black spokesmen, however, but radical groups of many persuasions which have developed rhetorical strategies of violence and confrontation to employ in altering the social environment. A second example is supplied by Irving J. Rein in his book Rudy's Red Wagon: Communication Strategies in Contemporary Society. Rein outlines how many radicals see the nature of "communication in a contemporary society" by describing the rhetorical program many of them employ.

1. Plan carefully and shrewdly.
2. Select a simple issue that can be sloganized, shouted, and reshaped as necessary to include the complaints of new recruits to the cause.

⁴Parson and Linkugel, pp. 71-72.

⁵Parson and Linkugel, p. 77.

3. Be seen--and obscene--as the linguistic and confrontational tactics and timing may dictate.
4. Constantly escalate your demands.
5. Finally and ultimately, CONFRONT--Get busted.⁶

Rhetoric, as we can see, is now taken by many people to mean more than "reasoned discourse" and "all the available means of persuasion" and may now include acts of violence and confrontation as well as verbal strategies. It is not the purpose here to commend or condemn this extension of the term; rather, it is to illustrate that what the rhetorical critic must attend to is much broader in scope than some have considered in the past.

The term "new rhetoric" is likely to often connote aspects of symbolic interaction theory, but perhaps it should also suggest the whole new range of movements, groups, and their symbolic acts. The goal of this study is to examine both meanings of the term "new rhetoric" and to do so by focusing attention on the print media as it is used by extremist organizations and groups. Specifically, this study focuses on the rhetorical nature and function of what has sometimes been called the "underground" or "alternative" press. The aim is to discover what extremist groups are thinking and how they see the world in which they live. In order to accomplish this,

⁶Irving J. Rein, Rudy's Red Wagon: Communication Strategies in Contemporary Society (Glenview, 1972), p. 34.

the study will employ a system of analysis suggested by symbolic interaction theory.

Arnold Rose, in a synthesis of symbolic interaction theory, noted that all symbolic interactionists proceed from a series of general assumptions. Chief among these assumptions is the notion that man lives not just in a physical environment, but in a symbolic environment.⁷ This position posits that symbols more than simply reflect reality; they structure the very nature of reality. With this argument, one is thrust between two conflicting views of language. In one view, language is independent of behavior and is only a means of communicating some prior given. That is, one's "modes of categorizing experience and dealing with his world operate independently of language."⁸ To the symbolic interactionist, on the other hand, language does much more.

It should be understood, as Mead points out, that language does not simply symbolize a situation or object which is already there in advance; it makes possible the existence or the appearance of that object, for it is a part of the mechanism whereby that situation or object is created.⁹

⁷Arnold M. Rose, "A Systematic Summary of Symbolic Interaction Theory," Human Behavior and Social Processes (Boston, 1962), p. 5.

⁸Eleanor Maccoby, Theodore Newcomb, and Eugene Hartley (eds.), Readings in Social Psychology (New York, 1958), p. 21.

⁹Rose, p. 5.

Herbert Blumer, in Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method, put it in a different manner. "Thus symbolic interactionism sees meanings as social products, as creations that are formed in and through the defining activities of people as they interact."¹⁰ From this point of view, man lives in a world of objects, but the "nature of an object--of any and every object consists of the meaning that it has for the person for whom it is an object."¹¹ Symbols, from this point of view, become the means by which man acquires meanings, develops culture, and defines both himself and the world of external events, objects, and people. Language is a screen through which stimuli are filtered. Benjamin Lee Whorf called this notion "linguistic reality" and described it this way.

The background linguistic system (in other words, the grammar) of each language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas but rather is itself the shaper of ideas, the program and guide for the individual's mental activity, for his analysis of impressions for his synthesis of his mental stock in trade. Formulation of ideas is not an independent process, strictly rational in the old sense, but is part of a particular grammar and differs, from slightly to greatly, between different grammars.¹²

Whorf's book Language, Thought, and Reality reports his work in comparing various Indian languages in order to confirm his

¹⁰Herbert Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism Perspective and Method (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1969), p. 5.

¹¹Blumer, p. 10.

¹²Benjamin Lee Whorf, Language, Thought, and Reality (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965), p. 11.

notions concerning linguistic reality. Others have repeated his work in more controlled forms. For example, in 1955 John B. Carroll and Joseph B. Cassagrande undertook experiments in interlinguistic design and compared the non-linguistic behavior of speakers of two different languages. Specifically, Carroll and Cassagrande compared the Hopi and Navaho languages to English. They concluded that the studies "indicate, we believe, the potential influence of linguistic patterning on cognitive functioning and on the conceptual development of a child, as he is inducted by his language into the world of experience."¹³

Perhaps those words, "inducted by language into the world of experience," best sum up the symbolic interaction view of language. Language is the path which man takes to encounter the physical world of reality. However, one important word of caution is needed. It must not be presumed that the lack of a word in a language or vocabulary precludes the possibility of the perception or conception of an object. Indeed, it may well be that the conceptualization is simply rendered more difficult and, therefore, less likely. One often cited example of Whorf's linguistic reality is found in his observation that the Eskimo discriminates between categories of snow in ways that speakers of English do not

¹³Maccoby, Newcomb, and Hartley, p. 31.

because the Eskimo has three words for snow, each discriminating among different types of snow, while the speaker of English has only one. Yet, as Roger Brown and Eric Lenneberg have pointed out, the speaker of English is able to make the distinctions which the Eskimo expresses with his larger language capacities.

We shall not want to say that the speaker of English is unable to distinguish the three varieties of snow named by the Eskimo. Whorf (a native speaker of English) appears to have grasped the nature of these distinctions and conveys them to us with simple line drawings.¹⁴

Still, the process is more involved and requires greater effort when one is operating out of a narrower linguistic capacity. George Zipf has shown that there is a tendency for the length of a word to be negatively correlated with the frequency of its occurrence, and Brown and Lenneberg have extended this concept to the notion that as conceptions are more difficult to encode and decode, they will be negatively correlated to frequency of occurrence.

In general, we propose that the more codable category is more frequently used in perception and thought than the less codable category. It is our notion that this principle will hold whether the codability comparison involves different languages, different speakers of one language or different experiences for the same speaker.¹⁵

They conclude that we are as capable as the Eskimo of discriminating varieties of snow, but that we are less likely to do so.

¹⁴Maccoby, Newcomb, and Hartley, 'p. 14.

¹⁵Maccoby, Newcomb, and Hartley, p. 16.

Thus language affects which objects of reality we are likely to deal with and how we are likely to interpret those objects, but it is not an absolute and final determiner of reality. Ralph Pieris suggests one reason why this is so when he observes that language is never static.¹⁶ Pieris, a sociologist, has looked closely at the relationship between what he terms "speechways" and "folkways." His concern is directly with the matter of the relationship of language to social structure and its potential for affecting social change. Pieris feels that the question of the affect of language upon man's social nature is confused by the fact that a struggle is constantly going on among the words and grammatical form in each language."¹⁷ This is, the language of any individual or group is subject to change. It alters and grows, old forms drop out of use, and new ones are developed. Only a static society would produce a static language. However, these cautions not withstanding, one is tempted to agree with Brown and Lenneberg that "languages of the world, like the professional vocabularies within one language, are so many different windows on reality."¹⁸

¹⁶Ralph Pieris, "Speech and Society: A Sociological Approach to Language," American Sociological Review, (August, 1951), p. 505.

¹⁷Pieris, p. 504.

¹⁸Maccoby, Newcomb, and Hartley, p. 18.

One of the important concerns of the symbolic interactionist is the implications of this view of language upon motivation. Certainly, the study of motivation is central to the understanding of social influence. Sociologist Robert M. MacIver has said that the question of why may be more difficult to answer than the question of how, but that it is almost always more important. "This why is intelligibly different from other conditions of the act. There is no human, and certainly no social, area of investigation to which the question of why, in one or another of its forms, is alien."¹⁹ For MacIver, there is a dilemma in the fact that while individual motivation is of fundamental importance in all acts, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to attribute it correctly. It is, in his own words, "the asserting of a nexus between an overt action and a purely subjective factor that cannot be exposed to any kind of direct scrutiny."²⁰ Thus the imputation of motives is always a subjective judgment, and while he declares that this dilemma must not prevent the careful consideration of motivation, it does clearly present him with a problem which he cannot solve. The symbolic interactionist shares two of MacIver's concerns. They, too, are more anxious to focus on the question of "why" rather than the question of

¹⁹Robert M. MacIver, "The Imputation of Motives," The American Journal of Sociology, XLVI (July, 1940), 3.

²⁰MacIver, p. 2.

"how," and they, too, feel that motives can only be inferred from behavior. To return to Arnold Rose's general assumption, man lives in a symbolic environment as well as a physical environment. This being the case, physiological factors cannot account for all motivated behavior; symbolic factors must play an equal, or perhaps even a dominate, role.

The symbolic interactionist looks with some discomfort at conventional systems of motivations which posit man reacting to a series of "drives" or "pulls." This discomfort is especially intense when these "drives" are limited to those of a physical nature such as sex or hunger. For the symbolic interactionist, social factors motivate behavior. Drives are created by the cultural environment, and they are mediated by language. Therefore, the cultural environment must be incorporated in any system of motivation that is to be valid. At first, Abraham Maslow seems to have embraced such a non-physical drive with his concept of self-actualization. However, for Maslow, motivation is not bound up in specific cultural environments. That is, for Maslow there are simply tendencies to act in certain ways, and these tendencies cut across cultural groups.

Our classification of basic needs is in part an attempt to account for the unity behind the apparent diversity from culture to culture. No claim is made yet that it is ultimate or universal for all cultures. The claim is made only that it is relatively more ultimate, more universal, more basic than the superficial conscious desires, and

makes a closer approach to common human characteristics. Basic needs are more commonly human than superficial desires or behaviors.²¹

For Maslow, as well as for many others who have speculated on the nature of motivation, man has within him a tendency to act in certain ways, and the quest is to discover what those tendencies are. From this point of view, social environment and language have only an indirect effect upon man's motivated behavior. The symbolic interactionist takes the opposite view.

Herbert Blumer puts the case for the symbolic interactionist theory of motivation.

The idea that the tendency to act determines that act presupposes that action is no more than a release of what is already organized. The tendency when activated is held to go over directly into activity, which it guides and shapes. Against this picture I submit that a realistic analysis of the human act reveals an entirely different picture. The human act is not a release of an already organized tendency; it is a construction built up by the actor. Instead of a direct translation of the tendency into the act there is an intervening process which is responsible for the form and direction taken by the developing act. As Mead has shown--incidentally, his major contribution to social psychology--this intervening process is constructed by a flow of self interaction in which the individual indicates various things and objects to himself, defines them, judges them, selects from among them, pieces together his selections, and thereby organizes himself to act. It would be a grievous error to assume that this intervening process through which the human actor constructs his act is nothing but the tendency working itself out. Quite the contrary, this intervening process works back on the tendency, sometimes guiding it, sometimes

²¹Abraham H. Maslow, Motivation and Personality (New York, 1954), p. 102.

shaping it, sometimes transforming it, sometimes blocking it, and sometimes ruthlessly eliminating it.²²

The distinction which Blumer is demonstrating is that motivation is the result of two interacting forces: the social environment and the mediation of language. These two factors need to be sorted out if one is to understand the symbolic interactionist view of motivation. First, the drives and pulls operating on man which are created by the social environment are keenly important in determining how any individual may respond to any object, physical or social. Edward T. Hall has called this "the vocabulary of culture."²³ People react not just to some inner tendency, but to specific situations which are socially determined. Man is a social animal incorporated into a series of relationships with other men, and this compels certain manner of behavior and creates a set of social attitudes. Erving Goffman, in Behavior in Public Places, reviews the matter this way:

The factor emerges, then, that was much considered by Adam Smith, Charles Cooley, and G. H. Mead; namely the special mutuality of immediate social interaction. That is, when two persons are together, at least some of their world will be made up out of the fact (and consideration for the fact) that an adaptive line of action attempted by one will be either insightfully facilitated by the other or insightfully countered, or both, and that such a line of action must always be pursued in this intelligently helpful and hindering world. Individuals sympathetically

²²Blumer, pp. 94-95.

²³Edward T. Hall, The Silent Language (Greenwich, Connecticut, 1959), pp. 42-62.

take the attitude of others present, regardless of the end to which they put information thus acquired.²⁴

The second factor which Blumer is working with is the notion that even in this common cultural environment, people may differ in their acts and interpretation of acts because there is an intervening process by which man defines and interprets his social environment. This intervening process is language, socially acquired and standing between man and physical reality. Language is a screen through which reality is filtered and, as Blumer insists, altered. Joseph Bram has called language, first, an important part of the culture of any person and, second, a vehicle which allows man to transcend the immediate and real.²⁵ Thus one is faced with the process of the socialization of man and the enculturation of man. In both, language plays the key role.

The symbolic interactionist, unlike Maslow, finds motivation to be culture bound. More, it is situation bound as well. Kenneth Burke has declared that motives are shorthand terms for situations, and by this he means that motives are not fixed tendencies but are matters and methods of interpretation.²⁶

²⁴Erving Goffman, Behavior in Public Places (New York, 1963), p. 16.

²⁵Joseph Bram, Language and Society (New York, 1955), pp. 22-23.

²⁶Kenneth Burke, Pernanence and Change: An Anatomy of Purpose (Indianaopolis, 1965), p. 29.

Any complete statement about motives will offer some kind of answer to these five questions: what was done (act), when or where was it done (scene), who did it (agent), how did he do it (agency), and why did he do it (purpose).²⁷

Motive viewed in this light becomes a broad concept indeed because any responsive reaction to any situation or object becomes a motivated act. The response is not created by a set of inner-drives of a physical nature, but grows directly out of the components of the situation. Burke's systematic work A Grammar of Motives is, of course, an effort to get at the motivational forces generated by combinations of these five situational dimensions. The social factors of motivation are manifested in situations, and one understands motive only in terms of situation. In this way, Burke suggests a solution to the dilemma posed by MacIver. Burke has developed a system by which to examine motives. MacIver, because he sees acts as a result of given tendencies to act in given ways, is forever caught in the dilemma of subjective evaluation, but Burke, because he sees acts as the result of situational factors, has a ready means of analysis.

Act, Scene, Agent, Agency, Purpose. Although, over the centuries, men have shown great enterprise and inventiveness in pondering matters of human motivation, one can simplify the subject by this pentad of key terms, which are understandable almost at a glance. They need never be abandoned, since all statements that assign motives can be shown to arise out of them and to terminate in them. By examining them quizzically, we can range far; yet the terms are

²⁷Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives (Berkeley, 1969), p. xv.

always there for us to reclaim, their almost miraculous easiness, thus enabling us to constantly begin afresh. Speaking broadly we could designate as philosophies any statements in which these grammatical resources are utilized. Random or unsystematic statements about motives could be considered as fragments of a philosophy.²⁸

We must yet consider Blumer's intervening process from one additional point of view, however. The ability to attribute motive is limited by the nature and capacity of one's vocabulary. Motives, as we have seen, are inferred from behavior, but it is behavior as interpreted by the one attributing motive. Because perception is linguistically mediated, language guides our interpretation of any act. In Burke's words, "motives are distinctly linguistic products. We discern situational patterns by means of the particular vocabulary of the cultural groups into which we are born."²⁹ Thus one could make the following assertions. First, motivations are not elements fixed within an individual, but rather they are terms through which conduct is interpreted. Second, one interprets both his own conduct and the conduct of others with these terms. In this way, motives are best seen as vocabularies. The position thus far embraces a conception of motives which holds that motives spring from situation and not from some sort of built in tendencies. Third, the ability to impute motives is a direct function of the vocabularies of motives

²⁸Burke, A Grammar of Motives, pp. xv-xvi.

²⁹Burke, Permanence and Change, p. 35.

available to the interpreter. It is the latter concept which forms the basis for much of this study, and, therefore, it needs greater consideration.

C. Wright Mills has devoted a great deal of time and attention to the matter of motivation and vocabulary. Mills contends, "As I see it motive is circumscribed by the vocabulary of the actor. The only source for a terminology of motives is the vocabularies of motives actually and usually verbalized by actors in specific situations."³⁰ Mills then posits the concept upon which this study is built.

Stress of this ideal will lead us to investigations of the compartmentalization of operative motives in personalities according to situation and the general types of motives in various types of societies. The purposes are relative to societal frame. We might e.g. study motives along stratified or occupational lines.³¹

Plainly stated, one can attribute motives only to the degree that one has a vocabulary which includes those motives. Indeed, a review of the literature of language and perception makes it clear that language affects perception not only between cultures and societies but among them as well. Ralph Pieris says that "if language can unify a group vis-a-vis foreigners or out groups, it can equally reflect differentiation and divisions of interest within a society. A complex

³⁰C. Wright Mills, "Situating Actions and Vocabularies of Motive," Symbolic Interaction: A Reader in Social Psychology, Jerome G. Manis and Bernard N. Meltzer (eds.), (Boston, 1967), p. 361.

³¹Mills, p. 362.

official or formal group like a state or nation contains innumerable informal subgroups which cultivate minute linguistic differences."³² Others have even gone so far as to suggest that occupation is a good way to approach social worlds because "similarity of occupation and limitations set by income level dispose them to certain restricted communication channels."³³ Tamotsu Shibutani feels that one should define social worlds as being bounded not by territory or formal group membership but by effective communication. He defines the members of social worlds as those who use "special meanings and symbols which further accentuate differences and increase social distance from outsiders."³⁴

This study is an attempt to employ these basic notions in a comparison, both social and rhetorical, of various groups in the American society. As we have seen, it is based upon several key notions which grow out of symbolic interaction theory. It is the contention of this writer that Burke is correct when he says that random and unsystematic statements about motives are fragments of a philosophy. The problem is to put these fragments together in order to form the complete philosophy. If one can see the manner in which social groups

³²Pieris, p. 500.

³³Tamotsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives," The American Journal of Sociology, LI (May, 1955), 587.

³⁴Shibutani, p. 567.

use the terms of the pentad in attributing motive to social objects, then indeed one can say with some certainty that he has gained an insight into the philosophy of that group. The full position is summed up in a rather long quotation taken from a 1939 article by C. Wright Mills.

We can view language functionally as a system of social control. A symbol, a recurrent language form, gains its status as a symbol, an event with meaning, because it produces a similar response from both the utterer and the hearer. Communication must set up common modes of response in order to be communication; the meaning of language is the common social behavior evoked by it. Symbols are the "directing pivots" of social behaviors. They are also the indispensable condition of human mentality. The meanings of words are formed and sustained by the interactions of human collectivities, and through it the manipulation of such meanings The patterns of social behavior with their cultural drifts, values, and political orientations extend a control over thoughts by means of language. It is only by utilizing the symbols common to his group that a thinker can think and communicate. Language, socially built and maintained, embodies implicit exhortations. By acquiring the categories of a language, we acquire the structured ways of a group and along with the language, the value-implications of those ways. Our behavior and perceptions, our logic and thought, come within the control ambit of a system of language. Along with language, we acquire a set of social norms and values. A vocabulary is not merely a string of words; immanent within it are societal textures--institutional and political coordinates. Back of a vocabulary lie sets of collective action.³⁵

What Mills is saying is that a study of the vocabulary of motives of any social or political group will lead one to an understanding of the credenda of that group, and thus one way of understanding the meaning of the rhetoric of any movement or organization is to examine how the five elements of the

³⁵C. Wright Mills, "Language, Logic, and Culture," American Sociological Review, IV (October, 1939), 677.

pentad reveal the nature of how they view the social environment in which they exist. By an examination of the language of the group, one is able to discover the fragments of the group's philosophy, and a sustained effort to gather the fragments ought to reveal the whole. Thus an examination based on the language of motive attribution ought to reveal more than just what the group is saying, or even how well the group is saying it; it ought to reveal what lies behind what the group is saying. Tackling how a group attributes motive, how they manipulate the elements of the pentad results in knowing what sort of world the group has constructed, what sort of environment their perceptions have created for them to live and function in. Once this has been done for one group, it can, of course, be done for others. Thus, one not only has a way of understanding the perceptions of one group, but has a method of comparing the views of various groups as well. By a comparison of the vocabularies of motive attribution used by various groups, it is possible to make a comparative assessment of the true nature of political groups which oppose or support each other in our society.

The object of this study is to first isolate and then compare the perceived social environments of specific sub-culture groupings within our society. The object selected to be the focus of this examination is the press of the groups in

question. The study is divided into four following chapters. The first of these deals with the problem of defining the scope of a key term, "alternative press." The chapter represents an effort to go beyond the current vogue of limiting consideration of the underground press to the new-left publications of the past two decades. Specifically, the chapter examines three current publications which deal with the alternative press. These three are Outlaws of America by Rodger Lewis, The Underground Press by Robert J. Glessing, and The New Journalism by Michael L. Johnson. These treatments of the alternative press are compared and contrasted in order to arrive at some understanding of the phenomenon. The chapter also undertakes an analysis of the history of the underground press as presented by these three authors. In order to illustrate that the history of the underground press is much richer than reflected in these books, the chapter considers other literature dealing with social groups and movements, and the use of media by these groups. Among the groups considered are the Populists, Blacks, American Revolutionaries, and Anarchists. Literature considered includes The Populist Revolt by John D. Hicks, Makers of Modern Journalism by Kenneth Stewart and John Trebbel, The Negro Press Re-Examined by Maxwell R. Brooks, The Proud Tower: A Portrait of the World Before the War 1890-1914 by Barbara Tuchman, and Anarchism: Old and New by Gerald Runkle.

Chapter Three outlines the rhetorical nature and function of the alternative press. The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate that the alternative press offers an important vehicle for examining extremist groups. In order to accomplish this, the chapter presents two major lines of analysis. First, it considers the nature of the journalism found in the alternative press by comparing the attitudes and practices of alternative publishers with conventional theories of journalism. Specifically, the concept of objective versus subjective reporting is examined in order to demonstrate that the journalism of the alternative press lies outside such conventional theories as "social responsibility journalism." In addition to the works on the alternative press already named, the chapter examines material found in Four Theories of the Press by Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm; Pressures on the Press by Hillier Krieghbaum; and Mass Media in a Free Society by Warren L. Agee. The second line of analysis examines the need for social groups to practice both an external rhetoric, aimed at the larger social entity, and an internal rhetoric, aimed at its own membership. This analysis is based in large measure on concepts developed by Herbert Simons in his article "Requirement, Problems, and Strategies: A Theory of Persuasion for Social Movements" and a paper presented to the Speech Communication Association Convention in 1972 by Arthur L. Smith entitled "Historical and

Social Movements: A Search for Boundaries." In addition, the sociological works such as Collective Behavior by Ralph Turner and Lewis Kellian, The Institutions of Society by James K. Feibleman, The Psychology of Social Movements by Hadley Cantril, and People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation by Luther Gerlach and Virginia H. Hine help to establish the need for such a dual rhetoric. Finally, three more works dealing with the alternative press--Famous Long Ago: My Life and Hard Times with Liberation News Service by Raymond Mungo, the Free Ranger Press publication How to Publish Your Very Own Underground Newspaper, and Edith Romm's The Open Conspiracy: What America's Angry Generation Is Saying--are considered in making the case for the rhetorical function of the alternative press. The chapter argues that print media is used, in the main, to transmit the internal rhetoric of the groups.

