ABSTRACT

THESIS: The Ku Klux Klan: Propaganda On-Line

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The Internet is becoming increasingly important in América as millions of Americans go on-line each year. Although the Internet provides valuable business and educational information, it contains the ideology of hundreds of hate groups as well. Because the Internet is becoming such an important medium, it is essential to understand the types of rhetoric used in Web pages.

This study explores the use of propaganda by the Ku Klux Klan in its Web site. This study first delineates the Ku Klux Klan's history and current activities. It also explains the Klan's Web site and the site's key features. The essay then examines the White Nationalist Movement and the importance of persuasion to the movement itself and groups within the movement, such as the Ku Klux Klan. Finally, the study analyzes the tactics of propaganda evident in the Klan's Web site. This study serves to provide valuable information about the propagandistic rhetoric used by hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan to spread their ideology and recruit members on the Internet.
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Gone are the days of robe-clad men atop horses riding through the night and terrorizing the countryside. Jumping off their horses and dashing down the information super highway, the Klan has found a new medium through which to spread its message. The Klan is on-line and their pro-white message can be accessed by anyone at anytime of day.

This study focuses on the Ku Klux Klan's use of the Internet to promote its ideology, enhance recruitment efforts, and move Klan members to action. Primarily, this study argues that the Klan's Web site serves as a potentially powerful propagandistic tool. As such, it employs numerous propaganda tactics to promote the Klan's belief in "America first." Given the white nationalistic orientation of this message, it may well be perceived as more acceptable in American society than the racist "hate" rhetoric traditionally associated with the organization. The Klan's message also further supports and validates the ideology of the White Nationalist Movement, of which the Ku Klux Klan is a part.

The Internet, once seen as a novelty, is becoming a vital part of mainstream America. Although the Internet has been in existence for several years, it is only recently that most American businesses and consumers have begun to regularly use the Internet for communication and entertainment purposes. In the past, the Internet was not as easily accessible as it is today. However, with a modem and a phone line, nearly every computer user can access a wealth of on-line information. Upgraded technologies and Web search engines also make it relatively simple for users to access once obscure and difficult-to-locate Web sites.

Because the Internet is a relatively new communication medium, the implications that stem from its use as a tool to disseminate information and persuade
computer users are not fully understood. However, given the Internet's capacity to reach millions of consumers, it is vitally important that scholars examine the rhetoric that is disseminated through its numerous on-line services and Web sites. Perhaps no recent event illustrates the Internet's power as a rhetorical tool quite as dramatically as the incident involving the Heaven's Gate cult. The cult uses the Internet to disseminate its beliefs to the general public and recruit new members. One housewife and mother from Ohio left her family to join the cult after accessing the Heaven's Gate Web site (Levy, 1997). She was one of the 39 members who took part in the cult's mass suicide. While this tragedy is not to be blamed on the Internet, the incident does demonstrate that the tool can be used to significantly enhance the communicative and persuasive efforts of less mainstream segments of society.

The Simon Weisenthal Center estimates that there are nearly 500 fringe religious groups and "hate" groups that, like the Heaven's Gate cult, use the Internet to spread their ideology (Levy, 1997). The Internet appears to be an ideal medium for use by such groups because it allows them an unprecedented ability to communicate their beliefs to the mass public. Uninstitutionalized groups like Heaven's Gate and the Ku Klux Klan commonly encounter considerable obstacles when attempting to disseminate their beliefs through mainstream media channels. Primarily this occurs because these marginalized groups are not perceived as "legitimate" news sources and their rhetoric is seldom viewed as newsworthy.

However, the Internet provides these same groups with a low-cost and virtually unregulated means of spreading their "news" (Levy, 1997). All that really is required are the resources needed to create and maintain a Web site. And, because the Constitutional right to freedom of speech extends to the Internet, these groups can make virtually any assertions that they wish, no matter how outrageous or insidious their claims might seem. Finally, use of the Internet can increase the
number of people exposed to a group's rhetoric (Levy, 1997). In the past, it would have been very difficult for potential members to access information about or receive membership applications for many of these organizations. However, the Internet provides an information marketplace in which people who share less mainstream beliefs can easily be brought together.

The Ku Klux Klan is just one of the many uninstitutionalized organizations that makes use of the Internet to more readily spread its message. In fact, the Internet is home to many groups that, like the Klan, attempt to propagate messages of "white pride" and "American nationalism." The Klan's use of the Internet is particularly noteworthy, however. In part, this stems from the Klan's lengthy history. The Klan is the oldest white supremacy group still in existence in America. And, because of the group's longevity and headline-grabbing activities, it is perhaps the most widely recognized White Nationalist organization. Additionally, the Klan is one of the more "mainstream" white supremacy groups in America. As a result, it best represents the beliefs typically held by other groups that comprise the White Nationalist Movement. Therefore, by studying the Klan's use of the Internet, scholars can better understand how "hate" or "white pride" groups like the Klan attempt to use this powerful communication tool to reach and persuade the masses.

The Ku Klux Klan's Web site (www.k-k-k.com) contains a number of key components (see Appendix). The top of the opening page features the group's name, "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," followed by a picture of the American flag. The middle and bottom of the opening page contains information about how to contact the Klan's national headquarters, a disclaimer about the Klan's political stances, and information about a boycott in which the Klan is participating. From the opening page, one also can access the Klan's statement of beliefs. The statement of beliefs serves to dispel myths about the Klan as well as outline the
group’s political agenda. The opening page also contains the names of the Klan’s Imperial Council (i.e., national officers), information about censorship of the Klan’s Web site, and information about Klan chat rooms. A picture of David Duke wearing his Klan robes and another picture of a cross-lighting ceremony can be opened from the site as well. Also included in the site are a Klan membership application form and links to other White Nationalist groups. In general, the Klan’s Web site mostly consists of a light gray and/or white background. The site does contain two color graphics, however—one of the Confederate flag and one of the Klan’s insignia. A line art sketch of a man, woman and baby at the conclusion of the document says, “It is simple reality that to be born WHITE is an honor and a privilege.”

The content of the Klan’s Web site also is noteworthy given the large number of propaganda tactics that it features. Therefore, the propagandistic nature of the Klan’s Web site serves as the focal point of this study. Although the study of propaganda once was quite prevalent during World War I and World War II, it received little scholarly attention after the second World War (Sproule, 1987). However, scholars’ interest in propaganda research has been rejuvenated, in part because of the vast amounts of propaganda that were created and disseminated during the recent Gulf War (Jowett, 1993). Using the Klan’s rhetoric as a case study, this examination sheds light on yet another wealth of propagandistic material—that found on the Internet.

Propaganda is important to study because it can provide a “window” into the society from which it originated (Sproule, 1987). The ideas propagated by groups and individuals relate to, and therefore distinguish, those problems and changes with which members of a society are most concerned. Once an issue has been identified, propaganda is used to manipulate and persuade its audience by using strong emotional appeals and compelling phrases and words (Sproule, 1987).
Propaganda also is full of half-truths, exaggerations and distortions (Jowett, 1993). This combination of persuasive power and misleading content make it a rhetorical force necessary for study. By understanding the tactics of propaganda used to persuade, potential audiences of propaganda can better understand how the rhetoric persuades and therefore be alert to the hidden persuasive tactics.

The following chapter provides a background on the history of nativism in America, focusing particular attention on the Ku Klux Klan. The essay provides information about the founding of the Klan, as well as its three reincarnations. The background chapter also provides information on the current social, political and economic scene in the United States today. This chapter serves to explain the origin of the Klan’s ideology, how the Klan’s ideology changed over the years, and show patterns in the reincarnations of the Klan.
CHAPTER II
HISTORY OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

Participation in nativist activities is deeply rooted in American history. Well before the social and political changes brought about by the Civil War, groups that opposed change in the "American way" were forming (Tindall, 1992). For example, by the mid-1800s, anti-Catholic sentiment was widespread in America. The Know-Nothing Party, named for the secrecy that existed among its members, openly opposed the growing population of Catholic immigrants (Tindall, 1992). As early as the 1840s, Catholic churches were burnt by groups opposed to the Catholic religion. This type of violence eventually turned people away from the nativist movement (Hall Jamieson, 1992). However, the Know-Nothings eventually found a home in the mainstream Republican Party (Tindall, 1992).

This American tradition of nativist activities laid the foundation for another supremacist group which long survived the Know-Nothings. The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was founded shortly after the Civil War and has enjoyed three great revivals since its inception: after World War I, during the Civil Rights Movement, and from the 1980s to the present (Lutholtz, 1991). During these times, Klan membership and activity significantly increased. The following is a brief history of the inception of the Klan and each of its incarnation.

Following the Civil War, the former Confederate states were faced with some of the greatest social and political changes in the history of the country. Emancipation brought not only a wave of freed slaves, but thousands of new Americans who possessed the right to vote as well (Tindall, 1992). As southern leaders struggled through Reconstruction, a group of six average men from Pulaski, Tennessee, created a social club to take their minds off of the changes in
the South. In late 1965 or early 1866, these six Confederate veterans formed a secret, social organization called the Ku Klux Klan (The Connecticut Education Association, The Council on Interracial Books for Children and The National Education Association, 1981; Haas, 1963). The name was based on the Greek word “kuklos,” the derivative of the English word “circle” (Haas, 1963). Because all of the founders were of Scotch-Irish descent, they agreed to use the term “klan” as well (Haas, 1963). To make the organization sound more intimidating and mysterious, the word “kuklos” was “garbled into the Ku Klux Klan” (Haas, 1963, p. 12).

The Klan flourished in the South from 1865 to 1872. Although other groups such as the White League and the Knights of the White Camellias imitated the Klan’s activities, they did not survive through the end of the century (Tindall, 1992). Despite the Klan’s origin as a social club, the group soon learned that their bizarre regalia scared the uneducated and superstitious former slaves (Haas, 1963). Finding more entertainment in scaring freedmen and Reconstructionists, the Klan suddenly became the self-proclaimed saviors of the old South (Haas, 1963). At this time the Klan pursued three basic aims: to strike against Reconstruction; to put blacks “in their place”; and to chase carpetbaggers back to the North (Lutholtz, 1991). In general, the postbellum Klan was dedicated to restoring what they claimed to be “law and order” in the South, although they really sought to restore power to the white elite. In essence, these acts of violence and terror represented an attempt to revolt against Reconstruction and restore white supremacy. These early groups of night-riding vigilantes sought to put black Americans into a new type of slavery - - the slavery of fear (1981). Thus, in many ways, the Ku Klux Klan and similar white supremacy groups created conditions “worse than slavery” for southern blacks (Tindall, 1992, p. 719).
The southern elite also feared how the former slaves would respond to former owners given their new-found freedom. They feared the slaves' revenge, especially on white women. Just as the South had been "raped" of its heritage, they feared that the safety of southern white women was in jeopardy as well (Lutholtz, 1991). The Klan used this fear of former slaves raping white women as a large part of their rational for violence.

Acts of violence also were directed toward Radical Republicans who attempted to implement new regulations and ideas in the South (The Connecticut Education Association et al., 1981). Although Reconstruction would have benefited poor whites in the South, as well as the newly freed slaves, the whites aligned with those of the same race rather than those in a similar economic condition. Poor whites saw blacks as competition for jobs. The racism in the South was deeply ingrained, and the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacy groups created an environment that allowed even the poorest white southerners to think that they were superior to the blacks (The Connecticut Education Association et al., 1981).

Although the post-Civil War Klan was not the most politically powerful Klan, it did affect voting in the South. During the election of 1870, 12,000 fewer Republicans voted than in previous elections. This allowed the Democrats, often supported by the Klan, to take control (The Connecticut Education Association et al., 1981). Because of the Klan's political acts of violence and intimidation against voters and Reconstructionists, the Ku Klux Klan Act was passed in 1871. The law made Klan activities such as forming conspiracies, wearing disguises and intimidation against the law (Tindall, 1992). As a result of the act, by 1873 Klan membership had declined by such a rate that the organization was nearly non-existent (The Connecticut Education Association et al., 1981). Still, their legacy of white terror continued through Democratic rule (The Connecticut Education
As a result, this early group of bandits set a tone of hate that would be remembered nearly forty years later (Lutholtz, 1991).

