Ideological themes of eugenics and gender in contemporary British fascism: a discursive analysis

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Ideological Themes of Eugenics and Gender in Contemporary British Fascism: A Discursive Analysis

by
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Doctoral Thesis
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Abstract – Ideological Themes of Eugenics and Gender in Contemporary British Fascism: A discursive Analysis

Key words: fascism; discourse analysis; gender; eugenics; denial of racism; ideological dilemmas.

This thesis is a study of contemporary British fascist ideology as expressed in the texts produced by or in association with the British National Party (BNP). It differs from previous studies in that it starts at the depth of the ideology and examines its rhetorical and ideological structure. Drawing on the theory and methodology of critical discourse analysis, this thesis explores the rhetorical and presentational strategies used in contemporary British fascist texts. As such, it examines how constructions of us and the Other are deracialised, warranted and constructed as fact.

The thesis also differs from previous studies in that it explores the pattern of contemporary British fascist ideology and emphasises its intrinsically gendered nature. Eugenics is taken as the core ideological theme of fascism, whose focus is on breeding a racially pure and healthy nation. The notion of breeding ensures that gender lies at the core of the ideology. Drawing on the idea of a polarised rhetorical and argumentative structure, this thesis also examines how fascism constructs the ideological opposites of eugenics.

The first opposite to eugenics explored in this thesis is liberal ideology and specifically feminism. The analysis examines how fascist opposition to these is based on the essentialist belief in the fixed biological nature of both race and gender. The analysis looks at the presentational strategies as well as the argumentative content of anti-feminist discourse in contemporary British fascist texts. The second opposite to eugenics explored is multiculturalism. The thesis explores how stories about rape simultaneously construct race and warrant arguments about the harmful effects of their presence on our society. The analysis examines the various presentational strategies used to portray us as the victims of the Other.

It is by studying the interconnection between these three themes that this thesis argues that fascism, with its eugenic orientation, is not only a racial ideology but a gendered one. The analysis of contemporary British fascist accounts undertaken in this thesis goes some way to providing an understanding of the relationship between gender and race that is at the essentialist core of fascist ideology.
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Introduction

Despite its fall in popularity following the Second World War, fascist ideology has not died out in the contemporary world. Indeed, continental fascist organisations continue to be well represented on the local, national and pan-European levels. Although British groups have not fared as well as their European counterparts, organisations such as the British National Party (BNP) continue to attract support and in the past decade have achieved a minor electoral success. Moreover, as Billig points out, during the 1970s, Britain was the only European country in which a fascist organisation was able to mobilise more domestic support than had been generated during the inter-war years.

In many ways, it is more interesting to study the ideology of an organisation that remains on the political fringes, such as the BNP, than to focus on movements that are part of everyday political life. Fascist organisations that are part of the political mainstream have, to some extent, had to compromise their ideology to achieve electoral success. That is not to say that they have abandoned their ideological heritage altogether. From time-to-time, leaders of major fascist parties have been known to eschew respectability to promote controversial ideas and opinions. The most notable example of this is the leader of the Front National, Le Pen, whose outspoken comments about the Holocaust temporarily threatened his political credibility. Given their lack of involvement in establishment politics, contemporary British fascist organisations are able to promote their ideology without the same constraints as their continental peers.

In studying the ideology of contemporary British fascist organisations, this thesis is therefore able to explore an instance of fascist thought in a ‘purer’ form than that currently expressed in Europe. However, this thesis aims to show that even in so-called ‘pure’ cases, the ideology exists within particular rhetorical situations that create dilemmas for the ideologists.
Far from being the simple delusion of a bigoted and ignorant minority, (fascism) is a set of beliefs whose structure arises from the deepest levels of our lives – from the fabric of assumptions we make about the world, ourselves, and others, and from the patterns of our fundamental social activities.\(^5\)

Fascism poses a challenge for academic psychologists, asking us to find a means of exploring it as an ideology with a social and argumentative context, rather than as a political aberration or anomaly. A failure to rise to this challenge inevitably leads to a lack of clarity about what fascism is, how its ideology is constructed, and why its ideas entice and appeal. It requires an approach that takes into consideration the ideological dilemma of being a fascist in an age of increasing egalitarianism and multiculturalism. By looking at fascist ideology in its less successful periods, it is possible to explore it in a way that is at once cognisant of, yet not overly concerned with, the influence of the wider social context. At the same time, by exploring fascist ideology rather than fascist supporters, it is possible to avoid some of the cognitive reductionism of traditional psychological approaches.

Previous studies of fascism that have adopted such an approach have been useful in elucidating the structure of fascist ideology.\(^6\) This thesis is different to studies whose focus has been on differentiating between the surface and depth of fascist ideology. It examines contemporary British fascist texts as empirical and rhetorical units. It is in this way that the strategies involved in disseminating fascist ideas and the role of the social context in shaping such strategies can be uncovered.

This thesis also explores the overall pattern of contemporary British fascist ideology, revealing the way that ideological themes and dilemmas are manifest in fascist texts. In particular, the thesis focuses on how the ideology constructs notions of *us* and the *Other*. In addition, this thesis explores how the notion of *Otherness* is not only about the external or racial *Other*, but is also concerned with the internal or gendered *Other*. 
The notion of eugenics — i.e., the belief in breeding a racially pure nation — is
taken to be the key organising theme of contemporary British fascist ideology.
Rather than collect all examples of pro-eugenic thought in fascist texts, and
instead of analysing all arguments against the internal and external Other, my
analysis focuses in depth on a few instances of each. Such an approach enables
us to reach a deep understanding of how ideology is constructed in some fascist
texts, which can then be used to provide an ideological portrait of contemporary
British fascism. Through my approach, I propose to show that fascism, with its
emphasis on biology and hierarchy can not be understood as being a purely
racial ideology. I argue that the inter-connection between race and gender in
fascist thought must be appreciated to gain a deeper understanding of the nature
of fascist ideology.

Chapter 1 begins with a discussion of the problem of defining fascism and
fascist phenomena. This starts with an examination of how the existence of
different varieties of fascist ideology has made it difficult to categorise. The
discussion then moves on to a history of theoretical approaches to fascism, with
an emphasis on how academic perspectives have been influenced by prevailing
cultural opinion. Chapter 1 goes on to provide a history of British fascism from
before the Second World War to the present. It describes how the current fascist
movements in the UK are a product of their antecedents, reflecting earlier
tensions and splits over ideology and practice. There then follows a discussion
of the nature and basis of support for fascist movements in the UK and a general
description of fascist ideology.

Chapter 2 begins with a discussion of the impact of psychoanalytic and
psychological theory in explaining the appeal of and processes involved in the
support of fascist ideology. There then follows a detailed account of the various
permutations of the psychoanalytic concept of the authoritarian personality.
Chapter 2 then goes into a more detailed discussion of the racist’s simultaneous
need for and fear of the Other.
Chapter 2 proceeds to describe the psychological theories of crowd behaviour, the collective unconscious and deindividuation, which is followed by a discussion of how these ideas appealed to both Hitler and Mussolini. This is followed by an exploration of contemporary psychoanalytic interpretations of racism and prejudice. Particular attention is given to psychoanalytic portrayals of the role of archetypes of race and gender, which leads into a discussion of how men and women are sexualised according to their race in fascist ideology.

Chapter 3 begins with a historical discussion of the origins of eugenic ideology and practice. Along with an outline of eugenic thought, chapter 3 discusses how the eugenics movement developed before the Second World War. There then follows a discussion about the effects of liberal and Civil Liberties ideology on the eugenics movement. In particular, chapter 3 describes how much of the racial content of eugenic theory has been concealed and denied in the public statements of various contemporary eugenic organisations.

Chapter 3 then moves into a discussion about the impact that eugenics has had on fascist ideology. In particular, it describes how the inter-War forms of fascist ideology emphasised breeding and racial purity. Chapter 3 discusses how historically, fascist organisations opposed feminism and enforced heterosexuality as part of their eugenic strategy, promoting ideal-type constructions of both race and gender. Chapter 3 concludes with a description of the continuity of these themes in contemporary British fascist ideology.

Chapter 4 outlines the theoretical background to the methodology adopted in this thesis. It begins by debunking the idea that prejudice can be explored in a neutral or non-biased manner. As such, chapter 4 argues that there is always stake in any research, and that the denial of such stake could actually be detrimental to a study of prejudice. The chapter then describes the specifics of the critical discourse analytic approach adopted in this thesis.
Outlining the systematic nature of the methodology employed in this thesis, chapter 4 describes how the analysis not only explores the strategies of presentation but also the pattern of fascist ideology. The chapter explains how the themes were selected for analysis on the basis of rhetorical theory: i.e., that an argument for pro-eugenic theory implies an argument against non-eugenic theory. There is also a discussion about the specific material selected for analysis and an explanation of the methodological processes used in this study.

Chapter 5 is the first of the three empirical chapters in this thesis. It contains analysis of eugenic arguments contained in contemporary British fascist literature. The chapter explores the rhetorical strategies used in the texts that enable eugenic arguments to be passed off as fact. Meanwhile, it also describes how the polarised argumentative context ensures that the positive presentation of eugenics implies a negative portrayal of anti-eugenic and liberal arguments, and vice versa.

Chapter 5 also explores the techniques used to construct deracialised arguments in eugenic texts. This then leads into a discussion about how eugenics is constructed as a necessity and how this in turn reveals an imperative to breed that implicitly defines gender roles. Chapter 5 explores how pro-eugenic arguments are portrayed as being natural and reasonable and how anti-eugenic arguments are constructed as running counter to common sense. As such, it explores how the imagined community is constructed in eugenic accounts and how the audience is inscribed into pro-eugenic arguments.

Chapter 6 explores how feminism is constructed as a specific instance of anti-eugenic argument in contemporary British fascist texts. My analysis examines the use of the biological metaphor to essentialise gender difference, and outlines the strategies used to construct fixed gender roles as being both natural and reasonable.
This leads to an analysis of the way that feminism is opposed in contemporary British fascist texts on the basis that it collapses the notion of essential gender difference. Within the chapter, the warranting techniques used to construct feminism as harmful to the welfare of women and families are also analysed. Attention is paid to the use of contingency repertoires of conspiracy to explain the prevalence of support for feminism. The chapter contains an exploration of how fascist arguments against feminism are legitimated through their strategy of doing feminism: e.g., portraying themselves as being concerned about the happiness of women. The chapter also explores how the audience is inscribed through such self-presentation techniques into the arguments about gender roles and family.

The second half of chapter 6 focuses on the ways in which feminism is portrayed as leading to the feminisation of men and the masculinisation of women, and how fascist texts thereby construct the internal Other. It is at this point that my analysis locates the gendered core of fascist ideology. The chapter explores how the essentialist notion of fixed biological gender traits is constructed and then translated from the personal to the political, so that it is extended from individuals to ideology and politicians. The chapter concludes by exploring the means by which feminism is portrayed as leading not only to a weakening of men and the lack of fulfilment of women, but also to the enfeeblement of the nation.

It is in chapter 7 that the themes of race and gender are brought together through the analysis of the sexualisation of the male Other and the portrayal of us as victims. The chapter explores how Otherness is constructed in contemporary British fascist accounts of rape through deracialised arguments and the portrayal of the habitual criminality of the Other. The chapter explores the devices used in fascist texts to construct the accounts of rape as fact. Along with an analysis of the techniques of fact construction, the chapter explores how fascist texts portray their own interest in the accounts of rape.
This leads into a discussion about the role that accounts of rape have in legitimising arguments about the inferiority of the Other, and in providing a basis for policies of exclusion. Chapter 7 also explores how the innocence of the victims of rape is constructed in contemporary British fascist texts. The chapter examines the arguments used in contemporary fascist accounts of rape to construct it as being more than an interpersonal crime. In exploring the polarity that is constructed between our innocence and the criminality of the Other, this chapter explores how the purity of the imagined community and the threat posed to it by the presence of the Other are constructed. The chapter concludes by describing how accounts of rape in contemporary fascist texts have a climactic structure. It discusses how they draw on strategies to construct as fact the badness of the Other to warrant arguments for his exclusion.

Chapter 8 draws the analytic themes together to show how they interconnect and form the core of fascist ideology. It highlights how attacks on feminism and portrayals of black men raping white women are used to support the eugenic and essentialist arguments contained within fascist ideology. This leads into a discussion about the importance of gender in fascist ideology and the role that the accounts analysed have in integrating its gendered and racial beliefs. The chapter concludes by arguing that due to the essentialist and hierarchical nature of fascist ideology, it is inappropriate to look at the notions of race contained within it in isolation from those of gender.
Notes for Introduction


Chapter 1
Overview of academic approaches to fascism and background of UK fascism

This chapter explores the various definitions of fascism, and outlines the different academic approaches to it. It gives a brief history of British fascism in terms of the movements, their leaders and their supporters. The relationship between British fascism and the political context is also explored. An overview of the content of fascist ideology is also presented in this chapter, which concludes by presenting arguments in favour of a psychological approach to the ideology.

Problems of Definition
Fascism has proven to be a difficult ideology for academics to define. Although attempts at classification such as that made by Lipset and Raab provide precise definitional criteria, they do not accommodate all of the movements they seek to describe. Part of the problem for those defining fascism is the emotive and contentious nature of the ideology itself. For example, Kitchen has argued that his own difficulty in defining fascism and placing it within a particular social context may reflect the fact that its origins lie in the genocidal tendencies of its inventors.

In the immediate post-war era, the consensus in Western academic and political thought was that the Second World War was a struggle by democracy against fascism. The prevailing opinion was that fascism had been eradicated and was unlikely to present a new threat to democracy in continental Europe, much less so in the UK.

Fascism was first regarded as self-evident and then, in the western world, as a tabu.
Stemming from the belief that fascism had been vanquished, there was a general reluctance amongst academics to devote attention to it, lest such observation led to renewed respect for the discredited ideology. Baker describes this academic response to the study of fascism as being based on emotion rather than reality.  

Because of the prevalence of these approaches, it was impossible for the concept of fascism to gain recognition as a problem, except in a marginal fashion, within the framework of the dominant schools of interpretation.

Reflecting the academic orthodoxy described above, many academics saw fascism as an aberration, alien to society and to culture in general. Similarly, scholars were inclined to portray members and leaders of fascist organisations as inhuman or pathological. There was an underlying tendency amongst academics to deny or ignore the prevalence of racism at a cultural level. The focus of academic study was on the racism that was consciously generated rather than that which was deeply embedded in society’s mythology and institutions. Poliakov describes the motivation behind such thinking as shame or fear, which led many Western academics to scapegoat the more prominent proponents of racist and fascist ideas.

These ideological winds reflect the uneasiness of a society which not so long ago, in thought if not in deed, was an accomplice of Hitler’s racism.

Nolte describes how the post-war consensus was shattered following the start of the Cold War. It was during this period that academic thought became polarised between Marxist and Liberal scholars, heralding the politicisation of fascism within academic thought. Marxists portrayed fascism as a manifestation of the disintegration of capitalist society leading to bourgeois dictatorship. This belief stemmed from the tendency amongst Marxist scholars to distinguish between base and superstructure.
Factors such as the individual politicians, or the operation of the party system, have been downplayed in favour of more sociological explanations.\textsuperscript{12}

Meanwhile, liberal scholars compared communist and fascist regimes, conceptualising fascism as a variant of totalitarianism.\textsuperscript{13} This led to several studies of fascism that contrasted the authoritarianism of left- and right-wing ideologies to explore the politics and activities of mass movements.\textsuperscript{14}

Despite the growing academic interest in fascism since the 1960s, the lack of consensus regarding its definition and significance has continued to the present day. The controversy surrounding fascism has led some academics, to question the usefulness of using the term "fascist" to characterise ideology.