This analysis reveals that the alternative press is a rhetorical vehicle aimed at the preservation of group norms and standards. More than the public rhetoric, which is aimed at the larger social entity, and is, therefore, more subject to contrivance and distortion, the alternative press reveals a truer nature of extremist groups. No claim is made that the alternative press is more honest than the public rhetoric of the groups, for, indeed, it will be shown that the alternative press is a distorted press. However, it will be argued that the nature of the distortion is different, and that the nature

of the dishonesty of the alternative press suggests that it is a fit subject for the sort of analysis employed here. The alternative press omits information or distorts facts, not in order to mislead, but in order to direct the reader to some compelling "truth." The purpose of this rhetoric is not to persuade, but to sustain believers in their beliefs. Therefore, the alternative press offers the language of the groups as it is spoken by and for the group. The contention of this paper is that as these groups attempt to reveal their truths, they employ a language that reveals what lies behind those truths, and that a rhetorical examination of that language will illustrate the nature of the inspiration for the truth of the group.

The fourth chapter presents the results of the study. Four principal social groupings were studied. These four are 1.) Black supremists, 2.) White supremists, 3.) the radical political right, and 4.) the radical political left. Specifically, the publications of the Black Panthers, Black Panther; the Black Muslims, Muhammand Speaks; the American Nazi Party, White Power; the National States Rights Party, Thunderbolt; and the John Birch Society, American Opinion have been examined. In addition, the anti-Semitic fundamentalist paper The Cross and the Flag; four Socialist papers, Weekly People, Workers World, The Militant, and Liberator; and two counter-culture

publications, The Berkeley Tribe and The East Village Other, have been examined.

Of these publications, six are published monthly. These six are White Power, American Opinion, The Cross and the Flag, The Militant, Liberator, and Thunderbolt. Six are published weekly. The weekly publications are Weekly People, Workers World, Muhammand Speaks, The Berkeley Tribe, East Village Other, and Black Panther. The publications have a range of histories. Weekly People, for example, was first published in 1891 while the Black Panther came into existence in 1967. The publications analyzed in this study are housed in Spencer Library at the University of Kansas. The Spencer collection is not complete, and some issues of The Berkeley Tribe, East Village Other, Black Panther, Workers World, and The Militant are missing. It should also be noted that the alternative press is sometimes sporadic in meeting publication deadlines. There are times when the papers skip a week and occasionally issues of two weeks or two months are combined into a single issue. In all cases the papers printed between the years 1964 and 1974 were considered in the analysis.

The results of this analysis are presented in two sets of tables. The first set presents a listing of issues which are of concern to the various groups. Great care was taken in selecting these issues to insure that the ones included were limited to those where the groups clearly attributed motive.

The criterion for selection was that the publication had to specifically employ such terms as "this was done because" or "the reason for this is" or some like phrase. The second set of tables shows how the groups cluster these issues under a relatively small number of motives and compares how the groups attribute motive.

Chapter Five then undertakes to compare the groups on the basis of the analysis and presents an interpretation of the analysis and comparison. The chapter argues that the groups share a basic orientation to the social environment in spite of their obvious differences and that in the final analysis they hold similar world views. It argues that all of the groups operate out of a vocabulary of conspiracy which makes them non-rational in terms of persuasive appeal. The chapter relates this study to such works as Richard Hofstadter's The Paranoid Style in American Politics.

CHAPTER II

A DEFINITION OF THE ALTERNATIVE PRESS

This nation will survive, this state will prosper, the orderly business of life will go forward if only men can speak in whatever way given them to utter what their hearts hold--by voice, by postal card, by letters, or by press.¹

Interest in the alternative press is currently in vogue. Three books which attempt to deal with this phenomenon are Michael L. Johnson's The New Journalism, Roger Lewis's Outlaws of America, and Robert J. Glessing's The Underground Press in America. These three books are worth considering for two reasons. First, they share a good many points of view and thus present a rather consistent picture concerning the definition and the history of the alternative press. Second, they all share the same limitations. It is the contention of this writer that the current picture being developed concerning the alternative press is both incomplete and romanticized. In order to understand the true nature of the alternative press, one must go beyond the considerations which these three authors offer. Yet, this is not to suggest that the efforts of these three are without value, for they have suggested some major points of interest for those who wish to understand the press

¹Bill D. Moyers, "The Press and Government: Who's Telling the truth," Mass Media in a Free Society, Warren K. Agce (ed.), (Lawrence, Kansas, 1969), p. 56.

of special interest groups. Two important limitations which the books all share is that they consider the alternative press to be a recent phenomenon which is restricted to the new-left political groups or the anti-establishment life styles of the "street people," and that they view the alternative press as having greater freedom than the conventional press. This latter notion is based upon the idea that the alternative press is less dependent upon advertising for revenues than is the conventional press; it enjoys a comparative freedom to seek and publish the "truth." Both of these ideas are worth considering as one makes an effort to define and characterize the nature and background of the alternative press.

How may one define the term "alternative press"? For each of the three authors, it is defined as a recent, counter-culture press, growing as a response to the social turmoil of the past twenty years. They discuss this phenomenon under the various labels of alternative press, underground press, street publications, outlaw publications, and the new journalism. Yet, whatever term they use, they define the term by contrasting it to the conventional and established press industry in our society. Moreover, they all seem to agree, to one degree or another, with the following characteristics. First, the alternative press is always seen as a result of forces at work in the society as a whole. Second, the alternative press is always seen as being the technological vanguard of journalism.

Third, the alternative press is always pictured as practicing a journalism of deliberate bias, a subjective journalism in which "truth" is viewed as more important than facts. Fourth, the alternative press is always seen as being a counterpoint to the inadequate nature of the established or conventional press. By considering each of these four notions in turn, it is possible to gain clear insights into the nature of the alternative press.

First, the alternative press is always understood to result from forces which are at work in the society in which the press is found. It is assumed that if the social structure of the society were different, the press would be different, and perhaps that it would not exist at all. Michael Johnson says for example:

It is clear that parallel to the revolutionary changes in our whole environment during the 1960's is a radical transformation in journalism, a transformation which has been effected both through its responding to the changes and more significantly, through its aiding in their implementation. Journalism has always responded to changes in man's political, social, and technological environment, and it has always taken an attitude either of an assumed objectivity or of a selective affirmation of opposition toward those changes in terms of all the biases that can command the media. However, during the 1960's these changes have come so fast and have been so profound, and their calling for moral attitudes and understanding so loud, that conscientious journalism has mesamorphosed itself in an attempt to be relevant and to participate communicatively in those changes. This journalism has thus evolved by quick quantum leaps, into a New Journalism.²

²Michael L. Johnson, The New Journalism (Lawrence, Kansas, 1971), p. xii.

Roger Lewis shares the view that the underground press is a "product of its times,"³ and he feels that it owes its existence to the social task which it takes.

The underground press, and the counter-culture that it serves and represents, are in a state of growth and deeply embroiled in a search for self-definition. If and when they cease to struggle, grow, and analyse themselves they will have become part of the "death culture" which they so resolutely oppose or they will have overwhelmed it completely.⁴

Robert Glessing adds that "finally, the underground press is in part a reaction to the social phenomenon of declining individualism in this country. Young people in particular have resented this trend. Not only the growing megalopolis and the expanding corporation, but also particularly the consolidated school, work against individualism."⁵

Thus, while each author approaches the subject of what the alternative press is reacting to in a somewhat different fashion, each includes as a part of his definition of the alternative press the notion that it is an outgrowth of some sort of social grievance. The alternative press is reactionary in the sense that it is always a response to something in the society. What it responds to may vary from a specific grievance such as the Black Panther or the American Nazi Party

³Roger Lewis, Outlaws of America (Baltimore, 1972), p. 13.

⁴Lewis, p. 13.

⁵Robert J. Glessing, The Underground Press in America (Bloomington, Indiana, 1970), p. xiii.

reaction to racism, or to a general rejection of values such as one finds in the alternative press of the counter-culture movements. What is important for the purpose of definition is that one sees the alternative press as reactionary to something in the larger social environment in which it exists.

The second common factor is that each author sees the alternative press as employing a different print technology, often a vanguard technology. This assertion is made in reference to the fact that the alternative press often lacks access to large printing operations and must employ smaller and less expensive printing techniques such as off-set printing. The argument is advanced in two ways. First, it is said that the alternative press is possible only because of this new technology. As Glessing argues,

From its outset, for example, the Underground Press has latched onto modern technical inventions, and in the process contradicted a well worn dogma of Twentieth Century journalism. That is, for decades observers of the mass media have contended that the dissenter, the little man, the innovator, cannot possibly find an outlet for his views because of the prohibitive cost of starting and maintaining competition with the established generally conservative status quo press. Off-set printing, justifying typewriters, and camera-ready copy processes disprove that theory and, in fact, reverse trends that only a decade ago seemed immutable.⁶

Others see the new journalism not so much as being a result of new technology but simply as being more open to such technology and more imaginative in its use than the conventional press.

⁶Glessing, p. xii.

Lewis uses terms like "riotous experimentations in graphics and layout" in explaining why the alternative press even while "limited to the basic essentials of typewriter, scissors, and paste . . . often compares favorably with their big city cousins."⁷ All three of the authors cite this creative ability as a hallmark of the underground press.

The third common characteristic upon which the authors agree is that the alternative press is a press of bias. That is, the alternative press does not attempt to present an objective account of the issues with which it deals, but rather presents a point of view. It is this assessment of the underground press which is of central importance to this study, for it is largely in this aspect of the alternative press that the claim that it is a rhetorical press is based. This bias is the basis for the notion that the underground press does not serve a journalistic purpose but rather, a rhetorical function. It is therefore important that all these works note this characteristic of the alternative press in their efforts to define it. While the authors note that this may be a journalistic fault with the alternative press, they do so grudgingly. Johnson says, for example, that the underground press is not without fault, but he makes clear that he considers this fault a fault of virtue.

⁷Lewis, pp. 72-73.

That is not to say that it is without faults, because it has its own; and its expression is not totally free or wholly informed, because its freedom has been constrained in some ways and its information distorted by virtue of its humanity and its own kind of bias.⁸

Glessing simply notes that "deliberate bias is an integral part of their creed. The facts are often marshaled to fit the theory, whether or not they represent a full and balanced picture and whether or not they check out. Furthermore, known facts sometimes are deliberately withheld because they might contradict the theory."⁹

Finally, each of the authors sees the alternative press as being defined in its relationship to the established press. In a definition of negation, the alternative press becomes those things which the conventional press is not. First, it is seen as a press for those who, for various reasons, have been denied access to the established press. Second, the alternative press is a counterpart to the conventional press in philosophy, policy, structure, technology, and operating procedures. Johnson leads off the attack upon the conventional press by noting that the established press is unable to respond to the problems of the alienated and insensitive to their needs. He feels that the established press is committed to sensationalizing change rather than communicating understanding of it, that it is both consciously and unconsciously racist, and that

⁸Johnson, p. xv.

⁹Glessing, p. xiv.

it is in large part responsible for the social turmoil of the present era.¹⁰ Lewis, too, finds parallels between the established and the alternative press. He finds the conventional press static while the alternative press is creative and imaginative. He also contrasts the two by noting their dependency upon advertising and participatory policy making by the staffs of the papers. He argues that the alternative press is comparatively free from the pressures of advertisers and feels that it is marked by the participation of the staff in establishing the operating policies of the papers. In both cases, he makes it clear that the independence and policy freedom are best gauged in comparison with those of the conventional press.¹¹ Glessing puts the matter in simple terms. "Once again youth have turned to the Underground Press because they have found treatment by the professional and regular scholastic press inadequate."¹²

This writer has little argument with any of the positions taken by the three writers in their development of a definition thus far. The alternative press is a counterpart of the conventional news media, and one can gain a great deal of insight into what the alternative press is not by looking at the established press. It is a press employed by those who lack access to the conventional news media. It is a target press aimed at

¹⁰Johnson, pp. xii-xv.

¹¹Lewis, p. 14.

¹²Glessing, p. xiii.

an audience and representing some position concerning a social grievance. As such, it is rhetorical in nature, not informative in a conventional sense, and operates out of some well established bias. While the established press may be in part rhetorical, the alternative press is exclusively rhetorical. It is made possible by a relatively cheap print technology and will almost certainly make use of the least expensive technology available. Yet, all the authors have gone from these components of a definition to a position that is not acceptable. They have all accepted the position that the underground press is a phenomenon of our own time exclusively, and they limit their focus to the political left, particularly the youth-orientated political left. One looks in vain for any treatment of right wing political publications in any of these three books, yet certainly such publications abound, and these publications meet the components of the definition offered. By way of illustration, White Power, the official publication of the American Nazi Party, meets all of the qualifications. It is first a publication of an alienated people who are without access to most of the establishment press. Indeed, George Lincoln Rockwell complained often that the established press refused to cover Nazi demonstrations or report on his speeches even as news events.¹³ The organization and publication are a response to a social problem.

¹³Mark Sherwin, The Extremists (New York, 1963), p. 154.

That is, the group grows out of a concern for the relationship of races and religious creeds in the whole of the social fabric. White Power is a response to the nature of the race problem of the United States just as certainly as is the Black Panther. It is a target publication aimed at people who share or may potentially share the views of the American Nazi Party, and it most certainly is the voice of a well established bias on the question of how race relations ought to be dealt with in the United States. The paper is cheaply produced by off-set printing and makes great use of graphics. White Power is financed by sales; policy is set by those who do the actual work of producing it, and one could certainly suspect that Roger Lewis was speaking of this publication when he said:

The straight press rarely admits that stockholders and advertisers might influence policy. The underground press suffers no such restrictions because it refuses to be dependent upon advertising and usually, everybody who works for a paper helps to determine content and policy.¹⁴

There are no stockholders in White Power; it carries very little advertising, and those who report for it and print it are the members of the Party. They do indeed set the limits of the content and the policy of the paper.

The reason for Johnson's, Lewis's, and Glessing's refusal to deal with so many of the outlaw publications is not difficult to understand. In each of the three volumes, Johnson, Lewis, and Glessing embrace the new journalism warmly. They reveal in

¹⁴Lewis, p. 14.

their writings a strong sense of identification with the themes and points of view of the leftist segments of the alternative press. In short, the bias of that section of the alternative press with which they do choose to deal seems to be their own bias. By limiting their consideration of alternative press to the street people publications, the youth movement, and the organizations of the political left, they find confirmation for their own anti-establishment views. Yet, as suggested by the example of the American Nazi Party, there are other groups and other publications with their own "truths." These "truths," it would appear safe to say, are an anathema to Johnson, Lewis, and Glessing. Once the three authors admit to these groups and publications, the very positive stands they take concerning the worth of the underground press and the justification for its brand of subjective journalism is placed in jeopardy. The refusal to do so, however, leaves them with an incomplete picture; like the journalism they admire so much, they feel free to ignore what does not build their case. Nowhere does this problem manifest itself greater than in their treatment of the history of the alternative press.

All three authors place the beginning of the press in the United States during the nineteen fifties and the nineteen sixties. Johnson, in his chapter "A Short History of the Underground Press," acknowledges no alternative press prior to the nineteen fifties. In fact, he feels that I. F. Stone is the

founding father of the underground ethos with his publication of I. F. Stone's Weekly, which began publication in 1953.¹⁵ Johnson limits his "history" to the development of various street people publications and to the establishment of the Liberation News Service, a limited press wire service for underground papers.

Lewis seems more aware of the long history of the alternative press, but he accounts for the pre-nineteen fifty history in four sentences. In fact, Lewis's treatment of the underground history entitled "Looking Back" is humorous in that it begins by declaring that "in order to understand the position of the underground press, its activities and its audience, one must look back at its broad development and roots," and then proceeds to dismiss the pre-nineteen fifty history by depicting it as "little magazines devoted to poetry and the arts, run on shoestring budgets"¹⁶ His historical "account" is a treatment of the fifties and sixties with some effort to account for activities of the alternative press during the nineteen seventies.

Glessing at first seems ready to acknowledge the long history of the underground press. He discusses the notion that certain conditions always produce what he calls "journalistic watersheds," and he says that the social milieu producing the new journalism is not unlike that which produced both the Penny

¹⁵Johnson, p. 4.

¹⁶Lewis, pp. 18-19.

Press and the Party Press. The manner in which he makes this comparison is, however, quite revealing:

The unique new press that emerged from these various socioeconomic circumstances proved to be violently anti-establishment and at certain points, considering the mores of the times, just as offensive to polite society as today's Underground Press.¹⁷

Indeed, one assumes that Glessing views the current underground as a continuation of past anti-establishment papers. Even so he does not understand today's underground press as such as a continuation of a long tradition of alternative publications. In his chapter "Historical Perspective," he too opts for the conception of an underground press as a recent phenomenon which is different from all that has proceeded it. He puts its development squarely in the counter-culture movement of the past twenty years.

The history of the underground press in America is largely a chronicle of youthful reaction to the technical, political, and cultural conditions in the American society. Following the development of underground publications over the past fifteen years is much like following the development of a gifted and frustrated child during that disturbing and chaotic decade and a half.¹⁸

While Glessing will acknowledge that Jack Kerouac and other counter-culture figures of the beat generation have had some influence over the alternative press, he will explore no earlier in his quest for historical perspective.

The authors are wrong; the alternative press is not a new phenomenon. It goes beyond the scope of this study to

¹⁷Glessing, pp. 11-12.

¹⁸Glessing, p. 12.

present a comprehensive history of the alternative press, but perhaps by citing four illustrations of other alternative presses in other times, the richness of that history can be glimpsed. The American Revolution and the times which preceded it serve as one illustration. The publications of the Populist Party serve as another. The long history of Black publications in the United States as well as the publications of the Anarchists, both here and abroad, provide interesting illustrations.

Kenneth Stewart and John Tebbel, in their book Makers of Modern Journalism, note that the first real press in the United States was established by Benjamin Harris in defiance of the New England elders. Harris was an anti-establishment publisher who had been denied access to established publications and was forced to develop his own press. Stewart and Tebbel contend that much of the early press of this country began as a "voice of revolution", and was used as a "powerful instrument of revolt, and thereby realized the worst fears of tyrants and dictators."¹⁹ Their assessment of the press is interesting because of the manner in which it parallels many of the observations made concerning the underground press.

They sent their editions into the hinterlands week after week hammering on the farmer's fear of taxation to keep them aroused and united behind seaport leadership. They did not hesitate to paint the most lurid pictures of how far the British might go in their taxing

¹⁹Kenneth N. Stewart and John Tebbel, Makers of Modern Journalism (New York, 1957), pp. 3-4.

The men who accomplished this service were young, for the most part, and wildly partisan in their cause. They shouted that their papers alone were the organs of truth, but there was justification to the Tory complaint that the truth was often not in them.²⁰

These papers, like the underground press of today, were not the vehicles for objective, informative reporting, but were instead rhetorical papers. Their mission was persuasion, and they operated out of a compelling bias which represented a response to a social force. Stewart and Tebbel conclude that many of the papers were "much more propaganda papers than newspapers."²¹

One may also discover historical roots for the alternative press in the Populist publications of the turn of the century. Local Populist papers were printed by the hundreds throughout the West, Middle-west, and South. John D. Hicks described a few of these papers in his classic history of the movement The Populist Revolt. The Anti-Monopolist he characterizes as an early radical weekly edited by Ignatius Donnelly for political purposes. The Broad-Axe is described as a free silver paper; the National Economist was the official organ of the Southern Farmers Alliance, while the National Watchman is described as a free silver paper and the official organ of the Peoples Party. The Penny Press Hicks calls simply a "journal

²⁰ Stewart and Teboel, p. 16.

²¹ Stewart and Tebbel, p. 17.

of politics."²² One of these journals now found in the Kansas Historical Museum and Library was appropriately named The Kansas Knocker: A Journal for Cranks. Most of the Populist papers were small circulation, single issue journals. Like the underground press of today, they did not deal with news in a general sense, rather they reported events of the party and current happenings as they were interpreted by Populist doctrine. That journalism was vital to the Populist movement is attested to by Richard Hofstadter in his book The Age of Reform.

To an extraordinary degree the work of the Progressive movement rested upon its journalism. The fundamental critical achievement of American Progressivism was the business of exposure, and journalism was the chief occupational source of its creative writers. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the Progressive mind was characteristically a journalistic mind, and that its characteristic contribution was that of the socially responsible reporter-reformer.²³

Hofstadter's observation that the function of the Populist journalism was to serve as a reform agent, rather than as a news service, places the Populist press in the alternative camp. He is wrong, however, in his notion that this was a Populist contribution to journalism, for indeed it was not. Both the Black press and the Anarchist press pre-dated the Populist press.

²²John D. Hicks, The Populist Revolt (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1961), pp. 456-457.

²³Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York, 1955), p. 186.

One outstanding treatment of the pre-nineteen sixty alternative press can be found in Maxwell R. Brooks' treatment of the Black press in America, The Negro Press Re-examined. First, Brooks makes clear that the Negro press has a long and colorful history in the United States. Johnson, Glessing, and Lewis all include the current Black press as an important segment of the present underground, but they ignore the fact that it dates from before the Civil War. Such publications as David Walker's Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World are passed over in their treatment. Brooks, however, not only acknowledges the long history of Black press in America, he also notes that it is a history of a protest press.

The Negro press had its beginning early in the nineteenth century, and throughout its long existence it has been a powerful instrument in molding Negro opinion behind the crusade for full citizenship. The dissemination of news has always been one of its functions, and this is becoming increasingly true nowadays. However, it has performed a variety of functions, and certainly protest has been one of its most characteristic and effective.²⁴

Unlike many of the Populist writers, who tend to lump the muck-raking establishment newspapers of the late eighteenth hundreds with the Populist press, Brooks makes a clear distinction between conventional newspapers which happen to be operated by Blacks and that segment of the Black press which is clearly an underground press. Dividing the Black press into segments, he notes

²⁴Maxwell R. Brooks, The Negro Press Re-Examined (Boston, 1959), p. 13.

that one segment is made up of nationally known papers with very large circulations; a second segment is made up of large city newspapers with circulations ranging from ten thousand to fifty thousand issues per day, and finally there is a third segment.

The third category includes the vast majority of the Negro newspapers. Few publications in this latter group are audited. They are minor sheets and are published chiefly in smaller cities, although a few occupy a marginal status in the big urban centers. A considerable amount of instability is to be found among the papers in this bracket.²⁵

While defending the nature of the Negro press, Brooks agrees with John H. Burma that if one is to characterize the Black press, one must do so by acknowledging that it is now and has been in the past a press of protest and not a consistent source of news.²⁶

Easily the best example of an alternative press not dealt with by Johnson, Glessing, and Lewis is the extensive press of the Anarchists. Two writers who have demonstrated the vital importance of the printing press to the Anarchists are Gerald Runkle in his book Anarchism: Old and New and Barbara W. Tuchman in her work The Proud Tower: A Portrait of the World Before the War 1890-1914.

Tuchman feels that the journalism of the Anarchist was fundamental to their movement because of their disdain for

²⁵Brooks, p. 14.

²⁶John H. Burma, "An Analysis of the Present Negro Press," Social Forces, XXVI (1947), 172-180.

organization. That is, because the groups were loosely organized, they depended upon newspapers to share their views with each other. She not only makes clear that the papers existed in abundant number, but she comments on the nature of the papers as well.

Among painters, Pissarro contributed drawings to Le Pere Peinard and several brilliant and savage Parisian illustrators, including Theophile Steinlen, expressed in the Anarchist journals their disgust as social injustice, sometimes, as when the President of France was caricatured in soiled pajamas, in terms unprintable in a later day.