As more immigrants came to the United States, American nativism became more pronounced. Groups promoting Americanism were prominent throughout the 1880s. For example, the American Protective Association, an anti-immigrant group similar to the mid-century Know-Nothings, started in Iowa and was very influential in the Middle West (Tindall, 1992). During this same time, the Populist Party also was created, aligning poor black and white tenant farmers as populists to create laws that benefited the common man and once again threatened the white elite (The Connecticut Education Association et al., 1981).

The agitation of the late 19th century laid the groundwork for the reincarnation of the second Klan after World War I. After the war, the nation’s aggression turned inward (Lutholtz, 1991). A wave of riots, bombings, strikes and other tumultuous acts hit American cities, focusing the attention of confused and disillusioned Americans on the larger cities that were filled with immigrants (Tindall, 1992). Just as the Jews were being blamed for Germany’s “problems,” the Klan was identifying Jews, as well as Catholics and immigrants, as America’s “problem” (Lutholtz, 1991). The Bolshevik Revolution and the ensuing “red scare” sent the nation on a crusade for “100% Americanism” (Murray, 1955). Feelings of patriotism ran high during the 1920s as Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer began “anti-red raids” (Lutholtz, 1991). America also faced a decade of great social and moral change within its cities and among its young people. Jazz music, provocative dancing and alcohol use were common throughout the country. Sexual issues, including promiscuity and birth control, also were prominent topics of public discussion (Tindall, 1992). This shift from “old-fashioned rural/small town values” was difficult for many older, rural Americans to accept (Tindall, 1992, p. 1034). Therefore, Americans began looking for ways to address these
“problematic” changes. The Klan gladly accepted the challenge of reforming America by providing solutions to the problems and support to those who opposed the changes.

The 1915 film, “Birth of a Nation” also helped rebuild the Klan through its portrayal of “heroic” Klansmen saving white “civilization” from “brutal blacks and their scheming white allies” (The Connecticut Education Association et al., 1981). During the same year, William Simmons reestablished the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Stone Mountain, Georgia. During its peak, there were between 3.5 to 5 million members throughout the nation (The Connecticut Education Association et al., 1981). In one Indiana city alone, at least 25% of its white, native-born male citizenry were members of the Klan (Lutholtz, 1991).

At this time, the new Klan sold itself as a social club for middle-to-upper class, white, Protestant men (Lutholtz, 1991). Recruitment advertisements touted the organization as “The World’s Greatest Secret Social, Patriotic Fraternal, Beneficiary Order” and described it as “A High Class Order for Men of Intelligence and Character” (Goldberg, 1981). Viewed as an exclusive fraternal organization, the majority of its members were highly respected in their communities (The Connecticut Education Association et al., 1981). Like other popular fraternal organizations, the Klan provided business and social contacts. (Lutholtz, 1991). It also contributed to sustaining nativist sentiments that were prevalent after World War I through patriotic appeals such as “100% Americanism” (Lutholtz, 1991). These attitudes echoed in America’s post-war isolationism and also were evident in the passage of nationalistic legislation such as the Emergency Immigration Act of 1921.

William Simmons’ rejuvenated Ku Klux Klan was very attractive to many Americans at this time because of its patriotic appeals. However, Simmons needed help publicizing the Klan throughout the nation. Therefore, Elizabeth Tyler and
Edward Young Clark were hired by Simmons to publicize the Klan and recruit members from all over the country (Lutholtz, 1991). The early Klan promoted itself as a means to end the war in Europe and protect “Americans” from Catholics, Jews, Socialists, blacks and union leaders. Because most Catholics and Jews were first and second generation immigrants at this time, they had thick accents and dressed differently. Therefore, the Klan was able to capitalize on American fears and suspicions about these immigrants and, in turn, recruit members (Lutholtz, 1991). Depending on the fears and anxieties of different communities, the Klan would adapt its message of hate to portray whomever the white Protestants of the community feared most as the “enemy” (Goldberg, 1981).

The Klan also portrayed itself as a family organization, holding parades and Klonvocations (i.e. mass meetings) for its members. The parades often contained people dressed in Klan attire riding floats that featured themes about separating church and state, protecting pure womanhood and keeping law and order. The parades and meetings were merely for show; they provided no call to action to the members and gave no indication of the Klan’s long-range plans (Lutholtz, 1991). Instead, these events show the family-oriented nature of the Klan. The members of the Klan at this time did not kill; instead they participate in parades, barbecues and cross burnings for pure enjoyment and entertainment.

To promote the organization, the Klan produced a variety of newspapers all over the United States that competed financially with mainstream papers (Goldberg, 1981). The “Fiery Cross,” a publication by the Indiana Klan, reported on meetings and Klan activities, and published excerpts from speeches given at Klan functions. Advertisements in Klan publications often promoted “100% Americanism” or identified businesses that promoted TWK (i.e. trade with Klansmen). Catholic business owners also were listed so that Klansmen knew with whom they should not do business. Classified advertisements identified employment opportunities for
young, white, Protestant, 100% Americans as well. As the Klan became more of a political force, their newspapers also supported or denounced candidates running for office (Lutholtz, 1991). The “Daily American,” Colorado’s Klan paper, acted as a means to promote the Klan’s version of events and help shape local perceptions of current issues (Goldberg, 1981).

The Klan also relied on the mainstream media to promote its efforts. Newspaper coverage of Klan events gave the Klan free publicity. Even when newspapers provided negative coverage of the Klan, the group easily dismissed the statements because they claimed that papers published in the East were controlled by Jews or Catholics (Lutholtz, 1991).

This increased media coverage helped the Klan gain a foothold in mainstream America. As mainstream Americans perceived economic and social conditions deteriorating, they found that their elected officials did not have easy solutions to the problems. However, the Klan argued that they did. The Klan blamed the Socialists, Jews and Catholics for all of America’s problems (Lutholtz, 1991). The only solution was to return complete political power to the “100% Americans,” particularly Klansmen.

As the Klan’s membership increased, it began searching for ways to gain political power. The organization wanted to make changes in America by electing Klansmen to Congress and passing Amendments that supported the Klan’s ideology (Lutholtz, 1991). Klansmen believed that the government was not sympathetic to the needs of the Protestant majority and argued that Klan politicians would change that (Goldberg, 1981). However, the Klan needed to be a part of an established political party to gain power and achieve its political goals. Therefore, Klan leaders choose to infiltrate the Republican Party throughout United States (Goldberg, 1981). Klan support of Republican candidates influenced many black
Americans who once had voted for “Mr. Lincoln’s Party” to become Democrats (Lutholtz, 1991).

At this time, the Klan was a slick political machine that changed its political agenda to meet the concerns of citizens in different areas of the country (Goldberg, 1981). Although the Klan focused the majority of its political energy on the candidates it supported, it also campaigned against candidates who were not “100% American” through newspaper ads and fliers. One of the Klan’s most powerful campaign strategies to mobilize voters was to deliver mock ballots to homes with the names of Klan-supported candidates already checked. These ballots reminded supporters to vote and identified the candidates that the Klan supported. The ballots also sometimes denoted Jewish or Catholic candidates. Compared to the Republican and Democrat Parties at the time, the Klan was much more successful in mobilizing voters (Lutholtz, 1991). For example, Klan support may have accounted for the large voter turnout in 1924 (Lutholtz, 1991). Republican Klan candidates also benefited from the well-financed, grassroots organization of Calvin Coolidge’s election (Goldberg, 1981). In Indiana, Grand Dragon D.C. Stevenson was the political mastermind who took bribes from candidates and helped them get elected. At one point in time, Stevenson had so much control over the mayor of Indianapolis that no one could be appointed to a position without Stevenson’s approval (Lutholtz, 1991).

Although some factions of the Klan openly sought political control, others, such as the Colorado Klan, pursued political power by attempting to oust the current political elite instead. These Klansmen delineated the “wrongs” of the current political elite and argued that Klan candidates would be better officials (Goldberg, 1981). Specifically, the political rhetoric of the Colorado Klan argued that the political elite did not address the communities’ problems. It then described all of the “good” that the Klan had done for their communities, such as raising
money to build more modern schools (Goldberg, 1981). The Klan candidates referred to themselves as “Progressives” because they stood for “moral righteousness” and for political power for the people (Goldberg, 1981). In particular, they supported legislation to end child labor, provide for the manufacture and dissemination of birth control, and allow women to be jurors (Goldberg, 1981).

Still, the political power of the Klan was shorted lived. Its messages of hate and intolerance motivated groups of people to organize against the Klan. For example, the American Unity League, a multi-faith, multi-racial organization, was created to battle against the Klan (Goldberg, 1981). This group used a variety of non-violent methods to counteract the Klan. One tactic was to take away some of the secrecy of Klan by publishing the names of Klan members in the group’s newspaper, “Tolerance.” The newspaper also published some of the group’s beliefs and activities (Lutholtz, 1991). Through this publication, the American Unity League was able to take away the Klan’s mystery and use the Klan’s incidents of hate and intolerance to decrease the Klan’s respectability (Goldberg, 1981).

The subsequent defeat of several Klan-sponsored bills in legislatures all over the country also showed voters that the Klansmen had no magic solutions and possessed no more power than previously elected officials (Lutholtz, 1991; Goldberg, 1981). The Klan also suffered from internal leadership problems and possessed no national policy to govern the Ku Klux Klan. Therefore, the Klan lacked direction and its leaders were too busy fighting for power amongst themselves to notice that the group was disintegrating (Lutholtz, 1991).

In March of 1925, D.C. Stevenson, Grand Dragon of Indiana, sealed the fate of the faltering Klan. Stevenson raped a young secretary from the Indiana Statehouse on a trip to Chicago. The young woman, Madge Oberholzer,
subsequently took a lethal dose of bichloride-of-mercury tablets and died (Lutholtz, 1981; Coughlan, 1995). Stevenson was convicted of second-degree murder in a highly publicized trial (Lutholtz, 1981; Coughlan, 1995). The trial not only destroyed the Klan's credibility in Indiana, but all across the country. No longer could its leaders speak of morality and family. Stevenson had destroyed that illusion (Lutholtz, 1991; Coughlan, 1995).

Although the Klan would never be as powerful as it was during the post-World War I era, it did experience a resurgence during the Civil Rights Movement of the mid-20th century. The Klan acted in response to African-Americans' efforts to gain equal rights, especially in the South (Matusow, 1984). Whereas the Klan of the 1920s was a nationalistic organization, the mid-20th century Klan primarily consisted of white supremacists. During this time, Klansmen were responsible for hundreds of incidents of violence against southern blacks and civil rights workers. Even whites were terrorized if they supported civil rights efforts (Matusow, 1984).

The Klan also was involved politically. During 1960, John F. Kennedy was elected President. The Klan openly opposed JFK's election because they believed that a Catholic would be influenced by the Pope (Hall, Jamieson, 1992). Only four years later, the Klan openly supported the Republican Presidential candidate Barry Goldwater. Although Goldwater quickly denounced the Klan's support, the damage was done—he lost the election. Because of the Klan's racist and violent past, it held little political power. Instead, it carried a stigma of intolerance and prejudice. The Democrats used this stigma against Goldwater during the campaign (Hall Jamieson, 1992).

After Civil Rights legislation was signed into law, the Klan fell silent again until the 1980s. With a faltering economy and changes in the American social structure, the Klan was alive again. However, this Klan had little credibility. Its violent activities in the 1960s branded it with a lasting image of racism. Still, the
Ku Klux Klan did gain national media attention in 1991 when former Grand Dragon of Louisiana David Duke ran unsuccessfully for governor of Louisiana and then announced his candidacy for President ("Klandidates," 1992). However, the former Klansmen spent much of his political effort disassociating himself from the Klan, rather than utilizing the Klan as a tool to gain votes.

