
The Write Stuff: U.S. Serial Print Culture from Conservatives out to Neo-Nazis

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ABSTRACT

Insufficient scholarly attention has been devoted to alternative or “oppositional” serials from the *political right*, even though a number of scholars have used these materials as primary sources for studies in several academic disciplines. This overview reviews some of the terms used to describe these serials, explores the development of distinct post-WWII right-wing ideologies, and proposes that these serials usefully can be analyzed through a sociological lens as movement literature that both reflects and shapes different sectors through frames and narratives. How oppositional serials can play a role in constructing rhetorical pipelines and echo chambers to take movement grievances and push them into mainstream political policy initiatives is explored. The sectors defined and examined are the *secular right*, *religious right*, and *xenophobic right*. Examples from each sector are provided, with selected periodicals highlighted in detail.

Conservatives generally cannot tolerate neo-Nazis. The feeling is mutual. Much wood pulp is expended as they denounce each other in print periodicals. The great bulk of print material from the U.S. *political right*, however, is devoted to attacks on politicians, political liberals, and progressives. Just which perceived left-wing policies and programs are considered the primary subjects for denunciation depends on the sector of the political right doing the publishing. Conservatives, libertarians, the Christian right, neoconservatives, paleoconservatives, patriots, and the extreme right (folks who tend to dress up in white robes or black uniforms) all maintain distinct print subcultures.

Books, flyers, pamphlets, and posters are part of the right-wing print culture; but by reviewing serial publications in myriad forms we clearly

see that newspapers, magazines, and newsletters provide a lush forest for scholarly analyses of text and image. This study will review oppositional right-wing serials, with an emphasis on describing different print forms within competing political sectors during the post-WWII period. Danky (in press) observes, "Scholarly attention to America's ideological conservatives, even reactionaries, to say nothing of racists and homegrown fascists, has been scant." This began to change in the 1980s, as many of the citations herein demonstrate, but the situation is still lopsided.

A librarian will have no trouble finding anthologies of writing from liberal and left alternative serials (see for example Armstrong, 2005; Conlin, 1974; Streitmatter, 2001); or scholarly journal articles about these types of periodicals. A number of libraries collect alternative periodicals, but they are primarily on the political left (see Danky, 1974). The astonishingly detailed service *Alternative Press Index* covers progressive social and political movements. Finding information about alternative serials on the political right is another matter. From time to time someone compiles a list of groups on the political right and includes mentions of their serial titles, but these efforts are either sporadic or incomplete or both. It is difficult to locate scholarly material on the "history or impact of overtly conservative *alternative media*" (Streitmatter, 1999, p. 11).

Anthologies from mainstream conservative media exist, a specialty of *Reader's Digest* as a magazine (and who can forget its "Condensed Books" series?). This study, however, is not looking at mainstream conservative serials such as *Reader's Digest*, *Forbes*, the *Wall Street Journal*, or the *Washington Times*; it is looking at alternative conservative and right-wing serials. One such publication, *The Freeman*, produced anthologies from its pages in the 1970s, but this is a rarity among these periodicals. There are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of right-wing alternative serials. "The books and serial publications produced on the Right have a great variety," explains Danky (in press), "and perhaps they are only united by their critique of mainstream politics." Nevertheless, this "critique frequently forms an interior dialogue by which the reader's world view is authenticated in print" (Danky, in press; see also Danky & Cherney, 1996, 1995). Public collections of right-wing serials are few, and collectors sometimes must scour basements and jimmy open dank archives to conjure up issues of older periodicals on their sinful wish list of historical artifacts; a sad state for society's scholars. A few archives, however, do collect right-wing oppositional serials. (See online resource listed in unnumbered note.)

The collection of right-wing periodicals at the Wisconsin Historical Society is one of the largest and most current in the United States. Many of the serials were obtained by librarian James P. Danky, who explains that few libraries archive such materials because "most librarians are revolted at the racist stuff, perplexed by the narrow political stuff, and made uncomfortable by the religious stuff." Some serials posed special challenges

for Danky. One rejected participation in what they called the “jew-commie banking system,” and required a money order. “The Massachusetts libertarians refused our check” from a state agency “because they did not want to receive funds that the state had stolen from the people through taxation,” recalls Danky, while another “refused any payment other than gold or pre-composite silver coins” (J. P. Danky, personal communication, March 13, 2007).

WHAT IS THIS STUFF CALLED?

Librarians are faced with the problem of what to call serials from the rivulets, back eddies, and swamps of the political and intellectual spectrum. Various terms used have included alternative, dissident, oppositional, “ephemera,” “fugitive literature,” and “little magazines.” Danky (in press) prefers the term “oppositional press” as an umbrella way to refer to “non-standard, non-establishment publications which advocate social change through deed or idea.” He admits this is a “relational definition” in which the “oppositional press” is contrasted against “the mainstream press, the proclaimed voice of the majority.”

As ideological winds buffet the body politic, however, what were once oppositional serials sometimes move from the margins to the mainstream. This is clearly the case with the *National Review* magazine and the *Human Events* newspaper. Editors and writers for both publications now regularly appear on network news programs as political commentators, an idea that would have been considered alarming in the 1950s. Note that William F. Buckley’s *Firing Line* television program did not appear until 1966, two years after the Goldwater presidential campaign demonstrated that conservatives were not all vestigial troglodytes, despite the common characterization of them by many liberal periodicals and pundits at the time.

This migration also goes the other way. Consider the case of paleoconservative journalist Samuel Francis, booted from the nation’s capital and the *Washington Times* daily newspaper in 1995 and sent to the woodshed of the oppositional press for rhetoric deemed too blatantly white supremacist. Until his death in 2005, Francis continued publishing in a variety of right-wing oppositional serials, including *Citizens Informer* newspaper (Council of Conservative Citizens); *Chronicles* magazine (Rockford Institute); and *Occidental Quarterly*, a journal celebrating white culture. In a similar fashion, author Joseph Sobran was exiled from the *National Review* for antisemitism, and then he turned to writing for oppositional periodicals (“Dirty Dozen,” 2006).

A BRIEF MAGICAL HISTORY TOUR

There was a sharp break before and after WWII in the nature of the U.S. political right. “In the early twentieth century, there was no such thing in American politics as a conservative movement,” Judis (2001) explains.

“The right was an unwieldy collection of anti-Semites, libertarians, fascists, racists, anti-New Dealers, isolationists, and Southern agrarians who were incapable of agreeing on anything” (p. 142). It can be hard to imagine today, but as an example, John E. Edgerton, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, was so embedded in the normative white supremacist worldview in the 1930s that he saw no problem with describing southern wage earners as “almost wholly of one blood, one God, and one language. . . . No people on earth love individual liberty, or will make greater sacrifices for it, than . . . those proud Anglo-Saxon elements who constitute the working army of this homogeneous section of the nation” (Edgerton, 1930, p. 6).

Obviously there were right-wing publications prior to the 1950s, and some continued publishing across this transitional period, including *Human Events*, *The Freeman*, *The Cross and the Flag*, and others.

After WWII a number of conservative publications sought to avoid the rhetoric of overt white racism, and to distance and distinguish themselves from conspiracy theories, which were often antisemitic. Judis (2001) argues that it wasn’t until the mid-1950s that a coherent conservative movement emerged on the political scene:

Its intellectual voice was William F. Buckley, Jr.’s, *National Review* and its political champion was Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater. These conservatives were united by opposition to the New Deal, including Social Security, and to any accommodation with the Soviet Union, which they viewed as an immediate threat to America’s survival. (p. 142)

William A. Rusher was publisher of *National Review* and a leading architect of the new conservative coalition. Schoenwald (2001, p. 258) notes that Rusher wrote an article titled “Crossroads for the GOP” for the February 12, 1963 issue of *National Review* in which Rusher “urged fellow conservatives to take a risk” in order to “break the New Deal Coalition’s lock on the presidency.” Rusher predicted: “It will take courage; it will take imagination; it will compel the GOP to break the familiar mould [*sic*] that has furnished it with every presidential nominee for a quarter of a century—but it can be done” (as cited in Schoenwald, 2001, p. 258).