Close to a decade of scholarly discussion has yielded nothing even approaching a consensus on the essential characteristics of fascism as a generic phenomenon, its causes, or even which movements and regimes properly deserve the title.\textsuperscript{15}

Billig suggests that despite the problems of definition, it would be inappropriate to abandon the term "fascist" altogether. He argues that re-naming modern fascism could lead to the obscuring of its ideological and historical legacy and an over-interpretation of the changes and discontinuities in ideology and practice in the post-war era.\textsuperscript{16}

Various solutions have been proposed to tackle the problems in defining fascism. For example, Cronin suggests that the classification should include those movements that have accepted the label "fascist" for themselves, and those which have adopted the ideology of former fascist regimes. He argues that this approach to defining fascism makes sense given that there have been changes in the strategy and appearance of fascist organisations and in the cultural context in which they exist since the end of the Second World War.
Sir Oswald Mosley and John Tyndall are separated by half a century. The images which their movements provoke are very different...the former was openly fascist, while the latter has largely hidden his fascist thinking behind electoral politics.\(^\text{17}\)

In addition, Cronin suggests that those movements that are hostile to democracy and which promote racism and nationalism can be categorised as fascist, along with those that advocate violence and which recruit heavily amongst the younger section of the population.\(^\text{18}\)

An alternative strategy for defining the characteristics of the extreme right would be to start with the movements which one wishes to categorize as fascist and then ... attempt to extract their common distinguishing characteristics. It would not matter if the resulting characteristics led to some difficult, or borderline cases...what matters is to identify major characteristics of the prototypical instances.\(^\text{19}\)

It was Nolte who first talked about the danger of imposing external definitions on fascism. The quasi-phenomenological approach favoured by Nolte allowed him to derive meaning and understanding from within the phenomena associated with fascism.\(^\text{20}\) In so doing, he was able to portray the ideological continuity of fascist phenomena and ideologies without trying to fit them into a neat definition or category.

More recent studies have begun to explore the relationship between fascism and society at large, especially in terms of the pervasive and generalised racism that exists within culture. Lunn and Kushner advocate this approach on the basis that historical studies of British fascism have tended to be overly concerned with Mosley and the 1930s. Their main complaint about such approaches is that they fail to provide much insight into the underlying causes of fascism or into its complexity, since their focus has been on a particular period and a specific leader.
What is beginning to appear in the literature now is an argument for a history which draws connections both before and after this era, not to establish some kind of continuum of political racism and fascism, but one which recognises its uneven articulation but constant presence over the years.\textsuperscript{21}

Moreover, as has been argued by Gilroy, if we choose to focus only on organised racism and fascism in its peak periods, we risk viewing it as an aberration or political anomaly.

The National Front and similar groups become seen not at one end of a continuum of political sentiment but as an embarrassing excrescence on the otherwise unblemished features of British democracy.\textsuperscript{22}

Eatwell points out that the problem with studies focussing on pre-war fascism in the UK is that they have mainly been carried out by historians who base their work on documentary evidence. Post-war fascisms have drawn interest from more social scientists and journalists who have been concerned with developing models and theories to describe and explain fascism.\textsuperscript{23} The influence of the latter has been such that modern historians are recognising the need to develop a generic model of fascism that incorporates and combines a variety of theoretical perspectives.\textsuperscript{24}

**Fascism in the UK: Pre-war to present**

The previous failure to situate fascism within its social and cultural context has led to a number of incorrect assumptions being made about the nature of fascism in the UK. For example, Lewis describes the conventional wisdom amongst academics that fascism has not become established in the UK because it is somehow alien to the parliamentary and cultural tradition.\textsuperscript{25} This assumption provides too simplistic an explanation for why fascism has failed to take root in the UK. It ignores the fact that some of the phenomena associated with fascism – for example racism and eugenics – were present in society long before fascism emerged as an ideology.\textsuperscript{26}
Unlike other European countries, Britain has never had a strong history of support for fascism. Indeed, the appeal of fascism was so marginal in the UK following the Second World War that Mosley shied away from contesting major elections for fear of humiliating defeats. Under Mosley, the British Union of Fascists (BUF) prioritised local elections and small-scale street politics. It has been suggested that Mosley was more confident in his support of his continental allies than he was about the possibility of establishing the BUF as an electoral or street-party in Britain. The extent of fascism's lack of support in the aftermath of the Second World War was such that Mosley retired from politics and moved to France.

The BUF was the main fascist organisation during the inter-war period. Its rival at that time, the Imperial Fascist League, led by Arnold Leese, was even more marginal in terms of both support and ideology than was Mosley's BUF. Leese closely followed the beliefs of Streicher, whose anti-Semitic ideology was both vociferous and genocidal. In the post-war period, Mosley's main rival was the League of Empire Loyalists, led by A.K. Chesterton, who had formerly been a member of the BUF. Although the League of Empire Loyalists was ideologically more conservative than fascist, Eatwell points out that they had an inclination towards extremist ideology. This tendency stemmed from two factors: their need to differentiate themselves from mainstream opponents on the political right and Chesterton's "addiction to anti-Semitic conspiracy theory".

Whilst Mosley's brand of fascism tended to emphasise "economy, state and human nature" the variants promoted by Arnold Leese and A.K. Chesterton focussed on race. Although these were marginal organisations, they nonetheless provided a training ground for fascists. For example, John Tyndall, leader of the British National Party (BNP), the main fascist organisation in Britain today, has described how Chesterton's writing and style of leadership has been a major source of inspiration for him.
Despite the continued dominance of the BUF after the Second World War, smaller organisations advancing a more Nazi-style ideology and practice maintained a strong presence in the post-war period and have had a powerful influence in shaping the nature of fascist organisations and politics in the UK. Eatwell points out that Leese made financial contributions to small fascist and Nazi groups in the aftermath of the Second World War. In the 1960s, Leese engineered the formation of the (old) British National Party (BNP) that brought together various Nazi organisations with conservative racists.\textsuperscript{37}

It is therefore to the smaller fascist organisations, with their more apparent Nazi pretensions, that we must look to understand the origins of contemporary fascist ideology and movements in Britain. Throughout the 1960s, these small groups splintered and re-organised several times, until in 1967, the National Front (NF) was formed under the leadership of John Tyndall, integrating Chesterton’s League of Empire Loyalists with other groups.\textsuperscript{38} Its success in mobilising the immigration issue during the 1970s enabled the NF to claim that it was the fourth largest political party in Britain, with steadily rising membership and support.\textsuperscript{39}

Colin Jordan, a leading figure on the fascist scene emerged from Leese’s BNP in 1962 to form the National Socialist Movement – an organisation dedicated to Nazi and paramilitary style activities. Meanwhile John Tyndall formed the Britain Movement, whose fascist ideology was more covert. Whilst Jordan’s National Socialist Movement was overtly Nazi, Tyndall favoured a more veiled approach that stressed nationalism and British patriotism.\textsuperscript{40} Tyndall's leadership of both the National Front (NF) and, more recently, the British National Party (BNP) was shaped by his desire to conceal the movements’ ideological pedigree.\textsuperscript{41} However, this did not prevent him from promoting Nazi and paramilitary activity in his magazine, “Spearhead”.
In 1967, a new alliance brought together the vestiges of Leese’s BNP, Tyndall’s Britain Movement and followers of Martin Webster to form the National Front (NF). During the 1970s, Tyndall, inspired by the anti-immigrant mood captured by Enoch Powell’s famous ‘rivers of blood’ speech, claimed that the NF could achieve electoral success.

The literature distributed by the NF at this time sought to capitalise on the general anti-immigrant sentiment that had been unleashed and popularised by Powell. The NF was interested in presenting itself as being racist but not fascist. By attempting to conceal its anti-Semitic ideology, the fascist and Nazi heritage of the NF was obscured and contained within the core of the ideology. Meanwhile, its policies of repatriation of non-whites were presented as a reasonable means of resolving the perceived problem of immigration.

However, the concealment of core ideological tenets did not suit all fascist supporters. During the 1970s, some members of the NF became dissatisfied with the organisation’s emphasis on electioneering, believing that demonstrations, marches and rallies should be organised to help raise the profile of the organisation. There was also disillusionment with the lack of expression of more ‘activist’ style politics. From the middle of the 1970s, tension in the NF grew between those seeking a mass following through electioneering and those who desired to see a more direct form of politics.

From the discussion above, it is clear that divisions within fascist organisations in Britain have never been purely ideological. Rather, they have tended to reflect practical concerns. Those movements seeking a mass following have attempted to create a sense of discontinuity with the past. For this reason, insignia, such as the swastika, have been abandoned in favour of the Union Jack. Similarly, rhetoric has catered to the sensibilities of the post-war generations.
Despite the apparent success of the NF during the 1970s, differences of opinion over ideology and pragmatics continued to threaten its unity, resulting in a split that gave rise to the formation of the National Party in 1975. The latter focussed its attention on electioneering, and even achieved some success in local elections. However, its existence was short lived, and the NF remained the focus for fascist activity in the UK throughout the 1970s until its more famous split in the 1980s.

The NF was never an explicit fascist party; indeed it had spent most of its history vehemently denying the significance of the blatant past fascist associations of some of its leading members. Much of the internal feuding of the movement and the bitter struggles for power has centred on this theme.

The divisions within the organisation led to the departure of John Tyndall in 1980, and the subsequent formation under his leadership of the new National Front, which in 1982 was renamed the British National Party (BNP). Copsey describes how when Tyndall left the NF and formed the new NF at the start of the 1980s, his intention was not to split the body of fascist support in two, but rather to draw supporters away from the old NF into his camp. Meanwhile, Colin Jordan founded Column 88, a Hitlerian group that developed a fascist strategy that combined electioneering, street politics, survivalism (e.g., outdoors and paramilitary activity) and terrorism.

During the 1980s, the NF focussed on electioneering whilst the BNP concentrated on developing internally as an organisation. Despite this, it was the BNP that fared better in elections. Copsey describes how the introspective focus of the BNP eventually led to lethargy.

In fact most BNP activities towards the end of the 1980s, probably undertaken by no more than ten per cent of the membership, appeared to revolve around mundane paper sales, occasional rallies, leaflet distribution and circulation of the revisionist Holocaust News.
Meanwhile, since Tyndall’s departure, the NF has virtually sunk into oblivion. The BNP resisted the NF’s appeal to merge in the mid-1980s, principally because despite the obvious electoral benefits of such a union, Tyndall did not want to lose his control over the party. Spurned by the BNP, the NF reformed as the National Democrats in 1995, and has all but disappeared.

The BNP, meanwhile, appeared to be making electoral inroads during the start of the 1990s. During a council by-election in September 1993, the BNP won a seat in Millwall, London. The seat was subsequently lost in May 1994, despite the BNP attracting its highest ever number of votes in that election. The BNP started to portray itself to its actual and potential members as a serious political contender. Inspired by the relatively high level of support attracted in both the 1993 and 1994 elections, the BNP fielded 56 candidates in the 1997 General Election. Few of the 56 candidates attracted more than 2 per cent of the vote in the constituencies in which they stood.

Throughout the 1990s, the BNP has continued to rupture. Significantly, Combat 18—a group advocating direct action and violence—was formed by some disaffected former members of the BNP. The tension between those following traditional BNP political strategies and ideologies and those favouring street politics and violence mirrors the pattern in previous generations of fascism in the UK.

Copsey describes how Combat 18’s aggressive style has continued to attract those BNP members alienated or disaffected by Tyndall’s traditional leadership. Meanwhile, Eatwell argues that it is the fissures and ruptures within the fascist movement, rather than fascism’s supposed incompatibility with British culture, that has prevented fascist organisations from making political headway. Unlike Le Pen in France, the fascist leadership in the UK has not united its factions, nor has it managed to appeal to the wide range of views of its actual and potential membership.
This argument is highlighted by the following detail on the famous split between Webster and Tyndall that led to the formation of the BNP in the beginning of the 1980s. When he left the NF and later founded the BNP in 1982, Tyndall stated that the NF’s lack of political success was an inevitable consequence of its candid expression of fascist ideology. However, as I have described in the discussion above, despite pressure to do so, the NF never did succumb to the temptation to wear its fascist credentials openly. Moreover, it would be unfair to ignore the uncomfortable interpersonal dynamics between Tyndall and his rival, Webster. These became apparent when Tyndall accused the NF of being too liberal and weak in constitution, having admitted too many sexual “degenerates”. This comment refers to the sexual preferences of Webster, and highlights a deep-seated fear of Otherness that is discussed in the analysis sections of this thesis.

Supporters of fascist organisations in the UK
The National Front made its first significant emergence from the political fringes in the 1970s, attracting media interest through provocative statements about immigration and via marches through areas of racial conflict. As Hainsworth has described in his introduction to a study of contemporary fascism in Western Europe, immigration has always been “the Extreme Right’s issue par excellence”.

Billig describes how during the 1970s, Britain was the only European country in which a fascist organisation was able to mobilise more domestic support than had been generated during the inter-war years. However, support for the NF fluctuated annually. Copsey points out that the immigration issue is as dominant now is it was during the NF’s heydays in the 1970s, providing the same appeal to potential members, but with varying degrees of success.
These trends are explained by Husbands, who argues that the factors that motivate people to vote for or participate in fascist organisations vary, and may stem more from fears about economic security than from deep ideological commitment.

There is some evidence to suggest a relationship between geography and support for racism. Racially mixed areas tend to be fertile areas of recruitment for fascist organisations that capitalise on immigration, housing and employment concerns to mobilise support. Similarly, certain areas, such as the East End of London, have a tradition of racism. Meanwhile, in areas where industrial decline is being experienced, the presence of immigrant and non-white groups has been perceived to be a threat by some sections of the more established communities.65

The geographical basis for support is explained by Copsey who attributes the BNP’s success in the East End of London in the early 1990s to its mobilisation of the notion of a declining community.66 In particular, Copsey notes that the BNP’s “rights for whites” campaign has been effective in blaming housing problems and issues such as violent crime on the presence of “immigrants”.67 However, Copsey also points out that the effectiveness of such an approach is limited, since the notion of a declining community has very specific appeal to a particular generation.68 Through its “rights for whites” campaign the BNP has managed to portray itself as a defender of local interests in some East End of London communities.

Thus, the quasi-liberal discourse of ‘Defend Rights for Whites’ with accompanying appeals for ‘justice’ identified the BNP with a ‘public-spirited’ campaign while its rational ‘liberal’ discourse seemingly divorced the BNP from the irrational injudicious extremism of fascism. The BNP’s message was ‘reasonable’ and ‘unextreme’.69
It is clear that support for fascism cannot simply be attributed to geography. Husbands argues that some racial violence is also a cultural phenomenon. Through examining the geographical patterns of racial violence, he concludes that in some areas (such as the East End of London), hostility to foreigners is passed down from one generation to the next. On the one hand, this confirms the belief that fascism is not an isolated phenomenon but has roots in the culture in which it has developed. This does not mean that there is no relationship between fascist groups and racial violence. Drawing on evidence from the 1981 Home Office study, entitled “racial attacks”, Husbands states the case for there being some form of relationship between racial violence and fascist organisations.

There have been numerous prosecutions and convictions of members of far-right organisations for committing serious racial attacks. It (the Home Office study) was rather more measured in what it said about the degree of organisation behind racial attacks, concluding that it had not found unequivocally that right-wing extremist groups had played the primary role in organising such attacks.

There can be no doubt that the presence of organisations that promote racist ideologies will have had some impact on the surrounding culture, creating an environment that encourages racial violence, whilst legitimising the general cultural racism that pervades society. It may even be true that members of fascist groups are involved in carrying out or organising racial attacks. However, as Husbands points out, the relationship is not clear-cut.

