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Defenders of the Faith: Hate Groups and Ideologies of Power in the United States

What is the significance of organized hate groups for the ideological construction of identity in the contemporary United States? In general, hate groups facilitate a negative politics of difference. The contemporary re-emergence of these groups is grounded in a profound sense of dislocation motivated by the perceived 'crisis of identity' spawned by the civil rights movements of the past decades. The 'American' is no longer (if it ever was) an uncontested vision. Instead, the very meaning of American identity, and especially the meaning and place of 'whiteness', has been thrown seriously into question. Hate groups have mobilized in an effort to reassert a narrow, exclusive understanding of the national identity. In particular, they provide a menu of ideologies which presume the hegemony of white, heterosexual, Christian male power. These might be called 'ideologies of power' because they imply an ongoing struggle on the part of white supremacists for the right to define the limits and boundaries of inclusion within the United States.

To the extent that hate groups define their collective identity as the norm, they necessarily engage in a politics of difference which seeks to negate, exclude and repress those groups that fall outside of that norm, namely non-Whites, non-Christians, non-heterosexuals, even non-males. And they do so by invoking ideological claims to superiority and power. Consequently, while hate activists construct themselves by means of rhetoric and violence, they are simultaneously shaping the identity of their opposites: the individual and collective victims. Thus the process of 'doing' whiteness, or masculinity, or heterosexuality, or Christianity is fundamentally asymmetrical, since each of these terms 'signals the production and reproduction of dominance rather than subordination, normativity rather than marginality, and privilege rather than disadvantage'.¹

In this context, 'power' is seen to encompass 'the ability to impose a definition of the situation, to set the terms in which events are understood and issues discussed, to formulate ideas and define morality, in short, to assert

1 Ruth Frankenberg, *White Women Race Matters* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1993), 236. See also Candace West and Sarah Fenstermaker, 'Doing difference', *Gender and Society*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1995, 37.

hegemony'.² Power, then, consists in the ability to set the terms of discourse and action, and to impose a particular type of order. Again, we might link this to the negative politics of difference, in that it seeks effectively to deny the authority of marked 'others'. Consequently, relations of power might be conceptualized in economic, social, political or cultural terms. It is because it is manifest in such a range of locations that power becomes such an important structural feature of the relations within and between groups.

While the exercise of power may be backed by force, it is most effective if exercised in more 'legitimate' or acceptable forms, particularly through ideological means.³ Ideological constructs supportive of unequal power relations permeate society. They inform and are reinforced by a myriad of institutional forms: 'power, privilege and the ownership of productive processes have always been unequally allocated in a social hierarchy stratified by' such dimensions as race, class and gender.⁴ Ideologies of racism, homophobia and sexism condition human action, identity and place in such a way as to maintain hierarchies of difference. David Goldberg might refer to these mutually reinforcing structures as a 'field of discourse', characterized by 'racist expressions of principles, supposed justifications of difference, advantages, claims to superiority (whether considered "natural" or "developed") and of racist practices and institutions. These expressions have widely divergent forms: scientific, linguistic, economic, bureaucratic, legal, philosophical, religious, and so forth.'⁵

It is these discursive forms that create a coherent hate movement, in particular, the 'supposed justifications' of difference and superiority to which Goldberg refers. Thus, for example, the National Alliance (on-line) insists on distinguishing between that which is 'wholesome and natural'—white Christian heterosexuality—and its opposite, that which is 'degenerate and alien'.⁶ As this example illustrates, it is apparent that many of the identified ideologies are constructed upon essentializing dualisms: us v. them, good v. evil, strong v. weak, superior v. inferior. Moreover, these dualities are interpreted as inherent in the groups in question, and therefore a legitimate foundation for the marginalization of the 'other', who is consistently the negative and subordinate half of the equation.

2 William Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1995), 107.

3 See Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International 1971).

4 Manning Marable, 'Beyond racial identity politics', in Margaret Anderson and Patricia Hill-Collins (eds), *Race, Class and Gender* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth 1995), 363-4.

5 David T. Goldberg, 'The social formation of racist discourse', in David T. Goldberg (ed.), *Anatomy of Racism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1990), 295-318 (297).

6 In the following examination of the central ideological forms associated with contemporary hate movements, I have for the most part used primary sources. In particular, I have made significant use of the web-sites established by hate activists. These are readily accessible electronic documents which tend to emphasize the core beliefs of the groups in question. Bear in mind that many of these sites are either short-lived or very mobile. Consequently those that are operating at specific addresses at the time of writing could move, or be eliminated, at any point.

Christian Identity

The antisemitism and racism which characterizes so many hate groups—and not just the Identity churches—can be traced to the theocratic principle of Christian Identity. On the basis of a creative reading of biblical scripture, those advocating this perspective claim the white race to be the direct descendants of Ancient Israel, and therefore God's chosen people: 'WE BELIEVE that Adam, man of Genesis, is the placing of the White Race upon this earth. Not all races descend from Adam. Adam is the father of the White Race only' (Aryan Nations, on-line). Consequently, only the 'White Race' is truly blessed and thereby part of 'God's Kingdom in Heaven'. Frequent references are made to the assurances by God's law and natural law that the white race is the covenant race, and therefore to be jealously protected. The World Church of the Creator (on-line) reminds its followers that

--> what is good for the White Race is the highest virtue, and what is bad for the White Race is the ultimate sin. We have come to hold these views by observing the Eternal Laws of Nature . . . The highest Law of Nature is the survival of one's own kind . . . It is therefore logical and sensical [sic] to place supreme importance upon the Race and to reject all ideas which fail to do so.

In contrast to the glorification of the white race, Jews are seen to be the source of all evil, spawned as they are by the Devil himself:

--> WE BELIEVE that there are literal children of Satan in this world today . . . WE BELIEVE that the Canaanite Jew is the natural enemy of our Aryan (White) Race. The Jew is like a destroying virus that attacks our racial body to destroy our Aryan culture and the purity of our race (Aryan Nations, on-line).

It is the belief in this ongoing struggle between good (Aryans) and evil (Jews) which propels the antisemitic violence perpetrated by these groups. It is only in the name of God and God's will that activists lash out against the enemy. It was to preserve God's chosen race against the 'lying Jew' that outspoken broadcaster Alan Berg was assassinated by The Order, an offshoot of the Aryan Nations. It is, from this perspective, the duty and mission of all Aryans to ensure the survival of the white race at any cost. This is evident in the oath taken by members of The Order:

I, as a free Aryan man, hereby swear an unrelenting oath upon the green graves of our sires, upon the children in the wombs of our wives, upon the thrones of God Almighty, sacred in his name, to join together in holy union with those brothers in this circle and to declare forthright that from this moment on I have no fear of death, no fear of foe; that I have a sacred duty to do whatever is necessary to deliver our people from the Jew and bring total victory to the Aryan Race.⁷

⁷ Cited in James Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face*, 2nd edn (New York: Thunders Mouth Press 1995), 107.