Conservatives rallied to the cause of propelling Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater into becoming the 1964 Republican candidate for president. Goldwater was supported by right-wing periodicals that helped network key activists, but the campaign failed to attract a voting block, and Goldwater suffered a stinging and lopsided defeat. The organizers of the Goldwater campaign, however, had laid the foundation for the New Right that emerged in the 1970s and crested into public view with the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 (Diamond, 1995; Easton, 2000; Ferguson & Rogers, 1986; Himmelstein, 1990; Hodgson, 1996; Schoenwald, 2001).

The already existing right-wing serials gained new energy, readership, and mainstream attention; and a new crop of periodicals were launched

to surf the right-wing wave. In addition to Free Market ideology, some of these publications began to report on conservative opposition to the feminist movement, abortion, and the gay rights movement. These became major themes within the New Right (Faludi, 1992; Hardisty, 1999; Herman, 1997; Mason, 2002). A number of publications also adopted populist-sounding rhetoric to appeal to broader constituencies (Berlet & Lyons, 2000; Frank, 2004; Kazin, 1995; Lakoff, 2002). Genres can shift as the historic moment passes. The theme of anticommunism was popular in the 1950s and 1960s; now it is attacks on liberal secular humanism. Support for segregation has been displaced by opposition to multiculturalism.

OPPOSITIONAL SERIALS AS MOVEMENT LITERATURE

For decades oppositional literature was dismissed by most scholars and librarians as the ranting of a "lunatic fringe." When the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s garnered national headlines, it also began a process that gained the attention of serious scholars and archivists. Social movements began to be studied not as irrational mob action, but strategic organized attempts to change power relationships and norms in a society. While attention first focused on the political left, eventually it turned to inspect the political right (Danky & Cherney, 1995, 1996; Diamond, 1995; Hixson, 1992).

Social movements are built around some sense of shared grievances seen as justifying collective action such as public protests, meetings, or confrontations (Buechler, 2000; Gamson, 1990, 1995; Oberschall, 1973). According to McAdam and Snow (1997), a social movement is composed of a group of people acting collectively "with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional channels for the purpose of promoting or resisting change in the group, society, or world order of which it is a part" (p. xviii). When a social movement is involved in policymaking, legislative work, or election campaigns, it is working both inside and outside of institutional channels, and thus incorporates or allies with political movements (Gamson, 1990). In order to be effective, a social movement needs to construct coherent and compelling ideological arguments; frames of reference to portray a grievance as justified and needing resolution; and narrative stories that mobilize listeners into recruits, and recruits into active and loyal participants. All of these elements—ideology, frames, and narratives—are employed in the text circulated in serials and other movement literature.

Frames help translate ideologies into action by crafting culturally-appropriate perspectives from which to view a struggle over power (Gamson 1995; Oliver & Johnston 2000; Zald, 1996).¹ According to Klandermans (1997), the "social construction of collective action frames" involves "public discourse, that is, the interface of media discourse and interpersonal interaction; persuasive communication during mobilization campaigns

by movement organizations, their opponents and countermovement organizations; and consciousness raising during episodes of collective action" (p. 45). Frames can be constructed to appeal to different audiences, including leaders, followers, potential recruits, and the public (Gamson, 1995; Johnston, 1995; Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1997). Studying frames helps us understand how social movements attract attention and loyal followers in a society (Goffman, 1959, 1974; Johnston, 1995; Snow & Benford, 1988, 1992).

A narrative in a social movement is simply a story with a plot in which there is a protagonist, and antagonist, and a lesson. The study of narratives reveals much about how heroes and villains are identified by a social movement (J. Davis, 2002; Ewick & Silbey, 1995; Polletta, 1998). Several authors have studied framing in right-wing movements (Berlet, 2001, 2004a; Dobratz & Shanks-Meile, 1996, 1997). Lakoff (2002) links conservatives to a frame that is based on a *Strict Father* ideology, while liberals use a frame based on a *Nurturant Parent* ideology. Brasher has suggested that apocalypticism is a master frame used by a variety of groups, and it is especially prevalent in the Christian right (Brasher & Berlet, 2004).

In its most generic sense an "apocalypse" is some type of transformative cataclysmic event or confrontation that has historic significance and during which important hidden truths are revealed. People immersed in apocalyptic expectation often feel that time is running out and they must immediately alert the community so that proper preparations can be made (Boyer, 1992; Cohn, 1970, 1993; Fuller, 1995; O'Leary, 1994; Quinby, 1994; Strozier, 1994). Although it is not always the case, some apocalyptic movements (also called millennialist or millenarian movements) produce frames and narratives that involve demonization and scapegoating, often accompanied by conspiracy theories about sinister plots by secret elites (Barkun, 1997, 2003; Berlet & Lyons, 2000; Fuller, 1995; Lamy, 1996).

The resulting conspiracy theories have appeared periodically throughout U.S. history; and today are common in the Christian right and xenophobic right, especially in the subsector called here the *extreme right* (Barkun, 2003; Curry & Brown, 1972; D. B. Davis, 1972; Goldberg, 2001; Hofstadter, 1965; Pipes, 1997). This conspiracist worldview appears repeatedly in right-wing oppositional serials, ranging from muted suggestions, to text that palpitates with paranoia. During the twentieth century, it was common to find hyperbolic allegations that liberal elites were in league with communist or anarchist subversives (Kovel, 1994).

Here it is useful to cite one of the bedrock contentions of sociology, *Thomas' Theory*, which states "situations defined as real are real in their consequences" (Thomas & Thomas, 1970, pp. 154–155). What this means is that if one read for years that liberals, homosexuals, and abortionists are agents of Satan devoted to the destruction of the United States and all that is holy—and one believed it to be true—one would not only vote based on

this belief, but carry it into one's political activism and social interaction in your local community. This precise narrative is circulated in parts of the Christian right, but not in most parts of the political right. To understand the range of ideas in right-wing serials we will first have to agree on the terms we use to describe different categories, at least in this article.

DIFFERENTIATING SECTORS OF THE POLITICAL RIGHT

How to categorize different sectors of the political right has been debated by scholars for many decades. Eatwell has proposed looking at different "styles of thought," which he outlined as the *reactionary right*, *moderate right*, *radical right*, *new right*, and *extreme right* (Eatwell, 1990). In her study of right-wing politics in the United States, Diamond (1995) paid special attention to the Christian right, neoconservatives, and the racist right, including a chapter on "Americanist Movements and Racist Nationalism."

Several authors see the terrain of the political right as divided into reformist and militant wings, with a dissident sector between mainstream conservatives and the extreme right (Berlet & Lyons, 2000; Betz, 1994; Betz & Immerfall, 1998; Mudde, 2000). Durham (2000, pp. 181–182) calls these three groupings *conservatives*, the *radical right*, and the *extreme right*. He suggests that too many observers lump various right-wing activists into the extreme right unfairly, or exaggerate the role of the extreme right within the broader political right (see also Mudde, 2000, pp. 5–24). Danky & Cherney (1995, 1996), in one of the few serious studies of right-wing publishing, divided their selections into "Family Oriented," "Single-Issue Publications," "Political Commentary with a Gold and Silver Focus," "Constitutionalist Publications," "Civilian Militia Publications," and "Racist/Anti-Semitic Publications."²

All of these lenses provide useful ways of categorizing the political right, and there is no one *proper* way to assign labels. Using sociological frames and narratives as a guide, I choose to discuss the following categories and highlight the primary grievance of the social movements with which they are allied. Table 1 is based on a Chart of Sectors developed by Political Research Associates (PRA), where I work.