Scores of these ephemeral journals and bulletins appeared, with names like Antichrist, New Dawn, Black Flag, Enemy of the People, The People's Cry, The Torch, The Whip, New Humanity, Incorruptible, Sans-Culotte, Land Liberty, Vengeance.²⁷

Tuchman also makes clear that the underground Anarchist press was international in nature. Her history of the movement notes that La Revolte was a leading French publication, Der Arbeiter-Fraint as an Anarchist paper printed in Yiddish in England by Jewish immigrants, The Torch was an Italian paper, Il Popolo, a Spanish newspaper, and Free Society was an American publication. These, she says, represent only a small fraction of the Anarchist papers printed by the hundreds all over the world.

²⁷ Barbara W. Tuchman, The Proud Tower: A Portrait of the World Before the War 1890-1914 (New York, 1962), p. 89.

²⁸ Tuchman, pp. 63-177.

Runkle's treatment of the Anarchist press is less direct, but just as compelling. In his chapter dealing with "Spokesmen for Anarchism," he cites the leading spokesmen for the movement from the countries of France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Spain, Russia, and the United States. In each case, he includes those who were journalists and printers of Anarchist papers. Chief among these are Sebastien Faure, Jean Grave, Fernand Pelloutier, all of France; Henry Seymour and William Morris of England, and Peter Kropotkin of Russia.²⁹

One can draw several parallels between the Anarchist press as it is described by Tuchman and Runkle and the alternative press as it is described by Johnson, Lewis, and Glessing. As the Tuchman quotation above suggests, the use of graphics, i.e. illustrations, was in vogue in the outlaw press prior to the turn of the century. The papers were anti-establishment, rhetorical, subjective, the organs of the alienated, and responsive to a force in society.

No claim is made that a history of the underground press has been presented here. It does fall within the scope of this study to demonstrate that such a history exists and that any definition of the alternative press which limits its application to the current new-left journalism is not an acceptable definition. What is presented here is a demonstration that the

²⁹Gerald Runkle, Anarchism: Old and New (New York, 1972), pp. 16-41.

history of the underground press predates the nineteen fifties and that it has embraced a variety of causes, movements, and groups other than the youth orientated political left of the present counter-culture movement. Indeed, it has been demonstrated that the alternative press has been used in various parts of the world for hundreds of years to espouse divergent political and social points of view.

There is one final way in which Johnson, Glessing, and Lewis distort the picture of the underground press. They each endorse the notion that the underground press is more free to print the "truth" than the established press because it does not suffer from the pressures which advertisers can bring to bear upon them. This picture is just as incomplete as the histories they present, but it is somewhat more difficult to refute. First, each of the three authors to endorse the position. Johnson, for example, quotes I. F. Stone concerning the subject and then agrees with the assessment which Stone makes.

"The fault I find with most American newspapers is not the absence of dissent. It is the absence of news. With a dozen or so honorable exceptions, most American newspapers carry very little news. Their main concern is advertising. As the so-called communications industries are primarily concerned not with communications, but with selling. This is obvious on television and radio, but it is only a little less obvious in the newspapers. Most owners of newspapers are businessmen not newspapermen. The news is something which fills the spaces left over by the advertisers. The average publisher is not only hostile to dissenting opinion, he is suspicious of any opinion likely to antagonize the reader or consumer."

What Stone says is obviously true for most establishment newspapers.³⁰

Glessing and Lewis say much the same thing. Glessing notes that "politically radical underground newspapers operate on the principle that it is impossible to be fiscally sound and editorially free at the same time,"³¹ and he provides information concerning just how inexpensively one can start and operate an underground paper. As has already been noted, Lewis also feels that for conventional papers "advertisers might influence policy. The underground suffers no such restrictions because it refuses to be dependent upon advertising" ³²

The first source of refutation to this notion is in the books of Johnson and Glessing themselves. Johnson's treatment of the subject is a curious mixture of asserting that where there is advertising there is influence, admitting that the underground press carries advertising but denying that the advertisers in the underground press have any influence. After endorsing I. F. Stone's notion that a free press ought to carry no advertising, he admits that "the underground newspapers of the 1960's, in contrast have been generally dependent on some advertising."³³ Yet, in spite of this, the alternative press is, according to Johnson, able to escape the pressure that ought to follow.

³⁰Johnson, p. 6.

³¹Glessing, p. 83.

³²Lewis, p. 13.

³³Johnson, p. 5.

The underground press to some extent has fallen into this trap also, but it is in general more genuinely affirmative to the life-styles it promotes than the established press is of those to which it pays lip service by the profit motive. That is to say, the good news of the underground press is more honest, and there is no social climbing clap-trap. Furthermore, its tolerance for opinion is virtually infinite compared to that of the established press, and even its bad news tends to be more detailed and informative.³⁴

Just how or why the underground press is able to expose itself to the contamination of advertisers' influence and withstand the resultant pressure is not made clear by Johnson. Glessing is more complete than Johnson and provides part of the answer.

Advertising in the underground press usually consists of small, hand drawn notices of rock concerts, movement speeches, experimental or sex oriented underground films, head shops selling hippie paraphernalia, avant garde book stores, sandalmakers, mod clothing stores, and psychedelic stores selling incense, cigaret papers, and imitation hashish.

Perhaps the easiest type of advertising for the underground press to attract are the sex-oriented classified ads. Classified ads like the following bring up to \$6 per inch:

Incredibly straight male, 44, athletic, clean wants to meet lascivious, beautiful chick for sneaky-poo games. I look like something between Marlon Brando and Mickey Mouse with Montgomery Clift and Peter Lorre for cousins. Please lovely, lewd damsels, show me where your head is. Call _____ . Ask for Uptight.

Paid-in-advance advertisements like these are hard to turn away when the printer demands his money in advance. One Los Angeles Free Press editor claimed, "We would like to phase them out but financially we can't exist without them"³⁵

Glessing concludes that most of the underground papers "settle for whatever local advertising they can get."³⁶

³⁴Johnson, p. 6.

³⁵Glessing, pp. 91-92.

³⁶Glessing, p. 92.

This quotation suggests first that the underground press does carry advertising. Second, the people who place ads in the alternative press may not have any alternative publication in which to place their advertising because of the nature of the ads. That is, the established press may well refuse much of the advertising carried by the underground. Third, the alternative press both needs and tries to obtain advertising, since "financially we can't exist without them." Fourth, the papers will indeed carry material which they find objectionable, i.e. the ads themselves, in order to obtain the revenues. The concept that the papers are free to do as they wish, with no financial pressure, is, to a great extent, a myth. It is a myth in part because large numbers of the papers are faced with a major problem of finance. Few such papers have their own printing facilities, and most are printed by commercial printers. The underground must pay these printers in advance, and this requires advertising. Glessing admits that the content of the underground press is about thirty percent advertising.³⁷ Indeed whatever pressure these publications may escape by their relatively low advertising content is compensated for by readership pressure. If the underground papers are not required to pander to advertisers, they are required to pander to readers. These papers operate on a financial margin which is slim. They

³⁷Glessing, p. 88.

must produce their product, for the most part, without credit; and loss in sales often means the death of the paper. Eros Free, a California sex-exploitation paper, for example, yielded to a group of feminists to alter the content of the publication. The feminists felt that the paper had been exploiting women and ought to reverse itself and report the nature of discrimination against women in America. The editors yielded to the pressure, and the result was the demise of the paper. The population to which the paper had been directed refused to buy it in its altered state, and the paper, unable to meet its printing costs, went out of business.

When one moves away from the street people publications, the paradox becomes clearer, and the non-relevance of the subject of advertising pressure becomes paramount. It is true that the organizational papers carry less advertising than do the established press or the counter-culture papers, but they do carry advertising. Moreover, it is difficult to understand in what sense these papers are free to seek "truth." First, it has already been established that all of these papers operate from a stance of admitted bias. They are the organs of special interest groups and movements, and in no real sense are they free. Who assumes that the Black Panther could endorse George Wallace for public office and appeal to the readership that supports the paper? Who assumes that White Power could take a position in favor of interracial marriage without its readership

assuming that the organization which it represents had taken leave of its senses? The position here is not that either publication would consider such courses of action; indeed, they would not, but rather to suggest that they are not free to do so. While it may be true that the pressure to respond to events and people may arise from somewhat different sources for such publications, these pressures are just as real, and the papers are not free to ignore them.

In summary, the underground or the alternative press is not defined as the counter-culture publications of the past two decades. It is not a phenomenon of the left side of the political spectrum alone. Rather it is any publication which meets the following criteria:

1. It is reactionary in the sense that it is a response by some person or group to a force, social or political, in the society from which it springs.
2. It is a relatively small scale publication which is produced on the least expensive equipment. In this respect, it is a press that relies upon current technology and imagination to offset its lack of professionalism.
3. It is a rhetorical press. It operates out of a well established bias and a sense of injustice. It proclaims either an individual or group truth.
4. It is a press in opposition to the established media and as such is used by those who for any reason have been denied access to the established press.
5. It is typically unstable in a financial sense and panders to the readership and advertisers which it has. It may be marked by a low advertising content, and therefore it may pander less to advertisers than conventional, but it is correspondently more subject to pressure by its readership.

The alternative press has had a long and checkered history, and it may not be facetious to say that there has been an underground press as long as there has been a printing press. Efforts to limit the use of the term to present day publications, to restrict it to the papers of the radical political left, or to associate it with any one political philosophy are unwarranted.

CHAPTER III

THE RHETORICAL DIMENSIONS OF THE ALTERNATIVE PRESS

The good newspaper must walk a tight rope between two abysses--on the one side the false objectivity which takes everything at face value and lets the public be imposed upon by the charlatan with the most brazen front; on the other, the interpretive reporting which fails¹ to draw the line between objective and subjective

The purpose of this chapter is to establish that the alternative press is a rhetorical press. In order to demonstrate the rhetorical dimensions of the underground press, two lines of analysis will be pursued. First, it will be shown that the alternative press is rhetorical in the nature of the journalism which it practices. This rhetorical nature can best be seen in the tendency of the alternative press to substitute subjective presentations for objective reporting. Second, it will be argued that the alternative press serves a specific rhetorical function. The analysis holds that groups and social movements require a rhetoric aimed at their own membership and that the alternative press serves this function. Thus, the position taken here is that the alternative press is rhetorical in both nature and function.

In order to establish the rhetorical nature of the alternative press, it is first necessary to explore some of the ways

¹Elmer Davis, "The Need for Interpretive Reporting," Mass Media and Mass Man, Alan Casty (ed.), (New York, 1969), p. 187.

in which establishment journalism operates. Once this has been done, the operation of the alternative press can be contrasted to conventional journalism theory, and through that comparison, the rhetorical nature of the alternative press will be clearly shown. Before this, one point should be stressed. What follows is a discussion of the goals of the two presses. No argument is made here that either the establishment press or the alternative press always obtains these goals. The establishment press is not always objective in the presentation of news events, but the practitioners of conventional journalism are expected by their peers to accept an ethic which assumes that they will present a complete and truthful account of an event as they know it. The alternative press places, by choice, no such expectation upon its practitioners. This paper is not concerned with the conduct of the establishment press. However, if one is to understand the true nature of the alternative press, it is necessary to see that it operates from a much different theoretical base than other journalisms. The alternative press assumes different goals, different values, and different methods. The purpose of this comparison is not to judge these differences but to enumerate them. Thus it is in order that we view current important theories of journalism.

Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilber Schramm have reported four such theories in their book Four Theories of

the Press. These authors maintain that one can grasp and synthesize all the significant notions concerning the nature of modern establishment press under four major theories. These theories are the authoritarian theory, the libertarian theory, the social responsibility theory, and the Soviet Communist theory. Early in their book, they diagram the differences between these four theories, and what follows is a condensed presentation of what they reveal.

Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm posit eight important dimensions needed for comparing and contrasting theories of journalism. These eight are 1.) a consideration of where the theory developed, 2.) a consideration of what the theory developed out of, 3.) a consideration of what purpose the theory ascribes to journalism, 4.) a consideration of who, according to the theory, has the right to use the media, 5.) a consideration of who the theory allows to control the media, 6.) a consideration of what constraints the theory places upon journalism, 7.) a consideration of who the theory allows to own newspapers, and 8.) a consideration of how the given theory differs from the other theories.²

In their scheme, the authoritarian theory developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England. It grew out of a philosophy of the absolute power of the government, and its chief purpose is to support and advance the policies of the

²Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilber Schramm, Four Theories of the Press (Urbana, Illinois, 1972), p. 7.

government in power and to service the functions of the state. Anyone with government permission may operate a newspaper, but the media is controlled by the government by use of government patents, guilds, licensing, and when needed, by use of government censorship. Publishers are forbidden to criticize officials in power or the political machinery of the state. Ownership may be public or private. The essential difference of the press under a system of authoritarianism and the press under different systems is that under the authoritarianism system, the press is always viewed as an instrument of effecting government policy and for supporting government action even when it is not government owned.

The libertarian theory was also developed in England, but there was a parallel development in the United States at about the same time. The authors place the date of its development sometime after 1688. This theory is seen as growing out of the writings of Milton, Locke, Mill, and the general philosophy of rationalism and natural rights. Several functions are posited for journalism under the theory including information dissemination, entertainment, and commercialism. Journalism's chief function, however, is to help discover truth and to serve as a check on the power of government. Anyone with the economic means to do so has the right to publish a paper, and the press is seen as being free from government constraints. The media is controlled, not by government policy, but by the

self-righting process of truth, the free market place of ideas, and the courts. Under this theory, the press is forbidden to use defamation, obscenity, indecency, or wartime sedition. Ownership is seen as chiefly private. The essential characteristic which identifies the libertarianism from other systems is that the libertarianism press is an instrument for checking on government and for meeting other needs of the society.

The theory of social responsibility developed in the United States during the twentieth century. It grew out of several media codes including those produced by the Commission on Freedom of the Press and the writings of W. E. Hocking. This theory holds that the purpose of journalism is to sell, to inform, and to entertain. However, its chief function is to raise conflict within the society to the plane of discussion. Under this theory, anyone with something to say has a right to use the media, and the only controls are community opinion, consumer action, and professional ethics. Only serious invasion of recognized private rights and vital social interests are forbidden. Ownership is preferred to be private, but if the private sector does not perform the needed journalistic function, then the government may be required to take over in order to insure public service. The essential characteristic of the press under a system of social responsibility is that the press must assume the obligation of social responsibility,

and if they do not, someone must see that they do even if that means that the government must assume the operation of the press.

The final theory discussed by Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm is the Soviet-totalitarian theory. The authors present this system as one that has developed in Russia during this century, although they acknowledge that some of the same practices which make the system were used in Germany and Italy prior to World War. II. There appears to be some contradiction to the German use because the Soviet-totalitarian theory is seen as growing out of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist thought influenced with Hegel and nineteenth century Russian thinking. The chief purpose is to contribute to the success and continuance of the Soviet socialist system and especially to support the dictatorship of the party. Loyal and orthodox party members alone have the right to use the media, and they are controlled by surveillance and economic or political action of the government. While tactics used by the government may be criticized from time to time, the press is never allowed to be critical of party objectives. The ownership is always public. The essential characteristic of a press under the Soviet-totalitarianism system is that the totalitarian press is state owned and closely controlled and that as a media it exists solely as an arm of the government.

In attempting to place the underground press under one of these theories, one very quickly encounters difficulties. Two of the systems may be quickly eliminated. For Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, the Soviet-totalitarian theory is not applicable to any segment of the American society. Indeed, one is compelled to wonder why this system has been elevated by the authors to the status of a full theory since it is clearly only the authoritarian system as it has been refined and practiced in the Soviet Union.³ Granted, one may find some semantic differences and perhaps an important refinement is that the authoritarian system does allow for private ownership; nevertheless, one does feel safe in the assertion that the Soviet-totalitarian theory is little more than a refined and systemic example of the authoritarian theory in operation. At any rate, the underground press does not operate in Russia and, under a system of Soviet-totalitarianism, would not be allowed to operate in the United States or elsewhere.

Nor, it would seem, could one account for the alternative press with even a more general application of the authoritarian theory. The first major cause for rejection is that one is hard pressed to argue that the function of the underground press is to "support and advance the policies of the government in power," and, as the authors make clear, when we speak of the authoritarian press in the modern world, we are

³Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, pp. 105-146.

speaking of government newspapers. For example, the International Press Institute cites Russia, China, Yugoslavia, Portugal, Spain, Egypt, Syria, Union of South Africa, Iran, Pakistan, India, Iraq, Lebanon, Turkey, Argentina, and Indonesia as countries which have an authoritarian press to one degree or another.⁴

Both the libertarian and the social responsibility theories influence the alternative press, but neither theory totally encompasses it in the final analysis. The relationship between these two theories can best be demonstrated by presenting that section of the Siebert, Peterson, Schramm diagram which deals with them.

LIBERTARIAN

Developed in:

England and the United States after 1688.

Out of:

Philosophy of rationalism and natural rights.

Chief Purpose:

To inform, entertain, sell-- but chiefly to help discover truth and to check on government.

Who Has the Right to Use It:

Anyone with the economic means.

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Developed in:

The United States in the twentieth century.

Out of:

The development of media codes.

Chief Purpose:

To inform, entertain, sell-- but chiefly to raise conflict to the plane of discussion.

Who Has the Right to Use It:

Anyone with something to say.

⁴Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, p. 31.

How Is It Controlled:

By the self-righting process of truth, the free market place of ideas, and the courts.

What Is Forbidden:

Defamation, obscenity, indecency, and wartime sedition.

Ownership:

Chiefly private.

Essential Difference from Others:

It is an instrument for checking on government and meeting other social needs.

How Is It Controlled:

Community opinion, consumer action, and professional ethics.

What Is Forbidden:

Serious invasion of recognized private rights, and vital social interests.

Ownership:

Private unless the government has to take over to insure public service.

Essential Difference from Others:

Media must assume obligation of social responsibility, and if they do not, someone must see that they do.

It should first be noted that what the authors are presenting in this diagram is just a thumbnail sketch of the theories. Thus while they contend that the libertarian theory developed in England after 1688, they go on to say that the roots of the theory derive from a complex set of ideas and circumstances that transcended the geographical boundaries of England.

The sixteenth century provided the experiences; the seventeenth century saw the development of the philosophical principles; and the eighteenth century put these principles into practice. Harold Laski whose The Rise of European Liberalism is the foremost history and analysis of western liberalism, has pointed out that social philosophy is always the offspring of history and is unintelligible saw in terms of the events from which it arose. The geographical discoveries of the sixteenth century provided

a new spaciousness for the minds of men Scientific as well as geographical discoveries influenced the minds of men by emphasizing the rationality of the universe and the possibility of understanding it through patient analysis

Another factor affecting the development of liberalism was the emergence of the middle class

The Enlightenment of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries contributed immeasurably toward the acceptance and diffusion of libertarian principles. Its basic aim was to free man from all outside restrictions on his capacity to use his reason for solving religious, political, and social problems.⁵

These notions, especially as they were reflected in the writings of John Milton and John Stuart Mill helped to create the libertarian theory of the press. As Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm make clear however, it was a process that took place over time. "The transfer of the mass media from authoritarian to libertarian principles in England and America was not accomplished overnight but over several centuries."⁶ The significant point being made here is that each system must be seen as developing over time and as relating to each other. This means, for one thing, that the libertarian and social responsibility theories are not likely to ever be found in a pure form. Indeed what one is more likely to encounter is bits and pieces of the theories in operation, and this seems even more likely in the case of the social responsibility theory.

⁵Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, pp. 41-43.

⁶Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, p. 47.

Just as libertarian theory was a composite of ideas, so the emerging social responsibility theory has grown out of ideas of many persons. Men who have contributed component ideas to it might abhor the theory as a whole--just as, say John Milton, who contributed the idea of the self-righting libertarian theory in its full form

It is important to remember that the social responsibility theory is still chiefly a theory. But as a theory it is important because it suggests a direction in which thinking about freedom of the press is heading. Then too, some aspects of the theory have found their way into practice.⁷

One can see from the above description that the alternative press represents a style of journalism which borrows from these two but which represents neither. It should also be clear that the real roots of both the libertarian and social responsibility theories is that they are counterparts to the authoritarian models. That is, liberalism in all its forms is in large measure a reaction to authoritarianism, and in turn one may argue that Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm have in reality presented two theories of journalism: authoritarian and libertarian. From this point of view, Soviet-totalitarianism is a refinement upon more general authoritarian systems, and social responsibility is a refinement and extension of the libertarian system. The alternative press falls into the sphere of the libertarian-social responsibility approach to journalism, but it can be shown that in some important ways it differs from both.

There are, for example, clear ties between the alternative press and the social responsibility theory. Social

⁷Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, p. 75.

responsibility grew from commissions formed because of specific criticism of the press. These criticisms included the arguments that the press "has been subservient to big business and at times has let advertisers control editorial policies and editorial content."⁸ It was also charged that the press "has resisted social change and that the press is controlled by one socioeconomic class, loosely the business class, and access to the industry is difficult for the newcomer"⁹ These criticisms are, of course, the same ones voiced by the publishers of the alternative press, and it has been shown that these complaints serve as the impetus for its growth. Thus, one can see that the alternative press shares at least some of its origins with the social responsibility theory. Yet, it seems equally clear that those who use the alternative press would reject out of hand one of the important tenets of that theory: that is the notion that when the public sector fails to meet the need of raising conflict to the plane of discussion, it becomes the responsibility of government to assume a journalistic operation. Indeed, for the alternative press, government is a part of the established economic and political force which has captured and controls the conventional press. The charge, as has been demonstrated, is that the press is already

⁸Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, p. 78.

⁹Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, p. 79.

a tool of big business and big government. The view of most of the alternative press is not only that the government is not to be served by the press, but that it must not be trusted. This antipathy for service to established government power can be illustrated by two examples. George L. Dovel, writing in The Cross and the Flag, told why he felt the government had not dealt with the "Communist" Martin Luther King.

The answer to one who might wonder why King was permitted to roam over the nation at will, fomenting racial tension and turmoil and constantly preaching defiance of the law, is BLACK VOTES. Following the example of "court-packing" Franklin D. Roosevelt, who thwarted the attempts of a congressional committee on "Un-American Activities" to expose and weed communist spies from vital U.S. Government departments and agencies BECAUSE HIS POLITICAL PARTY NEEDED THE COMMUNIST VOTES TO PERPETUATE ITSELF IN POWER, false white leaders in every branch of the federal government--fearing Negro reprisal in the event King should be summoned into court to answer for his treason--condoned his treasonable course and passively encouraged him to sow the seeds of anarchy and revolution.¹⁰

What Dovel is saying is that government would never stand as the defender of the people and, indeed, will trade the national security of the country for votes. One would hardly expect Dovel to endorse a government press.

Among the underground papers which represent the left side of the political spectrum, the Berkeley Tribe demonstrates the manner in which the alternative press regards the government when it says, "The function of the uniformed force in

¹⁰George L. Dovel, "A Traitor Martyrized," The Cross and the Flag, XXVIII (October, 1969), 7.

Berkeley is to intimidate and suppress young people and black people. These police are an occupying army, an expeditionary force dispatched by the state power structure to control and oppress its subjects."¹¹

What these two examples illustrate is that the alternative press would never hold with that part of the social responsibility theory that expresses trust in the institutions and government under which men live. The social responsibility theory places final trust in the government to assume responsibility, but the outlaw press takes dead aim at government as the source of most social problems at worst and as a tool of vested interests at best. Any effort by the government to assume a journalistic role would be viewed by the underground as propaganda or suppression.