Much of the rhetoric that emerges from today's Klan focuses on religion and American nationalism. While the Klan still holds rallies and cross burnings, much of the media attention that it has gained stems from the Klan's attempts to erect crosses on courthouse squares during the holidays. One group in Columbus, Ohio was denied the right to erect a cross in 1993 because the Ohio government thought the cross would be interpreted as state support of Christianity. Although other holiday symbols such as a Christmas tree and menorah were displayed on the square, the government declared that the cross was a non-holiday symbol (Boston, 1995). In light of this, Religious Right groups such as the Rutherford Institute and Pat Robertson's Center for Law and Justice and, ironically enough, the ACLU were quick to defend the Klan's right to freedom of religious expression (Boston, 1995).

The nationalistic bent of today's Klan rhetoric largely is based on predominant economic, political and social concerns. Although the nation is economically stable at this time, Americans are concerned about the negative consequences of international trade agreements such as NAFTA and GATT. Americans are concerned about other foreign policy issues as well. America recently has provided military intervention in Rwanda, Somalia and Bosnia. However, this intervention was opposed by a number of Americans. Besides military intervention around the world, the nation has anxiously watched economic and political struggles in the former Soviet republics, which could push the country back to communism and possibly create another Soviet-American cold war (Powell,
Communism presents another problem for the United States in its relations with radically changing China, a problem that could constitute a Chinese-American cold war (Auchincloss, 1996). Due to these challenges in American foreign policy, it is not surprising that the Klan, in its nationalistic rhetoric, has taken a stance against foreign business and American intervention in foreign affairs.

Politically, the nation is facing allegations of suspected corruption in the government. Whitewater, illegal campaign contributions and allegations of sexual harassment and sexual misconduct have plagued top officials (Isikoff & Klaidman, 1996). As a result, many Americans mistrust the motives of their national decision-makers. These problems with the leaders of the nation have given the Klan reason to doubt political leaders’ abilities to lead the United States and make decisions to benefit the nation.

Besides the economic and political scene in America, there are significant social issues addressed by the Klan as well. Multi-culturallism is a hot topic today (Leland & Beals, 1997). The debate continues over the legitimacy of ebonics as a teaching tool in the classroom. Schools also are facing opposition over the lack of teaching minority history and minority issues in the schools. Other issues facing America include gay and lesbian Americans searching for equal rights (Kaplan & Klaidman, 1996) and increases in crime and violence. With racial and homosexual issues at the forefront of American discussions, it is not surprising that the Klan has taken a stance on these issues as well.

This overview of the American scene shows the current issues facing the country. The following chapter indicates these issues have influenced much of the White Nationalist Movement and the Klan’s ideology. Specifically, the following chapter argues that the Klan participates in the larger White Supremacy Movement. The chapter also discusses how groups within the movement, such as the Klan, utilize persuasion in their rhetoric.
This chapter argues that the Klan is a part of a larger movement, the White Nationalist Movement (sometimes referred to as the Aryan Nationalist Movement) because the use of persuasion and propaganda is a key aspect of social movements (Stewart, Smith and Denton, 1994), it is important to understand the White Nationalist Movement as a social movement and how the Ku Klux Klan and other groups in the movement utilize persuasion.

The White Nationalist Movement

Stewart et al. (1994) explain that social movements must meet certain requirements to be more than just a trend or fad. First, movements are composed of individual groups that are loosely organized and possess an identifiable membership (Stewart et al., 1994). While it is difficult to identify every group within a social White Nationalist Movement, the Ku Klux Klan and Aryan Nations certainly are a part of the movement. So are groups such as Stormfront and Alpha, who have beliefs similar to Aryan Nations and the Ku Klux Klan, and who also refer to themselves as “White Nationalists” (Stormfront, 1995; Alpha Web site). Other groups that can be associated with the White Nationalist Movement are those that have participated in the Aryan Nations World Congress. In addition to the Ku Klux Klan, some of these participants include: the SS-Action Group, the White Aryan Resistance, the White Student Union, and several neo-Nazi groups (Jordan, 1986). Members of the movement can be found at marches, rallies and conferences sponsored by these various groups.

Social movements also must be uninstitutionalized. In other words, they cannot be a part of any established religious, political or social order (Stewart et al.,
Some groups within the White Nationalist Movement, such as several Aryan militias, are so uninstitutionalized that they advocate seceding from America. They believe that the American government is corrupted by Jews and refer to the government as “ZOG” or Zionist Occupied Government (Jordan, 1986).

During the 1920s, the Klan was somewhat institutionalized given that it did have some success in electing members to local, county and state political offices (Lutholtz, 1991). However, the Klan quickly fell from power after a moral scandal in Indiana (Lutholtz, 1991). It was never able to regain this momentum and therefore is no longer institutionalized. More recently, alleged affiliation with the Klan actually has been used against candidates seeking public office, including Barry Goldwater, Jimmy Carter, and David Duke (Hall Jamieson, 1992).

To further disassociate itself from the establishment, the Klan classifies itself as a non-commercial, non-profit, volunteer organization that just happens to have a very political focus (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan also does not identify any members or sympathizers of the Klan who have political or religious power or status, once again showing its disassociation with the establishment. Finally, although the Klan does refer to itself as a “Christian” organization, it is not affiliated with any particular religious organization.

To be more than just a campaign, protest, or political action committee, a social movement also must be large in scope (Stewart et al., 1994). More specifically, social movements must span broad geographical areas and time frames as well as possess large memberships (Stewart et al., 1994). The Ku Klux Klan, being the oldest organization in the White Nationalist Movement, well exemplifies this characteristic of social movements. The Klan was founded over 130 years ago and is still in existence. Although the Klan’s membership has fluctuated over the years, Klan members currently reside in many different parts of the country. The Klan’s national headquarters are in North Salem, Indiana. It also has state offices
in Michigan, Illinois, Kentucky, Florida, California and Ohio (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). Thus, the Klan is not a regional phenomena; it is present in states all across the country. Another White Nationalist group, Aryan Nations, has been in existence since the mid-1970s (Nizcor, 1995). Every summer, Aryan Nations holds a “World Congress of Aryan Nations” where attendees are instructed in urban terrorism and guerrilla warfare. Over 300 Klansmen, neo-Nazis and other White Nationalists from all over the country attend the conference (Jordan, 1986).

Because the movement has member groups that have been in existence for many years and because these groups have memberships that span the country, it can be seen that the White Nationalist Movement is more than just a passing trend or fad.

A social movement also either supports or opposes the values and norms of society (Stewart et al., 1994). Toward this end, social movements explain what must be done to fix problems, who must do it and how to accomplish it (Stewart et al., 1994). The Klan’s belief statement serves as one mechanism toward this end. Specifically, it outlines the Klan’s criticism of the current government and social policies and advocates changes that are perceived as capable of correcting these problems. For example, the Klan advocates mandatory drug testing for welfare recipients. It also proposes the enforcement or creation of laws preventing sodomy and interracial marriages. According to the Klan, both of these perceived problems call for action by the government (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). Some other Aryan groups support seceding from the United States as the method of correcting these perceived problems (Jordan, 1986). They believe that the American government is occupied by Jews and think the only way to correct the problem and save themselves is to create their own country (Jordan, 1986).

Given that social movements oppose or support change, their rhetoric is moral in tone. Social movement’s “assume the power to distinguish right from wrong, good from evil, and ethical from unethical (Stewart et al., 1994, pp. 10-
For example, the Klan has assumed the power to declare that interracial marriages and homosexuality are wrong, unethical, and "abominations against God" (Ku Klux Klan, 1995).

As a social movement develops, it also will encounter opposition (Stewart et al., 1994). For example, the Klan has encountered a variety of opposition to its attempt to erect crosses on courthouse lawns during the holidays (Boston, 1995; "Supreme Court Should", 1995). Oppositional groups also have had the Klan's Web site removed from two server (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). Additionally, members of the neo-Nazi guerrilla group "Possee Comitatus" found it difficult to survive in Kansas when Kansas Attorney General Brandon La Follette openly confronted the group and accused it of being "anti-Kansan and anti-American" (Starr, 1985, pg. 26). Kansas officials also strengthened police forces at area farm sales to make it difficult for the group to recruit new members at these events (Starr, 1985).

The final characteristic of social movements as defined by Stewart et al. (1994) is that the persuasion of the movement must be pervasive. From this perspective, the social movement uses its rhetoric to transform the audiences' perceptions of reality, propose and sell a course of action, mobilize non-members, and sustain the movement over time (Stewart et al., 1994). To understand how the White Nationalist Movement changes perceptions of reality and sells its prescription to problems, one must examine the persuasive functions of the movement. The study of persuasive functions allows one to examine the persuasive efforts of a specific portion of a social movement (Stewart et al., 1994). Therefore, the persuasive efforts of the Ku Klux Klan as a part of the White Nationalist Movement will be focused upon more specifically.

All social movements attempt to change perceptions of reality (Stewart et al., 1994). In particular, they want to convince large numbers of people that the ideology of the establishment is false and that something should be done to fix this
problem (Stewart et al., 1994). To accomplish this, persuaders in social movements must transform people's perceptions of the past, the present and the future (Stewart et al., 1994).

Stewart et al. (1994) explain that social movements must overcome a variety of past perceptions to persuade people. For some social movements or organizations in movements, the past may be "well-known and ugly" (Stewart et al., 1994, p. 46). This obstacle must be overcome because the audience already has associated negative activities and ideas with the movement and therefore is much less likely to be persuaded by the movement (Stewart et al., 1994).

Throughout its history, the Klan has terrorized African-Americans, Jews, immigrants and other groups that it viewed as "undesirable" (Haas, 1963). For example, during the Civil Rights Movement, the Klan was responsible for many violent crimes against Civil Rights workers (Matusow, 1984). These images are emblazoned in the minds of Americans. The Klan must overcome these negative images to persuade its current audience. Therefore, in its Web site's statement of beliefs, the Klan addresses the commonly held perception that Klan members are expected to commit crimes against African-Americans (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan explains that this is a lie disseminated by the "liberal media" to keep "good, decent, and honorable Christian people" from joining the Klan (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan further explains that all members of the Klan must pledge not to commit crimes (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). By claiming that Klan members are not allowed to commit crimes, the Klan is able to address its audience's fears that the group is still dedicated to committing hate crimes.

Besides transforming perceptions of the past, social movements also must transform perceptions of the future (Stewart et al., 1994). Often target audiences either are unaware of the problems seen by the social movement, refuse to believe that the problems exist, believe that the establishment should handle the problems
through normal channels, or believe that the problems are not severe or do not affect them (Stewart et al., 1994). Groups in social movements may use storytelling to alter how the audience sees the present. Specifically, they may ask people affected by the problems they see to share their stories (Stewart et al., 1994). These groups also may show “paradoxes and inconsistencies in the rhetoric and practices of the established order” (Stewart et al., 1994, p. 48).

Although the Klan does not really utilize storytelling in its Web site’s rhetoric, it does expose inconsistencies in the establishments’ procedures and policies. For example, within its Web site, the Klan argues that if the American government stations hundreds of thousands of soldiers in South Korea or Saudi Arabia to protect those countries borders, why can they not place troops on American borders to stop illegal aliens from entering this country? (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan also states that it is the American government’s job to protect the welfare of Americans first rather than helping other countries (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). By showing these “inconsistencies” in American governmental policy, the Klan tries to change how its audience perceives the establishment’s efforts to correct these problems.

The movement also must portray a vision of the future (Stewart et al., 1994). The Klan is a part of a revivalistic movement. Revivalistic movements attempt to change societies’ future by reinvoing social norms from what the movement believes to be a more idealized past (Stewart et al., 1994). Therefore, the Klan and the larger White Nationalist Movement seek to improve the future by returning to the past. For example, the White Nationalist Movement and the Klan want to change current laws that it believes have taken power away from the white race. Specifically, the Klan wants to enact old sodomy and miscegenation laws as well as return to isolationism in American foreign policy (Ku Klux Klan, 1995).
Stewart et al. (1994) also explain that it is not uncommon for revivalistic movements to use the rhetoric of despair when depicting their vision of the future. Rather than portraying the future as hopeful, such rhetoric forecasts that the state of affairs will only get worse unless the people mobilize to evoke positive change (Stewart et al., 1994). Such appeals are quite evident in the Klan's Web site. For example, the Klan calls for America to close its borders to illegal aliens because "we must protect the future of our children, not the future of the children of Mexico" (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). This encourages readers to save the future of their children before it is too late. The Klan’s Web site also states that AIDS is result of homosexuality and interracial marriages. The Klan then tells its audience that homosexuality and interracial marriages must be stopped if "America is ever to return to the great Christian nation it once was" (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). These statements influence the audience to believe that if they do not act against these "problems" quickly, America will be destroyed by AIDS.