The *secular right* is reformist and closest to mainstream institutions. Social movement activists within it are mostly seeking to increase their leverage as part of a political movement working within the Republican Party. The *religious right* is a more dissenting and oppositional social movement, but since the late 1970s has been influential in the Republican Party as part of a larger political movement. The *xenophobic right* is deeply suspicious of the Republican Party. The term *extreme right* will be used here to describe "militant insurgent groups that reject democracy, promote a conscious ideology of supremacy, and support policies that would negate basic human rights for members of a scapegoated group." (Berlet, 2004b, p. 22).

Table 1: Selected Sectors of the Political Right

Sector	SubSectors	Primary Grievance
Secular	Corporate Internationalists	State Intervention in Economic Realm, National Defense, Tradition, Law and Order.
	Business Nationalists	
	Economic Libertarians	
	National Security Militarists	
	Neoconservatives	
Religious	Christian Conservatives	Gender, Sexual Identity, Sexuality, Morality, Marriage, Traditional "Family Values"
	Christian Nationalists	
	Christian Theocrats	
Xenophobic	Patriot Movement	Elite Conspiracies, Political Corruption, Repression, Tyranny, Ethnic Culture
	Paleoconservatives	
	White Nationalists	
	Extreme Right	

RHETORICAL PIPELINES AND ECHO CHAMBERS

Most secular right and religious right serials are related in some way to a specific electoral political movement. Among Christian theocrats, as well as in most of the xenophobic right, the more overtly oppositional and suspicious themes lead many away from active participation in the electoral or legislative institutional channels utilized by political movements. Some secular right and religious right serials are well-funded by foundations or wealthy individuals as part of a larger network of think tanks and media outlets (Callahan, 1999; Covington, 1997; Krehely, House, & Kernan, 2004). This has been especially true since the rise to institutional power of the new right. Schulman studied how right wing foundations subsidized their movement serials compared to the funding of leftist movement serials. Between 1990 and 1993 four influential leftist movement serials (*The Nation*, *The Progressive*, *In These Times*, and *Mother Jones*) received just under \$270,000. In the same period four influential conservative serials (*The National Interest*, *The Public Interest*, *The New Criterion*, and *American Spectator*) received a total of \$2.7 million in grants (Schulman, 1995).

To be sure, many serials on the political right depend on small individual subscriptions and/or donations (or are financed out of the pocket of the publisher, just like on the left), but the difference in foundation funding cited above plays an enormous role in amplifying the voice of the

oppositional press on the political right. Outside funding helped create the network of conservative campus newspapers (Hardisty, 1999, pp. 59, 214). Even when underfunded or overlooked by the mainstream reader, however, oppositional serials can still play an important role in building cohesion in a social movement. And oppositional serials can help link the broad mobilization of social movement participants with the narrow electoral and legislative goals of political movement strategists by sending voters to the polls with a script that also can be used for constituent lobbying and letter-writing campaigns. In addition, rhetoric produced and refined in right-wing serials and other oppositional media can migrate into more mainstream outlets. According to Danky & Hennessy (1985), alternative right-wing serials have assisted “the general rightward movement in America” (p. 6).

An example began life as an article titled “Theocracy, Theocracy, Theocracy” by Ross Douthat in the August-September 2006 issue of *First Things*, a journal published by the Institute on Religion and Public Life, with Richard John Neuhaus as Editor-In-Chief. Douthat complained that liberal critics of the Christian right exaggerated the threat to democracy and demonized Christians. Mary Eberstadt picked up this theme in “The Scapegoats Among Us,” appearing in *Policy Review* (December 2006–January 2007), now published by the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, but founded as the journal of the Heritage Foundation in Washington, DC. Eberstadt cites and quotes from the article by Douthat in *First Things*, moving the message into the larger and more mainstream readership of *Policy Review*.

A more extensive example involves right-wing criticism of the environmental movement. The frame established by Free Market enthusiast Ron Arnold for the liberal and left environmental movement was that it was an irrational antibusiness and anti-industry operation run by cynical and well-funded nonprofit professionals and generating a core group of “eco-terrorists” (Berlet, 1998; Helvarg, 1994; Ramos, 1995). This frame is central to Arnold’s reputation and his role at the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise (CDFE) in Bellevue, Washington, a “Wise Use” advocacy group in which Arnold has long played a top leadership role. The CDFE Web site proudly cites an award Arnold received for his “8-part series *The Environmental Battle*,” and notes his “1983 investigative report for *Reason* magazine on EcoTerrorism remains the classic in the field” (CDFE, 2007).

This article firmly established the frame that highlighted the most militant environmentalist tactics for the decades that followed—with Arnold emerging as a frequently-quoted expert on the subject. The Wise Use movement was created at an August 1988 Multiple Use Strategy Conference held in Reno, Nevada, and sponsored by the CDFE, with Arnold playing a key role (Helvarg, 1994; Ramos, 1995). Almost immediately, the rhetoric used at the conference began to appear in oppositional periodicals.³

In late 1988 right-wing movement, ideologue Merrill Sikorski described environmental activists as “blinded by misinformation, fear tactics, or doomsday syndromes” in an article in the *American Freedom Journal* (Sikorski, 1988–1989, p. 8). Picking up this theme, Virginia I. Postrel wrote “The Green Road to Serfdom,” for the April 1990 issue of the libertarian magazine *Reason*, in which she claimed underlying environmentalism was

an ideology every bit as powerful as Marxism and every bit as dangerous to individual freedom and human happiness. Like Marxism, it appeals to seemingly noble instincts: the longing for beauty, for harmony, for peace. It is the green road to serfdom. (p. 22)

That same year Llewellyn H. Rockwell Jr. (1990) called environmentalism “an ideology as pitiless and Messianic as Marxism” in the *From The Right* newsletter published by Patrick Buchanan (p. 1). Edward C. Krug (1991) cited a higher power when he wrote in Hillsdale College’s *Imprimis* that “the core of this environmental totalitarianism is anti-God” (p. 5)

This frame was circulated to mainstream daily and weekly newspapers in a syndicated column penned by Walter E. Williams and distributed June 4, 1991. Citing the Rockwell article above, Williams stated: “Since communism has been thoroughly discredited, it has been repackaged and relabeled and called environmentalism,” and that the “radical animal-rights wing of the environmental movement has a lot in common with Hitler’s Nazis” (pp. 3–4). The column swept back into the oppositional press in July when it appeared in *Summit Journal* (p. 3), but now instead of being an assertion from movement ideologues, it was the view of a mainstream columnist.

A similar process of rhetorical migration was decried by the Clinton administration, which traced the source of many attacks on the beleaguered president to a network of oppositional right-wing media, including print serials and websites.⁴ The office of the White House Counsel even prepared a memo titled “Communication Stream of Conspiracy Commerce,” which tracked specific lurid (and generally later found to be false) allegations (White House [Clinton administration], 1995; see detailed discussion in Berlet & Lyons, 2000, pp. 310–320). The right-wing watchdog group Citizens United, run by Floyd G. Brown, had a general newsletter, *Citizens Agenda*, but added a special focus newsletter, *Clinton Watch*. Jerry Falwell joined in, with attacks on Clinton appearing in his *National Liberty Journal*, and *The Falwell Fax*. Citizens for Honest Government, launched by Pat Matrisciana, published the serial *Citizen’s Intelligence Digest*, but the group became best known for its attack video, *The Clinton Chronicles*, which was followed by a book, cleverly named *The Clinton Chronicles Book*, edited by Matrisciana (1994). Lyons and I traced just a small part of this overlapping network, which included authors who regularly published in the right-wing oppositional press (Berlet & Lyons, 2000, p. 319). A number of alarming allegations against Clinton came from people funded or

encouraged by ultraconservative activist and millionaire Richard Mellon Scaife, especially the conservative magazine, *American Spectator* (Berlet & Lyons 2000; Gullo, 1998).