Those subscribing to Christian Identity philosophy recite a litany of threats posed by Jews in order to justify their paranoia. In general terms, Jews are perceived as the anti-Christ. According to Ellison, the founder of the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord (CSA), the goal of all Jews is to 'destroy God's people and Christianity through its Talmudic teaching, forced interracial mixings, and perversions'.⁸ Through their domination of all cultural, financial and political institutions, Jews are believed to have taken control of the United States, thereby redefining 'American' culture in ways that are deemed offensive. Jews are blamed for the loss of racial purity, for economic downturns and for spreading immorality in the name of Satan.

As a corollary to this, the antisemites often portray African Americans as pawns of the Jewish conspiracy. It is Blacks who are forced into inter-racial mixing at the behest of Jews seeking to defile the white race. Black-on-white crime is also seen as a phenomenon orchestrated by Jews as a means of cowering Whites. CSA doctrine explicitly holds that 'Jews are financing the training of Blacks to take over most of our major cities'.⁹ After Jews, Blacks are perceived to be the greatest threat to the purity and safety of the white race: 'Today you can escape the terror of black ghettos and Brown Barrios. Your children and your children's children will have no refuge. The DEATH OF THE WHITE RACE is neither imaginary nor far off in the distant future' (Aryan Nations, on-line).

Nowhere is the racist sentiment more evident—and vicious—than in the second 'bible' of the Identity movement, *The Turner Diaries*. Written by William Pierce under the pseudonym Andrew MacDonald, *The Turner Diaries* is a blueprint for racial violence. It is a fictional account of the long-hoped-for revolution against the 'corruption of our people by the Jewish-liberal-democratic-equalitarian [sic] plague which afflicts us'.¹⁰ Robert Matthews, founder of The Order, gave a copy of *The Turner Diaries* to each member of his virulently racist organization. Consequently, it was used as a guide for a series of racially motivated robberies, arsons and assassinations, and for the Oklahoma City bombing. Morris Dees argues that there were many in the hate movement who viewed the book as prophetic, and therefore 'used its gruesome tale of genocide to justify criminal acts in the name of a holy crusade to save their race'.¹¹

That is the bottom line for Identity members: their belief system not only legitimates but calls for the violent repression or even elimination of minority groups. The identification of Jews and Blacks, especially, as enemies of the white race becomes a defensive justification for the assaults carried out against them.

8 Cited in Anti-Defamation League, *Hate Groups in America* (New York: ADL 1996), 21.

9 Cited in Anti-Defamation League, *Danger: Extremism* (New York: ADL 1996) 210.

10 Andrew MacDonald (pseud. i.e. William Pierce), *The Turner Diaries*, 2nd edn (New York: Barricade Books 1996), 42.

11 Morris Dees, *Gathering Storm: America's Militia Threat* (New York: Harper Perennial 1996), 141.

White supremacy

A natural extension of Christian Identity ideology is that of white supremacy. Whether god-given or biologically derived, the white race is deemed inherently superior to all others. The creation of racial categories and valuations represents a means of identity construction for both Whites and other races. Race is seen as an 'essence' which carries with it inherent differences between groups, differences which are claimed as justification for 'natural' hierarchies. The National Alliance (on-line) summary statement of beliefs makes this apparent: 'We see ourselves as part of Nature, subject to Nature's law. We recognize the inequalities which arise as natural consequences of the evolutionary process . . . We accept our responsibilities as Aryan men and women to strive for the advancement of our race in the service of Life.' They go on to state that 'our world is hierarchical. Each of us is a member of the Aryan (European) race, which, like other races, developed its special characteristics over many thousands of years during which natural selection not only adapted it to its environment but also advanced it along its evolutionary path.' A similar claim is made by the longest-lived white-supremacist group, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK):

Our main and fundamental objective is the Maintenance of the Supremacy of the White Race in this Republic. History and physiology teach us that we belong to a race which nature has endowed with an evident superiority over all other races, and that the Maker in thus elevating us above the common standard of human creation has intended to give us over inferior races a domination from which no human laws can permanently derogate.¹²

Inevitably, the white race is presumed to be at the top of this hierarchy, followed by the Jews and the 'mud-people', i.e. people of colour. Blacks are typically placed on the lowest level. Ultimately the ideology of white supremacy seeks to restore the white privilege which right-wing extremists claim has been lost. There are no limits to the perception of the superiority of the white race. Whites assume their proper and natural place at the top of the pyramid because of the diversity of their talents. They are masters of all things creative and moral. An article in the on-line magazine *American Renaissance* claims that in 'intelligence, law-abidingness, sexual restraint, academic performance, resistance to disease—whites can be considered "superior" to blacks'. Particular emphasis is often placed on the creative genius of the white race. Progress—narrowly defined as technical or technological advances—is argued to be derived from European innovation and intelligence. It is those of European descent who are responsible for the current shape of 'civilization'. The Aryan group ALPHA (on-line) makes the claim that, historically, 'break-

12 Cited in Alan Sapp, Richard Holden and Michael Wiggins, 'Value and belief systems of right-wing extremists: rituals and motivation for bias-motivated crimes', in Robert Kelly (ed.), *Bias Crime: Law Enforcement and Legal Responses* (Chicago: Office of International Criminal Justice 1993), 123-4.

throughs and advances were made, if not entirely then predominantly, by White men and their abilities. All other races hung on our coattails, learning from us but never leading our people.' William Pierce, in an *American Dissident Voices* (on-line) article, echoes this belief, saying that the 'vital spark I'm talking about, the genius for order, the spirit of progress which built our civilization, is European'.

For many white supremacists, the focus has historically been on the 'inferiority' of the black race. Whether in Africa or America, Blacks are deemed to be incapable of creativity, incapable of intellectual labour, incapable of constructing a 'civilization' or 'culture'. Presumably they lack that vital spark to which Pierce refers. The white racist Roger Roots offers 'proof' of this in his essay 'Whites and Blacks: 100 facts' (Roots, on line), in which he catalogues the 'deficiencies' and 'threats' posed by Blacks. For example, he contends that 'throughout 6,000 years of recorded history, the Black African Negro has invented nothing', cultivated nothing and built nothing of lasting value. Roots also devotes considerable attention to another favourite theme among white supremacists: the measurement of IQ. He cites studies showing differences in brain size, intelligence, test performance etc., all of which are meant to show that Blacks are inherently less intelligent than Whites. Roots concludes his survey by favourably citing Robert E. Lee's declaration that 'wherever you find the Negro everything is going down around him, and wherever you find the White man you see everything around him improving'.

It is these presumed relationships of inferiority and superiority that underlie hostility towards the political, legal and economic advances of minorities since the civil rights movement. Why should 'inferior' races prosper and compete on the same level with the far more intelligent, moral and advanced white race? Why should obviously less endowed peoples be privileged by affirmative action policies? Minorities, from this perspective, do not 'deserve' to benefit from the labours of the white race, since they are unable to return the favour.