Racial attacks have...become more numerous during the period when the far right in Britain, both nationally and in almost every locality, has been declining in membership and organisational effectiveness... If one seeks predisposing factors, it is perhaps more generalised elements to which one should turn: the overall economic situation may be relevant but equally so are perhaps the orientations on race matters adopted not by the extreme right but by the mainstream right, not by the propaganda of the National Front or similar organisations but by some of the much more widely disseminated mass print media.
In particular, the reporting in the mass media of issues such as immigration and inner-city crime, along with the coverage of NF electoral successes and activities may have had an indirect effect on the success of fascist organisations.\(^{74}\)

These issues are more relevant than class alone in determining support for fascism. For example, Husbands found little evidence for the theoretical premise that there is an age or class-basis for general support for fascism. However, his findings are a little contradictory given his suggestion that those with a 'strong' ideological commitment to fascism tend to come disproportionately from a working class background.\(^{75}\)

Studies that look at the class basis of support for fascist groups in the UK have tended to draw inferences from opinion polls, with inconsistent results.\(^{76}\) The difficulty in pinpointing the exact motivation behind support for fascism is exacerbated by the controversial nature of the ideology itself.

There is evidence that people are less likely to admit to supporting extremist parties. People may also explain their vote to pollsters in terms of everyday factors, such as economic prosperity, rather than more diffuse ones like nationalism, let alone admit 'illegitimate' influences such as racism.\(^{77}\)

**UK Fascism in its social and political contexts**

The relationship between the success of fascist organisations in the UK and wider political trends has been explored by a number of academics. For example, Thurlow argues that the success of the NF during the 1970s was linked to the failure of the mainstream parties to capitalise on the public's anti-immigrant sentiments.\(^{78}\) However, the relationship is not always so clear-cut. During the 1970s, the establishment took on the anti-immigrant agenda of fascist organisations, resulting in the introduction in 1971 of the Immigration Act restricting Commonwealth migration to the UK. Yet, support for the NF remained strong.
Hainsworth argues that the co-option of racism by mainstream parties reflects concern by the establishment about the appeal of fascist organisations.

Of course, it is not simply a question of stealing clothes from the extreme-right: immigrant control, anti-communism, nationalist fervour, and so on are also part of the agenda of other parties.\(^7^9\)

Durham argues that on a number of occasions, the Conservative Party has managed to attract support away from fascist organisations in the UK, whilst simultaneously giving legitimacy to some of their ideas. The first of these was Enoch Powell's famous "rivers of blood" speech in 1968. This has been described as both endorsing the ideas of fascist organisations whilst at the same time drawing support away from them. Durham explains how this reflects the issue of 'political space' between conservative and fascist organisations.

Powellism had signalled the existence of a political space that the NF sought to fill. But the resurgence of the Tory right in the late 1970s was to enable the conservative party to retake the political ground.\(^8^0\)

This suggests that fascist organisations are able to flourish when mainstream parties are not using the immigration issue to attract support. Meanwhile, support for fascist organisations has declined due, in part, to the successful mobilisation of anti-immigrant rhetoric by some mainstream politicians and parties. Just as Enoch Powell managed to capture the public mood in his 1968 "rivers of blood" speech, Margaret Thatcher's 1978 portrayal of foreigners "swamping" British culture reflected anti-immigrant fears that were pervasive at that time. Similarly, the Conservative Party's 1979 general election manifesto played on the anti-immigrant sentiments that had earlier been catered to by the 1971 Immigration Act.\(^8^1\)
However, the mobilisation of the race issue by mainstream parties has also led to increased support for fascist groups. For example, Copsey notes that on a local level, the success of the BNP in Tower Hamlets in September 1993 was made possible by the fact that the mainstream parties were manipulating the race issue in their own campaigns. This had the effect of ensuring that local politics were peppered with notions of racial conflict and the degeneration of our community, which in turn lent credibility to the BNP and its election campaign.

Whilst the Liberal Democrats were attempting to hold on to political power by encouraging racial prejudice from above, ‘below’ at street level, the BNP were sinking local roots into a territory made fertile by institutionalized racism and individual anomie.

One of the factors that impeded the growth of support for the BNP in this case was the handling of its electoral performance in the media. Initially, the media expressed concern that the fortunes of the BNP were changing, with some attention given to its potential electoral performance. However, after a while, media focus turned from the issue of electoral performance to the proliferation of racial violence, and the links between this and British fascist organisations. Meanwhile, politicians appeared to be certain that the state apparatus would be sufficient to contain the fascist threat.

Eatwell’s analysis also links the success of fascist groups to the general political and cultural climate of the 1970s and 1980s. He points out that issues of race affected the electoral performance of the main as well as fascist political parties during the 1970s. He also argues that despite the media’s popular portrayal of Nazi and fascist ideologies as genocidal and violent, there was a backlash against the so-called ‘loony left’ thinkers or ‘political correctness’ throughout the 1980s. He argues that this, combined with the attempts of Nazi organisations to rehabilitate their ideology through strategies such as the denial of the Holocaust has contributed to the continuity of fascist politics.
However, such attempts at political rehabilitation have backfired on fascist organisations and have condemned them to the renewed charge of anti-Semitism.

Hainsworth describes how there are structural aspects of politics in continental Europe, such as the proportional representation system that have tended to favour fascist organisations there. In particular, the voting system in France has contributed to the Front National's electoral success there. Meanwhile, the absence of the same structures in the UK has made it difficult for fascist organisations to become established here. Hainsworth describes how in post-war politics, phenomena such as “cohabitation”, or power sharing, between political parties on the continent have led to the centralisation of politics. Fascist organisations have exploited the vacuum that the corresponding concentration of politics engenders, and have capitalised on any signs of weakness in the political system and leadership. The success of fascist politics in continental Europe is therefore related to the fragility of the political system. However, the political system alone cannot explain the success of fascist organisations.

The most significant post-war pattern of extreme right gains has been...immigration, unemployment, insecurity and disillusionment with mainstream parties.\textsuperscript{87}

Meanwhile, Thurlow argues that three factors led to the decline of the NF in the 1970s. First, the opposition from left wing and minority groups, as well as anti-fascist organisations helped to undermine the NF. Second, the Conservative Party under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher drew support away from fascist organisations because of its ability to appeal to nationalist and anti-immigrant sentiments. This reflects patterns in the USA and on the continent.

Strong right-wing leaders such as De Gaulle in the 1960s, Reagan and Thatcher in the 1980s...have soaked up the potential for extreme right success via nationalism, populism, media skills and leadership style.\textsuperscript{88}
Third, the authorities’ use of legislation such as the 1936 Public Order Act and the 1968 Race Relations Act has helped to curb the activities of fascist organisations, and has led to attempts on the part of the NF to present itself as being neither racist nor fascist.\textsuperscript{89} Whilst its core ideology has not changed, the NF under the leadership of John Tyndall began to express its ideas in more careful language. Thurlow describes how, similarly, the BUF was unable to operate without intervention by the authorities.\textsuperscript{90} Combined with the issue of political space and opposition to fascism in both the media and fringe politics, such intervention may well have served to drive fascism underground, rather than eliminate it altogether.\textsuperscript{91}

The failure of fascist movements to gather support is discussed by Griffin who describes how “nostalgic” and “mimetic” variants of fascism have failed to inspire anyone with the exception of a few committed followers of fascist ideology.\textsuperscript{92} Meanwhile, new forms of fascism have failed to develop a mass following. Cronin observes that fascism has failed to capitalise on those local and ideological concerns that one would expect to serve its growth and success in the UK. Part of the problem facing fascism in this country is the pervasive myth (described above) that there is something un-British about fascism that makes its ideology anomalous and alien. However, as I have also discussed above, the specifics of British political life – the voting system, parliamentary tradition and so on – have all provided visible and effective barriers to the establishment of fascism as a major political party in the UK.\textsuperscript{93}

In the case of fascism, a more gruesome biological metaphor suggests itself. What comparative studies produce is ecographs of countless embryonic fascist movements contained within the body politic of modern nation states which mercifully never progress beyond a rudimentary stage in their development and just a few which grow further only to die long before emerging as a fully-fledged political regime.\textsuperscript{94}
For fascism to take root, several criteria, described by Griffin as the "fascist minimum", need to be met. Principle amongst these is the collapse of the traditional order and political hegemony of society through modernisation. However, on its own, this would not lend fascism its appeal. In addition to a yearning for the mythically great past, there must be a potent nationalist force lying dormant in an already existent nation-state. Griffin argues that these factors will only lead to the successful establishment of fascism as a political ideology if organisations are able to form themselves into cohesive movements that appeal to potential supporters, and if they are able to claim their own political space.

For fascism to have as wide an appeal as possible, it is essential that its central myth of the regenerated national community acts as a sort of ideological rorschach test, one which allows revolutionaries of various hues...to read into it their own diagnosis of the 'decadence' of the present society and their own remedy for its ills. The nebulousness of fascism's ideal of what is to replace the present is essential to achieving this effect.

**Fascist ideology**

Fascism can be understood to be an ideology that sees either the race or nation as the prime political unit. As shall be discussed in my analysis chapters, this leads to ambiguity in the fascist conception of the imagined community. This ambiguity can be understood to have rhetorical significance in contemporary fascist ideology and literature. However, it also reflects an important dynamic in the construction of a relationship between race and nation, in which race can be understood to define national and transnational relations.

Fascism is, on the one hand, aggressively nationalist...yet it frequently advances a racial doctrine that transcends national borders.
The interchangeable status of race and nation in fascist ideology was apparent in Mosley's BUF. Prior to 1934, the BUF attracted little public support. Neither did Mosley devote much attention to issues such as race.

It was rather as though he stumbled onto racism accidentally. Which is to say that in 1933 or 1934 Mosley came to the subconscious realization that for a fascist movement in industrial Britain to expand, it would have to capitalize on resentment against the current environment by turning its back on the modern world and all its philosophical assumptions. The token of Mosley's conversion was his embrace of the anti-Enlightenment forces of racism and violence.\textsuperscript{100}

The case of Mosley highlights an important issue in the definition of fascism: namely, that it would be a mistake to use the terms racism and fascism as though they were interchangeable.

Fascism's relations to racism and traditionalism are...empirical matters, and not to be stipulated \textit{a priori} by a definition.\textsuperscript{101}

Racism has had a long history whereas fascism is a 20\textsuperscript{th} Century phenomenon. Racism has been incorporated to a greater-or-lesser extent into fascist ideologies, but not all racist ideologies are fascist.

Although nationalism is a factor common to many political strands, it is the style of nationalist assertion – usually aggressive, exclusive, chauvinistic and historically selective – closely allied to anti-immigrant, anti-communist policies which helps to identify the extreme right.\textsuperscript{102}

There is a consensus amongst academics that fascism, which sees the world in terms of political and social hierarchy, has a strong anti-Communist orientation.\textsuperscript{103} The elitism created through hierarchical ideology inevitably gives rise to anti-democratic practice.
Historically, the anti-democratic nature of fascism has been characterised by repressive and dictatorial regimes that have limited the freedom of the individual to varying degrees.

Fascism at large was a reaction against the liberal pluralism and Marxian dogma of an age of materialism. But if the generic cause of the fascist movements was uniform, the results varied. Where the perplexities of an industrialized community became overwhelming, fascism responded in an anti-transcendental and atavistic fashion.¹⁰⁴

The presence of apocalyptic themes in the ideology reflects this tendency of fascism to warrant its ideas through and thrive in environments of social breakdown. For example, in the 1920s, the conspiracy theory promoted by the BUF appealed to an audience that was affected by the economic depression that followed the First World War.¹⁰⁵

Similarly, in the 1950s, the fortunes of Mosley’s BUF – whose activities in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War had been limited to small meetings, street politics and contesting local elections – were briefly revived by public concern over the social and economic effects of immigration.¹⁰⁶ One of the key ideological aspects of Mosley’s fascism was its portrayal of imminent apocalypse, through which he was able to turn social issues to his advantage.

Mosley’s apocalyptic view of Britain at the end of the 1930s was a Dantesque vision of a society corrupted by a multitude of forces standing on the brink of a terrible war. This, Mosley believed, would produce a cleansing political re-awakening...the ideology waits dormant, like Frankenstein’s monster, without the lifeforce which Mosley envisaged.¹⁰⁷

It was also the apocalyptic portrayal of the immigration issue that helped the NF in the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁰⁸ As more and more people become disenchanted with the traditional political system, and as they lose hope that politicians will solve the problems they either see or experience in their day-to-day existence, many find solace in the populist apocalyptic messages
contained in fascist rhetoric.\textsuperscript{109} It is for this reason that fascism is often able to get the so-called protest vote.

Contemporary extreme right movements offer the audience a messianic, crusading recipe of national redress and redemption, often based upon simple slogans calculated to appeal populistically to the disenchanted and the disillusioned.\textsuperscript{110}

It is not just through the portrayal of imminent apocalypse that fascists warrant their anti-democratic ideology. As I describe in my analysis chapters, to ensure their continued popularity, fascists today are influenced by the liberal agendas they oppose.\textsuperscript{111} For strategic reasons, the anti-democratic nature of fascist ideology has often been obscured or denied by some fascist organisations in post-war years.

Beneath the democratic pretensions lies a tendency for anti-democratic practice.\textsuperscript{112}

It is not only that the ideology being promoted by fascist organisations is, at least implicitly, anti-democratic. Fascism also advocates activities that are anti-democratic in their nature and goals. O'Sullivan has described how the 'activist' style of fascist politics advocates impatience with and direct challenges to those national laws and traditions that it opposes.\textsuperscript{113} Billig explains how the contradiction between the professed need for an ordered society and the tendency of fascists to accept unlawful means is reconciled.

The preservation of the race/nation is seen as so important that democratic rights have to be sacrificed, particularly the rights of those who might legally have citizenship, but who the party sees as not 'properly' belonging to the race/nation.\textsuperscript{114}

Whereas Nolte portrays the authoritarian nature of fascist ideology as anti-transcendental, Griffin argues that fascism appeals to the individual's need for transcendence, or the desire to belong to or be part of a larger whole: the "Millenial Reich".\textsuperscript{115}
Koestler describes the mythic entity constructed by fascism as appealing to the individual's need for transcendence through evoking deep-rooted archetypes. Similarly, Griffin describes a process whereby the individual's need for transcendence is met through fascism.

The experience of chaos and longing for a feeling of wholeness and meaning (is projected) on to an external reality so that it is the nation which he experiences as sick and the nation which is to be healed...he wants to play a heroic role in public life by participating in the foundation of a new social and political order.

It is through fascism's ability to present its controversial ideas via a transcendental myth that it is able to "seduce even the most cultured human mind". Of course, it is possible for the belief in contentious ideas - for example, in conspiracy theory - to be understood to "provide believers with a causal schemata" through which world events can be understood.

However, conspiracy theory is not only effective because of its appeal to the human need to understand the world. Its appeal can be understood to be based on the fact that it provides the individual with a sense of belonging.

Fascism offered a positive, non-biological determinist symbolism, rhetoric and form of political participation, which was guaranteed to gain the allegiance of those like Chesterton suffering from extreme 'cultural despair'.

The mythic core of fascist ideology is also an important factor in explaining its appeal. Poliakov explains how the commonplace genealogy of any given society is based on its own archetypes and cosmology. The genealogies are constantly being cultivated by society - hence the Nazis ability to invoke them so effectively.
This explains why references to a common ancestor, or to *myths of origin*, are universal and what their function is. It is to make explicit those obscure emotional forces which determine the hostilities or alliances between clans and tribes... The Nazis tried to appropriate them... In doing this they wanted to appeal to pre-Christian times and thus contest the belief in the common descent of all mankind.\textsuperscript{123}

Cohn describes how anti-Semitic conspiracy theory is a modern adaptation of the myth of demonic tradition. According to this myth a secret government is operating through subterfuge to control politics, the media and the economy with the aim of world domination.\textsuperscript{124} Cohn describes how the modern-day conspiracy myth contained within the “Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion” portrays the conspirators as being intent on creating chaos through such means as liberalism. Advocates of conspiracy theory therefore have an inherently anti-liberal philosophy, believing that the masses do not know their own minds and are thus incapable of self-government. Hainsworth points out that the anti-communism of fascism has a similarly conspiratorial theme.\textsuperscript{125}

Communism is seen by fascists to be an alien ideology that does not suit our community or our needs. Indeed, the vehemence of fascist opposition to communism reveals the extent to which it is seen to be a threat to our sense of well being, and to our identity.