When a social movement has a healthy and energetic set of media, including print serials, what is established is an interconnected set of rhetorical pipelines and echo chambers that amplify and repeat the messages and carry the ideology of the group into the mainstream society where it competes with other ideologies to become established as “common sense.” This is how President Franklin D. Roosevelt became the godfather of “Big Government” and “Tax and Spend Liberals.”

ROUND UP THE USUAL SERIALS

Secular

The flagship post-WWII secular conservative serial is the magazine *National Review*. While the country moved to the political right, *National Review* moved toward the center simply by not changing. Still, it remains oppositional in its editorial stance. *Human Events*, a newspaper, plays a similar role, although it is a rhetorical dirt bike to Buckley’s Rolls Royce. While these two serials are published independently, many publications are attached to the array of national and state think tanks and advocacy organizations that flourished as the political right gained power.

Some of the larger organizations maintain two serials, one from the political action arm and one from the nonprofit foundation arm. An example is *National Right to Work*, the newsletter of the National Right to Work Committee, and its sister, *Foundation Action*, the newsletter of the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation. Phyllis Schlafly, who founded the Eagle Forum, circulates the *Phyllis Schlafly Report*, but also publishes a topical serial, *Education Reporter*, that describes itself as “the newspaper of Education Rights” that “supports parents’ rights in education, as well as reports what’s happening in education across the country” (Eagle Forum, 2007). Reed Irvine, head of Accuracy in Media edits the *AIM Report* newsletter.

Publications range from the large circulation *America’s 1st Freedom*, official journal of the National Rifle Association; to the smaller magazine *The Federalist Paper* for the Federalist Society of conservative lawyers and law students; to secretive short-run missives like the Council for National Policy’s *The Five Minute Report* (red, white, and blue with black text and gold ink title). Often overlooked as a significant salvo in the culture wars was the *Family Protection Report*, a newsletter published starting in the late 1970s by the predecessor organization to Paul Weyrich’s Free Congress Foundation and edited by Connaught “Connie” Marshner, a skillful antifeminist organizer. An influential secular conservative magazine in the post-WWII period was *Conservative Digest*. Direct-mail guru Richard Viguerie started *Conservative Digest* in 1975 as part of his project of putting together a new

right electoral coalition. For ten years Viguerie published the magazine before turning over the reins in October 1985 to Colorado businessman William Kennedy.

The new direction for the publication was clearly enunciated when it began to run articles not only by writers such as Marshner, but also by Patrick J. Buchanan, and William P. Hoar, a frequent contributor to John Birch Society serials. Brought onboard as a senior editor was John Rees, also a contributor to JBS serials, and a researcher for the Western Goals Foundation run by JBS leader Congressman Larry McDonald. In addition to Rees and Hoar, other senior editors were Howard Phillips, Otto Scott, Cynthia V. Ward, and Weyrich. Reed Larson of the National Right to Work Committee was named a contributing editor, along with a long and broad list of secular and religious right luminaries including Jerry Falwell, George Gilder, Beverly LaHaye, Tim LaHaye, Gary North, Hans F. Sennholz, Llewellyn H. Rockwell Jr., Rousas John Rushdoony, and Phyllis Schlafly. The format went from a standard magazine to the size of *Readers Digest*, complete with a knockoff of the *Digest's* table of contents on the cover. In December 1988, the magazine again changed hands, with the new publishers consisting of a triad: Larry Abraham, Robert H. Kriebel, and Harry D. Schultz. Kriebel dropped off after one issue. At this time, Weyrich was the lone senior editor with Hoar as executive editor.

In the January/February 1989 issue, *Conservative Digest* returned to standard magazine size. It ran an affectionate cover story on ultraconservative Senator Jesse Helms, which described the volatile and vituperative solon as "Stouthearted," and a man of "courage, warmth, and wit." In the May/June issue, Weyrich attacked the National Education Association in an article on education reform. There was also a full page ad for summer seminars run by the Old Right Foundation for Economic Education, publisher of *The Freeman*. James R. Whelan became Editor-In-Chief with this issue. The Coors beer company regularly bought full-page full-color ads in *Conservative Digest*. In political publishing, this is often a way for corporations to subsidize magazines by covering the cost of running other pages with full color, such as covers or inside illustrations. Funds from Coors company profits helped fund the new right, and were key to the creation of the Heritage Foundation and the Free Congress Foundation (Bellant, 1991). Another serial that borders the xenophobic right is the *American Sentinel*, a newsletter that was briefly renamed *Pink Sheet on the Left*, and printed on pink paper to recall the contention from the 1950s that some liberals were "Parlor Pink" sympathizers with "Red" communism.

Economic Libertarians Libertarians and Free Market enthusiasts are very unhappy with the Roosevelt administration, especially what is seen as unfair advantages given to labor unions. To this day they argue that labor disputes were pulled out of the court system and handed over to faceless bureaucrats in a federal agency, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). In 1975,

these actions by Roosevelt still angered rightists, including Sennholz, who in *The Freeman* (1975) claimed the NLRB

became prosecutor, judge, and jury, all in one. Labor union sympathizers on the Board further perverted this law, which already afforded legal immunities and privileges to labor unions. The U.S. thereby abandoned a great achievement of Western civilization, equality under the law. (pp. 212–213)

This serial quote from Sennholz was later picked up in a report by Lawrence W. Reed (1998) published by the Mackinac Center for Public Policy (p. 13). Many conservative serials echo some of the sentiments of libertarian serials, with the greatest overlap in the area of defending the free enterprise system and deriding Roosevelt. For example, in its July 2000 issue, *National Right to Work* featured a front page photo of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, portrayed as having nearly destroyed America by fostering the idea of big government.

Typical contemporary libertarian serials include *Reason* (“free minds and free markets”); and *Liberty* (“classical liberal review of thought, culture, and politics”). Serials affiliated with organizations include several from the Cato Institute including *Regulation* magazine, *Cato Journal*, *Policy Report*, and *Cato’s Letter*, both newsletters. *Liberty & Law* is the newsletter of the national Institute for Justice, while *City Journal* is published by the Manhattan Institute. A number of state-level libertarian policy institutes also publish a range of periodicals.

Neoconservatives The neoconservatives, according to PRA, believe the “egalitarian social liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s undermined the national consensus” and therefore “intellectual oligarchies and political institutions preserve democracy from mob rule.” In terms of foreign policy, neoconservatives assert the “United States has the right to intervene in its perceived interests anywhere in the world” (PRA, n.d., Chart of Sectors; see also Gerson, 1997; Halper & Clarke, 2004). A leading neoconservative magazine is the glossy full-color *Weekly Standard*, which in 2001 and 2002 featured numerous covers promoting the idea that war in the Middle East was inevitable.⁵ *The Public Interest* is in the format of a bound 6x9 journal, while *First Things* has a journal flavor in a bound 8x11 size. *Commentary*, from the American Jewish Committee, started with a liberal outlook, but morphed toward the right, following the political trajectory of the neoconservative movement, which the magazine helped create. This shift prompted the creation of *Tikkun* magazine as “the liberal alternative to *Commentary*” (Lerner, n.d.).

Religious

The religious right in the United States includes members of faiths other than Christian, but they are a tiny minority in this sector, and the focus here

is on conservative Protestant evangelicals and fundamentalists, and conservative Catholics, some of whom identify as evangelicals or “traditionalists.” The Christian right is a social movement drawn from Christian conservatives, nationalists, and theocrats, many of whom are also apocalyptic.