It is also these presumed relationships of inferiority and superiority which underlie the strident calls for 'racial purity'. It is bad enough that white people are forced to work with or—worse yet—for Blacks, Hispanics or Asians. What is even more threatening is the possibility of miscegenation, 'race-mixing'. Such practices inherently taint the white race, and infect it with the weaknesses of the other races. Senator Bilbo of Mississippi is often cited as the most articulate defender of this claim:

But if the blood of our White race should become corrupted and mingled with the blood of Africa, then the present greatness of the United States of America would be destroyed and all hope for civilization would be as impossible for a Negroid America as would be redemption and restoration of the Whiteman's blood which has been mixed with that of the Negro (cited in Roots, on-line).

The rhetoric of anti-miscegenation is common among white supremacists. How else could the white race maintain its 'supremacy' other

than by maintaining its purity? Any 'contamination' by non-white blood introduces into the white bloodline all of those reviled deficiencies characteristic of the 'mud-people'. Supremacists, like the Klansman overheard by Raphael Ezekiel at a Klan rally, look with disgust and hostility on those race-traitors who seek out non-white mates: 'What is the worst, to see a couple—to see some white woman and some black man—ugh! It just turns my stomach.'¹³

Kevin Alfred Strom's treatise on miscegenation in his on-line newsletter *FREESPEECH*, provides ample evidence of this perspective. The title of the essay, 'Racemixing—worse than murder: murder is homicide; racemixing is genocide', is indicative of the tone of his argument. It is Strom's fear that the increase in inter-racial births will ultimately lead to the elimination of the white race, and with it all hope for progress and civilization. For him and others of like mind, race-mixing constitutes part of the genocidal agenda of non-white races. Strom links the rhetoric of white supremacy with that of anti-miscegenation, arguing that the white race's

continued existence would undoubtedly be assumed by our superior intelligence and unmatched technology, if it were not for those who practice and promote the genocide of our people through racial mixing. By their actions they are killing us . . . They kill infinite generations of our future. Their crime—the crime of racial mixture—is far, far worse than mere murder (Strom, on-line).

Race-mixing is deemed to be yet another symptom of the loss of white power and identity, since it violates the sacred order of the established hierarchy. It muddies the boundaries between the races in such a way that the politicized superiority of Whites is thrown into question. Consequently, miscegenation elicits calls for enforced racial purity as a means of correcting the emerging imbalance in the relationship between Whites and non-Whites. The latter must be put back in 'their place', by force if necessary.

Vilifying the 'other'

One potent means by which supremacists are able to reaffirm the pre-eminence of the white race is by calling upon images which vilify the 'other' in their midst. Minorities are reconstructed in threatening or unsympathetic terms, so that violence perpetrated against them loses its malevolent connotations. They are presented as unworthy of the respect which might otherwise inhibit violent interactions.

The age-old tradition of dehumanizing one's victim has served hate groups well, especially with respect to their caricature of Blacks and Jews. This portrayal of non-Whites as something less than human is readily apparent in cartoon images, for example, which paint Blacks as ape-like, or Jews as spiders or serpents. Yet the technique is also exploited in the written and spo-

13 Raphael Ezekiel, *The Racist Mind: Portraits of American Neo-Nazis and Skinheads* (New York: Viking 1995), 10. Anti-miscegenation rhetoric pulls together racist and sexist ideologies, as discussed in a later section.

ken words of the extremist groups. **Racist derogation masquerades as humour** on the white racist Nigger Joke Center web-site (on-line), where 'nigger' is defined as

an African jungle anthropoid ape of the primate family pongidae. Imported to the United States as slave labor in the late 1700s-1800s, these wild creatures now roam freely—while destroying the economic and social infrastructures of America and various other nations. These flamboyant sub-humans love to consume large quantities of greasy fried chicken and listen to fellow apes 'sing' rhymes over def beats.

Similarly, Roots's 'Whites and Blacks: 100 facts' (Roots, on-line) makes consistent reference to the 'simian-like' nature of Africans, with such phrases as 'similar to an ape', 'approximating the simian form', 'like that of the gorilla' or 'thus more characteristic of an ape'. These **characterizations distance 'us' from 'them' in a very dramatic way, constituting the 'other' as not-human and therefore not subject to the same respect, rights and protections as their white counterparts.** It releases the hate activists from the inhibitions and prohibitions which govern interactions between fully human beings.

If these 'sub-humans' can be shown to be a violent threat to the white race, then the potential white perpetrators can further distance themselves from their potential non-white victims. Thus another common theme among hate groups is the **inherent criminality of minorities.** Non-Whites are portrayed as 'egregiously anti-social elements, riot-prone minorities, dastardly criminals, homosexuals, drug-dealers, perverts' (White Nationalists, on-line) who pose a constant threat to the moral, peaceful, law-abiding white race. White nationalist Yggdrasil (on-line) favourably cites an Australian journalist's claims that crime statistics indicate that 'a large segment of black America has waged a war of violent retribution against white America'. Strom (on-line) refers to the unconstrained and ongoing rapes of white women and girls by 'Black criminals'. William Pierce suggests that, given the history of cannibalism in Africa, it is no surprise that African Americans engage in so much violent crime (Pierce, on-line). Confederate White Pride (on-line) erroneously reports that minorities are responsible for over 85 per cent of all violent crime. Given these contentions, then, **persecution of minorities becomes justifiable: it is a noble pursuit, intended to free the nation of the menace represented by the minority rapists, murderers and thieves. They must be eliminated before they overpower and eliminate the majority.**

Supremacists are equally prone to score rhetorical points from the so-called **economic and cultural 'threats' posed by minorities.** The fear is not so much of the end of the European race as it is the end of European culture which, the underlying assumption goes, is superior to all other cultural forms. The rituals, beliefs and practices others bring to the United States are believed to weaken this great white civilization. **Minorities bring the American culture 'down' to their level, rather than advancing it.** Consequently 'our fellow country men wallow in the decadence and filth of materialism, self-gratification, homosexuality and drug use. The once beautiful cities of America lay in de-

cay and ruin, after being over-run by the “so-called” “under-privileged minorities” (ALPHA, on-line).

How these problems derive from minority cultures rather than from the materialism and individualism associated with capitalism is unclear. What is clear is that supremacists seek to lay the blame for the ‘demise of western civilization’ at the door of minority groups who insist on the recognition of their identity. Changes in the demographics and traditions of the United States lead supremacists to fear the loss of their identity and, more importantly, their privilege as the dominant sect. A White Aryan Resistance (WAR, on-line) essay laments the fact that the white people of the United States ‘have become a people dispossessed’. It exhorts Whites to recognize that ‘all about us the land is dying. Our cities swarm with dusky hordes. The water is rancid and the air is rank. Our farms are being seized by usurious leeches, and our people are being forced off the land.’ WAR, like other groups, is not reticent about calling for the violent restoration of the ‘natural’ hierarchy. They call for a campaign of vengeance in which ‘blood will flow’.

Among the victims of this vengeance will also be those whom hate groups have identified as the source of the economic malaise that has beset the United States. There are two culprits. On the one hand, Jews are held to be the ‘usurious leeches’ who are bleeding the country dry, and who seek to control global economies. On the other hand, minorities—and especially immigrants—are held to be draining the national economy: ‘Social welfare programs waste your tax dollars and pay countless numbers of minorities to sit at home, do drugs and make more babies that will eventually also jam the welfare roles’ (ALPHA, on-line).