Nor it would seem can the libertarian theory be used as a method of viewing the alternative press. The same sort of analysis reveals that the theory is greatly different from the operation of the underground in at least one of its important considerations. The libertarian theory holds that there are certain practices which the press must not engage in. Among these are obscenity and defamation of character. Both the use of obscenity and defamation occur in the underground press however. Once more the discrepancy can be demonstrated by example.

¹¹"One Wins or Dies," The Berkeley Tribe, III (August 28-September 8, 1970), 3.

Papers like the Berkeley Tribe commonly run headlines like "Is Amerika Devouring Its Children? No Amerika is Fucking Over Its Children,"¹² and the East Village Voice calls government responses to social issues "typical chickenshit hypocrisy" and exhorts readers to "Get off your asses and do something about it. Don't let them fuck you again."¹³ Indeed, the alternative press is marked by the use of profanity and sexually explicit material. Some might even find obscenity in the titles of the papers such as Tits'n'Ass, Suck, and Turn of the Screwed. Examples of defamation of character are equally easy to cite. The Cross and the Flag catagorizes Lyndon Johnson, Hubert Humphrey, and Charles Percy as "sloppy mongrelizing demagogues,"¹⁴ and White Power makes constant reference to Martin Luther "Coon" and to Nelson Rockefeller as an "Esso-B."¹⁵ Such language and defamation does not constitute exceptions in the reporting of the outlaw press, but it is the norm for all the various persuasions which are represented by the underground. Some of the papers contain more obscenity than others; some are harsher in

¹²"Is Amerika Devouring Its Children? No Amerika Is Fucking Over Its Children," Berkeley Tribe, III (September 11-18, 1970), 16.

¹³East Village Voice, VI (February 16, 1971), 1.

¹⁴"Prostituters," The Cross and the Flag, XXIV (August, 1972), 10.

¹⁵"Commie-Capitalists Tightening Economic Noose on Americans," White Power No. 16 (May, 1971), p. 6.

their treatment of public figures than others, but all violate this segment of the theory of libertarian press to some degree, and most violate it in the extreme.

The major factor which separates the alternative press from the conventional theories of journalism, however, is its orientation to the matter of objective versus subjective news treatment. In one important sense, both the libertarian and the social responsibility theories understand journalism to be a conduit for dissemination of information, not a vehicle for persuasion. When one says that the function of journalism is to "help discover truth" or to "raise conflict to the plane of discussion," one is assigning journalism a non-persuasive task. The purpose is not to proclaim truth but to engage in a process that enables a whole body, the members of the state, for example, to determine truth and to plot courses of action. To those who assign such a mission to journalism, the necessity for objective and fair reporting is of paramount importance. The libertarian theory holds that false points of view will indeed be printed but that the self-righting process in a free market place of ideas will insure the general acceptance of the best policies over time.

Libertarian theorists assumed that out of a multiplicity of voices of the press, some information reaching the public would be false and some opinions unsound Ultimately the public could be trusted to digest the whole, to discard that not in the public interest and to accept

that which served the needs of the individual and of the society of which he is a part.¹⁶

The press is a part of this process under the libertarian theory, and it serves the important function of insuring that all sides of an issue are known to the public. Under this system the press may not be a judge of what is false or true, good or bad. The function of the press is to inform the public, and the informed public then may judge for itself. It will not be argued here that the libertarian press has always functioned in such a fashion. Those who helped to develop the social responsibility theory as well as those who have helped to develop the alternative press make strong cases for the fact that it has not; however, the theoretical framework of the theory calls for this objectivity. The theory places the press in the society, and as a member of the society, it aids in the common search for truth. Like the smallest member of the collective, the press is not the possessor of truth; it is a seeker after truth.

The theory of social responsibility is even more explicit in this matter. The Commission on the Freedom of the Press addressed itself directly to the issue in 1947. The Commission held that the first requirement of the press in a contemporary society is to provide "a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which

¹⁶Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, p. 51.

gives them meaning."¹⁷ As Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm say, "This requirement demands that the press must not lie. It means also that the press must identify fact as fact and opinion as opinion."¹⁸ In part, this position goes far beyond a simple call for objective reporting; indeed it is a reaction to what has been called a fetish for objectivity. The Commission said, "It is no longer enough to report the facts truthfully. It is now necessary to report the truth about the facts."¹⁹ The concern of the Commission was that if journalism only reported what a person said, even when the reporter or publishers knew that the words reported were not the truth or not complete, that journalism was not meeting its social responsibility. That is, controversy was not being raised to the plane of discussion, it is simply being extended by the spread of false information. As Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm insist, "In adhering to objective reporting, the press has tried to present more than one side of a story; but in so doing, the suggestion is, the media have not bothered to evaluate for the reader the trustworthiness of conflicting sources, nor have they supplied the perspective essential to a complete understanding of a

¹⁷Commission on the Freedom of the Press, A Free and Responsible Press (Chicago, 1947), p. 20.

¹⁸Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, p. 87.

¹⁹Commission on the Freedom of the Press, p. 22.

given situation"²⁰ Thus it is true that the social responsibility theory is not happy with a journalism which makes no judgments and serves only as a conduit for public figures. But the theory does not hold for a purely subjective journalism. It holds that it is the task of journalism to seek information, in an objective and fair fashion, to present that information, clearly and completely, and to interpret and evaluate that information. Moreover, it holds that the evaluation must be clearly separated from the reporting, that it must be labeled as evaluation, and that readers must be able to identify which is evaluation and which is reporting. Such a scheme calls for greater not less honesty, and it makes the role of journalism more difficult and more open to question. Elmer Davis, who served as head of the Office of War Information during World War II, put the matter this way.

This kind of dead-pan reporting--so and so said it, and if he's lying in his teeth it isn't my business to say so--may salve the conscience of the reporter (or the editor, who has the same ultimate responsibility) as to his loyalty to some obscure ideal of objectivity. But what about his loyalty to the reader? The reader lays down his nickel, or whatever, for the paper in the belief that is going to find out what is going on in his world and it does not seem to me that the newspaper is giving him his nickle's worth if it only gives what somebody says is going on in the world, with no hint as to whether what that somebody says is right or wrong.²¹

²⁰Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, p. 88.

²¹Hillier Kreighbaum, Pressure on the Press (New York, 1973), p. 102.

More recently Ben H. Bagdikian, in an address to the William Allen White Foundation, voiced the same quandary. Bagdikian noted that the sheer volume of news creates the need for greater selectivity and appraisal on the part of journalists and said, "So whether news organizations like it or not, they have to get 'involved' in ways that were considered unobjective a few years ago."²² Bagdikian called this a situation of crises in identity and said that it presents the greatest problem and danger facing the press today. Thus for those practicing a social responsibility approach to journalism, one is faced with the problem of meeting the responsibility and maintaining some system of fairness. That is, they are faced with the dilemma of reporting more than fact, but of maintaining a non-biased approach to their task.

The alternative press is not faced with this problem, because unlike the establishment press, it does not practice or preach an objective journalism. The journalism of the underground is persuasive. By this I mean that the underground press is not engaged in a search for some truth; it assumes that it has truth, and it seeks to present that truth in a persuasive fashion to its readership. The alternative press is not a seeker; it is a proclaimer, and nowhere is the real nature of that approach to journalism better encapsulated than

²²Warren K. Agee, Mass Media in a Free Society (Lawrence, Kansas, 1969), p. 6.

in a quotation by Raymond Mungo, the founder of the underground press syndication, Liberation News Service.

Facts are less important than truth and the two are far from equivalent you see; for cold facts are nearly always boring and may even distort the truth, but truth is the highest achievement of human expression. HmMMMM. I had better clarify this with an example: let's suppose for want of better employment, we are watching Walter Cronkite on TV. Uncle Walter, who is cute and lovable and whom we all love, calmly asserts that the Allied Command (!) reports 112 American soldiers were killed in the past week in Vietnam, 236 South Vietnamese died in the same period, and Enemy (not Vietnamese?) deaths were "put at" 3,463. Now I doubt the accuracy of that report, but I know it doesn't even come close to the truth; in fact it is an obscene, inexcusable lie. Now let's pick up a 1967 copy of Boston's Avatar, and under the headline "Report from Vietnam" by Alexander Sorensen read a painfully graphic account of Sorensen's encounter with medieval torture in a Vietnamese village. Later, because we know Brian Keating, who wrote the piece, we discover that Alexander Sorensen doesn't exist and the incident described in Avatar, which moved thousands never in fact happened. Now because it has happened in Man's history, and because we know we are responsible for its happening today, and because the story is unvarnished and plain and human, we know it is true, truer than any facts you may have picked up in the New Republic.²³

The concept that Mungo is positing here is a journalism in which one starts with a view of what constitutes some historical truth, indeed with a political orientation, and proceeds to preach it in print. That is quite different from the social responsibility position that one goes beyond mere fact to some interpretation of those facts. Mungo contends that one may in fact ignore facts or alter them in any fashion that serves one's purpose. In doing this, he is expressing the prevalent

²³Raymond Mungo, Famous Long Ago: My Life and Hard Times with Liberation News Service (Boston, 1970), p. 46.

conception of journalism shared by those responsible for the underground press. Michael Johnson comments on his idea directly and approvingly.

Mungo is a good writer, and his writing is representative of the best styles to be found in New Journalism, in the underground press or elsewhere. His quest for truth rather than simple facts (whatever the limitations of that idea), the attempt to speak for a new generation of people, and the commitment to an ideal of personal, empirical, morally minded, and creative reportage and commentary--all are the emblems of the best underground press writing and of much of the New Journalism.²⁴

Roger Lewis says that the alternative press does not "pretend to any hypothetical journalistic objectivity" and adds, "There are some issues, like the war and the oppression of black people that those who work on the papers feel are too crucial to waste time and the niceties of leveral balance."²⁵ Robert Glessing also agrees that the view toward objectivity is one of the major distinctions of the alternative press.

The content in both political and cultural underground papers differs most from that of their overground brothers in their view of the importance of 1) objectivity, 2) balanced reporting, and 3) advertising

Subjectivity is a journalistic principle among underground press staffers and they care much more about opinion than fact. A sign in the Berkeley Barb office "put down prejudice--unless it's on our side" best describes subjective reporting, and also why the "objectivity" standard of the establishment press is rejected. Objectivity is assumed to imply a lack of involvement with the subject, and noninvolvement is a cardinal underground sin--particularly on radically political staffs. Being involved in the action and being opposed to the establishment is a formula

²⁴Johnson, p. 22.

²⁵Lewis, p. 13.

for an exciting brand of personal journalism, even if it presents only one side of the story. Underground journalists believe readers can get all the "law and order" viewpoint they want from the daily press and reporters see themselves first as activists and only incidentally as journalists.²⁶

Indeed, the reporters see themselves not as reporters, but as rhetors. If one returns to the eight categories of Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, the following observations can be made about the alternative press. First, the alternative press seems to have developed along with the libertarian press. As has been shown, it can be found in many parts of the world, but it does have its richest history in England and the United States. It is a reactive press and developed as a response to the failure of government and social institutions to respond to problems perceived by groups in the society. Its chief purpose is to persuade and to maintain the morale and norms of the group. Of these two, this paper will argue that the latter is the more important. Underground publishers may include anyone with a grievance or special point of view who has the economic means and the needed interest to publish a paper. In a strict sense, it is not controlled, but it is, of course, subject to the laws of the society in which it is published. Moreover, because it is aimed at particular groups, it is subject to manipulation or censorship by the group. It is forbidden to seriously violate group norms though these may deviate greatly

²⁶Glessing, p. 99.

from the social norms of the larger social order. The ownership is totally private, but it may be corporate in the sense that formal political groups often publish the papers. The essential characteristic which separates the alternative press is its total abandonment of objective news reporting. It is a journalism that is marked by a high degree of personal subjective reportage. It is a journalism that rejects the need for objective comparison of view, and it assumes that the press ought to mold opinion and not just supply raw data which allows an informed citizenry free choice. It holds that where information is detrimental to the position of the paper, that information may be withheld and may even be altered to serve the paper's purpose. It further holds that information may be invented to support the publisher's cause if such information is needed and does not exist. It represents a clear break with the ethics of good journalism and with the ethics of good rhetoric as well, for it assumes that any means of persuasion is an acceptable means of persuasion. It is not reporting aimed at providing information, which is a journalistic function; it is reporting aimed at persuasion, which is, of course, a rhetorical function.

In order to establish the specific rhetorical function of the alternative press, it is first of all necessary to explore the rhetorical needs of the groups which are responsible for the publication of the underground papers. As has already been demonstrated, the alternative press may be chiefly

characterized as a reaction by some alienated group to the existing social order. The alternative press exists because some group which desires to address a social or political situation has no access to the established print media and must, therefore, resort to the publication of its own paper. It is true that people have established and operated underground papers without the specific endorsement or sponsorship of a formal organization. However, as the Free Ranger Tribe publication How to Publish Your Very Own Underground Newspaper makes clear, even this sort of profit motive alternative publication must be aimed at a specific target readership and not just at the general public if it is to survive.

If you are going to start a paper, start it where the community needs one, not as a substitute for organizing that community . . . this is if you have a community you can call your own. If you don't--make one. A newspaper is a significant step in the right direction

Most towns are one-paper towns, and all sorts of people feel the need for a paper not tied to the local establishment. While they may not desire a radical one, many are willing to back one if it gets the news out. Most of these people are in opposition to the establishment--small property owners, small business men, academics, some churches, the hip community, the left liberals and the radicals. A radical paper, reporting suppressed or overlooked news, muckraking the local establishment, serves these people's needs, shows them their common interests, organizes, and radicalizes.²⁷

It is the contention of this writer that very few of the publishers of the alternative press are required to "make their

²⁷Free Ranger Tribe, How to Publish Your Very Own Underground Newspaper, p. 1.

own community" or to "show people their common interests." For the most part, these publications are the official publications of existing social and political organizations. Many others are associated with less formal and less well organized groups, but even these do have a community at which they are directed. This is true first because most of the social and political organizations which stand in open opposition to the established power structure of the United States do print their own newspapers. Groups such as the John Birch Society, the States Rights Party, the American Nazi Party, Students for a Democratic Society, the Socialist Party, or the Black Panther Party represent all sides of the political spectrum, and all publish official newspapers. Religious-political groups such as the Black Muslims or the anti-Semitic followers of Gerald L. K. Smith are other examples of groups which operate alternative presses for their membership. At the same time, many of the outlaw publications are printed not by formal organizations, but by people who belong to small collectives which are part of larger social movements, or by individuals who have no formal relationship to a group at all but share the group's social alienation. Thus, most of the "street people" publications, such as the Village Voice or the Berkeley Tribe, are representative of what might loosely be termed "the youth movement" or the "counter-culture," and many of these are Marxist publications. Black newspapers, such as Cool It, do not

represent any formal organizations, but they are part of the "Black movement" in the same way that some of the anti-Semitic papers are part of a general social orientation. In this sense, even that segment of the alternative press which is not made up of official organizational publications is always part of a larger social movement. Both types of alternative publications address themselves to some social or political issue, and they always present a demand for change or a resistance to change. Leland Griffin, in his seminal article, "The Rhetoric of Social Historical Movements," has made clear that both of these activities are important characteristics of social movements. According to Griffin, there are two types of movements, "Pro-movements," and "Anti-movements." Pro-movements are those which have the positive goal of trying to establish some specific program. They advocate something. Anti-movements, on the other hand, are movements which oppose specific programs. They wish to reject or destroy something.²⁸ The alternative press is employed in a wide variety of ways, but one can always see the Pro-movement and Anti-movement running through them. What is being suggested is that the alternative press is closely tied to such movements and that a search for the rhetorical functions is best manifested in an analysis of the rhetorical needs of the groups and movements.

Two writers have addressed themselves directly to the question of the rhetorical needs of social movements. They are

²⁸Leland Griffin, "The Rhetoric of Social Historical Movements," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXXVIII (April, 1952).

Herbert W. Simons in his article, "Requirements, Problems, and Strategies: A Theory of Persuasion for Social Movements," and Arthur L Smith in a paper presented to the Speech Communication Association Convention in December of 1972 entitled "Historical and Social Movements: A Search for Boundaries." What these two writers have suggested is that social movements must not practice one, but two rhetorics. The first is an outward directed rhetoric aimed at the larger social environment in which the group exists. It is a rhetoric which takes as its function the recruitment of new members and the persuasion of the public as to the correctness of group positions. The second is an inner directed rhetoric aimed, not at the general population, but rather at the membership of the group or the supporters of the movement. The function of this rhetoric is the development and support of group norms. This notion that group leaders must be able to generate dual sets of appeals finds wide support in the writings of various sociologists who have investigated the phenomena of social movements and group behavior.

Simons, in his treatment, posits a leader-centered concept of social movements and says that the leaders must meet three rhetorical requirements in order to insure the possibility of achievement of group objectives.

1. They must attract, maintain, and mold workers (i.e., followers) into an efficiently organized unit.
2. They must secure adoption of their product by the larger structure (i.e., the external system, the established order).
3. They must react to resistance generated by the larger structure.²⁹

What he means when he says that the leaders and the movement must "maintain and mold workers" is that the group must be able to establish and maintain its own social norms of conduct and belief. In his own words,

The survival and effectiveness of any movement are dependent on adherence to its program, loyalty to its leadership, a collective willingness and capacity to work, energy mobilization, and member satisfaction. A hierarchy of authority and division of labor must be established in which members are persuaded to take orders, to perform menial tasks, and to forgo social pleasure.³⁰

In part the rhetoric of any movement helps to create these hierarchies and loyalties, and in part the rhetoric of any group must be to maintain them. This latter is contrasted to the notion that movements must insure adoption of their product by the larger social structure in which they live. Here Simons tells us what he means when he says that the groups must deal with the public in order to "smite the agents of the old and to provide happiness, harmony, and stability."³¹ The third requirement, that of meeting resistance generated by the larger

²⁹Herbert W. Simons, "Requirements, Problems, and Strategies: A Theory of Persuasion for Social Movements," Quarterly Journal of Speech, LVI (February, 1970), p. 3-4.

³⁰Simons, p. 3.

³¹Simons, p. 4.

structure's reaction to the movement, may be an inward or outward directed rhetoric in that both the general public and the membership of the group may require answers to criticism of the group, but the first two requirements clearly call for different target audiences.

Simons acknowledges that these differences in target audiences create rhetorical problems for the movement. These problems arise from the fact that the rhetorical appeals required to accomplish one task may make the other task more difficult. That is to say that appeals which are appropriate for the general public may be inappropriate for the membership. First, the outer directed rhetoric of group leaders must often be strategically conceived in ways which may be unappealing to the membership of the group. David Berg, for example, has noted that groups often say and do things in order to gain television exposure and not necessarily because the actions or words represent any legitimate position of the group.³² In this way, group leaders may address gatherings of people who are anathema to the group or may employ a rhetoric which masks the real nature of group objectives. Second, news which one wants to share with the members of the group may not be information which the movement wants to share with the general public. As an illustration, the Black Panther has run wanted

³²David Berg, "Rhetoric, Reality, and Mass Media," Quarterly Journal of Speech, LVIII (October, 1972), 255-263.

posters for members who have committed crimes against the organization. These carry appeals which imply that the group will deal violently with the offenders when and if they are caught.³³ The wanted posters are for people who have given information to the police or who have stolen money from the Panthers, and one may assume that the posters are in the nature of a warning to other members not to duplicate these activities. This kind of warning is hardly the sort of information which the organization would want to share with the general public because it contrasts with their public stance of unity and loyalty. Simons puts the whole problem of dual rhetoric in perspective when he says,

The leader may also need to distort, conceal, exaggerate, etc. in addressing his own supporters. To gain intellectual respectability within and/or outside the movement, ideological statements should be built on a logical framework and appear consistent with verifiable evidence. Yet mass support is more apt to be secured when ideological statements are presented as "generalized beliefs, oversimplified conceptions of social problems, and magical, "if only" beliefs and solutions."³⁴

One may argue that Simons' analysis is flawed. He seems to be implying that social movements are peopled by highly intelligent rhetors who must speak down to the mass audience. The membership of any given social movement may indeed represent the intelligentsia of a society and the society may indeed

³³"Party Purge," The Black Panther, IV (March 28, 1970), 6.

³⁴Simons, p. 5.

represent the masses with all the connotations usually afforded those terms, but the opposite is just as likely to be true. Social movements are not always marked by high purpose or by intelligence and sophistication. Many of the movements represented by the alternative press are anti-intellectual and unsophisticated in thought and behavior. However, he is correct in his analysis when he says that the two rhetorics which groups must practice are not always compatible and that they create acute rhetorical problems for movement leaders.

Arthur Smith employs different terminology and arrives at somewhat different conclusions in his treatment of the rhetorical requirements of social movements. However, he presents the same general divisions for the function of movement rhetoric. Smith also divides the rhetoric of mass movements into three general categories, and he calls these categories the organizing function, the sustaining function, and the productive function. He explains the difference among these three functions in this way.

In its organizing function rhetoric coordinates and structures the various elements of personal and collective grievance into a fairly consistent doctrine. Rhetoric, or more particularly the principal metaphor, may itself be the doctrine or a part of it. The sustaining influence comes through because it tries to conserve the fundamental union and solidarity of the votarists. The productive function creates the mood and the necessary atmosphere for an attack on the opposition.³⁵

³⁵Arthur L. Smith, Historical and Social Movements: A Search for Boundaries, a paper presented before the Speech Communication Association, December, 1972, p. 5.

While Smith is less explicit than Simons concerning the nature of these rhetorical functions, these comparisons can fairly be made. Smith's organizing and sustaining functions are much like the notion that members must be attracted, maintained, and molded, while his productive function seems to encompass both the concept of securing the adoption of the larger structure and of dealing with the outside resistance generated by the movement. In this scheme, the organizing function is almost dilectical in nature, while the sustaining function is clearly an inward directed rhetoric. This inward directed rhetoric is, once more, aimed at the followers of the movement in order to "sustain" the group loyalty and to enforce the collective norms of behavior and mythology of the group. That the productive function is a strategical function is made clear by Smith because he outlines in specific detail the various sorts of strategies which the movement must employ in fulfilling the function.³⁶

Unlike Simons, Smith never comes to grips with the basic dilemma created by the contradictory cross-purposes of these two separate rhetorics and the resulting rhetorical problems which face the groups. In part this is because his concern is with the language of movements and not with the behavior of the groups as they meet their rhetorical problems. In part it is

³⁶Smith, p. 7.

because he does not seem to understand the importance of the distinction which he has posed. For Smith, the basic strategies of vilification, objectification, mythication, and legitimation can be made to serve all the rhetorical functions of mass movements, and the differences in the methods in which they will be used as one moves from one rhetorical task to another is, for him, an unanswered question. However, what is important is that Smith, like Simons, is aware that rhetoric serves not just one but different functions for social movements, and that the rhetoric of groups is addressed not just to a single audience but to multiple audiences.

The analysis which Simons and Smith make, it should be noted, grows out of a much larger body of material dealing with the nature of social groups and movements. Writers such as Ralph Turner and Lewis Killian, in their book Collective Behavior, have developed at some length the notion that members of social movements must develop contrived strategies in dealing with the general public which will often cover real aims and objectives.³⁷ The problem of how groups must maintain institutional order and deal with a hostile outside environment at the same time is the subject of James K. Feibleman's The Institutions of Society.³⁸ The absolute importance of

³⁷Ralph Turner and Lewis Killian, Collective Behavior (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1962), p. 30.