Besides changing perceptions of reality, social movements also attempt to change perceptions of society. These changes in perception allow social movements to distinguish between the opposition and the movement (Stewart et al., 1994). Toward this end, the movement may identify one or more "devils" that represent the opposition. Eric Hoffer (1951) believes that the ideal devil is one all-powerful foreign force. However, Stewart et al. (1994) argue that "devils" can also include forces, individuals, or things. These devils then become the focus of the movement's rhetoric against the opposition. The movement also may use name calling and negative associations or metaphors against their opposition (Stewart et al., 1994, p. 52).

Many of these rhetorical devices are evident in the Klan's Web site. Much of the Web site discusses American foreign policies that the Klan believes are detrimental to the United States. Specifically, the Klan discusses the "evils" of
illegal aliens, foreign industries buying American property, and American businesses relocating to foreign countries (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan also attacks the “liberal” media as well as African-American “negro thugs” (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). These Klan Web site statements encourage the audience to alter their perception of the opposition.

Stewart et al. (1994) explain that social movements also must change perceptions of “the self.” In other words, social movements must make both members and non-members believe that they have the power to change the problems that the movement has identified (Stewart et al., 1994). Toward this end, movements often will portray their members or sympathizers as being oppressed and will attempt to encourage their efforts through appeals to pride and accomplishments. In particular, the Ku Klux Klan tries to create “white pride” in its members and sympathizers. For example, at the end of the Klan’s page is a cartoon reminding readers that “to be born white is an honor and a privilege” (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). This notion, coupled with the Klan’s arguments that there is an “invisible agenda to destroy the white race” and that many companies have “anti-white policies” (Ku Klux Klan, 1995), are used to create a sense that there is an urgent need for whites to forge ahead with their efforts to save their race.

The persuasive rhetoric of social movements also must prescribe a course of action that delineates what must be done to solve problems, who should do it and how the action should be done (Stewart et al., 1994). These solutions are linked to what the movement sees as valuable. However, the movement must be able to defend its priorities to the audience (Stewart et al., 1994).

The Klan’s Web site identifies several problems, explains how they should be corrected and identifies who should correct them. For example, in stating its political agenda, the Klan demands that elected officials save American jobs by rescinding the NAFTA and GATT treaties (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). To reduce drug
use and overhaul the welfare system, the Klan proposes mandatory drug testing of welfare recipients (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). Although the Klan does not specifically identify who should conduct the drug testing, it is understood that the American government should be involved. The Klan also believes that AIDS can be eradicated if sodomy and miscegenation laws were passed or enforced by state governments (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan also wants its supporters to join a boycott of Texaco to show white unity against a company that has been required to follow affirmative action procedures (Ku Klux Klan, 1995).

Social movements also must mobilize people into action (Stewart et al., 1994). Through their rhetoric, they must convince people to join their cause, donate money or participate in their planned events (Stewart et al., 1994). The Klan's Web site provides ample opportunities for non-members and members to become involved in the Klan. For example, non-members can download an application to join the Ku Klux Klan. Non-members also are encouraged to send away for further information about the group (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Web site also serves to motivate members and potential members to boycott Texaco or send the company e-mail criticizing its anti-white policies (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). This boycott not only serves to mobilize people into action for the Klan, but it places pressure on the opposition, both of which are functions of mobilizing members into action (Stewart et al., 1994). The boycott is not only an inconvenience to the opposition, but it could have a financial impact on and generate negative publicity for the company as well.

The final function of persuasion in a social movement is to maintain the movement over time. Toward this end, the movement must maintain its visibility and viability, as well as justify any set-backs that it may have encountered (Stewart et al., 1994). To maintain itself as a viable organization and contribute to the maintenance of the larger White Nationalist movement, the Klan uses several
persuasive tactics. Much of the Klan's visibility comes from marches, rallies, and other Klan-sponsored events. Additionally, the Web site, which is the focus of this study, provides the Klan with greater visibility and allows it to share its ideology with more people. In essence, the Web site helps keep the Klan viable by helping in member recruitment and in keeping members aware of Klan activities. The Web site also is effective in explaining the Klan's set-backs. For example, the Klan's belief statement explains several mistaken beliefs that people possess about the Klan and claims that these "myths" are promulgated by the "liberal media" (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Web site also explains the problems that the Klan has had maintaining its site on a Web server because of complaints issued by opposing groups. The Klan calls these groups "left wing terrorists" (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). In these ways, the Klan attempts to maintain itself and the larger White Nationalist Movement.

From this discussion, it can be seen that the Ku Klux Klan participates in the White Nationalist Movement. However, to sustain itself and the larger movement, the Klan must continue to disseminate its message. This allows it to recruit new members and maintain the solidarity of current members. The Klan employs propaganda toward this end. Thus, the following chapter provides an in-depth analysis of the propaganda techniques evident in the Ku Klux Klan’s Web site.
CHAPTER IV
ANALYSIS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN’S WEB SITE

Because persuasion is essential to the maintenance of a social movement over time, the persuasive tactics used by groups within the movement are important to study. The following chapter explores the persuasive tactics used by the Ku Klux Klan within its Web site. This chapter first argues that the Klan’s Web site is propagandistic. It then examines the appeals to cultural values and myths and other propaganda tactics evident within the Klan’s Web site.

The Klan’s Web site as propaganda

The Klan’s utilization of the Internet has provided another outlet for dissemination of the organization’s propaganda. Larson (1995) defines propaganda as an ideological message that is disseminated through mass communication, conceals something from the target audience and strives for a uniformity in beliefs.

Webster (1993) defines ideology as “the integrated assertions, theories and aims that constitute a sociopolitical program” (p. 575). Therefore, an ideology encompasses the beliefs and aims of a group or a social movement. McGee (1980) further explains that an ideology is expressed in political language and has the power to “dictate decisions and control public belief” (p. 5). Therefore, the ideology of a social movement can regulate the beliefs, attitudes, values and actions of a group of people. Propaganda, then, serves as a means to disseminate the movement’s ideology and promote its goals.

According to Larson (1995) the second characteristic of propaganda is that mass communication must be used to spread the ideology. The media can include,
but is not limited to, television, radio, speeches, films, drama, art and music (Larson, 1995). Use of the media is especially important to propagandists because mass mediated messages can reach large numbers of people all at one time. The third characteristic of propaganda is that it aims to unify the audience behind the source’s beliefs, attitudes and values (Larson, 1995). By encouraging people to conform to the propagandist’s beliefs and attitudes, the propagandist gains support and influence. Through this increased support, the propagandist can more readily accomplish his or her goals. According to Larson (1995), the final characteristic of propaganda is that it conceals something, or a combination of things, from the target audience. Either the “source of the communication,” “the source’s goal,” “the other side of the story,” “the techniques being used by the source in sending the message” and/or “the results of the propaganda if successful” can be concealed from the audience (Larson, 1995, p. 368).

Given Larson’s definition of propaganda, we can establish that the Ku Klux Klan’s Web page is propagandistic. The first component of propaganda, the ideology, primarily is evident in the Klan’s statement of beliefs and delineation of its political agenda. As the political agenda statement indicates, the Klan believes that there should be no interracial marriages or homosexual activity (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan also believes that America should stop selling American land to foreign business and should prevent illegal aliens from entering the country (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan also believes that there should be mandatory drug testing of welfare recipients and an end to affirmative action (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). These beliefs indicate that the Klan possesses negative attitudes toward non-Americans, programs that they believe are unfair to whites, and interracial marriages and homosexuality. From these attitudes, it can be seen that the Klan values “America,” “tradition” and the “white race.” These values are key anchors of the Ku Klux Klan’s ideology.
The statement of beliefs also indicates that the Klan’s rhetoric primarily is directed toward promoting an American nationalist ideology rather than an overtly white supra-maist ideology. Nationalism is a “loyalty and devotion to a nation; especially: a sense of national consciousness exalting one nation above all others and placing primary emphasis on promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations or supranational groups” (Webster, 1993, p.773). The Klan promotes American nationalism in many of the statements in its political agenda. Its nationalistic ideology is most apparent in its advocacy of protecting America instead of a “third world country” and stopping illegal immigration into the United States. Each of the statements in the political agenda relates either to a foreign entity who the Klan perceives as harming America or Americans who the Klan believes are harming America. Even the Klan’s statement about preventing interracial marriages and homosexuality is approached from a nationalistic standpoint. By doing so, the Klan is able to mask its discrimination against homosexuals and minorities by arguing that interracial marriages and homosexuality activities have caused the downfall of America. This allows the Klan to avoid directly focusing on issues of race and sexuality.

The second characteristic of propaganda is that it must utilize mass communication to spread its ideology (Larson, 1995). The Klan and other White Nationalist groups have been using the Internet, the newest form of mass communication, to spread their beliefs for several years. During the mid-1980s, White Nationalist groups began using computer bulletin boards as a more modern means of communication. The groups sought to attract young and vulnerable “computer hackers” who frequented the bulletin boards at the time. These White Nationalist bulletin boards primarily served to encourage hatred of those groups defined as “enemies” of White Nationalism (Lowe, 1985).
Today, these bulletin boards have evolved into Web sites. Therefore, millions of people across the world can access the information placed on these Internet sites. Besides the Ku Klux Klan page, computer users also can access information from a variety of other White Nationalist groups such as Stormfront, Alpha Aryan Nationalists and The Aryan Crusader’s Library. In addition, each of these groups can be accessed directly from the Klan page (at the time of publication). Because mass media is designed to reach a large number of people, the Internet and its Web pages serve the Klan and the larger White Nationalist Movement well as a form of mass communication.

It is important to note that Internet censorship efforts have created difficulties for White Nationalist groups who use it to share their ideology. For example, the Klan page was removed from two previous Web servers because of complaints by groups that oppose its message. (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). However, Stormfront, another White Nationalist group, has noticed that despite the efforts of anti-White Nationalists groups, new White Nationalist sites are being created frequently (Stormfront, 1995).

The third characteristic of propaganda is that it strives to foster uniformity in its audience’s beliefs, attitudes, and behavior (Larson, 1995). The Klan primarily tries to create a uniformity in beliefs, attitudes, and actions through the repetition of key aspects of its ideology. For example, the Klan uses the word “Christian” repeatedly to describe members of the Klan and the Klan’s agenda (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan also repeats the words “America” or “American” numerous times in its political agenda statement (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). By repeating these words within its agenda, the Klan tries to convince its audience that their agenda will benefit Americans.

The Klan’s Web site also conceals information from the audience, the final characteristic of propaganda. Although the audience may be aware of some of the
Klan’s goals, such as its desire to dispel myths about the Klan, recruit new members and share the group’s beliefs (Ku Klux Klan, 1995), the entirety of the Klan’s goal is concealed. One of the key underlying goals concealed from the audience is the Klan’s desire to acquire political power and control. Bowers, Ochs and Jensen (1993) explain that the rhetoric of control is used by a group that has dominance and power over other groups. Such groups use their rhetoric to control the media, influence governmental decisions, and to deny information to others (Bowers et al., 1993). Although the Klan possesses little power, the rhetoric of control evident on its Web site shows a desire to reestablish the political power that it once held. During both the Reconstruction era and the 1920s, the Klan influenced the election of numerous municipal officials, senators, and governors nationwide. Even President Harding found it politically necessary to seek the support of the Klan (Weisberger, 1992). In fact, it is reported that Harding actually was initiated into the Klan after his inauguration as President (“Klandidates”, 1992).