Minorities are thus portrayed in a very unsympathetic manner, as either animals, criminals, destroyers of civilization or financial liabilities. In this light, there is little to recommend them as worthy ‘countrymen’. They are cancers to be rooted out. The continuation and advancement of white society is presumed to depend on the removal of those groups which carry with them the seeds of destruction. Hate groups work to exclude and deny the rights of those who do not fit their model of what it is to be ‘American’. Such rhetoric empowers white supremacists, while disempowering non-white minorities. It reaffirms the coveted hierarchy which relegates the ‘other’ to a position of inferiority.

Xenophobia

While Blacks and Jews are the principal targets of the hostility of right-wing hate groups, many within the movement broaden their animosity to include a host of other racial and ethnic minority communities. This is most evident in the fervour of their anti-immigrant rhetoric which seeks to construct immigrants as dangerous ‘others’ within. In fact far-right rhetoric tends to use the explicitly exclusionary term ‘alien’ rather than ‘illegal immigrant’, presumably to highlight the legally and culturally marginal status of these people. Immigration, too, represents a challenge to the white race. Unlike the cases of

the previous three waves of immigration, the current arrivals are not predominantly European, not even predominantly white. On the contrary, they are much more likely to be fleeing the violence and poverty of the developing world; they are overwhelmingly **Asians and Hispanics**. On the basis of race alone, these immigrants are not as readily assimilable as their predecessors. And this makes people like David Duke nervous:

The darkening of our nation mimics histories of many other nations. The nations of the Caribbean, Central and South America, are predictive examples of the fate that awaits us. The Third World awaits our children. It is in our streets, in our taxpayer paid-for housing projects, in our jails, and in our mayor's chairs . . . Our children grow up in an alien society that our forefathers would not recognize (Duke, on-line).

The hegemonic bloc in the United States—white European males—are in a crisis of identity brought on by the increasing diversity engendered by the immigration patterns of the late twentieth century. Culturally, non-white, non-European immigrants are constructed as major contributors to the breakdown of the unity and stability of the nation. Heide Tarver provides an insightful analysis into the ways in which **English-only initiatives give rise to an us v. them dichotomy whereby immigrants carry with them customs, folkways and language (so-called 'gibberish') which make native-born, English-speaking Americans 'strangers in their own land'**.¹⁴ In the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP) newsletter, David Duke warned that **immigration**

will make white people a minority totally vulnerable to the political, social and economic will of blacks, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Orientals. A social upheaval is now beginning to occur that will be the funeral dirge for the America we love. I shudder to contemplate the future under non-white occupation: rapes, murders, robberies multiplied a hundred-fold, illiteracy such as in Haiti, medicine such as in Mexico, and tyranny such as in Togoland.¹⁵

In an address on the weekly radio show *American Dissident Voices* (reproduced on-line), William Pierce likewise observed:

During the 50 years since the Second World War, America has been darkening, has been getting less and less white. Immigration from Europe was cut off after the war—except for Jews of course—and the flood gates from the non-white world were opened. Asians and mestizos have been pouring into the country, both legally and illegally.

14 Heide Tarver, 'Language and politics in the 1980s: the story of United States English', in Fred Pincus and Howard Ehrlich (eds), *Race and Ethnic Conflict* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press 1994), 206-18 (214).

15 Cited in Elinor Langer, 'The American neo-Nazi movement today', *The Nation*, 16/23 July 1990, 81-107 (94).

The outcome of this 'browning' or 'darkening' of the country, according to Pierce and others like him, is 'more and more non-Whites, more and more crime and filth and disorder'. Immigrants—with their dark skin, their odd ways and their foreign cultures and languages—will hasten the demise of the true, white Christian identity. They will overrun the white race and overturn the existing relations of power.

--> In addition to the cultural threats posed by immigrants, hate activists argue that they also bring with them economic problems. From this perspective, immigrants—especially so-called 'third world' immigrants—come to the United States for two reasons: to sack the welfare system and to take the jobs of Americans. Apparently immigrants are getting rich off the nation's welfare system which is catapulting them into the middle class, over the heads of long-suffering native-born Americans. I, for one, would like to see the computations that place welfare recipients in a middle-income bracket. Immigrants are in a double bind. On the one hand, they are berated for their presumed exploitation and plundering of the nation's social safety net. Yet on the other hand, should they turn instead to legitimate employment—as the vast majority do—they are then reviled for stealing 'American' jobs.

--> In an environment already strained by corporate downsizing, such rhetoric plays on the fears of an economically insecure public. Whether framed in economic, cultural or criminal terms the underlying message is that war must be declared on the invading force of immigrants. For they are the 'enemies' of the American way of life. They present a threat that can apparently only be contained by extreme means. Consequently,

immigrant bashing is a popular activity in assigning blame for the nation's economic problems. When stagnation is evident in the national economy and unemployment exceeds seven percent, a pervasive fear that one's job is on the line often emerges. Anxiety triggers frustration and blame; resentment towards immigrants, documented and undocumented, becomes an ugly side of racism, nativism and xenophobia.¹⁶

As hate groups would have it, the tide of immigration must be turned to minimize and reverse the flood of 'mud-people' on to the shores of the United States. Violence is perceived to be a legitimate strategy by which to eradicate that which has been constructed as evil and sinister.

Sexism/ heterosexism

--> Hate groups have increasingly broadened their discourse to incorporate sexist and homophobic sentiments. While the rhetoric of sexism is often less strident than that of racism, it is nonetheless apparent that some white

16 Albert Ochoa, 'Language policy and social implications for addressing the bicultural experience in the U.S.', in Antonia Dander (ed.), *Culture and Difference: Critical Perspectives on the Bicultural Experience in the United States* (Westport, CT: Bergin and Garey 1995), 227-53 (227).

supremacists 'want to save the white race by controlling the behavior of white women—they attack interracial couples, lesbians and feminists. They join the anti-abortion movement, believing they can prevent white women from getting legal abortions' (Center for Democratic Renewal (CDR), on-line).

From the perspective of some white supremacists, women have one function which defines their station in life: childbearing. Just as the black civil rights movement led African Americans to 'forget their place', so too has the women's movement distorted the proper and natural relationship between men and women. Too many women—especially feminists and lesbians—seem no longer to need or at least depend on men. This poses a threat to masculinity, certainly, but also to the white race as a whole. Women are foregoing childbearing for their careers; abortions reduce the white birth-rate; white women are choosing to marry non-white men. Women are in the midst of constructing a feminine gender identity which does not conform to that with which white supremacists are comfortable.

Extremist conceptions of gender parallel those of race to the extent that gender is also deemed to be essential. There are two natural and distinct sexes, each with biologically 'wired' roles. This basic tenet informs subsequent sexist and homophobic ideological stances: 'there is the world of woman and the world of man. Nature has ordained that man should be the guardian of the family and the protector of the community. The world of contented womanhood is made of family: husband, children and home.'¹⁷ Thus it falls to the white woman to ensure the physical and social reproduction of the white race. This is her role and responsibility. Any deviation is an inherent threat to the established gender order, and the continuation of the race. This fear underlies the previously noted hostility to inter-racial relationships. Miscegenation 'taints' the white blood-line, thereby contributing to its demise. For Strom (on-line), race-mixing is tantamount to white genocide. George Eric Hawthorne (on-line) contends that race-mixing spells death.