In the light of conspiracy theory, communism is interpreted by fascists as being promoted by Jewish conspirators (who have spearheaded communist ideology) to undermine us.\textsuperscript{126} Similarly, according to Cohn, the conspirators are seen to be engineering the process as follows.

By encouraging the incessant proclamation of liberal ideas...the elders will be helping to produce complete mental confusion in the populace. This confusion will be increased by the multiplicity of political parties. The elders will foster it by secretly supporting them all.\textsuperscript{127}
It is possible to turn the notion of conspiracy on its head, as Cohn has done, and to argue that proponents of conspiracy theory are projecting their own behaviour on to the subjects of their philosophy.

It has sometimes been argued that Hitler was simply a super-Machiavellian, a man without convictions or loyalties, an utter cynic for whom the whole aim and value of life consisted in power and more power.\textsuperscript{128}

The conspiracy element of fascist ideology is most evident today in Tyndall’s journal, \textit{Spearhead}, which Thurlow portrays as presenting the “intellectual core” of fascist ideology of race and conspiracy.\textsuperscript{129} Meanwhile, the newspaper of the BNP contains more populist anti-black and anti-immigrant themes.\textsuperscript{130} Thurlow describes the NF’s ideology as an amalgamation of Mosley’s inter-war economic ideas with Chesterton’s notion of conspiracy and Leese’s racial nationalism.\textsuperscript{131}

Whilst the policies expressed on the surface of the NF’s ideology were designed to appeal to the populist anti-immigrant sentiments of certain sections of the public, the intention of the NF was to use populism to recruit supporters for its more deep-seated ideology.\textsuperscript{132} Under the leadership of Tyndall, the NF promoted its own brand of Aryan mythology, arguing that Anglo-Saxons are at the apex of civilisation.

Meanwhile, drawing on the ideas of Spengler and other advocates of the belief in racial hierarchy, Tyndall has consistently portrayed liberalism as undermining and weakening the British nation. Conspiracy theory was also central to NF ideology, although for obvious reasons, Tyndall sought to distance the NF from obvious forms of anti-Semitism. This led to the promotion of Holocaust denial: an international strategy to promote conspiracy theory and rehabilitate Nazism.\textsuperscript{133}
The conspiracy theory also influenced the NF’s ideology on race. In particular, eugenic ideas and the belief in racial hierarchy were promoted by the NF, which simultaneously presented the notion of racial equality as a fraudulent idea. Harris describes how although fascist organisations continue the anti-Semitic legacy of their pre-war antecedents through such means as Holocaust denial, the non-white immigrant is “a more visible, convenient and effective target”.

Balibar outlines how there is a tendency for modern fascist movements to express racism in a more ‘cultural’ form than their pre-war antecedents. However, this does not represent a total shift in ideology, since, as Miles points out, traditional scientific racism always contained a cultural element. Certainly, the distinction between scientific and cultural racism becomes blurred when observed through the appropriate analytical context. The shift towards cultural racism can be understood to be a strategic one. It is not that the ideology has changed. As Eatwell highlights, the core ideas of biological essentialism remain.

The New Right believed that crude racism had in the past made it impossible for radical groups to attract any kind of intellectual following, or to achieve a wider sense of legitimacy. It was thus that the NF appeared to abandon the traditional position of racial hierarchy in favour of one that stressed cultural difference. During the 1980s, members of the NF were seen to be embracing the revolutionary and racial ideas of Colonel Gadaffi and Ayatollah Khomeni. The NF’s own publications carried photographs of senior members marching along black separatists. These phenomena would suggest that the shift away from scientific racism was not mere rhetoric. However, Eatwell points out that there may have been other reasons for the apparent ideological shift.

The Arabs (and Farrakhan) were good anti-Semites – and a potential source of finance.
The biological underpinnings that still characterise racism are best summed up as follows.

Current racisms are very specific products of late 19th and 20th century economic, cultural and scientific history. Ironically, the unchangeability of human nature is a common racist dogma; we all allegedly possess an instinctive and legitimate dislike of people of other ‘races’, and if we do not we are ipso facto degenerate mongrels. ¹⁴²

As I discuss in the review chapter on psychoanalytic approaches to fascism, Kovel has envisaged racism as having strong psychological origins. For example, he argues that racist projects his or her own psychological, mythic, or archetypal conceptualisation of blackness onto the black person. It is thus that racism “antecedes the notion of race, indeed, it generates the races”.¹⁴³ Richards takes this argument further, suggesting that the psychological becomes the social reality.

There is nothing inherently anti-rational therefore in claiming that Scientific Racism was a straightforward ‘social construction’.¹⁴⁴

The so-called ‘scientific’ theories of racial difference, lacking any evidential support, can be interpreted in this light. In particular, the notion of polygenesis, which has spawned the notion of racial hierarchy, can be understood to have its origins in such archetypal thinking.

Prior to Darwin’s Origin of Species (1859) there was...an upsurge in polygenist thinking... This yielded numerous texts establishing what would become the commonplaces of European scientific perceptions of non-Europeans and particularly ‘the negro’... Cultural traits, good and bad, were interpreted as direct expressions of innate racial character, a message seductively packaged in different ways, one being the constant invocation of physiological differences allegedly discovered by trustworthy doctors and anatomists.¹⁴⁵
As I shall discuss in the following analytical chapters of this thesis, scientific discourse is often used in contemporary fascist accounts as a warranting strategy, ensuring that contentious arguments can be presented as being seemingly innocuous, or, at least factual. The existence of eugenic theories and research on racial difference has facilitated this process of warranting.

(Fascists) have been more than pleased to use scientific authority as a source of prestige for their own doctrines.¹⁴⁶

There is a reason why the use of scientific discourse in this context serves to legitimise controversial arguments. Foucault, Gilbert & Mulkay, Bauman & Shotter all describe the power that scientific discourse has because of the common sense notion that science is fact, that it is neutral, that it is observable and that arguments made in its name follow painstaking and thorough research.¹⁴⁷

This common sense construction of science is a problematic one, especially when applied to eugenics. As Harding points out in her discussion of the racial and gendered nature of science, it is rare for a scientist to question whether or not their work or motivation is as objective as they claim it to be.¹⁴⁸

Conclusions: towards a psychological approach.

It is possible to formulate definitions based upon the economic bases or class composition of fascism. Nevertheless definitions, especially approximate heuristic definitions, should have a practical purpose rather than exist for themselves. Consequently in a social psychological study, it seems entirely appropriate that any definition should concentrate on the ideas, or ideology, of fascism.¹⁴⁹

The fact that fascism fails to present a coherent and definable ideology has led some to suggest that it may not be so much a political phenomenon as a psychological one.¹⁵⁰
As I discuss in the next review chapter, studies of fascism that emphasise the psychological aspects of the ideology reflect a desire to understand why people believe in ideas that are contentious and irrational.

Chesterton’s fascist ideology appears seemingly irrational if measured against objective reality. There is no meaningful evidence that ‘the Jews’ are plotting world government, or that black people are inferior, but to understand him fully, it will be necessary to suspend disbelief and to adopt his own perspective on the world.  

Fascist ideology predicates around the fear that modern society is in decline. This fear gives rise to the belief that there is a need for strong leadership, along with a political programme to rebuild social order and feelings of security and certainty. 

It has been suggested that the tendency to fear instability and the desire to replace it with rigid social structures reflects the structure of the ‘authoritarian personality’. Rather than fascism representing a resistance to transcendence, as was suggested by Nolte in his *Three Faces of Fascism*, support for the ideology can be understood to be “the result of succumbing to a perverted and peculiarly modern form of it.”

As I have described in this chapter, fascist ideology amalgamates a particularly virulent form of essentialism (i.e., eugenics) with conspiracy theory and apocalyptic visions. The essentialism is not unique to fascism, but is pervasive in the societies in which fascist ideology has emerged.

Fascism is...in no respect severed from the societies within which it grew...What is vitally important to note is that the society which makes fascism possible cannot be accounted for with an abstraction...human thought is ultimately the essense (sic) of the process of history.
Notes for Chapter 1


20 Nolte, E., Three Faces of Fascism: Action Française, Italian Fascism, National Socialism, Mentor, 1969.


49 Copsey, N, “Contemporary Fascism in the Local Arena: The British National Party and ‘Rights for Whites’”, in M., Cronin (ed.), *The Failure of British Fascism*, St Martin Press, inc., 1996, p.120.


41


113 O’Sullivan, N., Fascism, Dent, 1983.


115 Griffin, R., The Nature of Fascism, Routledge, 1993, p.188.


154 Griffin, R., The Nature of Fascism, Routledge, 1993, p.188.

Chapter 2
Psychoanalytic Theories of Fascism

This chapter explores how the notion of the authoritarian personality has been used to explain support for fascism and the hatred of, as well as need for the Other. Outlining the main psychoanalytic positions on authoritarianism and prejudice, this chapter moves on to describe how archetypes about Otherness are deeply embedded in culture, informing not only fascist beliefs but also common sense. This chapter also explores the relationship between psychological theories of crowd behaviour and fascism.

Introduction
Throughout history, ideas and movements have emerged as a consequence of the “perennial human drive to find a sense of belonging”.¹ Those that reflect the destructive and possessive urges of the individual towards society have arisen from an imbalance between the individual and the state — i.e., between the impulse for self-transcendence and that for self-assertiveness.² It is for this reason that ideologies such as fascism have thrived at times of political, social and economic crisis.³

If it were simply that fascism lay dormant except at times of socio-economic turmoil, there would be little need to explicate its roots. Recent history has shown us, however, that although fascism is alive and well in areas of social and political unrest, it continues to flourish in peaceful times. From a psychological perspective, the tenacity of fascism as an ideology is of interest both because of the continuing appeal of its ideas and in terms of the processes involved in the support of it. It is for this reason that historians and political theorists exploring fascism have often stressed the psychological element of fascism.⁴
Over forty years ago, fascism was described as an irrational ideology whose appeal was to a sick society. Although fascism has at times appealed to the economic self-interest of its potential supporter, in the main its followers and advocates have been said to be drawn by its irrational ideology. The continued support for a seemingly irrational ideology, especially in a context of relative peace and prosperity reveals the psychological aspects of its appeal.

Fascist ideology is often said to thrive because of the way that it appeals to mythic structures and archetypes present in society. Jung described how the rise of Nazism was effected through the mobilisation of mythopoeic or spiritual (i.e., non-rational) drives. These drives had formerly been channelled into religious observance, but in the wake of historical developments such as the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution, they had been repressed by the ideas of rationalism and individualism to dangerous effect.

As with many of the cultural and political movements that have developed over the course of the last hundred years, fascism has been formed as an attempt to fulfil fundamental human needs: to belong, for identity, for meaning and to transcend the reality of isolation and impotence.

Campbell has described history as being "simply a function of misunderstood mythology". Fascism can be understood in this light as taking many of the common sense ideas of modern society: notions of nationhood, identity and so on, and inflating them.

Our unit of study is racism; but behind racism is the totality of culture, an entity embedded within a deep and unconscious matrix of meanings. Racism also exists embedded in a matrix of culturally derived meanings, all of which change under the force of historical movement.
Psychoanalytic approaches to fascism

Early psychoanalytic explorations of fascism tended to focus on the personality characteristics of the fascist or the potential supporter rather than on specific content of the ideology itself.

In all this, there is the tendency to assume that because fascism asserts itself to be the irrational fulfilment of an underlying soul, it must be an irrational fulfilment of something – if not the racial soul, then perhaps the fulfilment of the Wotan archetype, unsatisfied orgastic longings, Oedipal cravings or whatever. There is a general agreement that, behind the outward political forms of fascism, hidden psychological forces are dangerously lurking. 12

For example, despite the fact that Fromm’s Fear of Freedom drew extensively from Hitler’s Mein Kampf, the main body of its work emphasised the sado-masochistic character of the authoritarian and his mechanisms for scapegoating rather than the ideology itself. 13

That is not to say that the early psychoanalytic accounts removed the phenomena associated with fascism from their social and political contexts. With the possible exception of Adorno et al’s The Authoritarian Personality, in which all chapters except those written by Adorno limited their discussion of wider political issues for strategic reasons, early psychoanalytic accounts stressed the importance of the social and political contexts in the development of the individual’s identity.

In particular, both Reich and Fromm attempted to integrate Freudian and Marxist theoretical frameworks to provide an understanding of fascism. Similarly, Adorno and other members of the radical Frankfurt School – a group of German intellectuals that disbanded and fled to America following Hitler’s rise to power in 1933 – stressed the importance of combining Marxism with Freudian theory. They stressed that neither would suffice on their own as explanations for the rise of fascism.
Thus, Reich, Fromm and Adorno all emphasised the personality but they all situated their portrayals and descriptions within a social context. For example, Reich’s argument that fascism appealed to and gained energy from the repression of sexual desire was given some substance in that this repression was attributed to the mores of patriarchy.

Reich placed emphasis on the style of fascist leaders, although his emphasis was on the written rather than spoken word. He described how the propaganda produced by fascist organisations appealed to unconscious and emotional aspects of its nationalist readership whilst “concealing certain psychic tendencies”. ¹⁴

According to Reich, fascism was a mystical state of mind, deriving from “an insatiable unconscious and orgiastic longing”. ¹⁵ Reich concluded that the power of fascist ideology was derived from the willing suppression of this sexual longing by its followers. According to Reich, fascism would thrive as long as its followers were willing to deny their sexual urges.

Meanwhile, the defeat of fascism was described as being possible in a climate of sexual liberation. According to Reich, within patriarchal society whose structures are built on the basis of authority and hierarchy, fascism affects everybody.

There is not a single individual who does not bear the elements of fascist feeling and thinking in his structure. ¹⁶

Meanwhile Fromm drew on psychology to offer insight into two aspects of fascism: the personality structure of the supporter and the emotional appeal of the ideology. It is for this reason that Fromm incorporated both psychological and social explanations into his psychoanalytic account of Nazism.
Nazism is a psychological problem, but the psychological factors themselves have to be understood as being moulded by socio-economic factors; Nazism is an economic problem, but the hold it has over a whole people has to be understood on psychological grounds.¹⁷

Fromm discussed the economic and social factors that affected support for fascism when he described the various responses of the different classes to Hitler in inter-War Germany. During that period, overwhelming ideological support for the Nazi party and ideology came from the lower middle class in Germany. Fromm portrayed the avid supporters from this section of the population as being enticed by Nazism’s leadership cult.

(Nazism had a) spirit of blind obedience to a leader and of hatred against racial and political minorities, its craving for conquest and domination, its exaltation of the German people and the ‘Nordic Race’.¹⁸

Fromm describes how this particular section of the population was uniquely attracted to fascism because of the lower middle class German ideals.

Their love of the strong, hatred of the weak, their pettiness, hostility, thriftiness with feelings as well as with money, and essentially their asceticism. Their outlook on life was narrow, they suspected and hated the stranger, and they were curious and envious of their acquaintances, rationalizing their envy as moral indignation; their whole life was based on the principle of scarcity — economically as well as psychologically.¹⁹

According to Fromm, these characteristics, which in any case would explain the overwhelming support of the lower-middle class for Hitler, were exacerbated by the inter-war economic crises. Political issues affected this group psychologically more than either the upper or working classes. In particular, the German defeat in World War One and the downfall of the monarchy affected the sense of self-pride of the lower middle class.²⁰
The loss of institutions and ideals that had previously formed the basis for the self-pride of lower middle class Germans made them susceptible to the paranoid accusations against the Other that proliferated Nazi propaganda. The interrelationship between Nazism and the German lower middle class is outlined by Fromm as follows.