The rhetoric in the Klan’s Web site shows that the Klan is searching to possess political control once again. For example, the Klan’s Web site has a “standard disclaimer” that identifies the entire Web site as “political in nature” (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). This statement shows that the Klan possesses an obvious interest in U.S. policies and views itself, at least in part, as a political organization. Within the belief statement, the Klan also claims that if it were “in political power,” it would prevent foreign groups from purchasing U.S. property and industries (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). This statement shows the Klan’s obvious desire for political power to prevent these sales. The Klan also makes allegations against those currently in power in American government. The Klan specifically refers to the “criminals in Washington” and describes how they are “selling us out” through programs such as NAFTA and GATT (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). These derogatory
statements against the current administration show the Klan’s desire to have the legislative power necessary to stop the programs that they believe are detrimental to the United States.

The Klan’s Web site also conceals the opinions of groups whom they oppose. For example, one of the assertions made in the Klan’s statement of beliefs is that the American government should protect Americans before it attempts to protect people living in other countries such as Haiti or Somalia (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). However, the Web site does not explain how or why the American government has assisted these countries. The Klan also openly attacks affirmative action, stating that “people in America should be hired, promoted or given scholarships based on ability” rather than race (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). Yet again, the Web site does not explain what affirmative action is or the benefits that it can provide. The Klan also discusses immigration and non-American ownership of American industry (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). However, it does not explain why foreign companies are buying American industries or any of the benefits of foreign ownership. In the area of immigration, the Klan chooses to ignore the reasons that people are illegally crossing the American border. These examples show that the Klan does not acknowledge the beliefs of opposing groups and does not present information that may support those opposing beliefs.

The Klan’s Web site also conceals the implications that underlie its propagandistic messages. As stated above, one key goal of the Klan is to acquire political power. Although the Klan identifies what it believes to be problems in the United States and offers solutions to these perceived problems, it does not explain the possible negative implications that might follow from the Klan’s solutions. For example, if American business were not allowed to compete abroad or if foreign businesses were not allowed to buy American properties, what would the economic impact be on America? The Klan does not say. If welfare recipients were forced to
take drug tests or interracial marriages and homosexuality were made illegal, how would these peoples be affected? The Klan does not discuss how these laws might affect society. Nor does the Klan acknowledge that, if it is successful in gaining political power, it may well deny some people the very civil rights that the Klan argues it is fighting for.

From the previous discussion, it can be seen that the Klan’s Web site is propagandistic. The Klan’s ideology is presented in the Web site, and the Klan uses the Internet as one of its chosen means of mass communicating this ideology. The Klan also strives to create a uniformity in beliefs among its audience through the use of repetition in its Web site. Concealment also is pronounced in the Klan’s Web site. Although the source of the propagandistic message is known, the Klan conceals its goal, the other side of the story, and the consequences of its propagandistic message.

To promote audience acceptance of its ideology, the Klan employs a number of propaganda techniques with its Web site. Some of these techniques include appeals to cultural values and cultural myths and the tactics of propaganda identified by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis (IPA). A thorough discussion of the propagandistic techniques apparent in the Klan’s Web site follows.

Propaganda Techniques

How and by what means a person is persuaded often is based upon that person’s cultural upbringing. This training, absorbed from language and culture, creates the cultural preferences, values, and myths in which one believes. In turn, audiences often react subconsciously to persuasive messages that are based on these cultural preferences (Larson, 1995).

Cultural Values

Cultural values provide many of the premises upon which persuaders attempt to win audience acceptance of their ideas (Steele & Redding, 1962). These
cultural values have been "generalized by the total experiences of the culture" and provide guides for "correct" action and belief. Steele and Redding (1962) identify seventeen prominent American cultural values, a number of which are evident in the Ku Klux Klan's Web site.

_Puritan and pioneer morality_: The foundations of this value are derived from the Christian "mores of the Puritan immigrant" (Steele & Redding, 1962, p. 85). This value then was reinforced by the difficult experiences faced by pioneers on the American frontier. The main ideals of this value include "honesty, simplicity, cooperation, self-discipline, courage, orderliness, personal responsibility and humility" (Steele & Redding, 1962, p. 85). This value also encompasses the belief that salvation comes from good works and argues that economic success is proof of God’s grace (Steele & Redding, 1962).

The Puritan ideal of Christianity is manifested in many ways throughout the Klan's Web site. The Klan incorporates the Christian symbol of the cross in its insignia as well as in its picture of a Klan cross lighting. The Klan also uses the word "Christian" numerous times throughout the Web site. Some of the Klan's more prominent statements include references to the Klan as a "gathering of White Christina men and women" as well as statements that the white race must come together to help "Western Christian Civilization" (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). This call for unity of the white race to defend "Western Christian Civilization," and the United States in particular, exemplifies the pioneer mentality of cooperation as well. The Klan implies that if the white race were ever able to unify, it could "stop the destruction of our race and nation" (Ku Klux Klan, 1995).

_Achievement and Success_: Americans value the self-made individual who has risen from rags-to-riches. Success in business is usually the ultimate criterion of personal achievement (Steele & Redding, 1962). The Klan's opposition to foreign groups that purchase American industry shows an appeal to this value. By
keeping foreign business out of the United States, the Klan argues that American businesses will have less competition. Therefore, more Americans may have a better opportunity to succeed in business. In the same vein, the Klan argues that repelling the NAFTA and GATT treatises will prevent American business from going abroad. This, in turn, will provide more jobs for American workers and allow them more opportunities for success.

Equality of Opportunity: This value encompasses the idea that all Americans should have the same “opportunity to rise in the economic and social system” (Steele & Redding, 1962, p. 87). This value came to be important as the value of ethical equality was de-emphasized in American business. Through equality of opportunity, Americans have been able to rationalize the unequal conditions of Americans by providing everyone an equal chance to succeed (Steele & Redding, 1962). The “equality of opportunity” value can be seen in the Klan’s desire to end affirmative action. Although affirmative action is designed to provide minorities with equal opportunity, the Klan believes that it discriminates against the majority, whites. Therefore, the Klan believes that all promotions, awards, and scholarships should be based on merit rather than race (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). By turning traditional arguments for equal opportunity around, the Klan argues for equal rights for those who traditionally have been viewed as the “oppressors,” the white Christian mainstream.

Effort and Optimism: Immigrants to America brought with them the notion that hard work is a means of “realizing God’s grace” and that material rewards are “evidence of receiving God’s grace” (Steele & Redding, 1962, p. 87). This value can be seen in the Klan’s call to unite the white race. Specifically, the Klan emphasizes “effort and optimism” by arguing that if the white race can come together as a group and work toward a common goal then the white race can stop the “destruction of our race and nation” (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). Correcting the
problems currently affecting America is no easy task and would take much hard work. However, the Klan confidently presents the idea that if the white race were able to come together, it could “save” the nation and the white race (Ku Klux Klan, 1995).

**Efficiency, Practicality, and Pragmatism:** Although American society emphasizes the importance of being active, it also promotes the use of the most efficient method of completing tasks (Steele & Redding, 1962). Efficiency in business and industry is closely linked to the notion that the ideal man is a practical man, the type of man who solves problems as they arise rather than being a long-range planner or dreamer (Steele & Redding, 1962). This value is illustrated in the Klan’s plan for reforming the welfare system. The Klan has devised a plan to test welfare recipients for drug use. According to this plan, those who are using drugs will no longer receive money from the government. The idea is presented as a very efficient and practical solution to the welfare problem.

**Rejection of Authority:** Americans traditionally have rejected the authority of “established social organizations or personal authorities” (Steele & Redding, 1962, p. 88). Instead, Americans value individualism and the ability of the ordinary individual to make decisions about his or her own affairs. This rejection of authority has taught Americans to think in terms of “rights rather than duties” (Steele & Redding, 1962, p. 88). The free enterprise system and the choice of political affiliation and occupation are among the freedoms that Americans value (Steele & Redding, 1962). This value can be seen in the Klan’s political agenda, specifically in its attacks on the American government and political leaders. The Klan reminds its audience that the government’s first obligation is the welfare of the American people (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). It then criticizes the government for providing protecting the borders of foreign countries (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The
Klan also directly attacks those in political power as “criminals” because they have enacted foreign trade policies such as NAFTA and GATT (Ku Klux Klan, 1995).

Science and Secular Rationality: Americans believe that they live in an “ordered universe in which intelligent beings can continually improve both themselves and their external conditions” (Steele & Redding, 1962, p. 88). They believe in honesty, order and a rational approach to life. This belief that problems can be predicted and plans made for solving them dictates American’s faith that everything has easy or quick answers (Steele and Redding, 1962). The Klan’s appeal to this value can be seen in its “answer” to the AIDS epidemic. The Klan states that the AIDS epidemic in the United States is caused by homosexuality and interracial marriages (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan implies that by simply outlawing these things, AIDS will no longer plague the United States. The Klan presents this as a very simple and easy solution to AIDS.

External Conformity: The American desire to be like other people is expressed in a variety of ways. For example, Americans often mold their personalities and actions to fit standards created by their peers. This reflects the value that Americans place on popularity and cooperation (Steele and Redding, 1962). The Klan strives for conformity by calling for a unity of the white race. This unity necessitates that members of the white race believe in the Klan’s ideology. Through this unity, the Klan believes the white race can save the nation from “destruction” (Ku Klux Klan, 1995).

Generosity and “Considerateness”: The American “missionary spirit” of helping others is manifested in this value. There is a genuine humanitarianism in America that influences people to help the “underprivileged” and come together during times of disaster (Steele & Redding, 1962, p. 90). Americans have a “determinations to bring the rest of the world the benefits of God’s benevolence as manifested in American economic, political and social institutions” (Steele &
Redding, 1962, p. 90). In the Klan's Web site, this value is manifested in the notion of "helping save" the white race from "the invisible agenda" that will destroy it (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). By trying to unite white people to save the race and the nation from "destruction" (Ku Klux Klan, 1995), the Klan portrays the white race as on the verge of disaster, and in turn, presents itself as the generous savior of the race.

_Patriotism:_ This value encompasses "loyalty to the traditions and values of America" (Steele & Redding, 1962, p. 90). This value includes belief in American ideals, being a good citizen and protecting the country from any outside aggressions (Steele & Redding, 1962). Appeals to patriotism are used numerous times in the Klan's Web site. For example, the Klan uses the words "America" or "American" throughout the site. The Klan also makes reference to "my country, homeland, and its Constitution and laws" in the membership application, indicating that the Klan finds patriotism an important quality in future members. The Klan's political agenda also expresses patriotic views. For example, the Klan wants the American government to put "America First" by helping Americans before citizens of other countries (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan also attempts to demonstrate its concern about the welfare of the country when it promotes saving the nation from AIDS by preventing interracial marriages and homosexuality, stopping illegal aliens from entering the country, and preventing foreign business from buying American property.

Overall, cultural values are extremely important to propaganda because they can serve as the basis for powerful appeals and provide the framework from which cultural myths are created (Larson, 1995). These cultural myths also can serve as the foundation for powerful persuasive appeals and often give voice to a group's ideology. The following myths support the Klan's ideology and, subsequently, facilitate the Klan's propagandistic efforts.
Cultural Myths

Like cultural values, Larson (1995) explains that myths are comprised of the beliefs and attitudes that we absorb from our cultural training and upbringing. Cultural myths are actually "fantasy forms of deep and enduring values that most Americans hold" (Larson, 1995, p. 249). Myths are used to help explain cultural values by expressing them in easy-to-understand dramas (Larson, 1995).

The first cultural myth apparent in the Klan's Web site is "wisdom of the rustic." This myth relies on the notion that "no matter how devious the opposition, the simple wisdom of the backwoods wins out" (Larson, 1995, p. 233). Americans believe in "humble beginnings" and that through struggles and difficulties, even the most uneducated people can be "wise in a worldly way" (Larson, 1995, p. 233). This myth is based upon the values of puritan and pioneer morality; effort and optimism; and efficiency, practicality and pragmatism. Americans value the simplicity, self-discipline and humility of the puritan pioneer morality (Steele & Redding, 1962) that is present in the "wisdom of the rustic" myth. Americans also value hard work, as represented in the effort and optimism value (Steele & Redding, 1962). Being practical and using common sense in making decisions are components of the "efficiency, practicality and pragmatism" value (Steele & Redding, 1962, p. 86) that also is evident in the rustic's practical wisdom.