It is in the discourse of anti-miscegenation that we see the intersection of the racism and sexism inherent in the rhetoric of hate groups. Strictures against inter-racial unions are an attempt to control and regulate both non-Whites and non-males. The womb of the white woman must be preserved for the bearing of pure, white children. Black men must not be permitted to defile that vessel. Such logic resonates with the long-standing mythologies of the 'black rapist' and the protection of white women: 'Protection of white women reinforced femaleness and thus the notion of "separate spheres" while simultaneously constructing racial boundaries between White and African American men.'¹⁸ Anti-miscegenation rhetoric similarly seeks to reaffirm the boundaries between genders and between races, to reaffirm the appropriate 'place' of white women and non-white men.

17 Sapp, Holden and Wiggins, 127.

18 James Messerschmidt, *Crime as Structured Action* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage 1997), 35.

Reinforcing this intersection of racism and sexism is the rhetoric of abortion politics as practised by the hate groups. Again we see the insistence on the essence of the reproductive role that is to be played by white women. As the WAR (on-line) position statement makes clear, it is not necessarily abortion in general that is problematic. Rather it is abortion by Aryan women; they would welcome non-white abortions:

WAR supports birth control and abortion for non-whites living in North America. WAR encourages racially conscious White women to produce white children . . . As the non-white races continue to breed with little control, White people have voluntarily destroyed millions of healthy, White babies . . . Those who have bought into this suicidal way of thinking must at some point receive future Aryan justice.

White abortion tips the racial balance. This is what white racialists fear, not only the loss of control of 'their women' but of their own place in American politics and culture. If non-white minorities are allowed to become a mathematical majority—through miscegenation or otherwise—the assumption is that they will become dominant in socio-political terms as well. The hegemonic position of white men would be in question.

While this is the predominant reason that hate groups oppose abortion, they also challenge it on the basis of the freedom it permits women. Abortion is an issue of control and autonomy. And these are 'rights' which extremists are reluctant to allow women. The denial of women's control over their own bodies becomes an attempt to maintain their subordination to and dependence on men. This is a crucial exercise in the wake of thirty years of the women's movement, during which time the gender line has become blurred and the hegemony of masculinity has been questioned. An anti-abortion politics, then, is an important means of reaffirming that essentialist gender line. It reasserts the sanctity of traditional gender relations of power, which place women on the 'private', domestic side, and men on the 'public', political side. In an interview in *FREESPEECH*, William Pierce (on-line) refers to the sexual division of labour as consisting of 'fundamentally different roles for men and women: men are the providers and protectors, and women are the nurturers. Men bring home the bacon and they guard the den; women nourish the children and tend the hearth.' In this conservative vision of woman-as-mother, women are to be fulfilled only through the institution of motherhood. The problem, however, is that this

image of 'mother' is not an image of a real woman with real children, or of a real woman active in the public world of work—let alone of a real woman who controls her own sexual behavior. It is instead, an objectified image of a 'woman' as a disembodied vessel of domestic nurturance.¹⁹

19 Kenneth Karst, *Law's Promise, Law's Expression* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1993), 54.

Nonetheless, according to hate groups, this is as it should be. **Too many women have rejected the responsibility of domestic nurturance.** And **access to abortion has facilitated this abdication of duty.**

Today greater numbers of White children are being killed in the womb than ever before. And when we are speaking of killing our own offspring, if we are true to the instincts that ensure our survival and make us what we are, we must recognize that we are speaking of a particularly horrifying kind of killing. There is something almost unbelievably depraved about women committing this obscene act for no other reason than convenience (Strom, on-line).

--> The **depravity to which Strom refers is not to be blamed on individual women.** Rather the culprit behind the loss of traditional gendered identities is *feminism*. As a philosophy and as a practice, feminism represents, to hate groups, a 'destructive aberration', 'a sickness with deep emotional roots' (Pierce, on-line). It is held to be destructive to the extent that it has contributed to an **unnatural racial and gender balance:**

At the racial level it is destructive because it divides the race against itself, robbing us of racial solidarity and weakening us in the struggle for racial survival, and because it reduces the White birthrate . . . It also undermines the family by taking women out of the home and leaving the raising of children to television and day-care centers (Pierce, on-line).

It is **feminism which has eroded the traditional relationship between men and women, by encouraging women to seek fulfilment outside the family in a 'traditionally male role',** i.e. education, employment and political activism. Feminism encourages an **'arrangement between men and women which goes against Nature.** Biologically, a man is a man in every cell of his body and his brain . . . and a woman is a woman to the same degree' (Pierce, on-line). When women go against 'Nature', they upset this delicate balance, assuming **'unfeminine' qualities and roles.** This is a potent challenge to the assumption of masculine superiority since feminism constructs women as politically and economically capable in their own right.

Concurrent with the threat posed by feminism is the **emergence of a visible and vocal gay identity politics.** Since, it is assumed, homosexuals do not reproduce, they too represent a threat to the continued survival of the white race: "Those who recruit for homosexual sodomy are a factor in pushing us ever closer to the edge of racial suicide. Every recruit for them is how many White children never born?" (Strom, on-line).

Yet the hostility extends beyond this. In some respects, **hate mongers appear more frightened by the spectre of homosexuality than feminism.** It is certainly seen as an **even more aberrant and unnatural phenomenon:** 'America should not accept homosexual activity as normal behavior . . . Nature intended for a man and a woman to interact sexually, not members of the same sex' (National Socialist Movement of Illinois, on-line). As this quotation suggests, the homophobic rhetoric tends to be **highly charged,** referring to 'per-

versions', 'defectives', 'nature freaks' and 'degeneracy'. Like autonomous women, homosexuals are represented as distortions of the natural order. Even more than women, however, homosexuals challenge essentialist gendered boundaries. They are, in fact, 'gender traitors' in that they refuse to be forced into the binary categories of feminine or masculine.

Gender constitutes a hierarchical structure of domination not only between but also within genders. This structure of power is also constitutive of the broader pattern of sexual power relations, in which heterosexual masculinity comes to the fore. The hierarchy of masculinities valorizes this narrow, hegemonic form of masculinity, while denying or limiting the power of 'lower' forms. Because male homosexuality challenges the fundamental assumptions of what it is to 'be a man', it is inevitably assigned an inferior—and hateful—status, leaving gays vulnerable to the consequences of these notions.

The rhetoric of many hate groups also reaffirms the moral culpability of gays. Just as they vilify non-Whites, they portray gays as a menace to society on many levels. For example, there is a concern that homosexuals seek to pervert white youths by recruiting them to their 'lifestyle': 'They want to teach that this perversion is proper. They want to teach our kids in school this is normal' (Reverend White's Christian Politics, on-line). More than that, however, gays apparently victimize the youth, through child pornography or molestation. According to American Christian Nationalist CyberMinistries (on-line), the 'simple fact is that gays molest *[sic]* children much more than straight people. In Maryland state prisons, 70% of the child molesters in prison, molested boys, i.e., *homosexual by definition*' (emphasis added). From this perspective, homosexuality is synonymous with paedophilia.