This ideology results from his personality which, with its inferiority feeling, hatred against life, asceticism, and envy of those who enjoy life, is the soil of sado-masochistic strivings; it was addressed to people who, on account of their similar character structure, felt attracted and excited by these teachings and became ardent followers of the man who expressed what they felt...A hierarchy was created in which everyone has somebody over him to submit to and somebody beneath him to feel power over.\textsuperscript{21}

According to Fromm, Hitler did not gain support from the working class in Germany on the basis of their ideological commitment: that still remained with socialism, or had been abandoned altogether.\textsuperscript{22} Instead, Hitler gained working class support because, after a succession of political defeats, many had given up hope of achieving the changes they had previously striven for. Meanwhile, once Hitler had developed a mass following, fear of not belonging led many from the working class, at least nominally, to support him.

The fear of isolation and the relative weakness of moral principles help any party to win the loyalty of a large sector of the population once that party has captured the power of the state.\textsuperscript{23}

Aversion to freedom was argued by Fromm to reflect the masochistic element of the authoritarian character. Meanwhile, the hatred of the weak – also typical of the authoritarian – was portrayed as a reflection of his or her sadistic character. It is for this reason that the authoritarian was portrayed by Fromm as seeking both to submit and to be submitted to.
According to Fromm, this is how the sado-masochist attempts to resolve feelings of isolation: s/he has already defined the existence and means of relationship with those deemed superior and inferior. Fromm attributed the isolation and sense of alienation experienced by the individual to the collapse of feudal systems, arguing that the ensuing freedom from old roles and restrictions brought with it uncertainty. Instead of being able to rejoice in new-found freedoms, Fromm describes how the reality for many individuals was that they were not able to deal with a changing world.24

Fromm described how in times of economic crisis, the freedom brought by capitalism and the collapse of feudal society felt unsafe or like a burden.25 Billig summarises Fromm’s perspective as follows.

Fascism represents an attempt to seek the illusion of security within the wider group; the individual will abandon his own freedom and submit himself to the will of a leader. So long as capitalist society fails to fulfil the existential longings of modern man, it will be liable to fascist reactions.26

Fromm described people who sought security in this way as having the authoritarian personality structure that is the human basis of fascism.27 On the basis of the overwhelming support that Hitler attracted from the German petit-bourgeoisie, Fromm concluded that the ideology appealed to the attitudes and sentiments of the majority.

For great parts of the lower middle class in Germany and other European countries, the sado-masochistic character is typical...it is this kind of character structure to which the Nazi ideology had its strongest appeal. Since the term ‘sado-masochistic’ is associated with ideas of perversion and neurosis, I prefer to speak of the sado-masochistic character, especially when not the neurotic but the normal person is mean, as the ‘authoritarian character’.28

Fromm describes how the individual with this personality structure admires authority and willingly submits to it. He also points out an interesting twist in the authoritarian personality structure. Not only does somebody with this
personality type readily submit to authority: he desires that others readily submit to him as an authority figure.\textsuperscript{29}

Fromm described how the uncertainty that stems from increased choice and the relaxation of old hegemonies can be overwhelming for some people. Whilst there are some who take to the challenge of creating their own identities in uncertain times, there are others for whom the fear of the unknown and unsafe is too much. In times of crisis, Billig describes how such people turn to certainty. They regressively yearn for the security of a solid identity. So they are drawn to the simplicities of nationalist and fascist propaganda.\textsuperscript{30}

Fromm argued that in general, individuals do not draw on external forms of authority (i.e., from either a specific individual or institution). The source of authority can be internal, emerging through conscience, a sense of duty, or in Freudian terms, the super-ego. Indeed, with increasing democratisation and capitalism external authority lost its power.

Man's own conscience assumed the place which external authority once had held. This change appeared to many as the victory of freedom. To submit to orders from the outside (at least in spiritual matters) appeared to be unworthy of a free man...The rulership of conscience can be even harsher than that of external authorities, since the individual feels its orders to be his own; how can he rebel against himself?\textsuperscript{31}

However, for Fromm's authoritarian character the sources of power that excite his or her submission are external.\textsuperscript{32} According to Fromm, the authoritarian differentiates between two types: the powerful and the powerless; the male and the female.\textsuperscript{33} The authoritarian is motivated more by the power of the powerful object than by its ideas.
Just as his ‘love’ is automatically aroused by power, so powerless people or institutions automatically arouse his contempt. The very sight of a powerless person makes him want to attack, dominate, humiliate him.34

These portrayals of the motivation behind fascism are repeated in Adorno et al’s study of the authoritarian personality.35 Threatened by the feelings of uncertainty and insecurity of modernity, the authoritarian personality seeks security in hierarchy and traditional power structures. These power structures provide solace for the authoritarian. Within them everything has its place. The use of hierarchies enables the authoritarian to organise his world and identify himself as being separate to and better than the Other, who can, in turn be blamed for the problems and insecurities that threaten his well-being.

Whereas both Reich and Fromm based their psychological accounts of fascism on a few well known Nazi texts, Adorno et al based their study on questionnaires and in-depth interviews with over two thousand white, non-Jewish individuals who were not known to be fascist. Their carefully constructed questionnaire that has been the subject of the methodological criticism described by both Altemeyer and Billig was devised to assess the level of prejudice held by “normal” Americans against Jews.36

From there, they hoped to investigate whether anti-Semitism would translate into other forms of prejudice. The authors state in their conclusions that it is remarkable that Jean-Paul Sartre’s phenomenological Portrait of an Anti-Semite “should resemble so closely, both in general structure and in numerous details, the syndrome which slowly emerged from our empirical observations and quantitative analysis.”37

What both Sartre and Adorno (et al) described was that one prejudice was easily substituted with another. Sartre suggested that the motivation behind prejudice was a generalised anxiety and fear about life that was transformed by the racist
into a form of hatred against the Other. Meanwhile, Adorno et al, inspired by the interpretations of Fromm and Reich explored the inter-relationship between prejudice and authoritarianism. It was from an interest in the link between prejudice and the sado-masochistic love of the strong and hatred of the weak that the F-scale was devised by Adorno et al.

Correlations were discovered between prejudice and authoritarianism. Adorno et al found that the prejudiced person was likely to have a rigid personality, with a tendency towards and preference for strong discipline and obedience. Deviance was scorned and harsh punishment of criminals advocated by those identified by Adorno et al as prejudiced.

It was on the basis of in-depth interviews that the profile of an authoritarian was identified by Adorno et al. The authoritarian was described as having a distinct mode of thinking, described as “ticket thinking”. This had its origins in childhood anxiety and subsequent weakness in the ego of the individual.

Whilst it was recognised that the authoritarian did not invent stereotypes that did not already exist in society, Adorno et al found that the “ticket thinking” individual was dominated by stereotyped ideas. Whereas the less prejudiced person would be willing to accept that there are exceptions to even the most jealously guarded stereotypes, the authoritarian would apply the stereotype to all members of the outgroup.

Adorno et al also observed the authoritarian’s tendency to think in terms of extremes and hierarchies. Whilst the notion of hierarchy was not unique to the authoritarian, the rigidity with which the concept was adhered to was a defining feature of authoritarianism. The difference between those termed authoritarian and the other interviewees was the overwhelmingly strict upbringing of the former. Not only were the parents of authoritarian respondents described as strict, but they were also idealised by their offspring. Beneath this idealisation,
Adorno et al found that authoritarian respondents resented their parents, and yet through their strict upbringing, had learnt to repress their feelings of anger towards their parents.

This repression was believed to be the source of prejudice. The resentment that could not be expressed directly to the parents did not disappear. It was directed on to a safer and less direct, more powerless target. Meanwhile, the authoritarian continued to admire people whose status conveyed authority, such as politicians, teachers and employers.

It was this process of splitting and projection described by Adorno et al that characterised the authoritarian personality. The prejudiced person was portrayed as dividing the world into either/or categories, with opposites of good and bad being applied to *us* and to *them* respectively. Adorno et al described how the denial of feelings that was ingrained on the authoritarian person's psyche at a young age stayed in adulthood. Those considered deviant or *Other* were made into the scapegoat for feelings that the prejudiced person was unable to feel, acknowledge or express.

Despite the methodological flaws in Adorno et al's study, its findings have been remarkably useful in explaining the structure and origins of the authoritarian personality. Similarly, it has been extremely influential in the development of a psychology of fascism. However, it is not just for posterity that this approach is mentioned in this chapter. Contemporary studies of fascism both in the UK and France confirm the existence of an authoritarian (as well as anti-authoritarian) type of fascist supporter.40 Meanwhile, Altemeyer's studies of the extreme-right in Canada have been important in revealing the link between authoritarianism and prejudice.41

The fear described in the earlier works of Adorno et al, Sartre and Fromm, are identified in Altemeyer's work. However, an interesting difference between the
contemporary study and the original personality studies is the reduction in the
expression of racist ideas, which might reflect sensitivity to social mores rather
than increased tolerance. For example, Altemeyer points out that homophobia is
expressed more openly than is racism by those categorised as authoritarian.\(^{42}\)

Despite the usefulness of the notion of authoritarianism in explaining support for
fascism, there are some limitations in its power to explain certain aspects of
fascist ideology. On the basis of his review of literature produced by the
National Front (NF), and following in-depth interviews with some of its
members, Billig concluded that the notion of an authoritarian personality does
not explain certain prejudices, nor does it explain how they can lead to
genocide.\(^{43}\) Billig suggests that the reason for this failure on the part of
Fromm's theory is that it is attempting to explain complex phenomena through
applying one or at best two types of character structures.

Another problem with the personality approach is its assertion that the
authoritarian character is drawn to a philosophy that reveres the strong and
vilifies the weak. Whilst in many cases this may be true, Billig points out that
the notion of a world-wide Jewish conspiracy -- an integral part of Nazi and
fascist ideology -- predicates on the belief that Jews are powerful: a belief that is
at odds with Fromm's scapegoat theory.

A social psychological theory which fails to deal with this central
aspect of fascism must inevitably have a restricted usefulness.\(^{44}\)

The inter-relationship between collective psychology and fascism
As is discussed in the next review chapter, psychology has both served and
countered fascism throughout the latter's history. The portrayal of group
behaviour in Le Bon's *Psychologie des Foules*, is a case in point.\(^{45}\) Not only has
Le Bon's portrayal of crowd behaviour influenced contemporary academic
study, inspiring the social-psychological notion of "deindividuation", the qualities of crowd experience described in his work have been harnessed by fascists and anti-fascists alike.\textsuperscript{46}

Two aspects of Le Bon's writing appealed to fascist leaders and ideologues. First was his belief in the primacy of psychology in determining the future of nations. Second was his description of the impact of crowds on the individual. Le Bon portrayed people as transcending their individual selves in a crowd, losing their capacity for rational thought to the unconscious and instinctual process of the collective.\textsuperscript{47}

It was the power of the collective unconscious over the individual in a group situation that fascist leaders sought to harness for their own ends, through skilled oratory and emotional appeals. Le Bon portrayed the individual surrendering her or his habitual self-control in a crowd, making her/him impressionable and receptive.

Similarly, Hitler talked about how the individual succumbs to mass-suggestion in the intoxicating environment of a crowd.\textsuperscript{48} The skilled orator was able to use the susceptibility of the crowd to influence it and win it over to her or his ideas. The similarity between Le Bon's portrayal of group dynamics and Hitler's description of the affect of the crowd has been noted by historians.\textsuperscript{49} Mussolini corresponded with Le Bon and referred to his \textit{Psychologie des Foules} regularly.\textsuperscript{50}

One of the problems with the mass-psychology being discussed here is the difficulty in identifying the nature of the unconscious.

\begin{quote}
Psychoanalytic reductionism inevitably leads to problems in explaining cultural differences; it can only hypothesise differences in the unconscious processes of different social groups.\textsuperscript{51}
\end{quote}
Both Le Bon and Jung hypothesised about the nature of the differences between the unconscious processes of different groups, speculating that each group had a distinct racial soul or archetype. Freud avoided this conclusion, arguing that the notion of a racial soul contradicted biological evidence. However, his psychoanalytic interpretation of crowd behaviour led him to believe that groups shared an *archaic heritage*. Billig argues that Freud may also have avoided the conclusions shared by Jung and Le Bon because of the social and political implications of the notion of the racial soul.

Adorno noted the similarity in thinking of fascist leaders about crowd behaviour and the mass-psychology theories of Le Bon and Freud. Rather than conclude that collective psychology provided mechanisms for fascist leaders to attract mass support, Adorno argued that these similarities suggested that the success of fascist leaders endorsed the theory.

(The fascist was) able to speak and act in accord with psychological theory for the simple reason that the psychological theory is true. All he has to do in order to make the psychology of his audience click, is shrewdly to exploit his own psychology.

The portrayal of crowd behaviour contained in Le Bon’s work also influenced Freud’s thinking about group processes. Freud attempted to apply psychoanalytic categories to the behaviours described by Le Bon in order to explain their psychic underpinnings. In particular, Freud described how the orator could be seen as some kind of father-figure who is playing out some kind of an Oedipal drama with the crowd. The individuals in the crowd were all united by a shared identification of the orator as a father-figure.

(Identification is) sufficient to account for the crowd’s emotional volatility and its irrational attachment to a powerful leader.
Contemporary developments: new perspectives on the authoritarian personality

Early psychological approaches to understanding racism and fascism have been described as reductive. They are criticised for not taking into account the complexity and intensity of the phenomena.

(They are not) adept at managing the remarkable sinuosity of contemporary racism; its capacity to appear as something else, for instance as nationalism and liberalism, and its power to catalyse the fantasy and imagination.¹⁵⁸

Rattansi argues that little psychoanalytic work undertaken to date has managed to understand the "psychic economy" of racism. However, he argues that Kovel and Kristeva make a good start. Racism in general and the ambivalent racism of fascism lend themselves very well to psychoanalytic interpretation. However, Rattansi argues that it is important to find an interpretation that "reflects on the specificity of modernity and its constitutive role in the formation of racism."¹⁵⁹

Modern theories share the same starting point as the earlier psychoanalytic accounts. For example, Kristeva argues that individuals in contemporary society are emotionally disoriented. The confusion experienced by many in modern society is caused by the inability to deal with the collapse of old certainties.

Values crisis and the fragmentation of individuals have reached the point where we no longer know what we are and take shelter, to preserve a token of personality, under the most massive, regressive common denominators: national origins and the faith of our forebears.⁶⁰

When facing uncertainty, people have the tendency to look to charismatic leaders and notions nationhood for guidance and reassurance. These ideas reflect the earlier writing of Fromm, who described the disorienting effect of capitalism on the individual. On the basis of such portrayals of the psychological underpinnings of racism, Richards constructs a portrait of anti-Semites as perplexed and frustrated individuals.
Being emotionally isolated they envy the Jew’s secure group identity; hankering to belong they despise the Jew’s independence’ unable to confront their weakness they are paranoid about the Jew’s strength and success; sexually frustrated, they see the Jew as libidinous and sexually active...Anti-semites essentially hate everything about themselves, and thus everything ascribable to a Jew becomes a source of hatred for them: they are dirty and obsessionally clean, clannish and loners, intrusive and seclusive, inferior and superior, lustful and ‘castrated’, mean and generous, loyal and treacherous and so on.\footnote{61}

In common with the earlier psychoanalytic portrayals of racism described above, contemporary accounts describe how the racist is caught between people considered superior and others considered inferior. The racist plays out the role of the older sibling, attacking his/her younger sibling in place of the feared parent. Fearing judgement from those considered superior s/he projects that judgement on to those considered inferior.

Kovel points out that not all people who are in this situation – i.e., between those considered inferior and those thought to be superior – operate in this way. The defining feature is guilt, or more specifically, a harsh, maladaptive or brittle superego.