To some degree, the "wisdom of the rustic" myth can be seen in the Klan's use of the Confederate flag as a symbol of the group. For people familiar with the Klan's history, the flag is a reminder of the Klan's humble beginnings in the South. The Klan was not created by highly educated people, but by six Confederate veterans of the Civil War who lived in the small southern town of Pulaski, Tennessee (The Connecticut Education Association et al., 1981; Haas, 1963).
The Klan’s ideology statement illustrates the “wisdom of the rustic” myth in a much more obvious manner. The Klan states that it wants to help the working class by preventing American jobs from going to Mexico and by opposing any foreign business or trade that it thinks will harm the working class (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). This desire to help the working class rather than big business leads one to believe that the Klan’s membership is probably working class as well. Thus, the Klan presents itself as possessing knowledge and wisdom characteristic of hardworking, simple people.

The “possibility of success” is another prominent American cultural myth (Larson, 1995). This myth encompasses the American belief that, through hard work and honesty, one can achieve success (Larson, 1995). This myth is related to the “wisdom of the rustic” myth in that one can succeed not only by working hard, but also by using common sense and following the simple advice of common but wise people (Larson, 1995). The “possibility of success” myth encompasses the cultural values of achievement and success; equality of opportunity; and effort and optimism. The cultural value of achievement and success incorporates the American dream of the “self-made man who rises from rags to riches” (Steele & Redding, 1962, p. 88). This value, combined with the idea that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed, are dominant components in the “possibility of success” myth. The value of effort and optimism adds the idea that no problem is too difficult to overcome if optimistic effort is used (Steele and Redding, 1962).

The Klan appeals to the “possibility of success” myth several times in its Web site. At the time of this study, the Klan was engaging in a boycott of Texaco products. The Klan asks its supporters to join with other “White activists” against Texaco (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan implies that, though the determination of its members and sympathizers, the group can succeed in stopping what it deems as Texaco’s anti-white policies. On an even larger scale, the Klan believes that if the
white race fully unites, the destruction of the white nation and America can be
stopped (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). Through its ideology, boycott and application to
join the organization, the Klan tries to persuade the audience to adopt its beliefs and
join in its effort. By doing so, it implies that the Klan and its supporters can come
together and work to successfully overcome the problems evident in society.

The belief that the Klan can save the United States and the white race also is
manifested in the “coming of a messiah” myth. This myth is based on the idea that
“the culture is near disaster” or may already be engulfed in tragedy and therefore
needs a leader to bring the country out of disaster (Larson, 1995, p. 235). Leaders
who serve as “messiahs” must not just propose solutions to problems but must
promote action as well (Larson, 1995). This cultural myth encompasses the
cultural values of science and rationality as well as efficiency, practicality and
pragmatism. The science and rationality value explains America’s desire for quick
and easy-to-understand solutions to problems while the efficiency, practicality and
pragmatism value supports the need for a leader who can readily solve problems
(Steele & Redding, 1962).

This myth also is prominent in the Klan’s Web site. Primarily, the Klan
portrays itself as a messiah that is “bringing a message of hope and salvation to
White Christian’s of the world” (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan also states that it
is “committed to upholding and defending Western Christian civilization” (Ku Klux
Klan, 1995). Within its political agenda statement, the Klan identifies some of the
problems that it sees in America today. For example, the Klan believes that AIDS
is “ravaging our land” because interracial marriages and homosexuality are
permitted in the United States (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan also is concerned
about American foreign relations. The Klan believes that America is being
destroyed by an “invasion of illegal aliens” (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan also
opposes American property being sold to foreign companies and would end this
policy "if the Klan were in political power" (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). By identifying and intensifying some of these perceived problems, the Klan portrays an America that is on the brink of disaster. It then conveniently presents its method of saving the country. Thus, the Klan presents itself as the messiah that can come to the nation's aid.

The Klan also uses the "presence of conspiracy" myth to explain why it wishes to "save" America from impending doom. According to this myth, many of the problems faced by American society are the result of corruption in powerful groups. Specifically, the myth argues that those in power have conspired to create problems (Larson, 1995). This myth invokes the American value of rejection of authority, as well as freedom and individualism.

The Klan thrives on the "presence of conspiracy" myth; it is the foundation of most of the Klan's beliefs. In fact, the first line of its Web site states, "end the invisible agenda to destroy the white race" (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). Although the Klan never identifies the specific individuals that it believes are destroying the white race, it does imply that several groups are involved. For example, the Klan's belief statement argues that the "liberal media" is knowingly spreading lies about the Klan and its activities (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan's political agenda further identifies what the Klan believes is a conspiracy by foreigners against America. The Klan first speaks against foreign ownership of American business and property (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). After planting the idea that foreign businesses are covertly attempting to take-over America, the Klan discusses the loss of American jobs to foreign workers and goes so far as to imply that the American government is involved in this foreign takeover. In fact, it calls United States Congressmen and Senators "criminals" for approving policies such as NAFTA and GATT. To conclude the argument that there is a foreign conspiracy against America, the Klan draws attention to the "invasion of illegal aliens" from Mexico (Ku Klux Klan,
The use of the expression "invasion" connotes war and the idea that Mexico is planning to take over America. This, coupled with continued purchases of American property by foreign business and the possibility that the American government is involved in the conspiracy, functions to create doubt in the audience about the intentions of those in power.

The Klan's Web site also identifies other groups that it believes are conspiring against the Klan. For example, "Left wing terrorists," such as members of the Simon Weisenthal Center and the Anti Defamation League are accused of launching a 'hate campaign' against the Klan (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan implies that these groups have nothing better to do than attack the Klan and try to keep its Web site off the Internet (Ku Klux Klan, 1995).

The Klan's idea that foreigners are conspiring against America also can be seen in Reich's (1987) notion of "the mob at the gates," a parable that is closely aligned with the "conspiracy" myth. This parable insists that America stands alone as the last truly moral country left in a world that is full of problems and tragedies (Reich, 1987). The "mob at the gates" parable is evident in the Klan's disapproval of illegal aliens entering the United States and foreign entities being involved in American business (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). This clearly shows that the Klan sees America as privileged and believes that foreign groups are trying to take advantage of American privilege.

Larson (1995) also identifies the "value of a challenge" as another cultural myth. This myth suggests that valuable wisdom can be gained by struggling to meet challenges (Larson, 1995). This idea of a "rite of passage" personifies the values of achievement and success and effort and optimism. The value of competition is expressed in the "achievement and success" value, whereas the idea that through work one can "realize God's grace" is found in the "effort and optimism" value (Steele & Redding, 1962, pp. 86-87).
The Klan's appeal to the "value of a challenge" myth is not highly prominent in its Web site. However, it is evident in the Klan's stance against affirmative action (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan states that "people should be hired, promoted and given scholarship according to their ability" (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan's opposition to affirmative action calls upon the "value of a challenge" myth in that the Klan believes that people should be rewarded for their work rather than having things "given" to them because of their race (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan uses the "value of a challenge" myth to support its opposition to affirmative action by relying on American's value of hard work as a means of obtaining success and rewards. Although the Klan's opposition to affirmative action may lead to discrimination against minorities, the "value of a challenge" myth helps conceal the Klan's true intention.

The final cultural myth evident in the Klan's Web site is the myth of "eternal return." This myth idealizes a return to a past era that is believed to feature harmony and perfection. The myth argues that, by returning to these "roots," society can be rid of corruption and trouble (Larson, 1995). The Klan uses the myth of the eternal return when discussing some of the tragedies that it perceives in American society. In its political agenda statement, the Klan explains that America must enforce "sodomy and miscegenation laws and statues" because these immoral acts have caused "the plague of AIDS now ravaging our land" (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan further states that, "if America is ever to return to the great Christian nation it once was," Americans must stop interracial marriages and homosexuality (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). In essence, the Klan is proposing solutions that are based upon an idealized past.

Appeals to cultural values and myths can be extremely persuasive rhetorical tools. As the previous discussion makes clear, the Klan incorporates appeals to several powerful American cultural values and myths in its Web site. These appeals
also create a foundation for other tactics of propaganda evident in the Klan’s Web site. The following discussion identifies and delineates these tactics.

**Other Tactics of Propaganda**

After World War I, the Institute for Propaganda Analysis was formed to conduct research on both Allied and Axis propaganda (Sproule, 1987). Among its numerous findings, the Institute for Propaganda Analysis identified several tactics that commonly are found in propaganda (Larson, 1995). These tactics can be used to help analyze how the Klan’s Web site attempts to propagate the organization’s message.

Propagandists who want to heighten their credibility by convincing their audience that they or the group that they represent is not polished and manipulative may use the “plain folks” tactic of propaganda (Larson, 1995). The “plain folks” tactic serves to convince the audience that the propagandist is merely an average person, just like the majority of Americans (Larson, 1995). Therefore, the “plain folks” tactic creates a sense of common ground between the audience and the source of the propaganda (Larson, 1995, p. 371). This common ground is important because it helps the audience identify with the rhetor and therefore may encourage audience receptivity to the propagandistic message. This tactic can be enacted through both non-discursive and discursive symbols. For example, Larson (1995) identifies the use of a “back-country drawl,” wearing clothing identified with blue-collar jobs, and driving a tractor as illustrative of the “plain folks” tactic (pp. 370-371).

The Ku Klux Klan (1995) utilizes the “plain folks” tactic throughout its Web site. The Klan first attempts to create common ground with its audience by explaining that the Klan’s membership represents “all walks of life” and that it wants “good, decent and honorable Christian people” to join (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). This implies that the Klan is comprised of average Americans. Similar
statements remind the audience that every Klansman is an individual rather than a mindless follower of the Klan. This helps to strengthen the image that the Klan is comprised of ordinary men.

The Klan also identifies itself as a "non-commercial, non-profit, volunteer organization" (Ku Klux Klan, 1995) and reminds those interested in joining the organization that they must include "enough (money) to cover postage" because of this non-profit status (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan uses its non-profit status to associate itself with other non-profit organizations, such as fraternal clubs, youth groups and community organizations. Such groups typically are associated with positive, community-oriented activities and are widely accepted by mainstream America. Therefore, the Klan attempts to present itself as similar to other community-oriented organizations by calling attention to its non-profit status.

The Klan also utilizes the tactic of "plain folks" when discussing the censorship of its rhetoric. The Klan explains that its freedom of speech was violated when its Web site previously was removed from two separate Web servers (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). All Americans are entitled to certain rights as defined in the Constitution and Bill of Rights, yet the Klan asserts that it was unable to challenge the censorship of its Web site. This implies that the Klan does not have the power or connections to do this. By showing that the Klan was powerless to challenge this violation of its freedom of speech, the Klan implies that it faces the same problems as many other average Americans and is not a powerful political organization.

The propaganda tactic of "testimonial" also is somewhat evident in the Klan's Web site. This tactic features endorsements from well-known individuals or groups (Larson, 1995). Because the audience typically is unaware of the factuality of the testimony or the goal of the propaganda, "testimonials" often rely on the facade of truth to persuade the audience (Larson, 1995). While the Klan's Web
site features no direct endorsement from widely-known individuals, it does make reference to David Duke, a former Imperial Wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). Duke gained public notoriety after winning a seat in the Louisiana House of Representatives in 1989 and then making an unsuccessful bid for the Louisiana governorship in 1991 and the Presidency of the United States in 1992 ("Klandidates," 1992). Duke also was narrowly defeated in 1990 as a candidate for the U.S. Senate (Hall Jamieson, 1992). Therefore, Duke may well be seen as an influential person by people who are inclined to join the Klan.

The "bandwagon" tactic of propaganda involves calls to join an innovative group (Larson, 1995). Specifically, "bandwagoning" emphasizes that one does not want to missing out on an opportunity to "join the people" (Larson, 1995, p. 371). Propagandists who use the "bandwagon" technique often create a sense of urgency to elicit support for their cause or candidate. They do so by arguing that the audience must become involved now, before its too late (Larson, 1995).