Christian Conservatives After WWII a number of evangelicals were networked through a print and radio subculture that escaped the attention of many Americans except when the Rev. Billy Graham surfaced in news reports. “Evangelical publications were important” to this religiously based social movement, explains Diamond (1995), especially since “television had not yet become the dominant medium” (p. 98). Diamond singles out two serials as especially significant: *Christian Economics* and *Christianity Today* (pp. 98–99). Graham started *Christianity Today* in 1956 and it “quickly became the flagship publication of mainstream evangelicalism” (Martin, 1996, p. 42)

Christian Economics was founded in 1950 and sent free to some 175,000 ministers. It was published by the Christian Freedom Foundation (CFF), a significant precursor to the contemporary Christian right. The Pew family of Sun Oil wealth was the primary funder of the CFF, with J. Howard Pew himself launching the group with a \$50,000 grant. Hundreds of thousands of dollars poured into CFF from the Pew family, topping \$2 million by the end of the 1960s (Diamond, 1995, pp. 98–99; Forster & Epstein, 1964; Saloma, 1984, pp. 53–54). The Pew Memorial Trust went on to be one of the top funders of the new right (Covington, 1997, p. 35). In his classic study *The Protestant Ethic and the “Spirit” of Capitalism* (1905/2000), Weber (2000) explored the symbiosis between the two. In CFF rhetoric, social security is described as “the older generation stealing from the younger,” the income tax is branded as “Communist doctrine,” labor unions are described as “stemming from Socialism,” and foreign aid is pilloried as subsidization of “Socialistic schemes and experiments” (Forster & Epstein, 1964, p. 267).

The connection between the Christian right and libertarianism can be illustrated by tracking how the work of influential libertarian philosopher Ludwig von Mises flowed among these two overlapping sectors of the political right.⁶ In 1946 von Mises, already a well-known economist became an American citizen and was made a staff member at the Foundation for Economic Education, publisher of *The Freeman*. He was also appointed to a National Association of Manufacturers commission on economics. For many years von Mises was a regular contributor to *The Freeman*. The work of von Mises first appeared in CFF’s *Christian Economics* in 1950, the same year he wrote an essay, “The Alleged Injustice of Capitalism,” for the publication *Faith and Freedom*, published by the Christian right group Spiritual Mobilization (Mises, 1950).

In 1960 von Mises published an article, “The Economic Foundations of Freedom,” in the Christian Freedom Foundation’s *Christian Economics*

(Mises, 1960a). Roosevelt's New Deal again was the target in this article, with von Mises asserting that what "made the United States become the most affluent country of the world was the fact that the 'rugged individualism' of the years before the New Deal did not place too serious obstacles in the way of enterprising men" (Mises, 1960). The Foundation for Economic Education then reprinted the von Mises article in their journal, *The Freeman*; and then included it in their book *Essays on Liberty* (Mises, 1960/1996).

The next year, von Mises addressed the spring meeting of the Christian Freedom Foundation, and continued to write articles for both *Christian Economics* and *The Freeman* for several years. He also wrote for Buckley's *National Review*, *American Opinion*, (published by the John Birch Society), and *The Intercollegiate Review* (from the ultraconservative Intercollegiate Studies Institute). In this example we see how one author can write for the serials of two different sectors: the Christian right, and the libertarian wing of conservatism. In both sectors the movement serials are an important educational vehicle for social movement members and adherents. *The Freeman* remains the quintessential libertarian serial, launching volume 57 in 2007.

Carrying on this tradition from a religious perspective is the *Mindszenty Report*, a newsletter guarding the ramparts of civilized society against communism and atheism. Named after Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary, it is published from a Catholic perspective by a foundation run by Eleanor Schlafly, sister-in-law of Phyllis. Volume 59 began in 2007.

The *CACC Newsletter* began in the mid-1950s as the vehicle of Fred C. Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. In May 1998 it was renamed *The Schwarz Report* in his honor, and the publisher became David Noebel of Summit Ministries (<http://www.schwarzreport.org>). Noebel also publishes *The Journal* newsletter of his ministry, based in Colorado (<http://www.summit.org>). Both serials are archived online. *Christianity Today* is still published, joined by *World Magazine*, *Today's Christian*, *Today's Christian Woman*, *Men of Integrity*, *Leadership*, *Ignite Your Faith*, *Marriage Partnership*, *Christian History and Biography*, *Books and Culture*, *MOMSense*, and *Outreach*. Names can get confusing. The Christian right group Christian Voice in the United States is not connected to *Christian Voice Magazine* (published for choirs) or *The Voice* magazine for apostolic and prophetic believers.

Abortion is a theme covered in many contemporary Christian right serials, with cover stories such as "25 Years, 35 Million Dead," *Focus on the Family* (January 1998); and "Abortion's 2nd Victim," *Family Voice*, Concerned Women for America (January 1999). Sexuality is another common concern, with the cover story in *Discipleship Journal* for January-February 2007 on "Sex." The September-October 2004 cover of the Promise Keepers magazine *New Man* was on "Why Gay Marriage Will Hurt America,"

sporting a photo of a wedding cake with two grooms. *New Man's* cover in July-August 2006 featured three athletic outdoorsmen and the title "Edge-testosterone: Why God Wired You for Risk." Sometimes these magazines stretch their boundaries. In November-December 1997 the *New Man's* cover story was "Sexism: What Are the Feminists Trying to Tell Us?" Focus on the Family's youth-oriented *Plugged In* featured a February 2007 cover story on the "American Idol" audition reality TV show.

Apocalypticism A surprisingly large number of Christian conservatives believe that Jesus Christ might return in his second coming during their lifetime (Boyer, 1992; Fuller, 1995; Strozier, 1994). They can subscribe to a variety of apocalyptic serials. Author Hal Lindsey set off much apocalyptic speculation in 1970 with the first of his many books on the approaching End Times, based on his reading of the prophecies in the Bible, especially the Book of Revelation. This theological viewpoint is called *Premillennial Dispensationalism*, and LaHaye's variant involves the idea of a *Rapture* prior to the *Tribulation*, which means he expects devout Christians to be evacuated from Earth by God before the sinful are punished (Boyer, 1992; Lindsey, 1970). Tim LaHaye, a minister, family counselor, and author, has become a highly visible proponent of this view, into which he inserts a large dose of conspiracism. LaHaye is coauthor of the Left Behind series of novels. *Pre-Trib Perspectives* is a newsletter that essentially consists of two major articles in each issue; one from Tim LaHaye and the other by his associate, Thomas Ice.

President Roosevelt, according to LaHaye in *Pre-Trib Perspectives*, was part of a plot to subvert America with the help of Godless secular humanists who secretly manipulate the news media, the entertainment industry, the universities, and even the court system. These evil forces have turned the "American constitution upside down," LaHaye (2003) asserts, in order to "use our freedoms to promote pornography, homosexuality, immorality, and a host of evils characteristic of the last days" (p. 2). "I have no question the devil is behind what the apostle Paul called 'the wisdom (philosophy) of this world' and controls many of our courts and other areas of influence," writes LaHaye, who suggests the devil himself supervised the "crafty election of Franklin D. Roosevelt as president for twelve years" (p. 2). According to LaHaye (1999): "All thinking people in America realize an anti-Christian, anti-moral, and anti-American philosophy permeates this country and the world" (p. 1). In the issue of *Pre-Trib Perspectives* following the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, LaHaye (2001) wrote that they might "contribute to the fulfillment of several . . . end-times signs" (p. 3). A few months later he claimed "the religion of Islam has always been a terrorist religion" (2002, p. 1).