The bigot is generally something of a failure, unable to adapt his superego smoothly to institutional sources of power, and therefore unable to sublimate enough aggression to do well in the world. He is frequently the most faithful of employees, but the attachment is brittle; it is based on an overcompliance that prevents true identification.\footnote{62}

Kovel portrays the authoritarian as being tortured by the presence of sadistic impulses that s/he cannot acknowledge. Instead, they are projected onto the Other, whilst the prejudiced person keeps his or her own desires in check with his “sadistic conscience”.\footnote{63} Kovel distinguishes between the dominative racist and the aversive racist.
The former corresponds with Fromm's notion of the lower middle-class authoritative type who is unable to operate and form a coherent identity. According to Kovel, whereas the aversive racist is able to rationalise and sublimate his or her ideas to fit in with wider society, the dominative racist has a maladaptive superego, and is constantly struggling to repress her or his urges by projecting them onto the Other.  

Kovel's description of the authoritarian personality reflects those of Fromm and Adorno. Although the importance of power is stressed in Kovel's portrayal, the emphasis is on external sources of power.

He generally comes from the lower middle class. He is the "little man" who lives off the scraps of bourgeois culture. His life revolves about an ideal of external power. A level below the worship of his masters, however, lies the hatred that derives from his terror of submission...His hatred of the masters is kept out of consciousness by his projecting it onto someone he can see as lower than himself.  

Racism in its social context

As is discussed earlier in this chapter, racism, prejudice and fascism are both social and psychological phenomena. They are social phenomena in that they have emerged in cultures whose wealth and status has been founded through the colonisation or exploitation of others. This exploitation does not solely occur on a social and cultural level. Psychological processes also operate on an individual level.

The most active process at work...is the projection of negative, repressed, or inaccessible aspects of the individual and social self. Cultures of racial domination, since they are founded on greed, cruelty and the exploitation of weakness, will have many such hateful states of mind to get rid of somewhere. This process can have a self-reinforcing dynamic in which the evidence of damage inflicted on projected internal objects generates still more violent persecution, which is again projected onto powerless victims.
According to this perspective, it is as important to understand the processes of projection that go hand-in-hand with the exploitation and subjugation of the Other if racism is to be fully understood. Moreover, there is a need to draw on psychological and psychoanalytic approaches, since the beliefs under investigation are "resistant to explanatory processes derived solely from the social sphere, because as well as existing on the social level, they are also part of the lived reality of individuals."  

Individual participation is instrumental in guaranteeing the successful continuation of racist systems and cultural mythologies. The survival of belief systems and social structures depends in part on the co-operation of the individual. Meanwhile, the identity of the individual is defined in terms of the prevalent cultural myth. The cultural mythology creates a closedness that influences the evolution of the individual psyche.

Frosh describes the relationship between society's myth and the identity of the individual as follows.

The lie becomes something central to the preservation of the individual's personality and identity, deeply invested in and relied upon as a source of support to the self. The more strongly it is held, the more it is needed; the subject comes to be in love with the lie and fearful of anything that challenges it.

Undoubtedly, there is a need for fascism to be understood at a macro (i.e., social and economic) level. This is especially true given that racism and fascism both originate in societies with colonial histories. However, approaches to fascism that ignore its psychological aspects "not only neglect an important dimension of racism (its inhabitation of individual psyches), but also fail to explain the tenacity with which racist beliefs and practices are held."
Meanwhile, the temptation to treat racism and fascism as individual psychopathologies has had to be resisted by most psychologists interested in the phenomena. The consistent awareness of the need to ground psychological accounts of racism and fascism in social contexts is made apparent by Kovel.

The most difficult, because unpleasant, fact that we must face is that for all its malevolence, racism served a stabilizing function in...culture for many generations. Indeed it was a source of gratification to whites. It defined a social universe, absorbed aggression...racism was an integral part of a stable and effective cultural order...(which) is markedly less virtuous than ideology would have it. Our ideals are nourished by corrupt roots and survive by a continuously sustained act of self-deception.71

Despite the increasingly multicultural nature of modern society, racism still persists. Rather than enjoying and celebrating diversity and difference, there is a tendency towards a reaction away from multiculturalism.

The advance of modernity has led to a flattening out of experience and a fear of the ‘irrational’ – the polycentric – which then ...becomes split off into the being of the derogated racial other.72

This leads to a resistance of *Otherness* that occurs on both an individual and collective level.

What is sought is safety in mythical but nonetheless concrete boundaries from which otherness can be excluded and denounced.73

Meanwhile, further legitimacy for the splitting and projection is given through the development of a discourse that serves to demonise the object, reinforcing its *Otherness*.

The process of racist ideation is therefore one in which unwanted or feared aspects of the self are experienced as having the power to disturb the personality in so damaging a way that they have to be repudiated and evacuated or projected into the racialised other, chosen for this purpose both because of pre-existing social prejudices and because, as a fantasy category, racial ‘otherness’ can be employed to mean virtually anything.74
Psychoanalytic theory has been used to provide an account of the concept of *Otherness* that exists in the racist psyche. In particular, it has been used to explore the content of the notion of purity contained within fascist and racist ideology. As the subsequent analysis chapters of this thesis describe, fascist ideology predicates around the need to preserve racial boundaries and to maintain racial purity. Psychoanalytic interpretations of this central theme are useful in that they provide an understanding of why the notion of purity is so important to proponents of fascist arguments. Psychoanalytic perspectives help the reader of fascist texts to go deeper into them. They move beyond describing how fascists envisage racial purity in terms of notions of whiteness, darkness, *Otherness, us, them*, etc.

(By) reversing the usual racist discourse, one might argue that in darkness there is the possibility of subtlety and romance, of the variegated play of one intensity of shade on another, of coolness and refuge, unexpected vocalisation, touch and movement. In darkness there is danger, for sure, but also romance. Turn on the light and in the unblinking stare of whiteness everything looks the same, it seems to be this that is sought after by racism, that nothing unfamiliar and ‘other’ should survive.

As my subsequent analysis sections describe, fascist rhetoric is full of binary opposites: good versus bad, us versus *them*, white versus black. There is an absence of subtle shading. Contrasts are absolute in fascist ideology. The objects of fascist discourse are either one thing or another. In psychoanalytic terms, this way of relating to the outside world in terms of either-or categories can be understood to be pre-Oedipal and thus narcissistic.

Denial of contradiction, desire for a state of conflict-free bliss, disavowal of anality, pursuit of purity, and absorption in a fantasy of completeness...can easily be seen to be characteristic of fascism and other ideologies opposed to the heterogeneity and contradictions of modernity – ideologies that protect people from the realities of the world by denying those realities, by offering a framework of total predictableness and by brooking no opposition.
The racist's need for the Other

Fromm describes how the sadist needs his victims and actually depends on them.

The sadist needs the person over whom he rules, he needs him very badly, since his own feeling of strength is rooted in the fact that he is the master over someone. This dependence may be entirely unconscious.9

It is thus that psychological theory helps to explain the psychic process whereby otherness becomes central to the construction of us. Kovel describes the narcissistic process as one that requires the subordination of the Other to ensure the elevation of the self.

The white self is created out of the violation of the black self, through its inclusion and denigration. Racism degrades the Other to constitute the dominant self, and its social order.80

According to this theory, the white self does not exist except through reference to the black Other. Not only does the Other need to exist to fulfil the role of victim to the racist's sadism as has been described by Fromm. Kovel takes this argument further, suggesting that the racist needs the other so that he can exist at all.

Every study of authoritarian prejudice reveals a common truth: the dominative racist is irrationally and profoundly dependent on the object of his prejudice. He cannot leave him alone. Hate implies a kind of love, or at least an inability to rid the mind of obsessions with the hated other. And these obsessions are invariably tinged with sexuality: a preoccupation with, a deadly curiosity about, the sexual excesses of the hated group, etched in the imagination by the acid of a harsh moralism.81

The dependence of the racist on his/her object means that he must continually keep the Other oppressed and acting in a way that inspires his/her hatred, envy, vicarious enjoyment, and so on. The racist or fascist must thereby create the object of his or her hatred.
The notion of authoritarian repression combined with this kind of projection may well explain the extent of the fascist or racist's interest in the activities in the *Other*.

There is no fruit like forbidden fruit; there is nothing more delicious to enjoy and punish freely than the crimes of sex and aggression which authoritarian repression has forbidden.\(^8\)²

It is because the racist projects onto the *Other* his/her repressed fantasies that s/he seeks to punish and demonise the *Other*. Kovel describes the racist as being involved in a process of exteriorising inner guilt, through prohibition and punishment of the *Other*.

The truth or falsity of a stereotype is actually irrelevant, it is the psychological function the stereotype serves for the holder which is crucial.\(^8\)³

Frosh provides an explanation of racism that draws on the interpretations of both Fromm and Kovel.

In a world in which there is no security or depth of self, the continued existence of the self can only be supported through constant buttressing involving denigration of the other – that is, by way of a phantasised expulsion of one's own destructive despair into the object. Becoming 'powerful' in this unreal way depends on destroying the unsettling difference represented by the other – projecting one's own weakness into the other and then denying the link.\(^8\)⁴

**Conspiracy theory, stereotypes and “anti-thought” mechanisms**

Billig talks about why such controversial and untenable positions as conspiracy theory continue today.\(^8\)⁵ He argues that adherence to contentious ideas such as the notion of conspiracy is definitely not a matter of expediency. Nor can financial incentives (for example, some Arab countries have contributed
financially to some fascist organisations) fully explain the fascist adherence to discredited notions of conspiracy.\textsuperscript{86}

Such funding is a possibility \textit{because} the group possesses an ideology of conspiracy, and it has not adopted the ideology (as opposed to the style of phrasing of the ideology) \textit{in order to} attract funding.\textsuperscript{87}

If the continuation of conspiracy theory cannot be explained in terms of political expediency or financial pressure or incentive, other factors need to be considered. It is for this reason that psychological theories suggest themselves as explanations. Billig suggests that whilst the mainstream cognitive and motivational approaches are useful they do not explain the non-substitutability of conspiracy theory.\textsuperscript{88} For example, attribution theory, like conspiracy theory offers an explanation for world events.

If, as attribution theories suggest, the desire for explanation is natural, then conspiracy theories, far from being abnormal, have an abundance of this 'natural' tendency. And the more implausible the explanation, the more the theorists will take this as proof of the cunning nature of the conspirators.\textsuperscript{89}

Conspiracy theory can therefore be seen to be a form of attribution that works on both the political and the personal level. It explains the actions of governments as well as those who are proponents of ideologies that are portrayed as being part of the conspiracy (i.e., the conspirators).

The overabundance of personal attributions is not, of itself, psychologically remarkable... (it) reflects the style of thinking prevalent in contemporary society, rather than a universal style.\textsuperscript{90}

By treating conspiracy theory as a rational quest for attribution, one of its key aspects is ignored: its emotional intensity. Through psychoanalytic approaches,
conspiracy theory can be understood to reflect the paranoid nature of fascist thinking.\textsuperscript{91} The paranoia is also symbolised by fantasies of being flooded by waves of immigration or poisoned by foreign food and immigrant-borne diseases.

Moreover, this paranoia is given \textit{structure} by the thinking process at work here: it is not primarily a cognitive procedure aimed at finding out about the world, but an emotional one, aiming to expel certain feelings and fantasies from the self and evacuating them 'into' the denigrated other.\textsuperscript{92}

Whilst attribution theorists portray conspiracy theory as a cognitive thought-process that is used as a mechanism to explain and make attributions for difficult events, Frosh describes it as being an emotional outlet, and as an "anti-thought process".\textsuperscript{93} Rather than providing a rational framework for understanding the world and difficult events that take place within it, conspiracy theory, according to Frosh is a defence against sense-making strategies. He describes how it is not only conspiracy theory that provides such anti-thought mechanisms, but also racial categories.

Racial categories are particularly useful repositories for such anti- or pseudo-thinking, not just because they are socially valorised for political purposes (such as colonialism and economic exploitation), but because they are fundamentally 'empty' categories with very little externally grounded, objective meaning.\textsuperscript{94}

Tajfel has shown that it is not only racists who are capable of using such empty categories. Whilst Frosh and earlier psychologists are right to point out that the prejudiced person develops a system of categorisation that is self-confirming, they are wrong to assume that such rigid frameworks are used only by authoritarians. Stereotyping is itself an act of categorisation that has led Tajfel to argue that the mere existence of any label is enough to affect the judgements that one person has about another.\textsuperscript{95}
Archetypes and the Other

An important point made by Kovel is that the difference between the actively prejudiced or authoritarian person and what he terms the aversive racist is a matter of response. According to Kovel, everyone in a given society is subject to the same beliefs or assumptions about race, but our responses depend, to a greater or lesser extent on our part in the cultural whole.

Whilst the socio-economic part of the puzzle is attended to by sociologists, historians and even psychoanalysts, there has been little focus on the actual content of these assumptions about race. Psychoanalytic theory can be used to explain the significance of blackness in the white and specifically the white-western, psyche. The history of white people’s domination of black people has an impact on the white, western psyche.

What had been directly acted upon in those...days of domination becomes the fantasy of today. The actual behavior of domintative racists who enslaved the bodies of black people, who raped black women and emasculated black men, now returns in the projected fantasies of contemporary bigots. The sins of the father are punished by the sons—but the punishment is not directed against the fathers, for they must be venerated and their fantasised power retained. Rather, their sins become ascribed...to the sons of the victims of the fathers—those whom the bigot would like to claim as victims for himself.96

It is at the intersection between race and sex that the notion of power and domination becomes clear. For example, Altemeyer describes how Canadian authoritarians express hatred towards homosexuals.97 Homophobia can be understood to be an authoritarian defence against sexual “unconventionality”, reflecting a fear of sexual Otherness. Just as the white racist sexualises black men, the racist also applies a different notion of femininity to black and white women. Historically, the former are seen to be sexual if impure, whilst the latter are seen to be pure and non-sexual. Freud discussed the type of pattern that is
emerging here (i.e., the Madonna-Whore dichotomy of women) in his paper, *On the Universal Tendency to Debasement in the Sphere of Love*.\(^9^8\)

as a man with power in a patriarchal society, (white man will) kill and castrate any black (man) who could be imagined to entertain sexual wishes toward white women.\(^9^9\)

The same obsessions are contained within the fascist literature analysed for this thesis. Kovel explains that the repetitive portrayal of black men as rapists reflects both the prurience and envy of the racist imagination. The racist projects his own fantasy onto the black man. In the racist’s imagination, not only does the black man want to fulfil this fantasy, but he also has the power to do so. According to Kovel, it is for this reason that the black man is simultaneously objectified and envied by the white racist. In the same way that Oedipal theory is used to explain the de-individuation process in crowd behaviour, it is applied by Kovel to explain the rape fantasy of white men. Given that the archetype of blackness is evil, the black man can be seen to represent the negative aspects of both the father and the son in the Oedipal conflict of the white racist. The black man is seen to play out both roles by the white racist.

He is the bad father who possesses the black mammy (who is herself impure), and he has the genital power which forever excites the child’s envy; he is also the bad child who lusts after the pure and utterly forbidden white mother (made sexless, in reality). By making the rape fantasy the cornerstone of his culture, the white male only repeats in adulthood the central incest taboo of his childhood.\(^1^0^0\)

Put simply, the Oedipal conflict can be applied to the rape fantasy by viewing the treatment of the black man by the white racist as the symbolic castration of the father by the son, and of the son by the father.
Meanwhile the racist’s own repression of his fantasy, and the projection of it onto the non-white Other serves another important function: namely the legitimisation of his desire for power. By subordinating and oppressing black men and by imagining them as harmful and dangerous, the white racist can exert power over the Other without experiencing guilt. Meanwhile, it is the Other who is made into a scapegoat and punished for the crimes of the white racist’s imagination. Kovel describes how white racism is based on deep-seated prejudices that stem from psychological or archetypal conceptualisations of blackness. Darkness and blackness are both seen to be impure, and thus threatening to the racist psyche.