The inclusive nature of the "bandwagon" tactic is utilized several times within the Klan's Web site. The Klan primarily attempts to draw together and unify white Christians. This call for unity is illustrated when the Klan encourages others of the white race to join its boycott against Texaco (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan states that Texaco should not be allowed to surrender to the demands of the NAACP (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). When doing so, the words "white people" and "unity" are typed in upper-case letters, thereby emphasizing the words and drawing attention to them. This call for "unity" is a direct attempt to motivate other white people to join the Klan's fight against companies that possess "anti-white" policies. The idea that Texaco surrendered to the NAACP's demands implies that Texaco (and white people) were attacked and that without unity among white people, anti-white policies will continue to be enacted and enforced. By creating the idea that the white race is in jeopardy of being destroyed, the Klan is able to create a sense of
urgency. Through this sense of urgency, the Klan tries to persuade new and current members to "jump on the bandwagon."

The Klan's Web site also uses the "bandwagon" technique in another area. The Klan states that "if White people ever join together; we will be able to stop the destruction of our race and our nation" (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). This is another call to unite the "white people" of America. By referring to the "destruction" of the country, the Klan creates the impression that there is an urgent need to act. The Klan then reminds the audience that it is the "oldest, large, and most professional Whites Rights group in the world" and draws memberships from "all walks of life" (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). These statements imply to the audience that the Klan already has significant membership, which in turn may influence the audience to join this popular white "bandwagon" to correct the perceived problems.

Instead of fairly telling both sides of an issue, propagandists usually only mention their beliefs and downplay information that supports the opposition's stance. This tactic, known as "card stacking," either downplays, denigrates or entirely avoids the other side of the issue (Larson, 1995, p. 372). "Card stacking" is used throughout the Klan's web site. For example, in its attack against Texaco's "anti-white" policies, the Klan does not explain that Texaco actually was discriminating against African-American employees before it was forced to comply with anti-discrimination and affirmative action policies. Therefore, the Klan is attacking Texaco for what the Klan believes are anti-white policies when in actuality, Texaco now appears to be following the law. By omitting information from Texaco and the NAACP concerning this issue, the Klan utilizes the "card stacking" tactic.

This tactic also is utilized when the Klan claims that its Web site was censored. It complains that groups such as the Simon Weisanthal Center and the ADL created a "hate campaign" against the Klan that led to the removal of its Web
site from two previous servers (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). However, the Klan does not explain why these groups wanted the Klan's Web site pulled from the Internet and provides no proof that these groups actually created a "hate campaign" against the Klan. Instead, the Klan simply argues that its freedom of speech was infringed upon (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). By denying the audience information about the opposing groups, the Klan is able to use "card stacking" to paint the opposition in a negative light.

Perhaps the most blatant use of "card stacking" on the Klan's Web site is in its political agenda statement. The Klan attacks numerous groups and provides little or no explanation of these group's beliefs. The Klan openly opposes non-Americans by stating that the American government should protect America first rather than other countries (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan does not explain why American troops have been sent to foreign lands. There is no mention of American troops helping to end conflicts or protecting citizens of politically unstable nations. Instead, the Klan focuses on its belief that the American government should correct all of America's problems first (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). Closely related to this is the Klan's belief that the American government should protect our borders from the "invasion of illegal aliens" (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan contends that if troops can be stationed in foreign lands, the government could station some along the United State's borders as well (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). Once again, the Klan does not explain any current methods being used by the American government to stop illegal aliens from entering the country and also does not explain why American troops are stationed in these foreign countries.

Other uses of "card stacking" against foreigners include the Klan's call to stop selling American property and business to foreigners and to stop American businesses from moving to Mexico (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The first statement does not explain the possible economic impact of preventing foreign businesses
from operating in America or from buying American properties. It also does not substantiate whether foreign business really is destroying American business.

Similarly, the Klan’s focuses on the loss of American jobs does not acknowledge that the prices of goods in America could rise if the employees were paid more or that some of the jobs held by workers in Mexico are not desired by workers in the United States. Instead, the Klan insists that these jobs should be performed by Americans, regardless of these factors.

Affirmative action is another American policy that the Klan attacks through “card stacking.” It believes that people should be hired and promoted based upon their talents rather than their race (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). However, the Klan does not acknowledge that affirmative action programs have been established to ensure that minorities have an equal opportunity in business or that without these programs, some minorities would find it difficult to secure jobs. Instead, the Klan presents only its side of the issue. The Klan also utilizes “card stacking” when discussing homosexuality and interracial marriages, both of which it opposes (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The Klan claims that these practices cause AIDS, are “abominations against God,” and are destroying America (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). However, the Klan fails to acknowledge that AIDS affects people of all sexual orientations and races.

Propagandists can deceive the audience in other ways as well. Similar to an endorsement, the tactic of “transfer” encourages the audience to associate their feelings about one thing with the source of the propaganda or the propaganda message (Larson, 1995). For example, by displaying a person in front of a prominent historical sight, the propagandist tries to encourage the audience to associate the person with their feelings about the location (Larson, 1995).

The Klan’s Web site uses “transfer” in two ways. First, those reading the page can click and see a picture of David Duke, in his Klan robes, standing in front
of the English Parliament building (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). Although the building is not in the United States, the building is a representation of “government.” Therefore, the Klan appears to be encouraging the audience to associate the Klansman with the legitimacy granted to government. The Klan also utilizes “transfer” through its use of the word “Christian” and the picture of the cross contained in its Web site. Through these associations with Christianity, the Klan attempts to move its audience to transfer its positive feelings about religion to the group itself. In turn, this could help create support and legitimacy for the Klan.

The use of “Glittering generalities,” another tactic of propaganda, also encourages the audience to transfer feelings to a group or idea. This tactic utilizes emotionally charged words, appeals to cultural values, and “abstract language” (Larson, 1995). The Klan’s Web site largely is built upon this tactic. The Klan’s use of the emotionally charges “god terms” and “charismatic terms” are a few of the types of “glittering generality” employed. The Klan also relies on cultural myths and values, as previously explained, to persuade the audience. These serve as “glittering generalities” because they too are strongly linked to emotions.

God terms are emotionally powerful words or expressions that are representational of a group or a culture during a certain time (Weaver, 1985). These terms are perceived positively by the audience (Weaver, 1985). Because god terms are emotionally linked and have a positive connotation, they help present the Klan’s ideas in a positive manner and distract audiences from perceiving the racist undertones of its rhetoric.

The term “American” and “America” are very powerful god term (Weaver, 1985). The Klan uses these words within their belief statement. Additionally, the Web site’s application for membership contains related words such as “country,” “homeland” and “Constitution.” By presenting the Klan’s beliefs as being “American” and benefiting America, the Klan appeals to patriotism, thereby
legitimizing the organization and its purpose. The Klan also uses the phrase “freedom of speech” in the site. This phrase refers to a key Constitutional right guaranteed to Americans. By showing readers that the Klan was denied this right through prior censorship of its Web site, it once again uses a powerful American belief to create sympathy for the itself. The Klan also uses the term “civil rights” in explaining its goals (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). Rather than calling itself a white supremacy group or a white nationalist group, the Klan refers to itself as a “white civil rights organization” (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The god term “civil rights” is associated with the struggle for basic human rights. The term works in the same way as “freedom of speech” in that it presents the Klan as a group who believes that it is being discriminated against. Just as the struggles of the original Civil Rights Movement generated sympathy for African-Americans, the Klan attempts to generate sympathy by creating the perception that it is “struggling” for the rights of white Americans and generate sympathy as well.

The god terms “future” and “children” also are utilized in the Klan’s propagandistic message. The belief statement contends that immigration is destroying the future of America’s children (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). By referring to children and their future, the Klan is able to use the innocence associated with children to its advantage. Because children must be cared for and protected by adults, the Klan uses this need for protection to remind the audience that they must act to save a generation of innocents who are unable to protect themselves. By expressing a desire to save the future for the children, the Klan is able to depict itself as a savior of the next generation.

Charismatic terms have no concrete meaning except that assigned to them by the people (Weaver, 1985). The people attach great emotional value to these words, therefore making them very rhetorically potent (Weaver, 1985). Because charismatic terms have deep emotional value, they serve to incite enthusiasm in the
audience (Weaver, 1985). The Klan’s use of charismatic terms is evident in its assertion that it brings “hope and salvation” to the White Christians of the world (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). The terms “hope” and “salvation” serve to incite a sense of urgency in the audience by creating the idea that the world is in on the brink of disaster and must be saved. The Klan also makes reference to “freedom” (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). “Freedom” has been a very potent charismatic term for many years (Weaver, 1985). For Americans, this term incites feelings of patriotism and a sense of urgency to help preserve freedom.

Just as god terms are used to associate an idea to something positive, devil terms are used to foster negative connotations (Weaver, 1985). These devil terms, and charismatic terms that possess negative connotations, are manifested in the “name calling” tactic of propaganda. The opposite of “glittering generalities,” “name calling” depicts the opposition of the propagandist in a negative light (Larson, 1995). This tactic primarily is used to identify and vilify the propagandist’s enemies (Larson, 1995).

The Klan often employs the “name calling tactic” to identify its enemies. For example, the Klan refers to African-Americans as “ranting negro thugs” and “negro terrorists.” The word “thug” is defined by Webster (1993) as a “gangster, killer” (p. 1231). The use of the word reduces African-Americans to the status of criminals. By referring to African-Americans as “terrorists,” the Klan enacts a similar image. Webster (1993) defines “terrorism” as “the systematic use of terror, especially as a means of coercion” (p. 1217). Once again, the Klan reduces African-Americans to the status of criminals by implying that African-Americans can only accomplish goals through coercion and crime and, more importantly, are a threat to white America.

The Klan also attacks groups that have opposed its Web site. Specifically, the Klan refers to the ADL and the Simon Wiesenthal Center as “left wing
terrorists.” By using the word “terrorist,” the Klan is able to portray these groups as villains who employ violence in their attempts to destroy the Klan. The Klan further vilifies these groups by claiming that they have created a “hate campaign” against the Klan (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). “Hate” is a powerful charismatic term in that it can incite strong emotions against the groups that oppose the Klan. The combination of these terms helps to mobilize audience members to join the Klan’s efforts to save the world, protect American’s freedoms, and ironically enough, abolish hate (i.e. directed toward the Klan).

Yet another reference to crime can be found in the Klan’s political agenda. Here, Congressmen and Senators are referred to as “criminals” for supporting NAFTA and GATT (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). By calling elected officials “criminals,” the Klan implies that they have committed actual crimes against American society rather than having simply enacted policies with which the Klan does not agree. This use of “name calling” prompts the audience to question the capabilities and motivations of their elected officials in Washington.

The Klan’s use of the terms “thug,” “terrorist” and “criminal” also can be considered contemporary devil terms. Crime and violence always have stirred fear and other negative emotional responses in Americans. However, in this era of increased violent crime and international terrorism, Americans are more aware of and seriously affected by the problems associated with crime, violence and terrorism. Therefore, the Klan’s use of these terms can trigger very strong reactions toward the groups that the Klan labels as “thugs,” “terrorists,” and “criminals.”

One final use of “name calling” can be found in the Klan’s belief statement. Specifically, the Klan refers to the media as “liberal” (Ku Klux Klan, 1995). Webster (1993) defines “liberal” as “one who is ... not strict in the observance of orthodox, traditional or established forms or ways” (p. 670) Given that the Klan is
a revivalistic organization, the group advocates adherence to traditional, established values. Therefore, the Klan sees anything that is “liberal” as immoral and dangerous. By using the term “liberal media,” the Klan implies that the media not only presents information in a politically slanted manner, but that the information also is dangerous to American’s well being.

The power of god terms, devil terms and charismatic terms lies in their emotional value. These terms allow the Klan’s audience to associate positive emotions with the group and negative emotions with the group’s opposition. The use of these terms encourages the audience to use emotion, rather than logic, when forming ideas and opinions (Larson, 1995). This is particularly helpful to the Klan when they disguise their message of hate with these emotionally loaded terms. The audience may be unaware of the true intent of the rhetoric because they already have formed opinions based on their emotional responses to the Klan’s use of god, devil and charismatic terms.