³⁸James K. Feibleman, The Institutions of Society (London, 1956).

maintaining social norms for groups and movements and the need for enforcement of those norms has been demonstrated by Hadley Cantril in his book The Psychology of Social Movements.³⁹

Finally Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia H. Hine, in their comparative analysis of the Pentecostal movement and the Black Power movement, have looked directly at groups striving to maintain the loyal commitment of their membership while attempting to be adaptive to the larger social order at the same time.⁴⁰ What Simons and Smith have done is to take a very large volume of literature of social movements and distill it in order to arrive at an understanding of the rhetorical problems which that literature poses.

These considerations are directly related to the rhetorical function of the alternative press. It is the contention of this writer that the alternative press may be used to serve all these various functions, but that it is chiefly used and most effectively used, to serve as the vehicle for the inward directed rhetoric of the groups. The audience of the underground press is not the general public; rather it is the membership of the groups which publish the papers and those who

³⁹Hadley Cantril, The Psychology of Social Movements (London, 1941).

⁴⁰Luther Gerlach and Virginia H. Hine, People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1970).

are sympathetic to those groups. The rhetorical function of the alternative press is to maintain and mold followers, to develop and sustain group norms of behavior and belief, and to provide group members with the information and support needed to maintain group morale. The alternative press provides a leadership function for members who are scattered over a large geographical area, and it aids in the group's efforts to sustain loyalty and adherence to the group. It serves as a vehicle for insuring inclusion and satisfaction for the members of social movements. That it may also be a persuasive vehicle when encountered by non-members or neutral persons in the general public is not discounted, and indeed as a side issue, this may even be hoped for by the publishers of the underground papers. However, the alternative press is a rhetorical press aimed at the formal or informal membership of a group for the purpose of sustaining and uplifting that membership.

Robert Glessing, Michael Johnson, and Roger Lewis are all in substantial agreement with this position. Glessing says that the "underground papers are written by the alienated for the alienated,"⁴¹ and in his book he includes an article by Lincoln Berman which makes the following statement:

⁴¹Glessing, p. 3.

Underground papers are part of a movement for change. Aware that human duty is not only to destroy, but also to build. That destruction of empty institutions and values of this society is not only a negative task, but a positive one, involving a hope and a belief in the future.

Running through the stream of American history is a search for community. The whole includes and communes that began in cities and in the countryside, those which fail and those which last for a while. The whole includes political collectives which seek to use common knowledge and practice to advance more effectively the movement for change. Underground papers are based upon this conception of communes or collectives.⁴²

Roger Lewis also makes special note of the limited nature of the audience of the alternative press.

The typical underground paper is designed to serve the needs of a specific community. Its readership may derive, in part, from different communities within a community--student, black, chicano, politicized white and hippie--and the paper will be read whenever it deals with issues that interest the community by indicating that a threat to one community may be a threat to all. Police brutality, rent disputes and military conscription are cases in point. The common factor that unites these papers is that they regard themselves as the genuine organs of the community. . . .⁴³

Of the three, only Johnson attempts to put some distance between the institutional press of formal organizations and the informal "street people" publications. He notes, first of all, that some have argued that the two are not the same, and indeed he is correct. One writer who has argued in that manner is Edith Romm. In her book The Open Conspiracy: What America's Angry Generation Is Saying, Romm argues that street people

⁴²Glessing, p. 163.

⁴³Lewis, pp. 24-25.

publications are not serious or sober and that they are, at any rate, capitalistic in that they are sold for profit. She maintains that serious movement papers do not publish obscenities or experiment with flamboyant layout and typography and are distributed differently.⁴⁴ In this assessment, she is incorrect. What Romm says may be true of some movement papers, but it is not true of all or even most of the alternative press publications. The Black Panther, clearly a serious movement paper, publishes obscenities, and the paper makes consistent use of experimental layout and graphics. One encounters, for example, many pen and ink drawings of police or well known political figures pictured as pigs with Black children stabbing them with knives or shooting them with automatic rifles. Likewise, formal papers such as the Storm Trooper presents a great deal of both layout experimentation and graphics. Johnson concludes that writers like Romm fail to make their point. He also harbors a suspicion that there is a difference between formal groups and the "true" underground press, but in the final analysis, he concludes that "their programatic maintenance of a journalistic practice that is radically opposed to the established press ideologically qualifies them, in a broader sense, as illustrative of the New Journalism."⁴⁵ Johnson does

⁴⁴Edith Romm, The Open Conspiracy: What America's Angry Generation Is Saying (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1970), pp. 23-25.

⁴⁵Johnson, p. 26.

acknowledge the central point under consideration here, that the movement papers are printed by groups for their members. He notes, for example, that the SDS New Left Notes is the "paper of Students for a Democratic Society and publishes for its several thousand members nationwide."⁴⁶

Other students of journalism have noted the self-sustaining function of the alternative press papers. Ralph D. Casey, writing in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, puts the matter this way:

The propaganda papers of these pressure groups are not sparing in their criticism of the newspapers. They tell their followers how to bring pressure to bear on the press and at the same time inform them that any lack of newspaper support is due to unworthy motives.

It is not hard to understand these tactics. The pressure group is organized on the basis of a common grievance, real or fancied, but in any event the technique is to keep the grievance alive and active. The basic grievance must have the agitation support of minor grievances, and the newspaper is valuable to the agitator, either as an agency of propaganda, if possible, or failing this, the sense of injustice on which these groups live.⁴⁷

Casey feels that what he terms "propaganda groups" may establish their own press "for their own members and for such sections of the public which they may reach."⁴⁸ His concern is with the manner in which these papers treat the established press, but what is important here is that he clearly feels

⁴⁶Johnson, p. 26.

⁴⁷Ralph D. Casey, "The Press, Propaganda and Pressure Groups," Mass Communication, Wilbur Schramm (ed.), (Urbana, Illinois, 1959), p. 237.

⁴⁸Casey, p. 238.

that the alternative press is aimed at its own membership and that it functions to maintain the ideology of the group.

Similarly, Maxwell R. Brooks, in The Negro Press Re-Examined, is very specific about the function of the Black alternative press. "The Negro newspapers are addressed to a different public, and the 'race angling' of the news, as Mr. Pegler calls it, is quite a normal function in view of their special interests. This characteristic is shared by all minority publications, racial, national, or religious."⁴⁹ In another section of his book, Brooks says, ". . .it is the particular function and duty of the Negro press to remind Negroes of the honor and dignity of their traditions and of the achievements of men and women of their group, present as well as past."⁵⁰ Brooks is, of course, taking note that the function and duty of the Black press is to group solidarity, to the perpetuation of group pride, and the maintenance of movement tradition. Without arguing that these are not admirable goals, one can argue that they are not journalistic functions but rhetorical ones and that they are directed not at the general public but at the Black public.

Finally, one may turn to the content of the papers themselves for support of the notion that they take as their

⁴⁹Maxwell R. Brooks, The Negro Press Re-Examined (Boston, 1959), p. 63.

⁵⁰Brooks, p. 27.

audience the followers of the movement. There are four characteristics of the content of the alternative press which suggests this is true. First, the alternative press makes constant use of group mottos and slang. Second, the alternative press frequently devotes whole pages of each issue to group constitutions or programs. Third, the papers present information which is of use only to group members or fellow travelers, and finally alternative newspapers relegate local or national news to less importance than group news.

Examples of the repetitive use of slogans may be found in the Black Panther, where one finds most stories or features followed with the words, all in capital letters and set apart from the article itself by a blank line, "All Power to the People." The slogan "All Power to the People" is a salutation used by members of the Panthers, and its constant use as an ending for printed material is a reenforcement of the philosophical orientations of the group. In the same manner the American Nazi Party uses the slogans "Seig Heil" and "He Lives." The latter is in reference to both Adolf Hitler and George Lincoln Rockwell, the assassinated founder of the group. This constant use of repetitive slogans is common to all underground papers. In every issue of the Black Muslim publication Muhammand Speaks, the same cartoon depicting a White mother and child labeled "the slyness" and a Black mother and child who are dressed and groomed in the exact same fashion labeled "the

shame" appears. In some issues, the cartoon appears several times. The use of such slogans as a binding element of group loyalty has long been noted. Indeed C. F. Billach, in an article entitled "The Nature of Slogans," says that they are "maxims developed to meet the requirements of specific action."⁵¹ Ch. Perelman has said, "They are designed to secure attention through their rhythm and their concise and easily remembered form They may be able to stimulate action, but they are much less effective in inducing beliefs; their function is essentially that of compelling our attention to certain ideas" ⁵² Slogans then are what Abraham Zalesnik and David Momet call "symbols expressing the definition of the situation"⁵³ and as such are dimensions of group identity. The constant and repetitive use of such slogans is a group function aimed at inclusion and at reenforcement of group mythology.

The inclusion of group constitutions and programs is an extension of the same principle. Each issue of the Black Panther contains the "Rules of the Black Panther Party" as well as the "Ten Point Program" upon which the party is based. In

⁵¹C. F. Billach, "The Nature of Slogans," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XXXVII (1942), 496.

⁵²Ch. Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation (London, 1969), p. 167.

⁵³Abraham Zalesnik and David Momet, The Dynamics of Interpersonal Behavior (New York, 1964), p. 38.

the same fashion, the John Birch Society publication American Opinion includes in each issue a statement of principles of the society. Other groups who consistently publish the constitutions and/or programs of their organizations are the American Socialist Party, the American Nazi Party, and the Black Muslims.

Most alternative newspapers report group news which serves both as sources of information concerning group activities and as gossip columns. Street people publications will offer drug information. For example, they print information concerning those who are dealing in drugs which are contaminated and may cause illness, or they describe the best procedure in case of police raids. The States Rights Party reports on group social events and convention or conference meetings. The Black Muslims use their paper to report membership recruitment or fund drives. The Black Panthers report on internal disputes and use their paper to inform members which other members are no longer in good standing with the organization. Many of the organizations have business interests which they appeal to their members to support. What is being described here ought not be confused with actual news reporting of group events; they are the same sort of articles which one might find in church newsletters or university newsletters or company newspapers.

The alternative press does present as news coverage detailed articles of their own activities. Thus when Black

Panther leaders engaged in a shooting incident with California policemen, an entire issue of the Black Panther was devoted to the event. The American Nazi Party, likewise, devoted an entire issue to the assassination of George Lincoln Rockwell. Speeches by group leaders are often given multi-page coverage by Muhammand Speaks or The Cross and the Flag. Much of the coverage of this sort centers around confrontations of the group with the establishment power structure, and it always attempts to project the group as a victim of the state or of some other group. Each of these elements of content are directed not at the general public, but at the group membership and sympathizers.

In brief review, the alternative press is a rhetorical press influenced by, but not representative of, liberal journalistic theory. It is subjective in nature, sermonistic in content, and it takes as its audience the membership of the group. Because of this persuasive nature, it is subject to rhetorical analysis, and because it aims its message at the membership of the group, it may be less contrived and more revealing than the outer directed rhetoric of the same groups.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

Throughout our history there has been a striking discrepancy between the pitiful weakness and incompetence of most conspirators and the willingness of many Americans to believe that a powerful, monolithic, and virtually infallible organization was about to overthrow the Republic.¹

The purpose of this chapter is to present the results of the study of the language categories employed by writers of the alternative press in attributing motive to various social and political acts. In order to facilitate the presentation of results, sixteen tables are employed. These tables have been divided into two major groups. Group one, consisting of tables one through eight, illustrates those issues which each of the eight groups or movements studied selected out for direct motive attribution. Group two, tables nine through sixteen, shows how each of the groups clustered various acts under a relatively small number of motives by first naming the motives employed by the groups and then by showing which acts were clustered under which motives.

Tables one through eight were generated in the following fashion. Papers of the various groups were examined. During this examination, effort was made to note each issue with which

¹David Brion Davis, The Fear of Conspiracy (Ithaca, New York, 1971), p. xv.

the groups dealt where motive was clearly attributed. Special care was taken in selecting these issues to insure that the ones included were limited to those where the groups clearly attributed motive. The criterion for selection was that the publication had to specifically employ such terms as "this was done because" or "the reason for this is" or some like phrase. It should be understood that the tables in no way exhaust the issues dealt with in the papers. The lists represent only the issues where motives were attributed. Perhaps this may be illustrated in the following fashion. Typical of the sort of issue which would be included in the tables in the one discussed in an article in White Power, "Kosher Conservatives Fizzle in Busing Fight." Here the language of the article is clear in its motive attribution. Early in the article it is stated:

In city after city, cynical judges motivated by hysterical liberal hatred of the White race have ordered massive busing in order to insure that not one single White child may grow up in a happy stable environment.²

Later in the same article, we are told "busing by its very nature is a racial issue--it is, in fact pure and simple genocide for Whites."³ The key term here is "motivated" because it shows without question that the group is discussing

²"Kosher Conservative Fizzle in Busing Fight," White Power, No. 37 (March, 1973), p. 1.

³"Kosher Conservative Fizzle in Busing Fight," p. 1.

what they perceive to be the reason behind the act. The quotation reveals an actor performing an act for a reason. Therefore, this issue has been included in the study and in the appropriate table.

Issues which were dealt with in the papers, but which were not included in the study fall into three categories. First are those in which the papers reported information, but simply did not deal with the issue of the motive of the actors. For example, the following short news item, reprinted here in its entirety, presents information concerning the number of Spanish-speaking people in the United States, and declares that the Census Bureau has been negligent in reporting this information to the public, but it does not deal with motive.

We've pointed out on numerous occasions how suspiciously low Census Bureau's figures are for Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Mexicans and other assorted Latin American mongrels. Now the Civil Rights Commission has confirmed our suspicions. In a 112 page report they charge that the Census Bureau was negligent in its efforts to count persons of Spanish-speaking background. The commission estimates that the number of spics in the United States in 1970 was one third higher than the bureau's figure. The bureau gave a figure of 9.1 million--one third higher would indicate 12 million (this means there are roughly 15 million spics in America today). Remember that these figures only take into account those mongrels legally residing in America. Considering that nearly one million illegal wet backs enter the country annually and are never deported, one can imagine how greasy the "melting" pot is becoming.⁴

In this case, it is clear that no motive is attributed to the Census Bureau or the Civil Rights Commission or the Spanish-speaking people.

⁴"Melting Pot Becoming Very Greasy Around the Edges," White Power, No. 52 (June, 1974), p. 3.

The second category was more difficult to deal with. This includes the articles in which motive seems to be attributed, but the language is unclear, and the meaning of the attribution is ambiguous. Perhaps the problem can be illustrated by the article "The New Anti-Racism" once again from an issue of White Power. The article concerns efforts to brand racism as unhealthy and racists as people who ought to be targets of scorn. This paper declares that Jews are the agents of the program and that it is aimed at young people.

In the forefront of this attack is the Committee Against Racism (CAR). It is a university based movement (mainly Jewish professors) and it is not really aimed at any working man, Black or White, but at students, young White people, and Congress.⁵

Moreover, we are told that the program is a motivated act.

The Jews know what they are doing. The new anti-racism is a reflection of the changing times Using the hard sell, saturation techniques of advertising, racism becomes something like body odor, offensive to others, and therefore to be eliminated.⁶

The article is accompanied by a cartoon depicting a Devil figure labeled "Kosher Internationalism US and USSR Uber Alles" holding a young couple over a frying pan above a fire labeled "Brainwash" with a pair of tongs labeled "Communism-US Dollar International Finance." What is being attributed and to whom is unclear. One might infer that the purpose of the anti-racism campaign is to discredit the American Nazi Party, or

⁵R. L. Peterson, "The New Anti-Racism," White Power, No. 52 (June, 1974), p. 3.

⁶Peterson, p. 3.

to confuse young people, or is part of some plan for financial gain. Given the Nazi point of view on genocide, one might understand their interpretation of the anti-racism program as an effort to eliminate Whites by a process of assimilation. However, because the language of motive attribution is unclear and non-specified, this issue and article was not considered in the study. It failed to meet the criterion of specifically, linguistically attributing clear motive to the actor.

The third category of issues not included involves those issues where one could isolate the motive being implied, but where the implication was never closed by a specific argument. For example, as the following chapter's analysis will reveal, various of the groups interpret assassination and political scandal to be the result of Jewish efforts to remove from office political figures who are unfriendly to their cause. The argument runs that Jews use their power to place men in high office and maintain them there so long as the Jewish control remains complete. However, if the people begin to act in an independent fashion, or if they no longer support Jewish interests, they are removed from office by assassination or by manufactured fashion. Yet, consider the following quotation from Thunderbolt, an article entitled "Agnew Says It's a Frameup."

It is interesting to note that a recent dispatch from the New York "Jewish Telegraph Agency" stated "Although the Vice-President had considerable Jewish support when he

ran for Governor in Maryland his public utterances for Israel are sparse . . . His comments on issues involving Israel were lacking."⁷

Given the topic, Agnew's removal from high political office because of scandal, the implication is clear. The argument being presented is that Agnew had enjoyed Jewish support, had failed the Jewish cause due to lack of support, and therefore was removed from office. Yet, the argument is never closed. The implication is clear if one is aware of the general pattern of argument advanced by the groups on this issue. However, because the argument is never made, just implied, the article is not considered in the study.

In short, issues were not included if they did not deal with motive of actors, were ambiguous in their treatment of specific motives, or if they implied motive without making specific argument and clearly attributing motive. In the final two categories, subjective judgment has been exercised; however, the determining factor was the language employed by the group. The tables of issues present the issues in alphabetical order, and no significance is attached to the order of the issues in the tables.

Tables nine through sixteen were generated in the following fashion. As an article was encountered in which motives were clearly attributed, the article was duplicated by a

⁷"Agnew Says It's a Frameup," Thunderbolt, No. 164 (September, 1973), p. 12.

photocopy process. Both the issue and the motive attributed were noted in writing on the photocopy of the article. In order to cluster the motives, the photocopies of the articles were separated into groups determined by the motive which had been noted on the article and filed. For example, articles from White Power dealing with birth control would be labeled "Birth Control-Genocide" and would be placed in the Genocide file. Some articles attributed two or more motives, and in this case the issue would be included in more than one motive cluster file. For example, in dealing with drug trafficking, White Power attributed two motives to the issue, and the article was labeled "Drug Trafficking-Genocide/Jewish War on Aryans," and copies of the article were included in both motive cluster files. Prior to the construction of the tables, the articles were reviewed to re-determine the correctness of the labeling process and the filing process.

Each of the eight groups or movements were considered separately. The number of motives which emerged ranged from a high of five to a low of two with most groups developing three or four. In short, the tables were generated from the articles themselves and do no more than reflect the motive categories employed by the groups. Once more, some subjective judgment was necessarily employed in the placement of these motives in the various clusters. However, the effort was to reflect as perfectly as possible the linguistic patterns employed by the groups.

TABLE ONE

ISSUES TO WHICH THE AMERICAN NAZI PARTY ATTRIBUTES MOTIVES

1. Attacks upon the Press by Vice-President Agnew
2. Birth Control Programs
3. Busing to Achieve School Integration
4. Common Expulsions of Whites from Public Schools
5. Crimes of Violence Committed by Blacks Against Whites
6. Drug Trafficking
7. Gasoline Shortages
8. Gay Liberation Movements
9. Government Fair Employment Practices
10. Governmental Wage-Price Freezes
11. Governmental Welfare Programs
12. Gun Control Legislation
13. High Interest Rates Charged by Banks
14. A High National Debt
15. Integration of Public Schools or Housing
16. The Jesus Movement
17. Jews in Public Service
18. The Killing of Students by National Guard at Kent State University
19. Legalization of Abortion
20. A Perceived Lack of Government in Unemployment
21. Perceived Liberal Media Bias
22. Police Surveillance of Nazi Activities

Table One Continued

23. Visits by President Nixon to China and Russia
24. The War in Vietnam
25. Watergate
26. Women's Liberation Movement

TABLE TWO

ISSUES TO WHICH THE STATES RIGHTS PARTY ATTRIBUTES MOTIVES

1. Adoption Agencies' Efforts to Persuade White People to Adopt Black Children
2. The Assassination of John Kennedy
3. Birth Control Programs
4. Busing to Achieve School Integration
5. Drug Trafficking
6. Governmental Welfare Programs
7. Gun Control Programs
8. Integration of Public Schools or Housing
9. Jews in Public Service
10. The Killing of Students by National Guard at Kent State University
11. Leaks of Government Documents such as the Pentagon Papers to the Press
12. Legalization of Abortion
13. Perceived Liberal Media Bias
14. Perceived Violence of Black People
15. Sale of American Wheat to the Russians
16. Watergate
17. Women's Liberation Movement

TABLE THREE

ISSUES TO WHICH THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY ATTRIBUTES MOTIVES

1. All American Foreign Policy
2. American Foreign Aid Programs
3. The Assassinations of John Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, Martin Luther King, and Lee Oswald
4. Birth Control Programs
5. Census Taking
6. Charging Tuition at State Colleges and Universities
7. Death of Panther Members in Gun Fights with the Police
8. Family Planning Programs
9. Government Efforts to Control the Use of Drugs
10. Government Surveillance of Anti-War Groups and the Arrest of Various Counter-Culture Figures
11. Gun Control Legislation
12. Industrial Production of War Materials
13. Police Arrests of Black People
14. Police Surveillance of Black Panther Activities
15. War in Vietnam
16. Welfare Reform Programs

TABLE FOUR

ISSUES TO WHICH THE BLACK MUSLIMS ATTRIBUTE MOTIVES

1. Adoption Agencies' Efforts to Persuade White People to Adopt Black Children
2. American Foreign Policy
3. Assassination of John Kennedy
4. Birth Control Programs
5. Drug Trafficking
6. Family Planning Programs
7. Governmental Wage-Price Controls
8. Human Relations Training
9. Media Treatment of Watergate
10. A Perceived Lack of Health Care for Black People
11. Perceived Police Violence Against Black People
12. Sale of Alcohol
13. Use of Black People in Medical Experiments
14. Volunteer Army Program
15. The War in Vietnam
16. Welfare Programs
17. Welfare Reform Programs

TABLE FIVE

ISSUES TO WHICH THE STREET PEOPLE ATTRIBUTE MOTIVES

1. Adult Acceptance of Any Street People Position or Attitude
2. Adult Opposition to the Military Draft
3. Any Incarceration of Young People
4. The Arrest of Arab Guerrillas for Hi-Jacking Airplanes
5. Drug Arrests
6. The Expulsion of Julian Bond from the Georgia State Government
7. Government Funding of Anti-Ballistic-Missiles and the Boeing 747 Aircraft
8. The Liberal Policies of Newspapers such as the New York Times
9. The Military Draft
10. Obscenity Arrests
11. Police Action During the "People's Park" Affair at Berkeley, California
12. Police Surveillance of Street People
13. A Perceived Media Bias Against the Counter-Culture
14. The Refusal of Hospitals to Perform Abortions
15. University or High School Regulations

TABLE SIX

ISSUES TO WHICH TO SOCIALISTS ATTRIBUTE MOTIVES

1. American Foreign Policy
2. American Space Program
3. The Ending of the War in Vietnam
4. Failure of Gun Control Advocates
5. Gasoline Shortages
6. Government Support for an Anti-Ballistic-Missile Program
7. Governmental Wage-Price Controls
8. Legalization of Abortion
9. Perceived Exploitation of Minorities and Women
10. Police Reaction to Civil Disobedience
11. President Nixon's Visits to China and Russia
12. The Shooting of Students by National Guard at Kent State University
13. Various Confrontations Between Black and White People
14. The War in Vietnam