Furthermore gays are blamed for the spread of AIDS, a phenomenon equally threatening to their 'recruits' and the white race in general. The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (on-line) point to a correlation between the repeal of sodomy legislation and the 'plague of AIDS now ravaging our land'. Strom (on-line) proclaims that those who are lured into homosexuality get 'anal sodomy, death by infectious disease, and an anti-life philosophy'. Given these multiple threats, the ultimate conclusion reached by hate activists is that homosexuality must be eliminated. For some, the answer is to help gays find God so that they might see the error of their ways. For others, however, there is no salvation for gays. They must be physically eliminated. Thus it is not uncommon for hate groups to engage in violence against gays, or to call for the death penalty for known homosexuals. In other words, 'suffer not the sodomite to live'.

Persecution paranoia

As noted previously, the context and impetus for much of the contemporary hate movement is a profound sense of unease as a result of the nominal gains associated with the civil rights movement. Hate groups articulate the belief that white Americans have suffered as a consequence of a shifting balance of power. Where once white privilege was relatively uncontested, it is now con-

stantly challenged. The conclusion that hate activists reach is that it is **not minorities who are oppressed and persecuted, but the shrinking white majority:**

Now black and brown people are not fools, they know they are being rewarded for a raising a rukus. So far, they keep getting the same rewards for it. More rukus leads to more benefits, more advantages, more tribute, and more humiliation of the average white by their own elites (Yggdrasil, on-line).

Hate groups lead the way in bemoaning the contemporary plight of the 'angry white male' who is presumably being displaced by equally angry, even vengeful 'mud-people' and 'femi-Nazis'. It is, from this perspective, 'the blacks and browns who are racist. It is the blacks and the browns who are exploiting the race issue for advantage' (Yggdrasil, on-line). It is **now the 'blacks and browns' who seek to exclude the Whites from the power which is thought to be rightfully theirs.** It is the 'blacks and browns' who are preparing an 'agenda to destroy the white race' (Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, on-line), leaving the 'White people of the World . . . in a state of chaos' (Hawthorne, on-line). A recent *American Dissident Voices* radio programme entitled 'It's genocide' goes so far as to contend that 'the people of European descent of this world are the targets of a constant, consistent, systematic, sustained campaign of genocide, with the intention of humiliating, subjugating and eventually eliminating our people' (reproduced in *American Dissident Voices*, on-line).

European Americans are thought to face extinction on many levels, both literally and figuratively. **Black crime and immigrant crime, for example, are taken as evidence of a conspiracy to physically eliminate white Americans.** And the **justice system is complicit** in this since 'the guilty often go unpunished or the innocent are persecuted, not on the basis of any evidence, but **based upon the racial composition of the jury**' (*American Dissident Voices*, on-line). This is a sentiment shared by the National Alliance's Kevin Strom, who asks:

How often are White people the victims of *diverse* juries who decide against the White accused or for the non-White accused because of a perception that we Whites have *got it coming to us*? . . . The lack of justice, the racial group thing of *bate Whitey*, the non-White crime, the increase in the population of non-Whites, and the decrease and aging of the White population are all going to accelerate and reinforce each other (Strom, on-line).

White Americans are presumably defenceless in the face of these ongoing physical assaults which threaten the very survival of the race. There is nowhere to turn for assistance and sympathy, since even the courts contribute to the loss of control. Consistently, then, the retaliatory argument is made that the best defence is a good offence. It is **only in racial self-defence that white-supremacist groups lash out with violence against their attackers.** It is racial loyalty that underlies the Northern Thunder (on-line) group's assertion that the **'White race faces certain extinction in the near future, unless we identify and destroy our executioners'** (emphasis added).

While a substantial number of hate activists envision the literal death of the white race, many more emphasize a loss of identity and place. For some, this is manifest in the apparent vilification of Whites by the 'liberal media'. Hawthorne (on-line) contends that 'judgement has been passed' on white America, and they have been found to be 'evil people'. The extreme right-wing Heritage Front (on-line) asks us to

pity the poor white man, blamed for everything—past and present. He's depicted by the media as a beer swilling idiot or brutal swine—about to be clubbed into submission by the noble Wesley Snipes. The white man has been so relentlessly trashed that many have abandoned traditional values and courtesies for fear of REPRISAL.

The price for the white man's sins, according to hate-group rhetoric, has been the loss of his proper place through the undermining of white rights, and subsequent discriminatory treatment. Persecution on the streets is accompanied by persecution in the classroom, the workplace, the boardroom: 'Aryans are being killed and murdered in the cities and streets of this nation. White patriots are being rounded up. What's left of our rights are almost gone' (National Socialist Movement of Illinois, on-line).

--> There is a sense among extremists that their rights as citizens have been sacrificed—illegitimately—to vocal minorities. Permeating the rhetoric is a sense that the gains of the civil rights movement inevitably represent a loss for the traditional hegemonic bloc of white European males. There is talk of Whites being 'displaced' by non-Whites, of 'anti-white measures', of 'reverse discrimination'. White nationalist Yggdrasil (on-line) argues that the 'political struggles for preferences and group advantages that take place in the legislatures always favor organized minorities over complacent majorities'. Jared Taylor (on-line) of *American Renaissance* magazine concurs: 'A White majority has already established laws and regulations that discriminate against Whites.' As evidence of discriminatory treatment, hate-group rhetoric points to affirmative action policies, immigration policy and practice, even hate-crime legislation. Together, it is argued, these sorts of initiatives protect minorities while vilifying and, in fact, punishing the white majority. Strom (on-line) makes this argument explicit in a *FREESPEECH* article:

We are legally forbidden to favor our own people in hiring, educating and the disbursement of tax money. We are forbidden, on pain of being fired or ostracized, to make public statements in support of the survival of White Americans. We are told not to note that White Americans are being oppressed and vilified . . . Do White Americans have any politicians in Washington explicitly standing up for our interests and concerns? How absurd. Of course not!

What underlies this sentiment is anger at the loss of traditional privilege. The 'angry white males' of the hate movement mourn the loss of authority which allowed them *carte blanche* in oppressing the 'other'. Now they must give up the 'right' to wield unquestioned power to discriminate, a situation

they see as 'reverse discrimination'. For them, the recognition of minority rights is one more symptom of the crisis of identity experienced by European Americans.

Anti-statism

Who is to blame for the crisis in white America? Hate groups almost unanimously identify the state—specifically the **Zionist Occupied Government (ZOG)**—as the culprit. The government of the **United States embodies the Jewish- and Communist-inspired liberalism that lies at the root of the threats to the white race**. Many, like Louis Beam, would identify the government as the pre-eminent enemy of 'the people'. So great is the hostility towards the government that groups like Aryan Nations have established a point system for the assassination of government agents and civil rights activists.