As the previous discussion indicates, the Klan utilizes many tactics of propaganda to spread its ideology. Through these tactics, the Klan attempts to mold its message into a form that is more readily acceptable to most Americans. The Klan promotes common ground with its audience through the use of the plain folks tactic. It has created a sense of urgency to join the Klan and save the white race with the bandwagon tactic. The Klan also has concealed its opposition’s opinions through the card stacking tactic. The Klan also uses the power of glittering generalities and name calling to persuade its audience. By using god terms in its glittering generalities, the Klan presents itself in a positive manner. In contrast, the Klan uses the negative associations of devil terms against its enemies through the name-calling tactic. Through these tactics, the Klan has shaped its ideology into a message that may possess a great deal of persuasive appeal for many Americans.
CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

This study has argued that the Ku Klux Klan uses the power of the Internet to spread its ideology and recruit new members. To provide a foundation for this argument, the study first provided a detailed history of nativism in America and delineated the evolution of the Ku Klux Klan. It then argued that the Klan is a participant in the White Nationalist Movement and discussed the importance of persuasion to social movement organizations. The paper finally examined the appeals to cultural values and myths as well as the tactics of propaganda that the Klan employed in its Web site to promote its ideology.

The prominence of nativism in American society historically has promoted tolerance of discrimination. This, in turn, has allowed American hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan to not only form, but to thrive. Although the Klan began as a social club for former Confederate soldiers, it quickly evolved into a band of night-riding vigilantes. Although the Klan’s membership has significantly waned over the years, it has enjoyed three distinct incarnations, all at times when America was facing significant social, moral and political change. Xenophobia was common, and condoned, in American during and after World War I. As America faced the social changes brought on by mass immigration and increasing urbanization, the Klan found a home in mainstream America as the saviors of “100% Americanism.” During the Civil Rights Movement, the Klan experienced a second resurgence when it attempted to counter African-American’s quest for equal rights. The Klan’s final reincarnation occurred during the 1980s and continues today. The current Klan has found strength in American’s disenchantment with the government and the failing economy. The Klan today still advocates political change and American morality.
The Klan's pro-white message aligns itself with the ideology of the White Nationalist Movement. This movement, which includes organizations such as the Aryan Nations, seeks improvements in America and the world by "returning power" to the white race. Toward this end, the White Nationalist Movement, the Klan, and other groups within the movement, rely on a variety of propagandistic techniques.

In particular, exploration of the Klan's Web site demonstrates how it employs this new form of mass communication to promote its ideology and that of the larger White Nationalist Movement. Primarily, the Klan's Web site functions as a propagandistic device used to disseminate its call for White Nationalism. Within its Web site, the Klan relies heavily on appeals to American cultural values and myths as the building blocks for establishing and spreading its ideology. The Klan also utilizes the deceptive tactics of propaganda delineated by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis to align its ideology with its audience's beliefs, attitudes, and values.

This study has shown that hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan are not using the Internet to simply disseminate "information," but are using it to promote their ideologies and recruit members as well. This study clearly indicates that many of the Klan's goals and the implications of its proposed "solutions" to America's problems are concealed in its Web site. By using propaganda, the Klan is able to mask its true intent and the implications of its rhetoric. Therefore, this study provides valuable information to help consumers of the Internet become more aware of the persuasive tactics that White Nationalist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan use to influence the audience to accept their ideology and recruit members.

Besides the specific rhetorical devices used in the Klan's Web site, this essay also provides insight into the rhetorical focus of the Klan's Web site. Because of the Klan's history as a violent white supremacy group, one might
expect to find that its rhetoric focuses on racial issues. However, the Klan's rhetoric is distinctly nationalistic. Throughout the Web site, the Klan identifies problems that it believes are destroying America and then defines its solutions to these problems. It is important to note that some of the problems identified do have racial undertones. This is particularly true of the Klan's discussion of welfare reform, affirmative action, and the prohibition of interracial marriage. However, all of these issues are addressed from the standpoint that they are destroying America, or preventing American's from achieving the American dream. By doing so, the Klan avoids making explicit calls to deny equal opportunity to African-Americans and other minorities. This appears to be an attempt by the Klan to become more "mainstream" and change its image as a racist organization. Therefore, this study shows that the rhetorical focus of the Ku Klux Klan has changed as the group evolved and that its current focus has been adapted to recent current economic, political and social concerns.

This study also exposes the censorship that the Klan and other White Nationalist groups have faced on the Internet. Groups who oppose the rhetoric of White Nationalist groups have been successful in having White Nationalist Web sites removed from servers (Ku Klux Klan, 1995; Stormfront, 1995). However, because the Klan's freedom of speech is constitutionally protected, it has been able to continue to use the Internet to disseminate its ideology by placing its Web site on a different Web server. Therefore, it can be assumed that more non-mainstream groups, such as those in the White Nationalist Movement, will utilize the Internet to disseminate "information" and search for new members because of access to a mass medium.

As disturbing as this might seem initially, it is important to remember that "hate" groups are not the only marginalized groups that can benefit from the Internet's wide reach. Other disenfranchised groups, such as ethnic minorities and
children, also can make use of the Internet to have their “voices” heard. Never before in history has this mass communicative power of public expression been extended to so many different people. This can only enhance the ability of “the people” to come together and participate in public debate over significant public issues.

Finally, this study also provides valuable insight into the types of events that can trigger the resurgence of Klan activity in America. The birth of the Klan as well as its three reincarnations all occurred during times of great political, social and economic change in America. During these times, Americans desperately sought answers to problems believed to have been brought about by these changes. On each of these occasions, the Klan stepped in to provide “solutions” to these problems. Therefore, it can be predicted that if the nation were to face another era of extreme social unrest, public interest in the Klan and other White Nationalist groups might experience an increase. Although the Klan, as a group in a social movement, seemed to terminate its existence three times in American history, it never completely disappeared from the minds of Americans. Therefore, it is important to be aware of the conditions conducive to Klan resurgence so as to be alert for the rise in propagandistic appeals used by the group to gain membership and momentum for their movement.

While this study provides insight into the Ku Klux Klan and the propagandistic tactics evident in its Web site, the study does have several limitations. First, only one Web site associated with the White Nationalist Movement was analyzed in this essay. Therefore, these findings may not be generalizable to all White Nationalist Web sites. Still, because the Ku Klux Klan is a well recognized and fairly mainstream White Nationalist group, it is more likely that the propaganda tactics evident in its Web site may be evident in other White Nationalist Web sites as well.
These findings also are based on the study of a constantly changing piece of rhetoric. Web sites are regularly updated and changed. In fact, the Web site analyzed in this study has been changed and updated since the time that this study began. Therefore, discoveries made through the analysis of the original version of the Klan's Web site may not hold true of this updated Web site.

Besides the constantly changing nature of the Klan's Web site, another limitation of this study stems from the inability to distinguish between the Web site of the real Ku Klux Klan and that of an impostor Web site. At the time this study began, only one Web site was found that claimed to represent the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. However, by the time that this study was completed, a new Web site claiming to be the “official” homepage of the Ku Klux Klan was on-line (http://shell.idt.net/edoneili/kkkhome). The second site was titled the “official Ku Klux Klan home page” and claims that its national headquarters are in Harrison, Arkansas (Ku Klux Klan, 1997). This Web site, which was still under construction at the time of this writing, includes the same belief statement and political agenda analyzed in this study and refers to these statements as the “official Ku Klux Klan F.A.Q” (Ku Klux Klan, 1997). Therefore, the Web site analyzed may represent only one faction of the Ku Klux Klan rather than the national organization.

Each day hundreds of thousands of Americans access the Internet. Once on-line, Americans can be persuaded by thousands of messages and images. Although most of these messages encourage the audience to buy a product or service, hundreds of other Web sites attempt to “sell” their respective ideologies. This is true of the hundreds of hate groups and religious fringe groups that are on-line attempting to recruit new members. Although the Internet may never be free of the messages of hate groups, we can take away much of their power by studying these groups and understanding the types of rhetoric that they use to propagate their
beliefs. This will allow us to be more effective consumers of information on the Internet.
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

End the Invisible Agenda to Destroy the White Race

The world's oldest, largest, and most professional Whites' civil rights organization.

Thank you for stopping by the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan's World Wide Web page. For more information concerning our organization please write or call the National Office at: National Office P.O. Box 218 North Salem, IN 46165 phone: (317) 522-1215, or send e-mail to the address at the bottom of the screen.

***STANDARD DISCLAIMER***

The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan are a non-commercial, non-profit, volunteer organization. We rely solely on donations from our membership and our supporters throughout the world. The opinions expressed on this web site are in no way a reflection of the provider (ISP: iglou.com) of the web site. This page is entirely POLITICAL in nature. If you do not agree with our politics that is fine. Just remember that we have EVERY right to express our opinions. This is in the interest of free speech and to combat internet censorship.

Click here for a statement of our beliefs.

The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan announces a NATIONWIDE boycott of TEXACO. In cooperation with other White activists, we have decided to initiate this boycott. TEXACO will not be allowed to capitulate to the ranting negro thugs of the NAACP and other negro terrorists.

WHITE PEOPLE: Show UNITY! DO NOT BUY TEXACO PRODUCTS.

Follow this link to the Texaco page
Or you can voice your opinion of Texaco's anti-White policies by sending e-mail to Texaco
Please note the following: If you want additional information regarding the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, please write the National Office. As we are a not for profit organization, please enclose enough to cover postage. Any donations you wish to make will be much appreciated.

The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan are bringing a message of hope and salvation to White Christians of the world. Our Imperial Council is comprised of the finest White men in America. KKK Imperial Council: National Director (Imperial Wizard): Troy Murphy, Deputy National Director (Imperial Klaliff): Christopher Johnson, National Security Coordinator (Imperial Knighthawk): Dennis McGiffen

The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan are the direct descendant of Mr. David Duke's Klan. Beware of imposters; We are the only true Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Click here to see Mr. Duke in robes in front of England's Parliament building.

As this page has been censored multiple times, it is difficult to ascertain how many people have actually stopped by. The page started a year ago on geocities. The left wing terrorists (ADL, Simon Weisenthal Center, SPLC) wasted no time in putting together a hate campaign to have it removed. These enemies of free speech were successful in having it pulled from www.geocities.com. The page then migrated to www.usawatch.com. Again, the left wing terrorists had it pulled. Now the page has come to rest at this ISP who says, "the content is unregulated." They also have the blue ribbon for "free speech" right on their web page. Well folks, they talk the talk so we'll see if they will walk the walk. Only time will tell if this ISP is really committed to free speech. Anyway, since July 20, 1996: You are visitor number:

42126

Click here to see a traditional Cross lighting

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

- Links to other sites on the Web

- The Aryan Crusader's Library
- Stormfront's White Nationalist Resource Page
- First Amendment Page <-- A MUST see Page
- Alpha Page (Aryan Resistance)
- Resistance Records Homepage
- Scriptures for America
- Fenix Books (Politically Incorrect)

If you use the Internet Relay Chat system please note the following. The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan regularly sponsor many chat channels. When you enter IRC please do a: /msg kkk Or you may join the #kkk channel on the undernet servers. Please be sure to utilize the undernet servers. If you are unfamiliar with irc please contact your ISP for instructions.
To be born WHITE is an honor and a privilege.

E-mail the KKK at:

© 1995 To Contact the Klan: kkk@iglou.com
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

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

1. The Klan hates black people.

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

2. The Klan is against Catholics.

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

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

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

What the Klan really is.

1. The Klan is a gathering of White Christian men and women who are joined together because of the common bond they share by blood and faith. Each person is an individual and we do not attempt to do your thinking for you.

2. The Klan is the oldest, largest, and most professional Whites Rights group in the world. Our membership draws from all walks of life. We are committed to upholding and defending Western Christian civilization.

The Klan Political Agenda.

1. America First!

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

2. Drug testing for Welfare Recipients.
KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

(517) 731-1867 (Michigan)
(618) 254-3859 (Illinois)
(614) 279-3593 (Ohio)

Write to the Klan

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