TABLE SEVEN

ISSUES TO WHICH THE ANTI-SEMITICS ATTRIBUTE MOTIVE

1. American Foreign Policy
2. American Medical Association Control of Medical Practices
3. Birth Control Programs
4. Both the Ministry and the Assassination of Martin King
5. Busing to Achieve School Integration
6. Congressional Censure of Thomas Dodd
7. The Development of Power Grids
8. Drug Trafficking
9. Federal Communication Commission Control of Radio
10. Gasoline Shortages
11. Gun Control Legislation
12. Human Relations Training
13. Integration of Public Schools and Housing
14. The Jesus Movement
15. Jews in Public Service
16. Legalization and Publicizing of Mixed Marriages
17. Liberalization of Immigration Laws
18. Media Policy (i.e. media failure to deal with him at all)
of Gerald L. K. Smith
19. Media Treatment of President Nixon
20. Perceived Political Actions by the National Council of Churches
21. Prosecution of Lt. William Calley
22. Protest Against the War in Vietnam
23. Sale of Pornography

Table Seven Continued

24. Student Unrest

25. Urban Renewal Programs

TABLE EIGHT

ISSUES TO WHICH THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY ATTRIBUTES MOTIVES

1. American Foreign Policy
2. The Assassinations of John Kennedy and Martin King
3. Birth Control Programs
4. Busing to Achieve School Integration
5. Concern for the Ecology
6. Confrontations Between Black and White People
7. Drug Trafficking
8. Government Regulation of Business
9. Governmental Wage-Price Controls
10. Gun Control Legislation
11. Human Relations Training
12. A Perceived Liberal Media Bias
13. Sale of Pornography
14. Sex Education Programs
15. Student Unrest
16. The Women's Liberation Movement

TABLE NINE

MOTIVE CLUSTERS-THE AMERICAN NAZI PARTY

1. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as an effort to practice genocide on White Americans:
 - A. Birth Control Programs
 - B. Gay Liberation Movement
 - C. Busing to Achieve School Integration
 - D. The War in Vietnam
 - E. Drug Trafficking
 - F. Legalization of Abortion

2. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as a part in a secret war on Aryans being waged by Jews:
 - A. Government Fair Employment Practices
 - B. Integration of Public Schools or Housing
 - C. Drug Trafficking
 - D. Jews in Public Service
 - E. Governmental Wage-Price Controls
 - F. Watergate
 - G. Gasoline Shortages
 - H. Common Expulsions of Whites from Public Schools
 - I. Crimes of Violence Committed by Blacks Against Whites
 - J. Police Surveillance of Nazi Activities
 - K. Gun Control Legislation

3. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as distractions provided to draw attention away from the Jewish war against Aryans:
 - A. The Jesus Movement
 - B. Women's Liberation Movement
 - C. Media Bias
 - D. The Killing of Students at Kent State University
 - E. Visits by Nixon to China and Russia
 - F. Attacks upon the Press by Vice-President Agnew

4. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as a "cynically calculated step" in a program to establish absolute Jewish control over America:
 - A. A High National Debt
 - B. A Perceived Lack of Government Interest in Unemployment
 - C. High Interest Rates Charged by Banks

The American Nazi Party interprets social and political events in terms of a Jewish Plot to rule the world and to destroy all Aryans by genocide. According to the Nazis, the Jews work toward these goals in several ways. First, they attempt to gain control of governments by infiltrating the governments or by controlling the social institutions such as the press and the banks of a society. This control allows the Jews to manipulate the government and the economy. This control is secret when possible, and the Nazis feel that many people conceal the fact that they are Jewish in order to serve the program of Judaism. Jews are also seen as using Aryans or Blacks as agencies for their conspiracy. Blacks are hated by the Nazis in part because they are viewed as tools of the Jewish leaders. Finally, the Nazis are convinced that Jews create massive diversions from their activities in order to confuse and mislead the unwitting Aryan victims. In the final analysis, all acts are seen as being part of the conspiracy or as a diversion that conceals the conspiracy. Consider, for example, the following quotation from White Power.

"Civil rights," "integration," "bussing"--no matter what you call it, the reality is the same: race mixing. It's the genocide of the White race by irreversible downbreeding with a hopelessly inferior race. And it didn't just happen. It was all very carefully planned decades--even centuries--ago by those wonderful people who brought you communist genocide and enslavement of millions and the mind poison of narcotics and the soul destruction of pornography. Read what a newspaper of the 1800's had to say; "The great ideal of Judaism . . . is that the whole world shall be imbued with Jewish teachings, and that in a Universal Brotherhood

of Nations--a greater Judaism, in fact--all the separate races and religious shall disappear" (London Jewish Chronicle, February 9, 1883). Yes, they really said it, and they haven't been wasting any time since. By 1966, their most powerful newspapers could say: "The Jewish community has long been the support for civil rights and it is still high" (New York Times, September 19, 1966). How right they are, Whitey.⁸

In this single short quotation, four separate acts are seen as being inspired by Jews: 1.) racial integration, 2.) the Russian Revolution, 3.) the sale of narcotics, and 4.) the sale of pornography. While the specific subject of the quotation, school busing to achieve racial integration, is viewed as part of the genocide plot against Aryans, all of the acts aim at the ultimate goal of Jewish rule. Blacks and their struggle for quality education becomes an agency for Jewish control as does the New York Times. What is depicted here is a conspiracy which has lasted for hundreds of years, which has involved millions of people, and which continues today. It is important to note that the Nazi view of his social environment allows him to attribute such diverse activities as racial integration and narcotic trafficking to the same agent for the same purpose. Moreover, it allows him to attribute acts in two different countries to the same agent for the same purpose.

⁸"Bussing: Who's Really Pushing It--and Why?," White Power, No. 25 (March, 1972,) p. 3.

The Nazis insist that the government of the United States is controlled by Jews. They make constant reference to "Nixon's Kosher Cabinet," and it is asserted that Nixon himself was made President by the Jews in order to increase their control over the country. Indeed, the American Nazi Party holds that Watergate is nothing more than an effort by Jews to maintain control over President Nixon.

Here lies the secret of Watergate. Tricky Dick had gotten uppity, he had discarded the "first team" which had put him in power, and he had built up his own political apparatus--men like Halderman, Ehrlichmann, Dean, and John Mitchell. Not only were these men political outsiders, but they were Gentiles. They were a force outside the mainstream of Judeo-liberal government, and they could not be tolerated.⁹

According to the Nazi, not just government, but other institutions as well, are used by Judaism in the conspiracy. Newspapers and television are both seen as important tools to confuse Aryans. In one article "Spiro Raps TV, Spares Jew Bosses" for example, they claim that Jews have disproportionate influence on the media. They assert that the heads of all three major networks as well as the news directors of all three networks are Jewish. They assert that Spiro Agnew's celebrated attacks on the news media were "merely a cynically calculated patriotic-conservative front for the shoddy and unprincipled activities of the rest of the regime."¹⁰

⁹Harold Covington, "Jew Interests Benefit from Watergate Mess," White Power, No. 40 (June, 1973), p. 3.

¹⁰Robert Homan, "Spiro Raps TV, Spares Jew Bosses," White Power, No. 11 (January-February, 1970), p. 1.

Thus, the American Nazi Party lives in a hostile world in which acts fall under a single frame of reference, the Jewish conspiracy. The agencies employed are whole races of people and governmental and commercial institutions. The conspiracy is worldwide and relentless.

TABLE TEN

MOTIVE CLUSTERS-THE STATES RIGHTS PARTY

1. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as an effort to practice genocide on White Americans:
 - A. Adoption Agencies' Efforts to Persuade White People to Adopt Black Children
 - B. Perceived Violence of Black People
 - C. Birth Control Programs
 - D. Gun Control Legislation
 - E. Legalization of Abortion
 - F. Busing to Achieve School Integration
 - G. Drug Trafficking

2. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as being caused by a "power struggle" being waged by Black people:
 - A. Perceived Liberal Media Bias
 - B. Sale of American Wheat to the Russians
 - C. Leaks of Classified Government Documents to the Press
 - D. Jews in Public Service
 - E. Governmental Welfare Programs
 - F. Integration of Public Schools or Housing
 - G. The Assassination of John Kennedy

3. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as distractions provided to draw attention away from the Black power struggle:
 - A. Watergate
 - B. The Women's Liberation Movement
 - C. The Killing of Students at Kent State University

Like the American Nazi Party, the States Rights Party sees the world of events in terms of a genocide conspiracy aimed at White people and a systematic cover up of that conspiracy. For the States Rights Party however, Blacks and Jews are both agents and agencies of each other. From this view, acts may be attributed to both groups either as acts initiated by them or as acts in which one of them is used by the other. In other words, Blacks may perform given acts because they, as a group, desire to eliminate all White people, or they may do so because Jews use them as a tool in their plans. Like the American Nazi Party, the States Rights Party contends that Jews and Blacks control institutions of communication, commerce, and government. This notion that Jews are in control of the institutions of society may be demonstrated with the following quotation from Thunderbolt.

As long as the Jews control the wealth of the world, there will be no freedom for any nation. The Jews use their money power to rule the government.

Nixon's grain deal with communist Russia is another example of how the Jews manipulate governments and become richer and more powerful. The Jews are able to buy and sell cheap sell-out politicians like Nixon. Jew Friborg and his \$168 million windfall this year is nothing exceptional. This is the way other Jews operate in this and other countries.

There is talk about a Congressional investigation of the crooked and corrupt grain deal with Russia, but don't expect an honest investigation. Most members of Congress are pro-Jewish and controlled by the Jews.

¹¹"Scandal Behind Russian Grain Deal: Jews, Communism, Money and Grain," Thunderbolt, No. 155 (November, 1972), p. 1.

The quotation is typical of the perceptions found in Thunderbolt. From this point of view, Jews are able to control the President by bribes and the Congress by infiltration. The striking thing about the States Rights Party and the other extremist groups is that such deals are made not by the efforts of specific greedy men, but by a conspiracy whose long range goals go beyond profit. An interesting parallel can be drawn between how the American Nazi Party understands President Richard Nixon's political downfall in Watergate and the way the States Rights Party explains the assassination of President John Kennedy. Recall that the Nazis view Watergate as a Jewish reaction to Nixon's "uppity" attitudes and independent actions. In explaining the Kennedy assassination, the States Rights Party contends that he was killed first because he was hostile to Cuba, and then they add three more reasons.

Secondly, Kennedy was never fully agreeable to Jewish schemes to destroy and conquer the Arab world. He continued foreign aid to Nasser to Egypt in defiance of the Jews.

Thirdly, he had begun to actually believe all the stories about himself produced by the Jew Pierre Salinger's publicity force. He began to have delusions of grandeur. He felt that he was so all powerful that he was a king, that he did not need the Jews or anyone else to remain in power.

Fourth, he had become a political liability to the Jews due to a tremendous wave of unpopularity. He didn't have a chance of being re-elected, and the Jews could not convince him of this.¹²

¹²"Admiral Crommelin Tells Why Kennedy Was Assassinated," Thunderbolt, No. 55 (January, 1964), p. 1.

What the States Rights Party posits here is the same world view which the American Nazi Party posits. It is a world in which Judaism not only determines who is President of the United States, but also removes him from office when Jewish control seems to slip. For the States Rights Party too, acts take place in a scene in which a well-organized group plots to control and destroy.

Finally, like the Nazi Party, the States Rights Party tends to view all acts together. For example, they see both federal birth control programs and the Women's Liberation Movement as part of the same general plot. What binds these two issues together for the States Rights Party is that Jews are prominent in promoting both. They assert that Women's Liberation is a diversionary tactic led by such people as Lucy Komisar, Ruth Dayan, Trude Weiss-Rosmarin, Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem, and Bella Abzug. From the point of the States Rights Party, that is reason enough to understand that it is an effort to make America over in the image of a kibbutz and to divert the country's energy.¹³ Likewise, they cite as important evidence that birth control is a part of a Jewish plot because it is promoted by such people as Rabbis Sol Roth, Gustav Buchdahl, Seymour Essrog, and Morris Friedman.¹⁴

¹³"Women's Lib Movement Started in Israel," Thunderbolt, No. 162 (July, 1973), p. 5.

¹⁴"Rabbis Say 'Population Zero' Is Intended for Christians --Not Jews!" Thunderbolt, No. 173 (June, 1974), p. 3.

Thus, the States Rights Party also lives in a hostile world in which acts fall under a single frame of reference, and that frame of reference bears striking resemblance to that of the American Nazi Party.

TABLE ELEVEN

MOTIVE CLUSTERS-THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

1. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as an effort to practice genocide against Black people:
 - A. Birth Control Programs
 - B. Family Planning Programs
 - C. Welfare Reform Programs
 - D. Gun Control Legislation
 - E. American Foreign Policy
 - F. Industrial Production of War Materials
 - G. War in Vietnam
 - H. Census Taking

2. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as efforts to conceal the genocide program or to crush opposition to the program:
 - A. Charging Tuition at State Colleges and Universities
 - B. Police Arrests of Black People
 - C. The Assassinations of John Kennedy, Martin King, and Robert Kennedy
 - D. American Foreign Aid Programs
 - E. Government Surveillance of Anti-War Groups and the Arrest of Counter-Culture Figures
 - F. Government Drug Control Programs
 - G. The Death of Panther Members in Gun Fights with the Police

The Black Panther Party also interprets all social and political events in terms of a plot to exterminate a whole race of people. The enemy for the Black Panther is the White man, and frequently he is seen as Jewish. Whites control the world because they control government and commerce. They use Blacks and exploit them, but they intend to destroy them as well. In part, the genocide is the result of the rising independence of Black people. One important agency of the Whites, according to the Black Panther Party, is the police. Indeed, the Black Panthers posit a world in which the police are the hired killers for the state and the chief method for promoting genocide. However, all White controlled institutions may be agencies of the White power structure. For example in reporting a story about a Black girl who was taken to a Kansas City hospital for high fever and released without treatment, they say,

Poor, oppressed people must be educated to the fact that this government works hand in hand with its lackeys--the pigs (policemen), the medical institutions, the educational institutions, etc. The people must understand that these pigs are working on a "Mass Genocidal Plan" to exterminate all poor, oppressed people in general and Black people in particular. These genocidal tactics are employed in hospitals nationwide, as can be seen in the case of the little sister who was left to possibly die with fever.¹⁵

There is in the story no indication that the child died, later required hospitalization, or remained ill. The hospital the child was taken to had prescribed an alcohol bath and aspirin,

¹⁵"Fascism in America's Institutions," Black Panther, IV (March 28, 1970), 1, 16.

and the story does not contain information that this prescription proved to be inadequate. Nevertheless, we find the assertion that the treatment was part of a "Mass Genocidal Plan."

The Black Panthers differ from the States Rights Party and the American Nazi Party in that they attribute the genocide plot to different agents using different agencies, but they also reduce the world to a single frame of reference, and that frame of reference is also a conspiracy aimed at genocide. A review of the tables will demonstrate that the Black Panther Party places greater emphasis on the cover up aspect of the conspiracy than either the American Nazi Party or the States Rights Party. In part, this is because the Black Panther Party promotes the notion that it has been successful in exposing the conspiracy to Black people.

The fascist forces of this country, mainly the CIA, FBI, and the trained gestapo type police have put together machinery that is destined to ultimately destroy all progressive people. The reason is simply that we, by exposing the true nature of this decadent American society, have shaken its already weak foundation. We have shown this country to be a haven for every unclean thing and that it is sinking deeper and deeper into the muck and the misery and blood of the poor peoples of the earth.

Babylon is Falling, THIS IS THE YEAR FOR ARMED STRUGGLE.¹⁶
Fire and brimstone is the destiny of this monster, America.¹⁶

8. ¹⁶"Silent Majority," Black Panther, IV (April 6, 1970),

For the Black Panther Party, everything from the war in Vietnam to drug trafficking is aimed at the genocide of Blacks.¹⁷ Frequently, the Jew is seen as the arch enemy of Blacks. The Black Panthers assert that Jews control the policy of the United States and are exploiters of Black people.¹⁸

It can be seen then that the Black Panthers, like the States Rights Party and the American Nazi Party, posit a world of conspiracy and genocide. While they differ on the identity of the agent, they do agree that the Jew is a major part of their opposition. They also agree that the government and the press are agencies used for their destruction. What is being asserted here is that the Black Panther Party shares a great deal with its White counterparts because it operates out of the same general language strategy. The key terms which the three groups share are conspiracy and genocide.

¹⁷"Death of a Narcotic Dealer," Black Panther, IV (February 28, 1970), 15.

¹⁸"Zionism (Kosher Nationalism)-Imperialism-Fascism," Black Panther, III (August 30, 1969), 21.

TABLE TWELVE

MOTIVE CLUSTERS-THE BLACK MUSLIMS

1. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as an effort to practice genocide against Black people:
 - A. Birth Control Programs
 - B. Family Planning Programs
 - C. Adoption Agencies' Efforts to Persuade White People to Adopt Black Children
 - D. American Foreign Policy
 - E. Drug Trafficking
 - F. Sale of Alcohol
 - G. The War in Vietnam
 - H. A Perceived Lack of Health Care for Black People
 - I. Volunteer Army Program
 - J. Use of Black People in Medical experiments
 - K. Perceived Police Violence Against Black People

2. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as being motivated by profit motives without concern for human needs:
 - A. Government Wage-Price Controls
 - B. Welfare Reform Programs
 - C. The Assassination of John Kennedy

3. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as efforts to control the minds of people so that they are unable to resist enslavement:
 - A. Welfare Programs
 - B. Human Relations Training
 - C. Media Treatment of Watergate

A second Black group which shares a great deal with the White extremist organizations is the Black Muslims. However, the Muslims are different in one sense. The Muslims hold that White people are intent and do conspire to practice genocide against Black people, but they also feel that much of what happens in the world is a result of a profit motive which is not part of the conspiracy. In short, the Black Muslims see the world of social and political events in two frames of reference. In the first, we encounter again the conspiracy-genocide tandem that has characterized the other groups. That this is the major frame of reference seems apparent by reference to Table Twelve. There are eleven issues that are interpreted by the Muslims as parts of a plot of genocide, while only three issues come under the heading of profit motive. Nevertheless, it is significant to see that the Muslims seem capable of a non-conspiratorial view of an event or program. The Black Muslims also embrace the notion of a diversionary cover up by the conspirators. Welfare programs, for example, are scorned as being promoted only to keep Black people under control and unaware of the true nature of the White genocide program.¹⁹

Significant parallels can be drawn between the Black Muslims and the American Nazi Party, the States Rights Party, and the Black Panther Party. First is the notion that Blacks are the victims of genocide.

¹⁹"Degradation of Women," Muhammand Speaks, X (March 12, 1971), 22.

Science in the U.S.A. is controlled by the military-industrial complex. Most of this country's money goes to super war technology, to streamlined police state techniques and to birth control genocide. The targets of this destructive science are the same everywhere in the world: Black, Brown, Yellow and Red people.

When you look at the results of experiments showing the harmful--sometimes fatal--"side effects" of the pill, you get an idea of how the oppressor's need to control our numbers forced the government to pervert science and attempt to brainwash the public into thinking that birth control is safe.²⁰

It is not, however, simply that the four groups agree that genocide is the aim of their respective enemies; they also agree on the methods being used to bring that genocide about. All four groups agree, for example, that the war in Vietnam and drug control are parts of the plot; three of the four see drug trafficking and integration as parts of the plot; and the Muslims and American Nazi Party both interpret random acts of violence between Blacks and Whites as evidence of genocide.

It is interesting that the Black Muslims also feel that public exposure of the Watergate scandal is a Jewish effort to discredit President Nixon. Their argument is that all the communication media is controlled by Jews who desire to destroy the influence of the President, and therefore they have exploited the event.²¹ In this they agree with the States Rights

²⁰"U.S. Population Control: Too Big a Pill to Swallow," Muhammand Speaks, IX (September 19, 1969), 13.

²¹"Behind the Watergate Scandal: Modern Replay of Anglo-Jewish Money War," Muhammand Speaks, XII (July 6, 1973), 7.

Party's contention that the communication media is controlled by the Jews and used to promote Jewish causes, and with both the States Rights Party and the American Nazi Party that Jews contrive to drive Presidents from office when they fail to do Jewish bidding.

Like the States Rights Party, they contend that the Feminist Movement is Jewish inspired and aims at diversion of efforts from the Black Liberation Movement.²²

The Black Muslims posit a world grounded in conspiracy, and genocide remains a central term in their vocabulary of motives. Though their interpretation of events is not limited to those two terms, they do play central roles in determining how the Black Muslims construct their world of reality.

²²"Feminists Disrupt Legal Panel," Muhammand Speaks, XII (August 24, 1973), 3.

TABLE THIRTEEN:

MOTIVE CLUSTERS--THE STREET PEOPLE

1. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as an effort to resist change and of establishment fear of change:
 - A. The Arrest of Arab Guerrillas for Hi-Jacking Planes
 - B. Government Funding of Anti-Ballistic-Missiles and the Boeing 747 Aircraft
 - C. The Expulsion of Julian Bond from the Georgia State Government
 - D. Drug Arrest
 - E. Obscenity Arrests
 - F. Police Supervision of Street People
 - G. Official Opposition to Rock Concerts

2. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as an effort to "make people over in a middle class mold":
 - A. Any Incarceration of Young People
 - B. The Military Draft
 - C. University or High School Regulations
 - D. Perceived Media Bias Against the Counter-Culture

3. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as people being used by "establishment forces":
 - A. Police Action at the People's Park in Berkeley, California
 - B. The Refusal of Hospitals to Perform Abortions
 - C. Removal from the Air of Counter-Culture Radio and/or Television Programs

4. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as efforts to destroy the values of young people by co-opting these values. That is, each is seen as a case of role-taking:
 - A. Liberal Policies of Newspapers such as the New York Times
 - B. Adult Opposition to the Draft
 - C. Any Adult Acceptance of Street People Positions or Attitudes

While the street people publications are less strident than the papers published by specific formal organizations, they too accept a conspiratorial view of their social environment. The major distinction between the counter-culture papers and the others already discussed is how they view the subject of genocide. For the street people, the agent who carries out the conspiracy is more intent upon behavior modification than upon genocide. Each act is interpreted as the reaction of the establishment to counter-culture activities or as efforts to keep the general population under the establishment power. In short, the establishment resists all change because at present it has nearly complete control of the daily lives of most Americans and any change might threaten that control. It is not always clear just who the establishment is. The term one encounters a great deal is "the middle class," but precise definitions of that term are not found in the alternative press of the counter-culture. The street people's frame of reference for interpretation of social acts is that of an outgroup (themselves) struggling against a powerful and entrenched middle-class who control the institutions of society and will use those institutions against the counter-culture and other enemies. The chief weapon of the establishment, and their agency, is held to be the law. This includes the police, which is viewed as gestapo forces, the courts, and all institutions of confinement,

both jails and mental institutions. Consider, for example, the following treatment given police confinement of a runaway teenager by the Los Angeles police.

That's when I was taken away. To the people that were to feed, clothe, and shelter me. Why were they so concerned? Because I was a stupid, freaky teenager that probably couldn't make it without their helping hand to guide me along the straight and narrow path. Bullshit! They wanted to change my head, make me a part of their society.²³

All routine police arrests are seen in this light.