According to the hate movement, the **government has over-extended its reach**. It is **conspiring to construct a 'new world order'** in which those of European descent would play a minor role. As evidence of this, they point to international trade agreements, extensive law enforcement bodies such as the FBI, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) and INTERPOL, 'black helicopters' and specific incidents such as those at **Waco and Ruby Ridge**. The deadly force used by federal agents during those two sieges **fueled the right's paranoia over excessive state intervention**. Both incidents have been interpreted as further proof that the government knows no limits. The Posse Comitatus (on-line), for example, claims that 'the federal government has grossly overstepped its [*sic*] bounds. Its [*sic*] agencies (**alphabet soup gangs**) have committed atrocities and murders against "We the People," and are out of control.'

White fears cling to two key features of anti-statism: minority advantages and Jewish control. As members of the hate movement see it (bearing in mind the previous discussion of 'persecution paranoia'), the **government has capitulated to the vocal—and unreasonable—demands of civil rights activists, at the expense of white male privilege**. No longer does the state represent 'We the People'. As they see it, the **state now represents 'them' rather than 'us'**. Foreigners, gays, feminists call the shots in such a way as to deny traditional rights and values. NAAWP (on-line) refers to the 'rape' of the white majority whereby 'minorities have, thru their concentrated voting power, bribed the government into taking civil rights away from un-organized Whites and giving them to minorities'.

In addition to 'giving away' civil rights, the government has further **compromised the supremacy of white Americans by opening the doors to excessive immigration**. Immigrants represent yet another special interest group with **which Whites must compete**. Additionally, as discussed earlier, the increasing numbers of 'mud people' represent an economic and cultural threat, since 'the population are being poisoned by an un-natural stream of mud people. Critics to this are kept silent, their youth abuses drugs, the native population culture and way of life have to stand back' (Fourth Reich, on-line).

White racialists feel they have been abandoned by the state, that their folkways, traditions and interests have been sacrificed to the 'God of multiculturalism'. The state and its related agencies seek only to preserve and promote 'diversity' which, to the hate movement, means non-white interests. The egalitarian initiatives introduced since the 1960s have resulted in a pendulum swing too far to the left. The outcome has been seen as a racially unjust society.

This conspiracy to subordinate and oppress the white race is believed to be spearheaded by a cabal of international Jews—hence the reference to ZOG. Many hate activists have grown disillusioned and distrustful of the federal government, in light of their belief that it is being manipulated by foreign and domestic Jewish interests. The civil rights advances previously alluded to are deemed part of this conspiracy. Minority groups are exploited as wedges to use against the white majority. They are used as a battering ram with which to weaken the defences of the 'master race'. Freeman Dale Jacobi, for example, credits Jews with having imported black slaves into the United States in order to destroy, not strengthen, the nation and its economy. And this orchestration continues today: 'The very Christian foundation, its economic structure, its philosophy and its moral today are being attacked by foes WITHIN—working for masters WITHOUT. There are alien-minded organized minorities, all bound to the racist-Zionistic masonic order of the B'Nai B'Rith' (People's Resistance Movement, on-line).

WAR (on-line) shares this perception: 'Not by accident but by design these terrible things have come to pass . . . Evidence abounds that a certain vile, alien people have taken control of our country . . . The Capitalists and the Communists pick gleefully at our bones while the vile hook-nosed masters of usury orchestrate our destruction.' According to this rhetoric, Jews have gained such control over the United States government that they are freely able to manipulate all areas of policy and practice. Pierce (on-line) sees evidence of this conspiracy in President Clinton's national defence team—which is 100 per cent Jewish. He claims that the Jews have Clinton 'exactly where they want him. He dare not disobey them.' Thus, Jews are in a position to extort financial favours from the government. The Cyber Nationalist Group (on-line) is similarly convinced of the heavy infiltration of government by the Jew: 'In these positions, he has enriched himself through lack of principle, corrupting our Culture, perverting justice, and destroying our economy in his quest for lucre.'

From the perspective of the hate movement, then, ZOG represents the ultimate threat to the survival of the white race. It encourages the 'browning' of the population; it gives up the autonomy of the United States to Jewish economic interests; and it contributes to the devaluation of European-inspired culture. The only viable response to such a trend is the creation of 'a strong centralized government spanning several continents to co-ordinate many important tasks during the first few decades of a White world: the racial cleansing of the land, the rooting out of racially destructive institutions, and the

reorganization of society on a new basis' (National Alliance, on-line). This is the first item on the white racist agenda for change—revolutionary change which will restore the privilege and prominence of the white race.

RAHOWA: the final battle

The overlapping belief systems documented herein lead many hate groups to the sort of conclusion noted above: **through organized action, the white race must reverse the trends represented by the myriad forms of white racial 'suicide' and 'genocide'.** Moreover the goal of this action is fairly consistent from group to group. It is best summarized by the '14-word' slogan adopted by many Christian Identity groups: **'We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children.'** The **means by which to achieve this goal, however, differ somewhat from group to group.** For some, the **first step is relatively simple: take back the state; legislate against miscegenation, sodomy or abortion; or close the borders** in order to halt the darkening of the United States. Pierce (on-line) suggests one mechanism by which to stop illegal immigration from Mexico: shoot anyone attempting to cross illegally. He assures us that 'two or three shootings in the first night . . . and the word would be out: Don't cross the border unless you want to die.' He justifies this approach by resorting to the rhetoric of vilification, in which the 'alien' is constructed as criminal: 'Fewer immigrants would have to be shot trying to come across the border that first night than law-abiding Americans are now being murdered each year by illegal-alien criminals in California and Texas.' Hence, the most extreme violence can be justified by **recreating the *us v. them* opposition that portrays 'them' as even more violent and therefore deserving of execution.** The **same logic would apply to homosexuals** who are deemed worthy of execution because of their role in spreading AIDS or victimizing children.

Another common theme—shared by hate groups and the militia movement—is the **idea of racial segregation, generally in geographical terms.** Thus the **white race can survive only if it is isolated from the biological and cultural influences of the non-Aryan races.** The most effective way to keep the bloodline pure is to establish—or re-establish, as they see it—autonomous racial nations. For some, this would mean deporting non-Europeans to their country or continent of origin: Africans to Africa, Asians to Asia, Hispanics to Mexico, Cuba, Haiti or wherever. The National Socialist Vanguard (on-line) claims that the 'Black folks in the large or small cities will have no way to survive except repatriation'. Strom (on-line) agrees: 'Since Farrakhan and other Black Nationalists want a nation of their own, let them have one. That means that we can have a nation of our own. Since Black Nationalists want to go to Africa, let them go. That means that we can have our America back.'