Christian Nationalism Some Christian-oriented serials project more nationalistic constitutionalist themes similar to those found in the Patriot sector. *Rutherford* magazine is published by the Rutherford Institute founded

by John W. Whitehead.⁷ The ideological theme and tone of the institute has migrated over time, always attempting to portray itself as more mainstream than it appears to its critics. The *Rutherford* magazine regularly runs broad-based articles to buttress its claim that it is merely the conservative mirror of the American Civil Liberties Union, just representing the interests of people of faith. The September 1996 issue (with a cover story titled "Politics & Religion: A Recipe for Disaster") contains interviews with mainstream political commentators.

The August 1995 issue of *Rutherford*, however, was devoted to the theme of "A Nation on the Edge," with an article claiming that the government response following the Oklahoma City bombing in April of that year "served to underline many Americans' greatest fear: a strong-armed government moving the country toward a dictatorial state" (Chuvala, 1995, p. 9). That same issue features an uncritical interview with early militia leader Linda Thompson ("Corrupt and Criminal," 1995).

While advising against violent dissent, Whitehead (1995), writing in the same issue, clearly indicates dissent is needed against current government practices, and is quick to find blame for government abuses of force: "Sadly, the specter of statist violence is now rearing its ugly head in so-called free nations, including the United States" (p. 13). Paul Weyrich rounds out the issue of *Rutherford* magazine with a litany of all the reasons he hates government under Clinton and his liberal allies. Claiming "Liberals have dominated politics in this country for more than sixty years," Weyrich (1995) paints a paranoid picture of life in the United States where "God-fearing, law-abiding, taxpaying citizens" live under a statist globalist tyranny (p. 16). He suggests a government under this type of repressive liberal rule "will deserve the hatred of God and its people" (p. 16).

Catholic Traditionalists While Protestant evangelical serials often get the most attention, there are a number of ultraconservative Catholic serials, including the general interest newspaper, *The Wanderer*, *Crisis* magazine, and the topical *Human Life Review*. *Fidelity* magazine went through its own reformation, following the path of its founder, E. Michael Jones, who "began using the term 'Kulturkampf'" to describe the struggle he perceived as necessary, "and after 15 years, *Fidelity* evolved into *Culture Wars*" (Culture Wars, 2007). Jones has a worldview that is both hard line and highly intellectual, not someone to dismiss lightly, although many will be troubled by his views.

Jones also has a knack for dressing up his articles with distinctive headlines: "God and Mammon at Notre Dame" (July, 1982); "Iphigenia at the Abortion Clinic" (December, 1982); "Music and Morality: Richard Wagner's Adultery, the Loss of Tonality and the Beginning of Our Cultural Revolution" (December, 1992); "Odium Theologicum: Slouching toward SeculaSm with Their Pants Around Their Ankles" (November, 1992); and "The Sum-

mer of '65: Or, How Contraceptives Cause Drive-by Shootings" (February, 1996). Jones also attracted a long list of luminaries as authors, including Connaught Marshner, "Family Politics" (July, 1984); Phyllis Schlafly, "Abortion and the Honor Code at West Point" (September, 1982); and R. J. Rushdoony, "Attack against the Family" (February, 1982).⁸

In 2006, the Southern Poverty Law Center charged that several Catholic traditionalist groups spread antisemitism, often tied to conspiracy theories about Jewish power. Singled out were several serials, including *Culture Wars*, *The Fatima Crusader*, *The Angelus*, and *The Remnant* (Beirich, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d; "Dirty Dozen," 2006). Note that the ultraconservative *Crisis* magazine has long condemned this type of antisemitism. Some of these serials are hard to locate. When Actor Mel Gibson was accused of antisemitism, it was Danky who provided reporters with the clearly antisemitic traditionalist Catholic newsletter published by Mel's father, Hutton Gibson, *The War Is Now!*, which could not be found in any other library (J. P. Danky, personal communication, March 13, 2007).

Christian Theocracy The late R. J. Rushdoony was the intellectual leader of a new reformationist tendency within Protestantism called *Christian reconstructionism* (Clarkson, 1997). It sparked a move toward *Dominionism* in the Christian right (Diamond, 1995). Serials in this Dominionist sector include *Crosswinds: The Reformation Digest*, *Chalcedon Report*, and *The Counsel of Chalcedon*.

Xenophobic

Patriot Movement The largest subsector of the xenophobic right, the Patriot movement, is marked by a belief that "secret elites control the government and banks" and that the "government plans repression to enforce elite rule or global collectivism." This sector produced the armed militias in the 1990s. They are suspicious of globalism and international cooperation (PRA, n.d., Chart of Sectors). They sometimes describe themselves as Americanist or Constitutionalist. Some have evolved complicated theories about gold, silver, and currency (Danky & Cherney, 1996, 1995).

The most significant organization in this sector is the John Birch Society (JBS), founded in 1959 by Robert Welch. As explained in the JBS magazine *The New American*, "Welch launched an unprecedented movement to expose and rout the worldwide collectivist conspiracy" (Jasper, 2003). Two earlier serials folded into *The New American* were *American Opinion*, a magazine aimed at a more general audience, and *The Review of the News*, a smaller magazine for a more committed audience. *American Opinion* itself sprang from a small sporadic newsletter published by Welch prior to founding the JBS and titled *One Man's Opinion*. Robert Welch died in 1985, but the JBS rebounded after a period of decline, and today the organization continues its mission (Berlet & Lyons, 2000, pp. 177–185). Major targets of the JBS include

government regulations and labor unions. In the 1970s, articles in JBS serials sported titles such as “OSHSTAPO—Warning: It’s Against the Law to Have an Accident!” (*American Opinion*, October, 1975), and “Big Labor and the Congress” (*The Review of the News*, October 6, 1976). Both of these articles were republished as pamphlets. The JBS had a thriving reprint publishing enterprise, taking articles from its magazines and producing over five hundred different handouts.⁹

In 1984 Reed Larson, head of the antiunion National Right to Work Committee, gave an exclusive interview to the John Birch Society publication *Review of the News*. The interviewer was John Rees, a researcher and editor for the Western Goals Foundation. Described as a “Fighter for Worker Rights,” Larson picked up the New Deal theme and denounced union officials for using their power “on the side of collectivism, more government, less individual freedom, and greater control of the individual” (Rees, 1984, p. 39). Rees wrote numerous articles for Birch Society publications after being exposed as a right-wing snoop who infiltrated various left-wing groups and published lurid claims in his private intelligence newsletter, *Information Digest*. When President Ronald Reagan claimed the U.S. nuclear freeze movement was essentially a communist front, the president was forced to back down because reporters could find no evidence to support the alarmist claim, which it turned out had originated with a Rees article (Berlet, 1993; Rosenfeld, 1983).

The Birch Society is always on the lookout for conspiracies (Mintz, 1985). JBS serials were warning of a plot by liberal globalists to forge a “New World Order,” decades before that phrase was adopted by sectors of the right and left to summarize their concerns over foreign policy and overseas military excursions by the U.S. government. For example, in 1974, Gary Allen warned of “Rockefeller: Campaigning for the New World Order” in a reprint from *American Opinion* (February); and on February 26, 1991, *The New American* ran a two-page poster on President George H. W. Bush and his quotes featuring the phrase (1974, pp. 22–23).

Paleoconservative The subsector calling itself *paleoconservative* uses this term to signify their allegiance to the pre-WWII “Old Right.” Paleoconservatives can play a bridging role into the ideologies of the white nationalists and extreme right because they sometimes drift into rhetoric that invokes old white supremacist and antisemitic attitudes from the old right. Mintz argues that there was a longstanding symbiosis between the Patriot movement John Birch Society (JBS) and the extreme right Liberty Lobby around the nature of the conspiracy they both perceived. The JBS generally tried to resist the siren song of antisemitic conspiracism, but sometimes it crossed the line. The Liberty Lobby, on the other hand, tried to mask its essentially racist and antisemitic conspiracy theories. This made drawing distinction between the two groups more difficult (Mintz, 1985, especially pp. 141–162).