However, the counter-culture also embraces the notion of genocide. Their position is distinguished from that of the other groups discussed already in that they do not view themselves as the chief objects of the genocide plot. The agent remains the same, world Judaism, but the victims are Arabs, Black/poor people, and the more extreme deviates from establishment codes.

The agencies used by the Jewish controlled establishment range from war to the professional groups like the American Psychiatric Association. The conflict between Arabs and Israelis is seen and presented as Jewish genocide of Arabs, and Arab guerrilla activities are presented as heroic efforts to stem the genocide of the Arab people.²⁴ Yet war is not the only weapon. According to the street people, genocide can be

²³"Is Amerika Devouring Its Children? No Amerika Is Fucking Over Its Children," Berkeley Tribe, III (September 11-18, 1970), 16.

²⁴"United Introduces Friendship to Ammon," Berkeley Tribe, I (October 10-16, 1969), 5.

found in failure of government to pass consumer protection acts as well. For example, when the New York state government failed to pass a piece of legislation aimed at lowering the lead content in paint, the East Village Other charged the "Jewish controlled" legislature had done so because lead poisoning was a form of population control for Blacks and other poor ethnic groups.²⁵ When the American Psychiatric Association refused to alter the definition of homosexuality in order that it no longer be considered an illness, the East Village Other once more saw genocide. In an article entitled "Kill the Queers or the Queers Run Free," they charged that the Association was Jewish controlled and that they wanted to keep the homosexuals defined as ill in order to incarcerate and destroy them.²⁶ Finally, the paper has also charged that the United States government is developing weapons which will be used to destroy all Black people in the world. The notion is that the government research teams are creating germs which will attack only Blacks, and once more the people involved are pointedly noted to be Jewish.²⁷

The street people, then, seem to have several methods of interpreting events. The first involves a nebulous agent called

²⁵Lynda Crawford, "Lead Poisoning," East Village Other, VI (July 21-28, 1971), 5.

²⁶Don Jackson, "Kill the Queers or the Queers Run Free," East Village Other, VI (August 10, 1971), 7.

²⁷"New Germ Warfare Center Being Built at San Francisco's Presidio Sixth Army Base," East Village Other, VI (August 25, 1971), 12.

the "middle class." This agent uses the law to resist change and to make and keep the world in its own image. It may co-opt change in order to preserve the status quo, but it never genuinely adopts new orders. The second is more clear; it is the powerful elite, often seen as Jewish, controlling the country and the world by any means. It is interesting to note that in this sense the street people agree that it is this powerful elite which assassinates and brings down Presidents. They view the assassination of John Kennedy, for example, as retaliation for his opposition to the military-industrial complex.²⁸

The scenario for the street people is different from the others in that they do not seem to feel personally threatened by genocide, but the key terms, conspiracy and genocide, still play central roles in their view of the world. Moreover, the agent is frequently seen as Jewish, and the agencies are frequently seen as the institutions of society. The street people add an agent, the middle class, but the basic terms remain operative and consistent.

²⁸Claudia Dreifus, "Mark Lane: Assassination Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," East Village Other, IV (July 16, 1969), 5, 12, 22, 23.

TABLE FOURTEEN

MOTIVE CLUSTERS--THE SOCIALISTS

1. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as a result of capitalist profit motive without concern for human needs:
 - A. President Nixon's Visits to China and Russia
 - B. The Vietnam War
 - C. The Ending of the Vietnam War
 - D. Legalization of Abortion
 - E. Perceived Exploitation of Minorities and Women
 - F. Failure of Gun Control Advocates
 - G. Government Support for an Anti-Ballistic-Missile Program
 - H. Gasoline Shortages
 - I. American Space Program

2. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as a step in a capitalist program to "enslave" people:
 - A. Governmental Wage-Price Control
 - B. The Vietnam War
 - C. Police Reaction to Civil Disobedience
 - D. Perceived Exploitation of Minorities and Women
 - E. American Foreign Policy

3. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as a cynical effort to distract from the enslavement of people by playing various groups in the society off against one another:
 - A. Various Confrontations Between Black and White People
 - B. President Nixon's Visits to China and Russia
 - C. The Shooting of Students by the National Guard at Kent State University

The major thrust of Socialist perception is summed up well in a single quotation concerning government coups in Africa.

It should be understood from the outset that these coups have nothing to do with ideology, religion, morals, tribalism or what have you. They are strictly economic. The world is divided into spheres of influence by certain major powers, and these powers are prepared to go to war to protect these spheres of influence.²⁹

The Socialist lives in a murky world of power politics in which great wealth controls governments and people through every means at its disposal. The Socialists assert that powerful elitest groups manipulate whole countries and international affairs for profit motive and that they strive in various ways to conceal their actions and the true nature of the conspiracy. In the Socialist's scheme, the agent, capitalism, is indifferent to any need except profit and will go to any length to promote profit.

Wars, murders, economic policy, international and domestic policy are all viewed as results of the capitalist conspiracy to use people for personal gain. This view leads the Socialist to share a great deal with the other groups already discussed.

Take for example the issue of assassination of public figures. The Socialists assert that Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, John Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, and George Wallace were

²⁹Charles P. Howard, "Africa Vrs. C.I.A.," Liberator, VI (May, 1966), 8.

all shot as part of the capitalist conspiracy. In an article "The Meaning of the Wallace Shooting," they assert that Malcolm X was killed because he was raising Black resistance to capitalism, that King was shot because he was leading a workers' strike in Memphis, that John Kennedy was shot because capitalists had lost confidence in their control of him, and that Robert Kennedy was killed because the capitalists feared he would defeat "their" candidate, Richard Nixon. However, not just liberals are capitalist targets. They assert in the same article that Wallace was also shot to insure a Nixon election over George McGovern. The argument made is that Nixon appealed to what they term the "conservative right" while Wallace appealed to the "ultra right." By shooting Wallace, the capitalists hoped to prevent a split between these two groups and merge conservative support for Nixon.³⁰

This view is, of course, parallel to that of other groups who see powerful groups placing men in the Presidency and removing them when group control slips. They agree with the States Rights Party, for example, that John Kennedy was killed because his promoters could no longer control him. The States Rights Party considers Jews to be the agents of Kennedy's destruction while the Socialists consider capitalists to be the agents, but both understand the assassination in the same light.

³⁰"The Meaning of the Wallace Shooting," Workers World, XIV (May 25, 1972), 4.

Most of the groups considered hold that conspiracy has a life of its own. That is, they tend to view the conspiracy as the central act of the agent. In this respect, the Socialists are different. Conspiracy is an agency for the Socialists; it is the means which capitalists use to advance their aim. The Socialist is not likely to see one grand design so much as he is to see many separate conspiracies all aimed at profit. These conspiracies range from murder to war to various cover ups for policy failures. Socialists assert, for example, that government leaders, union officials, and coal mine owners conspired to murder in order to insure continued control of the United Mine Workers by union president Anthony Boyle.³¹ They assert that government and industrial leaders began and continued the war in Vietnam in order to protect economic interests in Asia.³² Almost all economic policy is seen as the result of conspiracy or cover up. If, for example, there is inflation, it is viewed as a conspiracy between government and business to increase business profit.³³ However, government efforts to control inflation are viewed as part of a cover up of economic policy failure. The wage price controls were described as

³¹"Government Link in Conspiracy Hidden," Workers World, XVI (April 19, 1974), 3-4.

³²"The Fall Offensive," The Militant, XXV (July 9, 1971), 6.

³³Lorraine Breslow, "Behind the Crushing Rise in Food Prices," Workers World, XVI (April 19, 1970), 1.

"a studied effort to divert attention from the awkward fact that events have seriously contradicted the optimistic economic predictions Mr. Nixon has been making since he entered the White House."³⁴ Failure of the government to pass what the Socialists view as needed social reform never springs from honest difference of opinion concerning the worth of the programs, but always from capitalist control. For example, they assert that gun control legislation is consistently defeated solely because guns are a "capitalistic commodity."³⁵

Thus like the other groups, the Socialists view their social environment through the key term conspiracy. They appear to see not one but many conspiracies. Perhaps one may account for this by saying that as a group, the Socialists have defined their ideology more completely than the other groups and, therefore, have an ideological framework into which the conspiracies can be placed. The Socialists make less use of the term genocide, but they do perceive murder as an agency for promoting the conspiracy. In short, they arrive at much the same understanding of their social environment as the other groups because they share a basic vocabulary of conspiracy.

³⁴Stephen Emery, "A Hard Look at Nixon's NEP," Weekly People LXXXI (September 11, 1971), 2.

³⁵"The Gun Problem," Weekly People, LXXIX (December 1969), 4.

TABLE FIFTEEN

MOTIVE CLUSTERS--ANTI-SEMITICS

1. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as an effort to practice genocide on White, non-Jewish America:
 - A. Birth Control Programs
 - B. Liberalization of Immigration Laws
 - C. Gun Control Legislation

2. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as an effort to destroy White, non-Jewish America by destroying the family unit:
 - A. Drug Trafficking
 - B. Perceived Political Actions by the National Council of Churches
 - C. Sale of Pornography
 - D. American Medical Association Control of Medical Practices
 - E. Human Relations Training
 - F. The Jesus Movement
 - G. Student Unrest

3. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as an effort to destroy White, non-Jewish America by a program of "mongrelization of the races":
 - A. Urban Renewal
 - B. Bussing to Achieve School Integration
 - C. Integration of Public Schools and Housing
 - D. Legalization and Publicizing of Mixed Marriages

4. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as an effort to destroy White, non-Jewish America by dividing it between groups:
 - A. Prosecution of Lt. William Calley
 - B. Media Treatment of President Nixon
 - C. Both Ministry and the Assassination of Martin King
 - D. Congressional Censure of Thomas Dodd

Table Fifteen Continued:

5. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as steps in a larger program designed to establish physical control over America:
 - A. Federal Communication Commission Control of Radio and Television
 - B. Jews in Public Service
 - C. Gasoline Shortages
 - D. The Development of Power Grids by Utility Companies
 - E. Media Policy Toward Gerald L. K. Smith

Examination of the motive attribution of the anti-Semitic reveals that they too live in a world in which they are subject to a Jewish conspiracy to control the world and to eliminate White people by genocide. For the anti-Semitic, genocide is very real, but it is remote. The more immediate threat is the destruction of the Christian faith and of the institution of the home. The anti-Semitic understands the world in terms of a Jewish effort to create internal dissent and to "mongrelization" of the races. Thus, they interpret much of what they see as attacks upon the institution of the home, the institution of authority of parents and of the church, and as efforts at a hated race-mixing. Consider, for example, the following quotation.

Now we have Federal aid to education, which has subordinated the authority of the state, the authority of the country, the authority of the school district and the destiny of our children is in the hands of a ruthless set of glassyeyed bureaucrats and political space men and women who have for all practical purposes invaded the American home and kidnapped our children in the name of education.

This bureaucratic instrument is being used to propagandize our people with Left-wing philosophies, promote the destruction of our race by forced mongrelization and destroy the traditional control of the parent over his family.³⁶

³⁶"Kidnapping Our Children," The Cross and the Flag, XXX (May, 1971), 10.

Just how Federal aid to education results in people being propagandized with Left-wing philosophies is never made clear, for indeed whole arguments are seldom presented by the anti-Semites. Still, the conspiratorial view which they hold makes it possible for them to jump from a fact--Federal money is spent on education--to a conclusion--it must be part of the plot to weaken authority.

One important aspect of the anti-Semitic perception is that the agent who is perpetrating the conspiracy is, at the same time, Judaism and communism. Communism, according to the anti-Semites, is really just part of the Jewish plot to enslave Christian people.

Communism was started by a Jew. It was organized by Jews, it was financed by Jews. The most outstanding Jewish journals in the world boasted that the Bolshevik revolution in Russia was the work of Jewish money, Jewish brains, and Jewish organizations.³⁷

The anti-Semites are not alone in this view; both the American Nazi Party and the States Rights Party hold that there are important links between Judaism and communism, and indeed the Nazis have coined the word ComCap as a shorthand expression for the relationship. However, the Jewish-communist link becomes more important in the anti-Semitic scheme. One example is their notion that Jews promote drug trafficking first to destroy

³⁷"Could Be Propaganda," The Cross and the Flag, XXIV (August, 1965), 10.

people through the use of drugs, but second to finance communist operations throughout the world. They argue that Red China is the world's largest exporter of opium and that the result is huge profit for themselves as well as the destruction of their enemies.

The opium traffic pours money into the coffers of the world wide communist conspiracy and it performs a continuing act of sabotage by debauching citizens of the Free World. In some nations, addiction seriously and significantly undermines national production.³⁸

A second example is their argument that United States Senator Thomas Dodd was censored by the Senate in 1966 because of his anti-communist activities.

Mr. Dodd has leaned over backwards to avoid the accusation of anti-Semitism. He has cooperated with Jews. He has accepted campaign contributions from Jews. He has leveled attacks on those of us who have discussed with Jewish question, but he is learning the hard way--that these things don't count when the chips are down. If you fight Communism effectively someone is going to throw the book at you and surely Mr. Dodd knows by now that one of the spokesmen among the spearhead personalities for the Jewish Anti-defamation League is Drew Pearson. He has been used to crucify McCarthy, Rankin, Coughlin, numerous members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Senator Eastland, the writer and countless others.³⁹

In short, an attack upon communism will bring Jewish reprisal. There is, of course, a parallel which may be developed between the anti-Semitic interpretation of Dodd's censure and

³⁸"Opium Traffic," The Cross and the Flag, XXIV (September, 1965), 24.

³⁹"What About Dodd?," The Cross and the Flag, XXVII (October, 1966), 16-21.

the American Nazi Party's views concerning Watergate, and the States Rights Party's view of the Kennedy Assassination. In each case, the group in question holds that Jews used the men and promoted their activities until they incurred Jewish disfavor. At this point, all three theories hold the Jews conspired to bring about the downfall or death of the victim.

Thus for the anti-Semitic, the social environment is controlled by a Jewish-communist conspiracy that hopes to destroy the American way of life and to ultimately commit genocide against White, Christian people. The agent uses the institutions of government to combat the institution of the true Christian church. Like many of the other groups, they have reduced the world to a single frame of reference.

TABLE SIXTEEN

MOTIVE CLUSTERS-THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

1. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as an effort to destroy America by destruction of the family unit:
 - A. Drug Trafficking
 - B. Sale of Pornography
 - C. Sex Education Programs
 - D. Bussing to Achieve School Integration
 - E. Birth Control Programs
 - F. Human Relations Programs

2. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as a calculated step in a program to achieve physical control of the United States:
 - A. Governmental Wage-Price Controls
 - B. Student Unrest
 - C. The Assassinations of John Kennedy and Martin Luther King
 - D. Gun Control Legislation
 - E. A Perceived Liberal Media Bias
 - F. American Foreign Policy
 - G. Government Regulation of Business

3. Each of the following acts or programs is viewed as a distraction created to draw attention away from the communist take over which is under way. Each may be a minor issue of some merit, but they are being exploited:
 - A. Confrontations Between Black and White People
 - B. Concern for the Ecology
 - C. Women's Liberation Movement

Like the other groups, the John Birch Society has constructed a social environment in which the most prominent feature is a complex conspiracy. The Society understands social and political acts in terms of being parts of the conspiracy or as cover ups for the conspiracy. The agent is seen as world communism, and the ultimate purpose is control of the world.

Parallels between the John Birch Society and other groups considered can be quickly established. If one looks at the familiar topic of assassination and scandal to remove political leaders from office because they are not controlled by the agent, the basic similarity between this group and the others is apparent. The Watergate scandal is seen as nothing more than an effort by Nelson Rockefeller to destroy President Nixon. The argument made is that Rockefeller promoted and controlled Nixon. Rockefeller is termed a "top conspirator" at one point and as a person "whom the conspiracy created to serve as its flunky" at another.⁴⁰ As Rockefeller's control of Nixon gave way, Rockefeller determined to destroy him, and Watergate represents his effort to do so. In the same way, the assassination attempt upon George Wallace was part of the conspiracy.

⁴⁰"Watergators: Some Tracks in the Dismal Swamp," American Opinion, XVI (September, 1973), 1-16.

Why did the Conspiracy decide to liquidate George Wallace? Obviously because he does not fit the script they have written for the elections of 1972. Wallace would have rewritten the script by giving the voters a real choice, which of course is something the conspirators who are trying to enslave us are afraid to permit.⁴¹

Their argument is very similar to that of the Socialists. Wallace, they argue, represented the true conservative position, and he would, therefore, have drawn support away from Nixon. Since Nixon's election was in the interest of world communism, this threat had to be removed.

These two positions appear inconsistent; however, locked as they are into a conception that everything that occurs is a result of a single conspiracy, they are not. Nixon's election is part of the conspiracy, and his downfall is also part of the conspiracy. The conspiracy makes and breaks public leaders'. Those whom it cannot control it either removes from office or kills.

Like the others, the John Birch Society is able to account for a wide variety of acts through this single frame of reference. Compulsory education is an effort to place children in the hands of the government, which is, of course, an agency of the conspiracy.⁴² Drug traffic is a communist

⁴¹Alan Stang, "Arthur Bremer: The Communist Plot to Kill George Wallace," American Opinion, XV (October, 1972), 17-18.

⁴²"Our Children: Big Brother Is Coming for Them," American Opinion, XV (November, 1972), 8.

plot to destroy America.⁴³ The shooting of students at Kent State University is an effort to impose "martial law on America."⁴⁴

Perhaps the range of acts which are viewed as part of the conspiracy can be understood by looking at how the John Birch Society reacts to environmental protection.

The left is hoping to convert sincere and legitimate concern over the quality of our environment into acceptance of government control of the environment. The object is to make the "Green Revolution" part of the Red Revolution by using the Establishment media to stimulate the usual over-reaction among American masses through exaggeration, magnification, and distortion of a genuine problem. The object is federal control of the environment in which we all must live.⁴⁵

What the group is asserting is that any government action is designed to result in control. This control is part of a conspiracy. Even government reaction to "genuine problems" becomes distorted for the purpose of gaining control. Of course, from this position, no government action can be viewed favorably. The John Birch Society does not consider the merit of government action because it is sure all government action has only one purpose--ultimate control. The Society, like most of the other groups, operates out of a single, all encompassing frame of reference.

⁴³"Heroin: It's Coming from Red China," American Opinion, XV (May, 1972), 4.

⁴⁴"Kent State: Proof to Save the Guardsmen," American Opinion, XVII (June, 1974), 1-20.

⁴⁵Gary Allen, "Ecology," American Opinion, XIII (June, 1973), 2.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

When I speak of the paranoid style, I use the term much as a historian of art might speak of the baroque or the mannerist style. It is, above all, a way of seeing the world and of expressing oneself.¹

Based upon the information presented in Chapter Four, the following conclusions have been drawn. First, each of the groups studied operate out of a basic vocabulary of conspiracy. Indeed, the key terms for each of the eight groups are conspiracy and deceit. Second, even groups which would appear to be exact opposites, such as the American Nazi Party and the Black Panther Party, share much more with each other than they do with the general population. Third, the vocabulary of conspiracy employed by the groups constructs worlds for them which, by conventional standards, are fantasy worlds and which place the groups beyond most rational appeal. What emerges from this study of the alternative press is a picture of people locked into a conspiratorial view of life in which every action is proof of the conspiracy. One may start to understand these conclusions by examining two cross reference tables depicting the issues and motives that were common to different groups.

¹Richard Hofstadter, The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays (New York, 1965), p. 4.

The following two tables were generated from the tables found in Chapter Four. The first, a cross reference of issues, represents the degree to which the groups deal with common issues. The second, a cross reference of motives, represents the degree to which the various groups attributed the same motive to issues. In both cases, they were developed by noting the issues and motives as they appear in tables one through sixteen.

TABLE SEVENTEEN

CROSS REFERENCE OF ISSUES

1. At least six of the groups studied attributed motive to the following set of acts or programs:
 - A. American Foreign Policy
 - B. Birth Control Programs
 - C. Gun Control Legislation

2. At least five of the groups studied attributed motive to the following set of acts or programs:
 - A. Assassination of National Leaders
 - B. Busing to Achieve School Integration
 - C. Perceived Media Bias

3. At least four of the groups studied attributed motive to the following set of acts or programs:
 - A. Confrontations with the Police
 - B. Drug Trafficking
 - C. Governmental Wage-Price Controls
 - D. Police Surveillance of Group Activities
 - E. Violent Black-White Confrontations
 - F. The War in Vietnam
 - G. Women's Liberation Movement

4. At least three of the groups studied attributed motive to the following set of acts or programs:
 - A. Gasoline Shortages
 - B. Human Relations Training
 - C. Jews in Public Service
 - D. Legalization of Abortion
 - E. Racial Integration of Public Schools and Housing
 - F. The Violence at Kent State University
 - G. Watergate
 - H. Welfare Programs

5. At least two of the groups studied attributed motive to the following set of acts or programs:
 - A. Adoption of Blacks by Whites
 - B. Drug Control Programs
 - C. Family Planning
 - D. Government Support of Anti-Ballistic-Missiles
 - E. The Jesus Movement
 - F. Nixon's Visits to China and Russia
 - G. Sale of Pornography
 - H. Welfare Reform

TABLE EIGHTEEN
CROSS REFERENCE OF MOTIVES

1. At least five of the groups studied attributed the following motives to three or more social acts or programs:
 - A. Part of a Cover Up or a Distraction to Various Programs of Destruction
 - B. Part of a Larger Program of Social or Political Control
 - C. A Program of Genocide
2. At least four of the groups studied attributed the following motives to three or more social acts or programs:
 - A. Part of a Power Struggle
 - B. A Specific Effort to Destroy Family or National Morals
3. At least three of the groups studied attributed the following motives to three or more social acts or programs:
 - A. Desire for Profit Without Concern for Human Values
 - B. A Program of Mind Control

The tables lend clear support to the first conclusion, that for each group the wrongs of society are the result of a conscious conspiracy, conceived by some power and employed in order to allow that power to achieve its goals. The purpose of this paper is not to argue that there is never validity to any of the positions taken by the groups and movements studied. Rather it is to suggest that because the groups do operate from this vocabulary of conspiracy, they never go beyond the theory to explore argument for or against the social and political programs which they encounter. The key terms for these groups are conspiracy, deceit, and genocide. One finds the words used over and over in a wide variety of contexts by each of the groups and movements. As the discussion of the labels reveals, for the American Nazi Party, Watergate represents an effort by David Rockefeller, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Rothschilds to destroy Nixon.² The States Rights Party also declares that Watergate is a plot. In their view, however, it is a conspiracy between Herbert Stein, Arthur Burns, the "Jew controlled media," and Henry Kissinger to create a situation in which President Nixon would have to appoint Kissinger Secretary of State in order to relieve pressure from himself. The object of the act is to make Kissinger the "most powerful man in America" and perhaps even President.³ The Black Panthers and

²"Sicky Dick," White Power, No. 43 (September, 1973), p. 2.

³"Watergate Made Kissinger Secretary of State, Pressure to Impeach Nixon Now Eased," Thunderbolt, No. 165 (October, 1973), pp. 1,2.

the Black Muslims also see conspiracy in the daily news. The Black Panthers, for example, labeled the 1970 census a conspiracy and said of it:

It is this writer's contention that the 1970 census is not an attempt to help Black people. Blacks will either submit to oppression and second class status in America or die! As the reader is exposed to the contents of this article, it will become obvious that the 1970 census has strategic military and police state objectives. One will see that an attempt is being made by the government to control the population through control of population statistics and thus to control the society.⁴

What one is exposed to in the contents of the article is the unsupported assertion that Black people will somehow suffer because White people will discover information about Blacks between the ages of eighteen and forty which will be used by draft boards.