A persistent shadow had dogged puritanism, the dominant cultural type of the early capitalist order – a spectre of renunciation and rationalisation, of the loss of sensuousness and the deadening of existence. In this context the animality projected onto the black by virtue of his or her role in slavery became suitable to represent the vitality split away from the world in Puritan capitalist asceticism... Blacks, who had been treated as animals when enslaved became animals in their essence, while the darkness of their skin became suitable to represent the dark side of the body, embodying the excremental vision that has played so central a role in the development of western consciousness.

Frosh discusses links between racism, modernity, sexuality and masculinity. He describes racism as a response of the ego that is normally fragile, but whose sense of precariousness is exacerbated by the fast-changing, apparently chaotic and unstable influences of modernity.

The racist needs the hated other as a repository of all that she or he has lost and fears losing further. Just as, in the basic scheme of domination, master needs slave for his mastery to be recognised, so too the denuded, alienated and split-off racist consciousness needs its denigrated object for it to feel alive.

Fanon also emphasises the role of sexuality in his psychological account of racism. He argues that the white man sees the black man as the biological Other
a vehicle for the projection of unwanted feelings about the body – as well as a sexual threat. At the root of this structure are, apparently, repressed homosexual desires.

Repressed homosexual desire creates an ambivalence that connects up with other forms of ambivalence that permeate feeling towards others, whether Jews, black people or Asians. Modernity is one of the other sources of ambivalence. It is experienced as threatening, but in part exciting. Other forms of ambivalence see the hated objects as not only disgusting and hateful, but powerful, fascinating, erotic and possessors of qualities admired by racist subjects. Hence the plausibility of conspiracy theories in which the enemy is seen as having conquered what terrifies the racist – chaos, change, disorder, fragmentation, disintegration.

Rattansi talks about how the sexualisation of the male Other is not limited to black men. He describes how Jewish male sexuality was traditionally seen to symbolise pollution and disease.

Jews were popularly associated with the spread of syphilis in nineteenth-century Europe – and the chain of connotations of commerce, outsiderness, danger and deviant sexuality which linked the male Jew to the female prostitute... (also important) is the masculinism of fascist ideologies, and of Nazism in particular, and the forms of masculine desire, anxiety and dread and fear of women.

Psychoanalytic theory can be used to explain the historical domination of black people by whites as well as its persistence in modern forms of racism. In particular, an insight into archetypes of blackness and the impact that they have on thought and behaviour is relevant to this study. Kovel describes how before the 16th Century, blackness was portrayed in the Oxford English Dictionary as “Deeply stained with dirt; soiled, dirty, foul.” In other words, within the English language, anything bad was synonymous with blackness.

The meaning of blackness affected the reaction of British white people to black people they encountered from the 16th century on. In particular, Kovel describes how the life-style and behaviour of black people was taken by white people to
“confirm a sense of radical difference between peoples”. Similarities can be found in the racist proclamations about black people and those made against the Other in various settings, such as the portrayal of Jews by the Nazis. Generally, the Other is portrayed as dirty and smelly. Richards conveys this sense of dirt when he describes the archetypal assumptions that the racist projects onto the non-white Other.

Prior to the Western encounter with black people, blackness had already become symbolically associated with faeces, dirt, sin, the Devil and death and so on in the Western mind and culture.

Fanon argues similarly when he describes how the black archetype is formed in the white psyche.

In Europe, whether concretely or symbolically, the black man stands for the bad side of the character. As long as one cannot understand this fact, one is doomed to talk in circles about the ‘black problem.’ Blackness, darkness, shadow, shades, night, the labyrinths of the earth, abysmal depths, blacken someone’s reputation; and, on the other side, the bright look of innocence, the white dove of peace, magical, heavenly light.

In the religious domain, the white archetypes of blackness have been fuelled by two ideas. First is the biblical story of how Ham (Noah’s son) came to be black because of his disrespect for his father. Second is the idea that the devil is black and therefore black people are the devil. However, the archetypes also exist on a less metaphysical and a more physical domain. Myths about the sexual prowess and inclination of black men continue today. Certainly, historically, they were prevalent, accounting for the feverish lynching of black men in the Southern states of America – for allegedly “raping” white women (where “rape” could mean anything from looking at to touching).
Throughout our history, even in these progressive days when the wish to actually punish sexual crimes by castration has been repressed out of the consciousness of all but a few psychotics, sexuality remains a widely acknowledged core of the race problem. Miscegenation is indeed the most forbidden of inter-racial practices...and so sexuality and racism must indeed be intertwined.\textsuperscript{114}

Conclusion

Psychoanalytic approaches can help us to become aware of the layers of meaning that culture gives to its objects. According to Kovel, given the unconscious content of many of these layers of meaning, a psychoanalytic approach can be helpful in that it shows us the effect of the past on the present and the "connections between the carnal and the sublime."\textsuperscript{115}

In other words, psychoanalytic theory can be applied to the cultural phenomena of racism and fascism to provide an understanding of their origins and the dynamics that keep the ideologies alive today. Psychoanalytic theories of racism and fascism, such as those of Rustin, Kovel, Frosh and Fanon give some insight into the contents of racist ideology, both in terms of the archetypes of blackness and in terms of the sexualisation of the Other.

There are some aspects of the psychological approaches discussed above that need to be re-iterated here. First, as I have mentioned earlier in the chapter, despite the fact that the relatively contemporary studies of Billig and Orfali corroborate the existence of authoritarian types of supporter in both the UK and France, they also reveal the extent to which fascism appeals to anti-authoritarian and violent types.

It is important to note that both the anti-authoritarian (i.e., the violent) and the authoritarian types of supporters are predominantly male in both the UK and in France. Orfali's study names an extremely puritanical and authoritarian, yet
deferential third category of supporter (l'homme Assujetti) that, despite being given a masculine title, is predominantly filled by women.\textsuperscript{116}

It can be concluded from both Billig and Orfali's studies that above all other factors, such as class and education, the strongest predictor of contemporary support for fascism are gender and race. This fact is missed out or overlooked in the majority if not all of the studies of racism and prejudice discussed above. Yet, despite the fact that the aetiology of authoritarianism and prejudice is universal so that it is not only men who can be classified as authoritarian, men are disproportionately attracted to fascism.

The same comment needs to be made about the holding of racist views and the mobilisation of stereotypes generally. When fascists or racists talk about the danger of the Other contaminating our society, they are not presenting a wholly unique or new idea. Rather, they are reformulating ideas and stereotypes that are part of the wider cultural common sense, and are giving expression to views that are shared (albeit less flamboyantly) by those belonging to the wider community.

It is for this reason that the social and cultural aspects of fascism need to be stressed alongside the psychological ones. It appears that the appeal of racism and fascism depends not only on class but also on race and gender. The analysis section of this thesis looks at the ways in which fascist rhetoric about race is an argument.\textsuperscript{117} I explore in particular the ways in which it draws on and inscribes these traditional sources of support, whilst also attempting to gain wider appeal through co-opting feminist discourse.
Notes for chapter 2


Chapter 3
Eugenics and scientific racism: fascism as essentialism

This chapter explores the relationship between eugenic theory and fascist ideology. It explores how eugenic theories have developed since their inception and examines how fascism has mirrored these trends. By exploring the relationship between eugenics and breeding, this chapter explores the centrality of gender roles to eugenic thinking. The chapter concludes with a portrayal of how gender is treated in contemporary fascist ideology.

Introduction
British fascism’s racial ideology is part legacy of British Imperialism and part product of the scientific attitudes that emerged in the form of eugenics in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries.1 The combination of biological determinism with post-Imperial attitudes has not only shaped the beliefs of those on the political fringes but has also led to a “racial interpretation of history” in mainstream academic thought.2 The acceptance of theories of eugenics into the latter has made it possible for eugenics to be used by fascists and racists as “a source of prestige for their own doctrines”.3

Science and in particular the study of heredity has been used as a means of endorsing long-held romantic and aesthetic beliefs about the racial superiority of Aryans and Anglo-Saxons.4 It is through the inculcation of science into post-Imperial beliefs about European superiority that racism has become unique as a form of prejudice.

Questions of human rights and freedoms...were transferred from their appropriate place in the domain of political discourse to the domain of science. In particular, an understanding of racial difference was claimed to be the key to social progress.5
Through eugenics, theories of race have emerged in which the body is racialised. Not only physical and psychological but also moral characteristics are attributed by some eugenicists to different populations. This has led to the indiscriminate use of science to classify human groups into a racial hierarchy.

Until the Second World War, those advocating eugenics (particularly in Nazi Germany) portrayed it as “a logical extension – indeed, a culmination – of the advancement of modern science”. Such a rationale for eugenics can be understood in terms of a wider, post-enlightenment, context in which nature and the study of it through science were seen as sacrosanct.

First, with the Enlightenment came the enthronement of the new deity, that of Nature, together with the legitimation of science as its only orthodox cult, and of scientists as its prophets and priests. Everything, in principle, had been opened to objective inquiry; everything could, in principle, be known ... Human temperament, character, intelligence, aesthetic talents, even political inclinations, were seen to be determined by Nature.

The pre-war development of eugenics in academic thought
The rise of eugenics can be attributed to Galton's pioneering work in the field in 1865. Attempting to apply biological findings such as those of Charles Darwin to humans, Galton drew on a range of scientific discoveries about animals to put forward his ideas about breeding better people.

In short, Galton asserted that whatever differences there are between peoples, they are bound to be genetic. Analysis was superfluous because he confidently knew what science would discover.

Of course, science never did endorse the claims about heredity that Galton espoused. However, he continued to believe that mental as well as physical qualities were transmitted by inheritance, and argued that it was both desirable and possible to breed accordingly.
More important for Galton than the scientific details of evolution was the possibility for rational control of its direction. Here, finally, was the opportunity for him to do something constructive about his bête noire – common people... It might now... be possible to remove these objectionable weeds that were overrunning the garden of humanity.\textsuperscript{11}

Billig notes that the ideas expressed by Galton were already fully formed before any research had been undertaken.\textsuperscript{12} There was a precedent to the incorporation of polygenetic ideas into scientific thought.

By the end of the nineteenth century, international scientific opinion had promoted this division (between the races) to the status of an axiom.\textsuperscript{13}

Undoubtedly, the historical and social context insinuated itself into his arguments, so that “imperial experience found its way directly into Galton’s first psychological book”.\textsuperscript{14} As I discuss in my review chapter on psychoanalytic theories of fascism, there has been a tendency within early mainstream academic psychology towards nationalism and ethnocentrism. This, combined with colonial and imperial attitudes, has affected not only the work of Jung and Le Bon (as discussed in the aforementioned chapter) but also much of the experimental work that has developed within even more contemporary psychology.\textsuperscript{15}

Despite the favourable political and academic context, Galton did not receive widespread support for his ideas about racial science. It was not until the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century that Galton gained academic support, following the foundation of his Eugenics Laboratory and Eugenics Education Society.\textsuperscript{16} In his will, Galton endowed University College London with a Professorship of Eugenics. The first incumbent of that chair was Karl Pearson, a devotee of Galton’s with expertise in statistics and mathematics. It is thus that from 1911, eugenics received increasing prominence within academic circles. One of
Pearson's contributions to the field of eugenics was his apparent stress on the importance of scientific method over political ideology.

Mathematics was to be the tool, above all others, to achieve such detachment and in this respect Pearson made lasting contributions to the methodology of psychology.\(^7\)

Pearson followed Galton's legacy, but took his arguments much further, claiming that different races could not and should not coexist. Pearson argued that the stronger races should eliminate the weaker. This could be accomplished either by killing or through emigration.

The Victorian imperialist outlook was developing into a genocidal creed for the twentieth century.\(^8\)

Galton and Pearson's endeavours to construct a scientific account of racial science began to appeal to scientists across the Atlantic, where eugenic ideas reached their height in the 1920s.\(^9\) Cross fertilisation of ideas took place during much of the 1920s and 1930s when American eugenicists began to draw on and develop research ideas from both Britain and Germany.\(^{20}\) (insert correction here)

**The Debate within Eugenics**

It is important to point out that the link between eugenics and racist ideology has not been constant. This is highlighted in the following detail about two well-known scientists, Marie Stopes and Julian Huxley, who opposed the relationship between racist ideology and the scientific establishment. For example, Marie Stopes was less concerned with the idea of eugenics as a racial science. She argued that practices should be developed to give women their reproductive rights, thus giving them control over their destiny. She also shared some of the broader concerns of the eugenics movement. For example, Kühl points out that she was involved in the 1935 International Congress for Population Science in
Berlin. During the conference, Stopes, who was then President of the Society of Birth Control and Progress of Race, supported calls for a reduction in the rate of population growth, and an emphasis on the quality of the population.  

However, this is not to say that she shared the racial concerns of her pro-eugenic colleagues. In 1941, she produced a pamphlet entitled "Black Breeding" which countered the notion that black people were inferior. Within the pamphlet, she argued that breeding patterns as well as improvements in social conditions could raise the standard of life in the black community. Stopes was not the only person involved in the eugenics movement who disapproved of its racial emphasis. Julian Huxley and Alfred Haddon argued that race was not a meaningful biological unit. Their assertion about race aimed to undermine scientific racism and its pretensions at factuality, by dismissing the very matter of the claims about racial hierarchy.

Within their book, Huxley and Haddon suggest that some of the claims of eugenicists were unscientific and false.

In a scientific age, prejudice and passion seek to clothe themselves in a garb of scientific respectability; and when they cannot find support from true science, they invent a pseudo-science to justify themselves. We all know that the Devil can quote Scripture for his own purpose: to-day we are finding that he can even invent a false Scripture from which to quote.

They went on to argue that such "pseudo-science" was motivated by political ambitions, economic ends, social grudges and general prejudice. Huxley and Haddon's main claim was that scientific racism was promoted with a conviction apparently warranted through its use of so-called scientific facts. However, this conviction belied the ignorance that lay at the heart of scientific racism. Huxley and Haddon's point in writing *We Europeans* was to redress the balance.
‘Racial problems’ are among the urgent actualities of twentieth-century politics. But as soon as we subject the concept underlying them, that of race, to dispassionate analysis, it turns out to be a pseudo-scientific rather than a scientific term. In other words, its use implies an appeal to the accuracy and to the prestige of science but on an investigation it turns out to have no precise or definable meaning. Further, like other pseudo-scientific terms, it can then readily be employed to rationalize emotion, and to bolster up the appeals of prejudice, by giving it a meaning to suit the context.25

According to Huxley, “race” has different meanings depending on the political or argumentative context in which it is used. Moreover, Huxley and Haddon argue that it is not backed up by science. The most that one can infer from genetic and scientific interpretations, according to Huxley and Haddon, is that geographical location and physical isolation has produced adaptive differences, helping humans survive their particular environments.26

Those groups identified as “races” may share little genetic heritage: for example, Haddon and Huxley point out that the term Aryan refers to language, not ancestral lineage.27 Put simply, they argue that claims to genetic inheritance are based on nothing more than “self-interest and wish-fulfilment”.28

Huxley and Haddon point out that the particular claim of eugenicists – that races need to be kept pure and that miscegenation should be avoided – is more of a social and political argument than a biological one. They argue that it is based on the fear that society will not tolerate the blurring of hitherto strong class-type distinctions between its members, and the need to assimilate and integrate new ideas. However, from a biological point-of-view, miscegenation does not present a threat to the survival of the human species.

From a purely biological standpoint it might conceivably be a good thing to undertake mass-crossing between say the British and the Bantu, or the Americans and the Chinese, on account of the new genetic recombinations to be obtained.29
In conclusion, Huxley and Haddon argue that scientific racism makes sense in a context in which nationalism is pervasive. Each nation wants to keep its identity intact, and wants to prevent those changes considered undesirable. Finally, they insist that attempts to maintain distinct national boundaries should not be confused with science and should not falsify science as a defence. Meanwhile, science should point out the biological realities of race, and should refuse to sanction racism and racial mythologies.  