The *Rockwell-Rothbard Report* is a prime example of a paleoconservative serial. Murray N. Rothbard also helped create several journals, *Left and Right*, the *Journal of Libertarian Studies*, and the *Review of Austrian Economics*. When Rothbard died in 1995, the libertarian Ludwig von Mises Institute posted a cyber shrine to his work on their Web site, including an extensive bibliography that also lists articles Rothbard wrote for the Institute's more benign serial, *The Free Market*. Llewellyn H. Rockwell Jr. founded and is the president of the Alabama-based von Mises Institute, and vice president of the Center for Libertarian Studies in California.¹⁰

The antipathy between neoconservatives and paleoconservatives is exemplified by an incident in 1989 in which the increasingly neocon writer Richard John Neuhaus was tossed out of his New York City branch office (his belongings were actually dumped curbside) after he criticized the increasingly paleocon editors of *Chronicles*, published by the Rockford Institute in Illinois, which funded Neuhaus's work. Neuhaus had suggested the *Chronicles* editors be more sensitive to the appearance of xenophobia in the form of articles that appeared to invoke white supremacist or anti-semitic themes (Rockford File, 1992; "Unpleasant Business," 1989).

White Nationalism Patrick Buchanan is often seen as a paleoconservative, but he dabbles in white racial nationalism. In 2002 Buchanan joined Scott McConnell and Taki Theodoracopulos to found *The American Conservative* magazine. This serial is hard to classify because it mixes xenophobic themes from the Patriot movement, Paleoconservatism, and White Nationalism, along with appeals to progressive leftists to join the cause, especially in opposition to globalization benefiting large international corporations. Since one of their major themes is stopping the immigration of people of color (the editors would deny this), we place them in this sector. Other periodicals with a core racial nationalist theme include *Citizens Informer*; *Occidental Quarterly*; and *The Nationalist Times*, which in many ways is a veiled vehicle for extreme right views on race.

Extreme Right Serials on the extreme right are a diverse lot, yet in terms of their overt bigotry are more predictable and less collectable. Supplemental information is in the section on scholars using serials as primary sources (below), and in the online list (see unnumbered note). Extreme right groups are usually built around the concept of *white supremacy*, but most groups in this sector also use frames and narratives that portray Jews as involved in sinister conspiracies against the common good (Billig, 1990; Cohn, 1996; Postone, 1986; Smith, 1996). This antisemitism often invokes or echoes the infamous hoax document, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (Cohn, 1996). White supremacy, conspiracism and antisemitism can be found in other sectors, but it is seldom a primary theme as it is in the extreme right (Berlet, 2004b; Mintz, 1985). (For an overview of the contemporary white supremacist movement, see Berlet & Vystosky, 2006.)

Various Ku Klux Klan units sporadically publish newspapers or other serials, with an example being *The Klansman* newspaper, published by the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1980s. George Lincoln Rockwell of the National Socialist White People's Party founded the *White Power* newspaper in 1967, shortly before his assassination. The paper outlived Rockwell, circulating at least into the mid-1970s. *The Cross and the Flag*, started by Wisconsin native Gerald L. K. Smith in 1942, became the official magazine of the Christian Nationalist Crusade. It continued to circulate after his death in 1976 with his wife as publisher. The April 1977 issue celebrated its thirty-fifth anniversary with a "Literature List" including numerous antisemitic books and tracts available for purchase by mail order (pp. 18–21). In the mid-1960s, issues of *The Councilor*, a newspaper of the white segregationist Citizens Council of Louisiana, portrayed the civil rights struggle as just another chapter in the longstanding Judeo-Bolshevik conspiracy (see, for example, the issues of July 16, 1964; September 14, 1964; April 9, 1965; April 30, 1965; October 6, 1965; August 15, 1966). Similar antisemitic material appears in contemporary serials such as *The Truth at Last* and *Jew Watch*. In the 1980s, David Duke tried to mask overt bigotry in the *NAACP News*, published by his group, the National Association for the Advancement of White People. Louis Beam is a former KKK leader who allied with Christian Identity Pastor Richard Butler, who founded the Aryan Nations compound in Hayden Lake, Idaho, the site of his Church of Jesus Christ Christian. Butler and Beam built a national white supremacist coalition and communications network in the 1980s (for background on this period, see Aho, 1990; Corcoran, 1995; on Christian identity, see Barkun, 1997). Beam first published the influential guerilla essay "Leaderless Resistance" in a 1983 issue of the *Inter-Klan Newsletter & Survival Alert* published from the Aryan Nations compound. Beam credits the idea to Col. Ulius Louis Amoss, editor of the serial *ISI General Report*, published by International Services of Information in the 1950s. Beam, in the early 1980s, was among the first extreme right leaders to see the benefit for the extreme right to use computerized online communications systems (Stern, 2000). Beam's essays—"Announcing Aryan Nations/Ku Klux Klan Computer Net" and "Computers and the American Patrio"—about this wave of the future appeared in two 1984 issues of the *Alert*. Tom Metzger founded the White Aryan Resistance organization in 1983, and published a newspaper based on their acronym *WAR* during the 1980s and 1990s. After legal troubles in the mid-1990s, a new serial emerged with a new editor, under the name *The Insurgent*, which proudly proclaims it is "the most racist newspaper in the world" (<http://www.resist.com>).

The Seekers was a newsletter aimed at and sent free to prisoners, edited by the late Richard Snell. At first glance it appears to be a Christian right

serial of the apocalyptic genre. It was actually a recruiting tool of white supremacist and antisemitic prison organizers, some of whom worked with the Aryan Brotherhood. Snell was executed on April 19, 1995, by the state of Arkansas for the 1984 murder of black state police trooper Louis Bryant. Snell's death (and several other events) was commemorated by Timothy McVeigh, who chose that day to blow up the Federal Building in Oklahoma City (Hamm, 1997, pp. 1–33; Pankratz, 1997). Another prison serial, *From the Mountain*, was published by Pastor Robert E. Miles from his farm in Michigan. Miles, a former Klan leader, was an influential white supremacist who worked closely with Aryan Nations. *Fenris Wolf*, a newsletter for the White Order of Thule, is one of several small serials circulated within the pagan neo-Nazi sector. Issue seven of *Fenris Wolf* carries a graphic of a farmer with a scythe, and the quasi-Nietzschean headline: "To give death and to receive it . . . that is the power of the Ubermensch!!! Hail Queen Hela! Hail Death!" Other extreme right pagan serials include *White Sisters*; *Valkyrie* (the "Journal of Tribal Socialism"); and *Thule*, aimed at Aryan prisoners.

Willis Carto created the *Spotlight* newspaper in 1975. In the 1980s it sought to obscure its penchant for condemning Jews and praising Nazi Stormtroopers. After a lengthy legal battle that began in the mid-1990s, the *Spotlight* ceased publication, but supporters of Carto reemerged with the *American Free Press*. Carto also lost control of the Holocaust denial serial *IHR Journal* (Institute for Historical Review); but soon the *Barnes Review* appeared on the scene with Carto again in the background (Berlet & Lyons, 2000, pp. 185–192). The Lyndon LaRouche network also tries to obscure its antisemitism and disjointed hybrid neofascist–neo-Nazi ideology, with serials that came and went, such as *Campaigner* and *New Solidarity*, and those that persist such as *New Federalist* and *Executive Intelligence Review* and more (Berlet & Lyons, 2000, pp. 273–276).