To the Black Muslims, the existence of special police units in the Los Angeles Police Department working undercover to capture drug offenders is a group of people "dominating the entire west coast to the borders of Canada, provoking incidents, infiltrating and taking control of militant organizations, plotting assassinations and acts of terror, all designed to cause the President to declare a state of emergency, thus paving the way for a police state unequalled even by the infamous Hitler Regime."⁵

⁴Sid Walton, "Census '70: Federal Conspiracy Day," The Black Panther, IV (March 28, 1970), 13.

⁵Kenneth 3X and Robert 9X, "How Police Spread Crime," Muhammand Speaks, XI (November 12, 1971), 3,4.

For the street people, the ultimate enemy is the government and the tool of the government, the Federal Bureau of Investigation. When the Boston Avatar was "busted for obscenity," the paper responded by printing a centerfold of four letter words and an obscene editorial. Yet, The East Village Other felt that subsequent action to remove the paper from newsstands was an example of an F.B.I. conspiracy against underground papers. In the same article, "Write On! Rat On!," the paper argues that arrests for drug violations are a part of the same conspiracy.⁶

The Socialist publication Weekly People asserts that gun control legislation cannot be passed in the United States because the government and big business combine to see to it that it does not. They note that the government is a tool of industry and that business leaders conspire to maintain the sale of all items in the United States, even if they are harmful to the population, with the cooperation and support of the government.⁷

In one single issue of The Cross and the Flag, Gerald L. K. Smith demonstrates the extent to which he sees conspiracy operating in America. First, he asserts that "I summarize some of the more lethal threats. These threats are precipitated by

⁶Thomas Forcade, "Write On! Rat On!," The East Village Other, IV (November, 1969), 4.

⁷"The Gun Problem," Weekly People, LXXIX (December, 1969), 4.

a complex of conspiratorial personalities who are determined to alter, change and overthrow our entire traditional way of life."⁸ Smith then proceeds in six pages to outline all the dimensions of the conspiracy by saying that it aims to do the following. First, it will darken our cities by creating power failures; it will cut off all fuel supply to the United States; it will murder President Nixon; it will destroy the automobile industry and thus the industrial establishment; it will destroy us with insects; it will mongrelize our race (White); it will make us the slaves of drones on welfare; it will degenerate our people with sex, perversion, dissipation, and dope; it will isolate and ridicule Christianity; it will confuse and divide our people; it will belittle our traditions; and it will keep our people in ignorance. It is interesting to see just how various social and political acts and programs are interpreted as fitting into the conspiracy. First, in order to darken our cities, the conspirators have opposed the construction of nuclear power plants. In order to cut off our fuel supply, they have opposed off-shore drilling and strip mining for coal. Moreover, they have isolated us from the Arab states which could supply needed oil. They have attempted to liquidate the President by pursuing the Watergate affair. This has been done according to Smith, because he won the war in Vietnam, he is

⁸"Formula for Chaos, Can It Be Resisted and Overcome? Read! Weep! Resolve!," The Cross and the Flag, XXXII (March, 1973), 4-9.

strong for national defense, and he is a fiscal conservative.⁹ The conspiracy to destroy the industrial establishment of the United States includes making a folk hero out of Ralph Nader. The plot to destroy us by insects consists of the various efforts to restrict the use of insecticides. The passage of laws which allow mixed marriages is part of the conspiracy to mongrelize the White race, and Smith gives assurance that "this conspiracy has scarcely been explored even by the deeper students of the situation. It is frightening."¹⁰ The object of this conspiracy is to make it a crime "for a girl to refuse a matrimonial proposal from a black because he is a black, or vice versa."¹¹ Welfare is a part of the conspiracy aimed at making slaves out of White Americans. Rock concerts, pornography, the sale of marijuana, as well as gay liberation movements are all part of the conspiracy to degenerate the people. Literature which questions basic religious dogma, revisions in theology, and laws which prohibit certain religious practices, such as snake handling in order to prove faith, are all viewed as conspiratorial elements to isolate Christianity. Media coverage of Watergate is viewed as proof of the conspiracy to divide the American people, while revisionist histories which "belittle the Founding Fathers" are efforts to destroy our

⁹"Formula for Chaos," p. 5.

¹⁰"Formula for Chaos," p. 6.

¹¹"Formula for Chaos," p. 6.

national integrity. Finally, the presentation of "bad news" and a five hour McGovern political fund raising program is proof that the media hopes to keep our people in the dark. What is important here is not that all these are viewed as problems for America or situations which an anti-Semitic abhors, but that each is seen as an element in a Jewish conspiracy to destroy America.

The John Birch Society also subscribes to the conspiracy interpretation of current events. Thus, as the discussion of tables reveals they find conspiracy in compulsory education or in environmental protection.

Also as the tables reveal, each of the groups see many subjects as representing evidence of a conspiracy. The nature of the conspiracy ranges from those which aim at the genocide of whole peoples to the maintenance of business profits, but each group spends its life in a conspiratorial social environment in which power elites control, distort, and destroy for their own advantage. The groups differ in their assessments of who that power elite represents, but even here there is some agreement. The most common enemy is the Jew. The White supremacist groups, The American Nazi Party and the States Rights Party, both see the Jews as the agent and Blacks as the agency of the conspiracy. The Black supremacist groups both see the Jews as the agent and White governments as the agency. The street people and the Socialists also voice anti-Semitic opinions.

The street people do this because they appear to be enamored with the Arab guerrilla movement. There is among papers like the Berkeley Tribe a tendency to romanticize social and political revolutionary groups, and the Arabs have been the beneficiary of this tendency. The anti-Semitic orientation is an outgrowth of the counter-culture identification with the aspirations of the Viet Cong, the Catholics in Northern Ireland, and the Black revolutionary groups in the United States. It is not so much that they are anti-Semitic as they are pro-Arab, and as Judaism is perceived as the enemy of the Arab states, it is perceived as the enemy of the counter-culture as well. To the Socialists, the resentment is directed to the perceived Jewish pre-eminence in the world of banking and finance. The name Rothschild is at once despicable and Jewish. However, for both of these groups, anti-Semitism is a side issue. Here the real agents are the established middle class and capitalism. That both the establishment and capitalism are perceived to have important Jewish elements and that both profit Jews becomes part of the larger issue. Judaism is seen as being part of the problem, both in terms of agents and agency, but they are the cogs, not whole wheels. Like the White supremists, the anti-Semites view the Jews as the agent and Blacks as the agency. In this sense, Jews exploit Black people in order to create civil unrest. The Jew is "the outside agitator" who hopes to

convince Negroes that civil disobedience is justified. Thus, while one may feel the Blacks are destroying the country, it is understood that they are but tools and extensions of Jews.

For the John Birch Society, the communists are the agent, and anyone not a John Birch Society member is the agency. For each of these groups, the agencies may be aware or unaware of their role. They may embrace the role or resent it, but in either case they are unable to reverse it.

The extent to which this conspiratorial view holds sway is evident in a review of Table Eighteen, Cross Reference of Motives. The table lists seven motives shared by at least three or more groups. Each of these seven motives may be understood to represent part of the master motive of conspiracy, or the secondary motive of being a cover for a conspiracy. What that table reveals is that the eight extremist groups posit a world in which people plot genocide, the destruction of nations, exercise political control of other people, engage in national power struggles, destroy morals, reap vast profits without concern for human values, and brainwash those whom they can use and whom they wish to control. The agents of the conspiracies are willing to go to great lengths to cover their activities. These lengths include the control of mass media, the corruption of governments, and the destruction of anyone who would oppose them.

Because these groups share the same view of the world, they share a great many understandings, and in this case perception does create strange ideological alliances. Indeed, groups which would seem to be distinct opposites often surprisingly share the same attitudes toward social phenomena. It has already been shown that the groups are all basically anti-Semitic; however, the reference here is not to general attitudes, but to specific beliefs about specific conceptions. One way that this sharing of attitudes can be shown is by comparing motive attributions of different groups to the same social act or program.

For example, the discussion of the tables reveals that many of the groups interpret political scandal and political assassination in the same light. In what becomes a familiar pattern, both are depicted as being the work of some group that has taken charge of a specific person, made that person President or placed him in some other important leadership position and then lost control. John Kennedy and Richard Nixon are both considered to have been elected President as pawns of great and powerful cliques only to be destroyed by those same cliques when they asserted independence in high office.

A second illustration may be found in the issue of birth control. If one compares the way in which the Black supremacist and the White supremacist groups attribute motive, it is clear

that they may view each other with disdain, but they both see birth control as genocide.

American Nazi Party

The most insidious aspect of the genocide program is the widespread use of various forms of birth control. It began with the "pill," and has now escalated into fullscale sterilization.

Do Blacks use birth control? Very seldom. So who's pushing White genocide? As usual, the real forces behind this vileness manage to stay pretty well hidden in the background. But every now and then even the Chosen Ones slip and Whites can get a glimpse behind the Kosher Curtain.¹²

Black Muslims

The American Black women are ignorant of the real motive behind the so called birth control schemes. The motive behind these schemes (birth control) is not to promote the welfare of Black families but to eliminate these families in the future.¹³

States Rights Party

What it really means is DEATH for the White Race if this trend continues to grow and infect Whites. National population figures show that non-Whites are continuing to have very large families

This means that the White Race is fighting for its very survival To our youth we say breed, BREED and LIVE for the glorious day when we come back into political power and put an end to this devilish attempt to obliterate the White Race.¹⁴

¹²Harold Covington, "Jews Planning White Genocide," White Power, No. 36 (February, 1973), 3.

¹³"Abortion Killing Black Babies According to the Teaching of the Messenger Muhammad," Muhammad Speaks, XII (April 20, 1973), supplement.

¹⁴"Rabbis Say 'Population Zero' Is Intended for Christians --Not Jews," Thunderbolt, No. 173 (June, 1974), 3.

Other groups which endorse this genocidal view of birth control are the Black Panthers, the John Birch Society and the anti-Semites. The street people publications also deal with the subject, but from a somewhat different point of view. For them the question becomes one of why people resist abortion as an acceptable form of birth control. Of course, the answer becomes conservative pressure.¹⁵ That the Black and White supremacist groups view birth control in the same way is revealing, but it is not isolated. In fact, the groups agree on most of the issues which they deal with in common. Both groups see the adoption of Black children by White parents as efforts to destroy their respective races. The Black Muslims make this argument in an article entitled "International Practice in Population Control Prepares Expert for 'Model' Program in D. C.,"¹⁶ and the States Rights Party makes the same argument in "Whites Urged to Adopt Black Babies--Speeds Up Assimilation."¹⁷ The groups both agree that gun control legislation is aimed at keeping opposition to the power elite weak. The Black Panthers say, for example

The Black Panther Party for self-defense calls upon the American People in general and the Black People in particular to take careful note of the racist California Legislature which is now considering legislation aimed at keeping

¹⁵Claudia Dreifus, "The Women's Crusade," The East Village Other, IV (May 21, 1969), 6.

¹⁶Lonnie Kashif, "International Practice in Population Control Prepares Expert for 'Model' Program in D. C.," Muhammad Speaks, X (June 18, 1971), 21.

¹⁷"Whites Urged to Adopt Black Babies--Speeds Up Assimilation," Thunderbolt, No. 149 (May, 1972), 7.

the Black People disarmed and powerless at the very same time that racist police agencies throughout the country are intensifying the terror, brutality, murder and repression of Black People.¹⁸

The American Nazi Party takes much the same position except they are sure that they, not Blacks, are the targets of the legislation.

The real purpose, however, is nothing less than an attempt to disarm White America. The current campaign of gun hysteria was quietly planned by the Jewish-Liberal plotters ever since it first became apparent that our people would resist the insidious schemes for our racial destruction.¹⁹

The Black and White groups agree on other issues as well. They both feel that the war in Vietnam is part of a genocide plot, and that American foreign policy is controlled by Jews. Nor are these groups the only groups which are polar opposites in philosophy while holding the same specific reactions to given programs.

The John Birch Society and the American Socialist Party both interpret the Wage-Price Controls of 1971 in the same fashion, for example. Both groups hold that the economic policy is a sham delivered to fool the American public. The John Birch Society says,

¹⁸"Executive Mandate #1," The Black Panther, IV (April 6, 1970), 2.

¹⁹"Whites to Be Disarmed: Gun Law Hysteria," White Power, VIII (June, 1970), 1.

Richard Nixon once correctly observed that "Permanent wage and price controls would stifle the American economy, its dynamics, its productivity, and would be, I think, a mortal blow to the United States as a first class economic power." Now he has instituted just such controls. Why? Because Richard Nixon knows they are an important step toward an all powerful central government.²⁰

The American Socialist Party calls the controls a cover up and a fraud, and they argue with the John Birch Society that they are a sham.

The new economic policy announced by President Nixon on August 15 will probably go down in history as the biggest political con game ever attempted on the American people.

.....

The opening claptrap about "bold leadership" and "bold action" to create new prosperity without was a studied effort to divert attention from the awkward fact that events have seriously contradicted the optimistic economic predictions Mr. Nixon has been making since he entered the White House.²¹

These groups which are so very different from one another in many ways share these common points of view because, in Burke's terms, they share the same act-scene ratio. For Burke, acts are in part determined by the scene in which they occur. "From the motivational point of view, there is implicit in the quality of a scene the quality of the action that is to take place within it. This would be another way of saying that the

²⁰Gary Allen, "Nixonomics: The Economy Under Attack," American Opinion, XIV (November, 1971), 76.

²¹Stephen Emery, "A Hard Look at Nixon's NEP," Weekly People, LXXXI (September 11, 1971), 2.

act will be consistent with the scene."²² In short, given the fact that all the groups ascribe to a conspiratorial view of the world, that whatever they encounter is encountered in a world of conspiracy, and given the fact that they all encounter the same programs, they must, to a significant degree, attribute motives to these programs in much the same fashion. The groups are victims of the vocabulary of conspiracy which they share. Sharing that vocabulary, they are inducted into a common social environment. The vocabulary not only binds the groups together, it also separates them from the general population.

The conspiratorial view of society makes the groups immune to rational appeal. In the first instance, the vocabulary of conspiracy demands that every act be fit into the scene of deceit. Thus the Socialist may attribute the war in Vietnam to the profit motive, but if the war is brought to an end, that also is attributed to the profit motive.²³ In short, if the war is part of a conspiracy and the conspirators bring the war to a close, must not the ending of the war serve the conspirators' ends and must it not, therefore, be a part of the conspiracy? One may charge that this is twisted logic, but given the scene-act ratio in which the Socialist lives, logic has a

²²Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives, (Berkeley, California, 1969), pp. 6-7.

²³"The Campus Massacre Won't Stop the War: Dollar Factors May," Weekly People, XXX (May 23, 1970) 1.

form of its own. In the same way, the anti-Semites viewed the ministry of Martin Luther King as part of a communist plot to weaken the morals of America, but they also argue that the communists murdered King.²⁴ The street people publications are certain that middle-class America rejects the counter-culture values and life styles, but if any of the elements of that life style are adopted, co-option, role-playing, and phoniness are charged. The vocabulary of conspiracy demands that all arguments and all non-group positions be lumped together for means of disposal because the vocabulary of conspiracy creates a single frame of reference for all acts.

The degree to which this combining of ideas is carried on may be illustrated by a Devil term employed by the American Nazi Party. The term is ComCap. It is derived by combining the terms "communist" and "Capitalist," and ComCaps are the source of much of the problems which face America. The Nazis have thus managed what statesmen and philosophers seem unable to accomplish, a marriage between the two principal economic and political systems in the world. It may be that a group capable of the development of the term "ComCap" is beyond rational appeal.

²⁴George L. Dovel, "A Traitor Martyrized," The Cross and the Flag, XXVIII (October, 1969), 7, 10.

One may not argue the merits of issues with such a group because they are operating at a different level of abstraction. They interpret all events as acts aimed at the destruction of themselves and their values. As such, they are not interested in traditional considerations. This point of view is shared by others who have considered the problem of paranoid groups and movements in the American society. Richard Hofstadter, in a watershed essay entitled "The Paranoid Style in American Politics," asserted that "what distinguishes the paranoid style is not the absence of verifiable facts (though it is occasionally true that in his extravagant passion for facts the paranoid occasionally manufactures them) but rather the curious leap in imagination that is always made at some critical point in the recital of events."²⁵ Hofstadter feels that man needs an intuitive sense of how things do not happen, and he says,

It is precisely this kind of awareness that the paranoid fails to develop. He has a special resistance of his own, of course, to such awareness, but circumstances often deprive him of exposure to events that might enlighten him. We are all sufferers from history, but the paranoid is a double sufferer, since he is afflicted not only by the real world, with the rest of us, but by his fantasies as well.²⁶

This writer asserts that Hofstadter is only partly correct. An analysis of the alternative press reveals that the extremist groups and movements found in America today do indeed have their own resistance to awareness of how things do not

²⁵Hofstadter, p. 37.

²⁶Hofstadter, p. 40.

happen, but they are not troubled with any world outside of their fantasies. They, like Hofstadter and this writer, construct their worlds out of words. The words they employ are constellations surrounding conspiracy and control. Each event comes to them filtered by these terms, and what to Hofstadter is a fantasy world placed down by the real world is for them the only world. These groups are not subject to persuasion because they are locked into a system of evaluation which turns every argument back in upon itself.

They are unaware of the conventional world, and Hofstadter explains why:

In American experience, ethnic and religious conflicts, with their threat of the submergence of whole systems of values, have plainly been the major focus for militant and suspicious minds of this sort, but elsewhere class conflicts have also mobilized such energies. The paranoid tendency is aroused by a confrontation of opposed interests which are (or are felt to be) totally irreconcilable, and thus by nature not susceptible to the normal political processes of bargain and compromise. The situation becomes worse when the representatives of a particular political interest--perhaps because of the very unrealistic and unrealizable nature of their demands--cannot make themselves felt in the political process. Feeling that they have no access to political bargaining or the making of decisions, they find their original conception of the world of power as omnipotent, sinister, and malicious fully confirmed. They see only the consequences of power--and this through distorting lenses--and have little chance to observe its actual machinery.²⁷

Hofstadter is correct; extremist groups do see the world through distorting lenses, but those lenses are not created by

²⁷Hofstadter, pp. 39-40.

cataclysmic political events. They are Burke's terministic screens, and they are created by language. The groups analyzed in this study are unaware of the conventional world because they have been inducted by their language into a different and more sinister world.

Early in this study it was suggested that the term "new rhetoric" could be used to connote both aspects of symbolic interaction theory and the symbolic acts of a whole new range of movements and groups. It was further suggested that these uses of the term have placed new and challenging demands upon the modern rhetorical critic. The purpose of this study has been to demonstrate how one important element of symbolic interaction theory, the attribution of motive, may be used as a vehicle for rhetorical analysis. This method of analysis is perhaps unorthodox, but it is predicated upon two clear premises. First, the rhetorical critic must stand ready to deal with symbolic acts in whatever way yields important implications. Second, the symbolic interactionists offer something far too important for the rhetorical critic to ignore.

The proper study for the rhetorical critic is the symbolic act. As long ago as 1947, Ernest Wraga was insisting that rhetoricians could and should understand that part of their study was to throw light on the social and intellectual history of man's cultururation.

It is axiomatic that the extant records of man's responses to the social and physical world as expressed in formulations of thought provide one approach to a study of the history of his culture. Whether we seek explanations for an overt act of human behavior in the genesis and moral compulsion of an idea, or whether we accept the view that men seek out ideas which promote their interests and justify their activities, the illuminating fact is that in either case the study of ideas provides an index to the history of man's values and goals, his hopes and fears, his aspirations and negations, to what he considers expedient or inapplicable.²⁸

Moreover, Wrage made clear that the rhetorical critic was obliged to range far in his consideration of social ideas.

Moreover, ideas arise at many levels of human life and find expression in and attain force through casual opinion as well as learned discourse; and while the life span of many popularly-held ideas is admittedly short, often these "out-of-the-way" ideas thrive and emerge at higher levels of development. This extension in the conception of the history of ideas which includes more than monumental distillations of thought in philosophy, religion, literature, and science may be offensive to those of fastidious intellectual tastes, but there is increasing awareness that adequate social and intellectual history cannot be written without accounting for popular opinions, beliefs, constellations of attitudes, and the like.²⁹

This writer agrees that the function of the rhetorical critic is to do more than study public speeches. Today, the rhetorical critic must continue to seek methods by which the social and intellectual impact of "man's responses can be understood. However, the picture has clouded since 1947.

²⁸Ernest J. Wrage, "Public Address: A Study in Social and Intellectual History," Speech Criticism: Methods and Materials, William A. Linsley (ed.), (Dubuque, Iowa, 1968), p. 99.

²⁹Wrage, p. 100.

Groups now embrace violent symbolic acts, contrived situational theater, and confrontive strategies and techniques as rhetoric. If the rhetorical critic is to contribute to an understanding of the impact of these responses, he must understand the rhetors themselves. The question becomes broader than just what groups are saying or how they are saying it, it includes the question "Why are they saying what they are saying?" That is, what does the rhetoric of a group reveal about the nature of the group; what does it tell us about "genesis and moral compulsion" of an idea for that group.

It is here that the symbolic interactionist makes an important contribution. The language of the group, says symbolic interactionism, is a key to understanding how the group understands its social environment. The symbolic interactionists offer a way of understanding the perceptions that lie behind and give rise to the rhetoric of groups and movements. If one is to understand the nature of the group and its symbolic acts, one must look first at the language, the vocabulary of the group. The vocabulary of motive attribution is but one aspect of group behavior, but as we have seen, it is a revealing one.

The alternative press is a logical place to look for motive attribution because it is a unique rhetorical vehicle. Here is a rhetoric less contrived than public rhetoric, but no

less persuasive in design. Working from the notions of Simons and Smith, it has been argued that movement leaders practice two rhetorics: one aimed at the external environment and one aimed at the membership. By viewing how the group leadership expresses itself to the group membership, we see, in part, how the leadership defines the group position. The rhetorical function of the underground press is the development and preservation of group norms. The analysis of the underground press not only reveals what the leadership perceives to be true, but what they want their membership to believe. This study has contended that this "inner directed rhetoric" is important if one is to see how these groups and movements function in the social environment.

The rhetorical analysis of the alternative press has revealed that a large number of groups and movements in the United States are captives of a vocabulary of conspiracy. These groups share a common vocabulary of motives because they share the same scene-act ratio. Their effort to reenforce group norms and values through the use of the alternative press reveals that they are more alike than different. Surface differences mask the underlying similarity. The only real differences are those of specificity of role assignments. Groups differ in whom they term Gods and Devils, but they assign the same acts to Gods and Devils with amazing consistency. Even in this area, they each consider those of Jewish faith a common enemy.

They view social and political acts in a murky and sinister world. That world is characterized by conspiracy. The agents of the conspiracy take various names and forms, but they always are seen as controlling the basic institutions of government, commerce, and communication. These institutions of society are the agencies through which the conspiracy is brought into the world of acts. The purpose varies from genocide, to profit, to control. The groups share this world because they share the term conspiracy as a key to their interpretation of the social environment.

The rhetoric of the alternative press supports the symbolic interactionist notion that vocabularies, once entrenched, determine one's perception and limit one's evaluation of the external world of events. In turn, an analysis of that rhetoric has revealed the social environment in which the groups live.

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