For others, **racial separation can be established within the existing borders of the United States.** A white racist newsletter, the *Nationalist Observer* (on-line) suggests 'strict geographical separation, devoid of racial conflict or oppression', in which each ethnic group would establish its own

political territory. Groups like the NAAWP, some cells of the KKK and Aryan Nations have long called for a white racial homeland in the north-western United States, leaving the rest of the nation to diverse minority groups. The NAAWP has designed an elaborate 'relocation' strategy, consisting of nine ethnically based regions. The 'White Bastion' would cover the extreme North-west. 'Navahona' would contain all Native Americans in the area currently known as New Mexico. 'Alta California', the twenty-mile wide band along the United States-Mexico border, would be home to Mexican Americans; illegal immigrants would be shot on sight. Hawaii would become 'East Mongolia', the nation of all Asians and Pacific Islanders. African Americans would be 'regrouped' in the deep South—in what is now Florida, southern Alabama and part of southern Mississippi—which would be called 'New Africa'. However, Miami, Miami Beach and Dade County—'New Cuba'—would be reserved for Cubans. 'West Israel'—the homeland of the Jews in the United States—would take up Manhattan and Long Island, while the remainder of the New York metropolitan area, or 'Minoria', would be set aside for 'unassimilable minorities', including Puerto Rican and Mediterranean immigrants. Finally, French Canadian immigrants would remain in 'Francia', the extreme northern portions of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and New York state. Of course, groups advocating such measures recognize that such strategies would involve 'difficulty and temporary unpleasantness'. It might even require the use of force. Nonetheless it is in the best long-term interests of all the groups involved. It is especially important to those supporting this strategy, however, that Whites regain 'a nation': 'We must have White schools, White residential neighborhoods and recreation areas, White workplaces, White farms and countryside. We must have no non-Whites in our living space, and we must have open space around us for expansion' (National Alliance, on-line). Only in this way can white society purge itself of the 'alien' and 'dangerous' hordes which threaten to destroy Aryan culture in the United States.

A frightening number of supremacist groups however—especially those within the Christian Identity movement—argue that separation is not a sufficient means by which to preserve the white race. For them, all traces of the non-white presence must be erased from the United States. It is inevitable that the trajectories of world history will lead to RAHOWA—ra(cial) ho(ly) wa(r)—in which Whites must be victorious. According to Richard Butler of Aryan Nations, it is God's will, since 'As his Divine Race, we have been commissioned to fulfil His Divine purpose and plan, the restitution of all things'.²⁰ Only by winning the battle against evil—whether defined as Jews, Blacks or 'mud races'—can supremacists restore the divine order as given by God. This is an order in which the chosen white race will prevail.

Representatives of the various hate groups are explicit in their call to arms. They do not shrink from violence. Consider the following illustrative exhortations:

20 Cited in Milton Kleg, *Hate Prejudice and Racism* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press 1993), 190.

War is upon the land. The tyrants blood will flow . . . This is war . . . We declare ourselves to be in full unrelenting state of war with those forces seeking and consciously promoting the destruction of our faith and race (WAR, on-line).

WE BELIEVE that the White Race, its Biological and Cultural Heritage, is now under attack by our mortal racial enemies: Jews, niggers and the mud races. WE BELIEVE that RAHOWA (RACIAL HOLY WAR) . . . is the only road to the resurrection and redemption of the White Race (World Church of the Creator, on-line).

WE BELIEVE that due to the Jew-instigated demographic explosion of the mud races, we must (as a matter of life and death!) not only start but also win the worldwide White Racial Holy War in this generation (World Church of the Creator—Maryland Chapter, on-line).

Yaweh's Children are like lambs being led to slaughter—This is a battle, 'The Children of Light vs. The Children of Darkness.' Yes, a Racial Holy War (Posse Comitatus, on-line).

It is this call to RAHOWA that puts minorities most at risk, since it attempts to justify violence by appealing to God's will. According to the rhetoric, Jews and their allies have distorted the word of God and, in so doing, they threaten the white race. By believing that these 'sub-human' and 'soulless' races are closer to Satan than to God, it becomes acceptable to attack them in the name of ridding the world of evil. Supremacists claim a moral right to engage in violence as a means of restoring God's law, and the white race to its rightful place in the racial hierarchy of the nation. This is the ultimate discursive attempt to marginalize and defuse the perceived dangers posed by women, homosexuals, Jews and all people of colour. I will conclude with a succinct, poetic version of the call to arms, found in the skinhead music of Operation Ghetto Storm (on-line):

You have slept too long,
Come and join the chase,
Slaughter the beasts that would darken our race
Don helmet and sword and pin on thy shield . . .
Kill the dark cloud and drive it to flight,
All cowards and faggots will tremble with fright,
Look well upon your kindred who are proud to be white,
Let your blood boil with anger,
Let your heart swell with pride,
You must fight in this battle,
You must fight side by side . . .

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Internet Sites

ALPHA: www.alpha.org/whyalpha
 American Christian Nationalist CyberMinistries: www.smart.net/~nri
American Dissident Voices: ww2.cybernex.net/~odin
American Renaissance: www.amren.com
 America's Promise Ministries: rand.nidlink.com/~amprom/yourpage.htm
 Anti-Defamation League: www.adl.org
 Aryan Female Homestead: www.whitepower.com/aryanfemale
 Aryan Nations: www.stormfront.org/an.html
 Center for Democratic Renewal: www.cdr.qpg.com
 Cyber Nationalist Group: www.crusader.net/texts/wau/indx.html
 Confederate White Pride: home.earthlink.net/~aryanresist
 Duke (David): www.duke.org
 Fourth Reich: www.triumph.simplenet.com
 Hate Directory: www.dpscs.state.md.us.80/hatedir.htm
 Hawthorne (George Eric): www.natall.com/FREESP
 Heritage Front: www.alpha.ftcnet.com/~freedom
 Kingdom Identity Ministries: www.kingidentity.com
 Knights of the Ku Klux Klan: www.k-k-k.com
 National Alliance: www.natall.com
 National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP):
 angelfire.com/fl/naawp4usa
 National Socialist Movement of Illinois: www.alpha.ftcnet.com/~schlis/aryan
 National Socialist Vanguard: www.alpha.org/nsv
 National Socialist White People's Party: www.capecod.net/~ndemonti
Nationalist Observer: members.tripod.com/~Calvinism/NatOb
 Negroid Research Center: home1.gte.net/nri/nri.html
 Nigger Joke Center: www.cyberenet.net/~micetrap/nigger.html
 Northern Thunder: www.geocities.com/RodeoDrive/1563/odessa.html
 Northwest Kinsmen: www.cris.com/~nwk
 Operation Ghetto Storm: www.whitepower.com/ghettostorm
 People's Resistance Movement—The Christian Alternative: www.powertech.no/aolsen/txt/forside.html
 Pierce (William): www.natall.com/FREESP
 Posse Comitatus: www.webexpert.net/posse
 Resistance Records: www.resistance.com
 Reverend White's Christian Politics: home1.gte.net/nri/revwhite
 Roots (Roger), 'Whites and Blacks: 100 facts': www.aryan.com/facts.html
 Strom (Kevin Alfred): www.com/FREESP
 Taylor (Jared): www.amren.com/jtspeech.html
 Voice of White America: members.aol.com/tsaukki/whiteamr.html
 White Aryan Resistance (WAR): ww2.cybernex.net/~odin/war.html
 White Nationalists: www.nationalist.org
 World Church of the Creator: www.rahowa.com
 World Church of the Creator—Maryland Chapter: www.bcpl.lib.md.us/~quniton/b_wcotc.html
 Yggdrasil: www.netcom.com/pub/yg/ygg