PRIMARY RESEARCH USING SERIALS

Serials are an important source of primary information about social movements, no matter what spot on the political spectrum they appear. A number of authors have reviewed right-wing serials as a way to produce nuanced and detailed studies. D. B. Davis (1972) edited a compilation of material featuring right-wing conspiracy texts, including articles from the *Dearborn Independent*. In *The Liberty Lobby and the American Right: Race, Conspiracy, and Culture* (1985), Mintz not only read Liberty Lobby's *Spotlight* newspaper, but also serials of the John Birch Society in order to be able to contrast the different ideological and political views of the two groups. In the 1983 book *Architects of Fear: Conspiracy Theories and Paranoia in American Politics*, Johnson cites *American Opinion*; *Christian Vanguard*; *Spotlight*; and *Torch* as primary sources. In addition, for his chapter on the Lyndon

LaRouche network, Johnson read a year's worth of their unintentionally surreal newspaper, *New Solidarity*, and perused several other publications including the pricey *Executive Intelligence Review*.

For the groundbreaking *Roads to Dominion: Right-Wing Movements and Political Power in the United States*, Diamond (1995) read hundreds of serials, and included "A Postscript on Data Sources" (pp. 408–410) where she reported she had perused *Human Events* from 1940s forward; *National Review* from 1955 forward; *Christianity Today* from 1955 forward; and *Spotlight* from 1975 forward (p. 409). Diamond reviewed many other serials found in the University of Iowa Right-Wing Collection, and even when only sample issues of broken runs were found, she explained they allowed her to seek out the full collection elsewhere (pp. 409–410). Her bibliography of "Movement Publications" (pp. 411–412) lists thirty-four periodicals. In *Turning Right in the Sixties: The Conservative Capture of the GOP* (1995), Brennan (1995) lists *American Opinion*, *Human Events*, and the *National Review* among the serials she reviewed. For their books, Andrew (1997), Berlet and Lyons (2000), Burkett (1998), Easton (2000), Hardisty (1999), Herman (1997), Klatch (1999), and Schoenwald (2001) plucked juicy morsels from conservative and Christian right serials. Scholars have also used serials as primary sources to explore the extreme right, a sector that poses special problems for data collection, with leaders that are sometimes difficult to interview—a problem discussed by Blee (2002, pp. 198–204) and Himmelstein (1998).

Dobratz & Shanks-Meile scanned white supremacist serials to detect an ideological shift in framing toward the concept of "White Separatism" (1997). Hamm (1994) devotes special attention to what he calls the use of small circulation "Zines" as a recruiting tool for racist skinheads. Levitas (2002) reviewed serials from both the extreme right and the Patriot movement. Barkun (2003), Goldberg (2001), and Mintz (1985), reviewed serials with conspiracist and antisemitic themes. At the end of *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement* (2002), Blee includes a list of fifty-one white supremacist serials she examined (pp. 247–248). Ferber (1998, pp. 173–177) includes as an appendix a detailed discussion of the major right-wing serials she read in depth in multiyear runs: *Instauration*, *The National Alliance Bulletin*, *National Vanguard*, *The New Order*, *NS Bulletin* (National Socialist), *White Power*, *NSV Report* (National Socialist Vanguard), *The Thunderbolt*, *The Torch*, and *White Patriot*; as well as nine other serials she was able to locate in broken collections.

Across the sectors of the political right, various authors have also used primary serial resources in writing chapters in edited collections, and the same is true with journal articles (see, for example, Marshall, 1998). The problem is that unlike information on serials on the left, there are no equivalent library resources for finding serials on the right or articles in those serials.

CONCLUSION: SERIALS, NOT SURREALS

It is a relatively recent idea that political right movement activists could publish serious and substantial serials that were not surrealistic escapes from sensible rational thought. As a progressive movement activist, journalist, and researcher (and sometimes autodidactic scholar), why do I care about right-wing serials? Why would I help create the entry "Alternative press (U.S. political right)" on Wikipedia?¹¹ Why even write this article?

The obvious answer for me is that content analysis of right-wing publications, especially serials, can assist opposition research. Such efforts are sometimes predictive. At Political Research Associates we watch for trends in the development stage as they are refined in movement serials on the political right. An example was when the neoconservative *Weekly Standard* ran its covers in 2001 and 2002 building up support for military strikes in the Middle East.

There is a bigger issue, however. While familiarity may breed contempt, it can also help build collections. The right-wing oppositional press played an important role in framing issues that in today's political debates are considered mainstream. The collection of right-wing serials can be "fraught with danger" for librarians, but it should be considered (Danky & Hennessy 1985, p. 6). Without access to oppositional serials of the political right and political left, library users will have their understanding of the history and current political struggles of the United States severely narrowed. That's not good for libraries, and it's not good for the type of vigorous and freewheeling debate that real democracy demands of an informed citizenry.

NOTES

Most of the serials reviewed for this article came from the archive at Political Research Associates, which includes periodicals from the original Public Eye Network of researchers and the Wisconsin Historical Society through an arrangement with James P. Danky, newspapers and periodicals librarian. Specific serials were obtained from Michael Barkun and Stephanie Shanks-Miehle. Additional research materials were provided by James P. Danky, Rodger Streitmatter, Special Collections and Archives at the Milton S. Eisenhower Library of Johns Hopkins University, and the Burlington (MA) Public Library. PRA intern Michelle Iorio helped with research.

To write this article I culled material citing right-wing serials from many years of journalistic and scholarly writing; and lest it appear I am egomaniacally obsessed with citing my own work, I have placed the titles in the bibliography, and refer to them in endnotes, generally by date.

To accompany this article, I have created an online research page that contains several resources, including: a list of serials ranging across the Political Right and the locations of physical archives where right-wing serials can be found. This is a partial list, and I welcome notifications of locations I have missed, and will add them to the online resource located at <http://www.publiceye.org/research/directories/serials/index.html>.

1. Portions of this section culled from my previously published material (Berlet, 2004a).
2. This journal article includes a useful selected bibliography with cites to reviews in a range of publications, pp. 49–53.
3. Portions of this section previously appeared in: Berlet, 1992, 1993 and 1998.
4. This section is drawn from material previously published in several forms, including my 1999 article "Clinton, Conspiracism, and the Continuing Culture War;" which later was

- expanded into an online report stored at http://www.publiceye.org/conspire/clinton/Clinton2_TOC.html; with chunks parceled out into chapters in Berlet & Lyons, 2000.
5. See a critical collection of these covers online at <http://www.publiceye.org/militarism/warmania2002/index.html>.
 6. The information in this section was obtained from the biography and chronological bibliography of von Mises work at the Ludwig von Mises Institute Web site, especially <http://www.mises.org/misesbib/m1945.asp>; <http://www.mises.org/misesbib/m1960.asp>; and <http://www.mises.org/misesbib/m1965.asp>.
 7. See note 3.
 8. All the author, title, and publishing information in this section was gleaned from a series of tables of contents at the online *Fidelity Magazine* Index, retrieved February 5, 2007, from http://www.culturewars.com/Fidelity_Press/FIndex/FIndexlist.html; and the online *Culture Wars* Index, retrieved February 5, 2007, from <http://www.culturewars.com/CultureWars/index/indexlist.htm>.
 9. Based on review of files from JBS HQ, including collection of reprints at PRA.
 10. Based on biographical and organizational materials posted on the website of the Ludwig von Mises Institute. Retrieved February 7, 2007, from www.mises.org.
 11. Citing Wikipedia is always dicey, but it is possible to cite a specific version of an entry. Start with the link here, because cybervandals have deleted the list on at least one occasion. For a reputable "permanent version" of "Alternative press (U.S. political right)" see: http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Alternative_press_%28U.S._political_right%29&oldid=107090129

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