Post-war development of eugenics

Scientific racism and eugenics suffered a set back in the aftermath of the Second World War. Concerns about the relationship between scientific racism and the Holocaust, combined with the increased prominence of the Civil Rights Movement (particularly in the US), led to a curbing in research and literature in the field of eugenics.

More generally, the 1940s saw the ‘nature-nurture’ issue acquire clear-cut ideological connotations, adherence to nativist positions becoming seen as inherently right-wing and racist.  

As a result of this polarisation, promoters of eugenics attempted to distance themselves from their historical legacy and from charges of racism by developing more sophisticated and scientific means of presenting their arguments. However, this did not mean that interest in eugenics ceased. Indeed, in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, eugenicists in both the UK and the US were intent on proving that racial differences existed.

In the US, Henry E. Garrett, Chair of Psychology at Columbia University in 1947 claimed that differences in IQ scores between whites and blacks could not be explained by environmental differences, thereby suggesting that they were genetically inherited. Meanwhile, back in the UK, Hans J. Eysenck, head of the Institute of Psychiatry in London, produced different research findings to those obtained by Garrett. However, this did not prevent him from concluding, as did Garrett, that whites were innately superior to blacks.
The truth is that though waged with scientific weapons, the goal in this controversy has always been political; indeed the debate has no strictly scientific purpose or value. The question of genetic differences between races has arisen...only because of the belief, explicit or unstated, that the answer has political consequences.  

Despite the continued popularity of eugenics in the aftermath of the Second World War, public awareness of the atrocities that were carried out in the name of eugenics during it had precipitated a political and cultural shift. Scientific endeavours within the Allied nations were, at least nominally, distanced from eugenics. Dr. Carlos Paton Blacker, an officer of long-standing (since 1931) in the Eugenics Society, suggested in the 1950’s that the movement should pursue its ends by subtle means, adopting a strategy of crypto-eugenics.  

Similarly, Major General Frederick Osborn argued that people deemed inferior would not “accept the idea that they are ... second rate. We must rely on other motivation” to encourage the practice of negative eugenics. The thinking behind this strategy was revealed when he argued that “eugenic goals are most likely to be attained under a name other than eugenics”. For example, he argued that “heredity clinics are the first eugenic proposals that have been adopted in a practical form and accepted by the public ... The word eugenics is not associated with them”.  

Whilst the rhetoric produced by Osborn over this period sought to distance eugenics from scientific racism, his own involvement as President (1947- 56) of the Pioneer Fund, an organisation that sponsors controversial research projects linking race and inferiority, shows that his interest was in obviating visible signs of racism. This continues to be the case today. Despite continuing research into such issues as race and heredity, immigration, AIDS and ethnicity, etc., eugenicist organisations produce public rhetoric denying their racist credentials.
Despite the general unpopularity of eugenics in the aftermath of the Second World War, there have been particular periods since then in which eugenicist ideas have gained a degree of prominence. In 1969, Jensen reasserted the eugenic argument that there is a relationship between race and intelligence.\textsuperscript{39}

The consequences of this monograph, which continue even yet, present a rather curious case. In essence the situation has been that for the majority of psychologists, geneticists and anthropologists the question has remained ‘scientifically’ closed – it is meaningless and unresearchable. The controversy isn’t so much alive as undead. On the other hand the minority pro-differences camp... has managed to muster enough allies to keep the controversy culturally alive.\textsuperscript{40}

One of the ways eugenicists have done this is by claiming that they are victims of witch-hunts, instigated by the academic hegemony, which is labelled alternatively as liberal or Marxist and Leftist.\textsuperscript{41}

The upshot has been a dreadful muddle in which the anti-racist camp, by mounting so many different kinds of argument, continually trips over its own feet, enabling the smaller, but more internally coherent, pro-differences camp to cast itself as a benighted group of pure scientists assailed by a miscellaneous army of ideologues and political partisans intent on denying the Truth as revealed by their purely scientific procedures.\textsuperscript{42}

More recently, as since the 1960s, the political and social context has changed focus, with non-eugenic concern turning to issues such as poverty, crime and civil liberties. Despite this shift in cultural context, eugenicists have continued to promote theories about racial difference. However, revealing the start of a pattern that has continued to the present day, arguments about racial superiority have been repackaged by eugenicists according to the social and political context.
Eugenicists have argued that the perceived difference in circumstance and prosperity of blacks is due to their innate biological inferiority. Such arguments have served to create the impression, through their pretence at being a product of scientific enquiry, that these differences are immutable facts. Simultaneously, they have provided a justification for the continued oppression and subordination of black people.

Poverty among blacks was explained by some scientists as the economic consequence of natural inequality. Blacks' claims of continuing racial prejudice could thus be dismissed as 'social paranoia' since the real problem lay in their genes.\textsuperscript{43}

Tucker describes how attempts to deny the links between eugenics and racist ideology are disingenuous. He argues that the continued existence of the eugenics movement, in the face of both ideological and intellectual discrediting, has been made possible through the financial support of racist and fascist organisations and individuals.\textsuperscript{44} Some proponents of eugenics claim that the source of their funding has had no impact on the nature of the research being produced. Many eugenicists argue that the use of their material by racists does not imply that their own motivation in carrying out the research is anything other than neutral.\textsuperscript{45}

Both Richards and Billig point out that the links between eugenics and racism is direct. They argue that prominent eugenicists in the US have been highly involved in racist and fascist organisations.\textsuperscript{46} However, even if there were no such obvious connections between racist movements and eugenics, the motivation behind contemporary eugenic research is, nonetheless, indisputable. There are two possible explanations for the continuing pseudo-academic work on race.
(a) pro-difference researchers are naïve and insensitive fools who can recognise neither the logical incoherence of their position, nor the moral character of their funders, nor (despite being professional psychologists) the reasons why some people are genuinely upset by what they say; (b) they are people deeply committed to a belief in the world as an arena for ruthless racial struggle.  

Even the most vehement denials of racism in contemporary eugenic arguments are transparent. Beneath seemingly reasonable and scientific statements lurks a barely concealed set of stereotypes about race and gender.

Rushton explains the higher frequency of...(AIDS) among blacks by pointing to their supposed reproduction strategies. Due to their lack of intelligence and social skills, Rushton and Bogaert argue, blacks can only compete with whites and Asians by maintaining a higher level of sexual activity. This could be proved, they asserted, by the fact that the penises and vaginas of blacks are larger on average, that blacks have a higher premarital, marital and extramarital intercourse frequency. The higher percentage of AIDS infections among blacks is therefore presented as the result of their genetically pre-eminent sexual behaviour.

The persistence of eugenics suggests that the debate about racial difference has not been resolved, despite both moral and factual evidence about the worthiness of research into racial difference. The same arguments appear time and again in different voices, met with an opposition that all but concludes the debate.

Such consensus in the face of contradictory data is not an isolated occurrence in research on racial differences...Contemporary scientists often sound indistinguishable from their predecessors of thirty...or ninety years ago. More than a century of research has produced a lot of heat but virtually no light.

In an attempt to distance themselves from traditional scientific racism, today’s advocates of eugenics publicly say more about the perceived excesses of liberalism (i.e., the pursuit of equality) and liberation philosophies than about racial differences *per se*. That is, at least, until the 1980s and 1990s, since when the overtly racial content of eugenics seems to have returned with a vengeance.
This return to overtly racial arguments is typified by the latest controversial offering by eugenicists. *The Bell Curve* by Hernstein and Murray was written during a time when both media and political attention was focussed on inner-city crime and drug-related issues in the US, both of which were portrayed as being racial issues.

**Eugenic influence on contemporary fascist arguments**

Contemporary organisations promoting eugenics portray themselves as being involved in a responsible form of social engineering. The rhetorical shift in eugenic arguments has been mirrored in the post War period in fascist texts. Both fascists and proponents of scientific racism have recognised the need to conceal obvious signs of racism and to attract support for their contentious ideas. Meanwhile, by drawing on eugenics and scientific discourse, fascists have created an ‘intellectual culture’. Whilst presenting its ideas as having an ‘intellectual’ basis, the more obvious racist elements of eugenics are concealed. The scientific language, the camouflage of racism, and the intellectualisation of ideas allows the philosophy of racial hierarchy to be presented as if it is reasonable. However, the rhetorical shift that I describe earlier has not detracted from the biological and racial preoccupation of eugenic thinkers. Nor has the attempted self-portrayal by fascists as reasonable or intelligent, through their borrowing of the pseudo-scientific cloak of eugenics, resulted in a move away from unreasonable or irrational ideas.

It would be possible to analyse the ideas and mythology of the extreme right in terms of its biological characterizations of race and nation, and to show how scientific, and more especially bogus scientific, ideas have been incorporated. However, there is also another theme in the ideological mythology of the extreme right. This is the theme of conspiracy. This theme does not draw its intellectual nourishment from the ‘great books’ of Western political theory. Nor is it derived from nineteenth-century theories of blood and race. Instead, the themes are to be found in what could be called a ‘counter-culture’ of political books and pamphlets, whose very lack of intellectual prominence in Western philosophy has contributed to the continuing appeal of fascism.
Below, I look at the evolution of these unreasonable and irrational ideas in fascist thought.

**Eugenics and scientific racism**

Fascists have developed a particular understanding of race from eugenic ideas, such as Weismann’s “germ plasm theory”, that has led them to conclude that miscegenation presents a real threat to racial health.

The hierarchy of race with Aryans or Anglo-Saxons at its apex was (seen to be) under threat of contamination from the supposed lesser breeds. 

Eugenic principles have given fascist theories about race much of their substance and rhetorical form. Fascists claim that their arguments are motivated by need rather than prejudice.

Racism stands apart (from other prejudices) by a practice of which it is a part and which it rationalizes: a practice that combines strategies of architecture and gardening with that of medicine – in the service of the construction of an artificial social order, through casting out the elements of the present reality that neither fit the visualized perfect reality, nor can be changed so that they do.

Bauman’s ‘gardening’ metaphor (above) highlights the biological aspect of the racist project, with its emphasis on *decontaminating* society through the *weeding out* of the *Other*.

There are similarities between Bauman’s depiction of racism and the biopolitics and “management of populations” portrayed by Foucault. Both draw attention to the aim of excluding the *Other* from society, through removal, separation or extermination.
The ideals of scientific racism and eugenics are often portrayed by their proponents in terms of a perceived need to improve and maintain racial stock and to breed a healthy nation: a biological and racial rather than geographical concept. Behind this striving for racial health and purity lurks a fear of contamination by the Other.

What is most striking is that the ‘scientific’ account of racial difference is in fact focussed on an extraordinary, nightmare vision of fertility, a frenetic panorama of frenzied, interminable copulation between races... that give(s) rise to the infinite motley variety of interbreeding and the melange, miscegenation, mongrelity, hybridization of its offspring...Nineteenth-century theories of race did not just consist of essentializing differentiations between white and black: they were about people having sex – interminably adulterating...illicit, interracial sex.\(^{57}\)

Pre-2\(^{nd}\) World War: Eugenics as practice – links with fascism

The eugenic vision that was the pre-cursor to German National Socialism was of a regeneration of the Volk community with an inherently hierarchical structure, along with a return to traditional values. The myth of the superiority of the Volkish community was so strong that it needed little in the form of scientific endorsement. It is thus that the pseudo-scientific arguments of eugenics were so powerful. Laqueur describes how in pre-war ideology, fascism and eugenics were strongly connected.

According to this doctrine, the German people, though inherently superior to others, were in mortal danger of disintegration. Therefore the purity of their blood had to be preserved, which meant, above all, the elimination of Jewish influence, of the protagonists of liberalism, of Marxist socialism and all supernational forces. It also meant that to fight its historical mission, the German race needed more Lebensraum.\(^{58}\)
Under Hitler, the notion of eugenics was combined with anti-Semitic conspiracy theory. Hitler promoted a version of the conspiracy theory (see “Hitler’s Second Book”, 1961) that portrayed Jews as striving for world-domination. Cohn describes the means by which the Jews were portrayed by Hitler to be fighting for domination as follows.

They aim to overthrow those who are actually dominant, the pure-blooded élites which nature has set as the governing class in all nations...they use the lower strata, the masses with impure blood, to carry out this work for them.\(^59\)

The combination of eugenics and conspiracy theory under Hitler led to a particularly potent ideology that Cohn sees as being the driving force behind the Holocaust. In particular, Hitler created an apocalyptic vision around his amalgamation of eugenics with conspiracy theory, leading him to insist that the Jews were intent on killing mankind. According to Cohn, Hitler had a particular idea about what mankind was.

Only a tiny part of what is usually regarded as mankind consists of human beings... The rest – what he called the racial mish-mash – belongs not to mankind but to an inferior species. In using these creatures to kill off the ruling strata...the Jew is therefore literally depriving the earth of its human population. What will be left will be simply animals disguised as human beings, under the leadership of Jews, who are demonic beings disguised as human beings.\(^60\)

Hitler’s anti-Semitism, which was undoubtedly the most prominent aspect of his ideology, combined traditional religious anti-Semitism, modern political anti-Semitism and eugenics with more general racism. Together, these aspects of Hitler’s anti-Semitism formed an ideology that emphasised the general destructiveness that Jews had on their environment. Hitler mobilised biological metaphor to convey his ideas. By portraying the Jews as bacteria or vermin, the threat attributed to their presence could appear to be more real.
At a time when hygiene was becoming part of medicine, the Jew was said to lack all cleanliness and to neglect his body. The phrase ‘dirty Jew’ came to sum up the Jewish stereotype, meaning ugliness, filth and disease. Indeed Jews were sometimes accused of transmitting the most dreaded disease of the century, syphilis... Clearly, a countertype was being constructed against the background of a growing consensus on what constituted true beauty, health and manliness.⁶¹

**Pre-war eugenics: fascism and gender**

It was not only Jews who were seen to represent a threat in fascist and Nazi ideology. Before Hitler’s rise to power, Nazi women’s leaders were called on to launch an offensive against women’s emancipation, which was seen to be corroding the German spirit of Volk. However, not only was feminism held to be countermanding the essence of the nation’s identity, it was also portrayed as being a factor that contributed to the lower birth rate amongst so-called Aryans.

Feminism was portrayed as leading to an unhealthy preoccupation with sexuality and sexual pleasure. However, the ideology of feminism was never believed to exist in isolation, but rather was seen to be part of a larger conspiracy. One pro-Nazi women’s leader, Guida Diehl, claimed that behind feminism “lurked a more sinister culprit: the Jew, luring women into rational thinking and sexual pleasure.”⁶²

As I describe in the analysis section of this thesis, there are various arguments contained within contemporary fascist texts that can be understood to be attempts at doing feminism. These predicate on biological determinism, or essentialism. Fascists reject any type of feminism that disputes the notion that men and women’s biology shapes their respective behaviours and roles. Such thinking lay behind the model of eugenics that was incorporated into Nazi and Fascist practice.
Perhaps no discursive regime so energetically enforced compulsory heterosexuality as did the fascist regime. Prolific mothers and virile men people its imaginary, while its rhetoric of virility collapses gender and sex, biologizing both... The fascist rhetoric of virility requires that virility be the property of the male and femininity the property of the female... Fascism as a discursive regime is, in this sense, merely a particularly feverish example of a more general formulation. 63

It is clear both within contemporary and historic fascism that the ideology focuses strongly on the need to separate out and define gender roles, whilst simultaneously augmenting gender differences. Spackman describes how production was seen as the preserve of the male in fascist ideology, whilst reproduction was the responsibility of the female. She also makes the point that whilst there is a clear relationship between production and reproduction this link is asymmetric, or unequal. 64

The relationship between fascist organisations and eugenic ideas is discussed in some detail above. The intersection between the two has been discussed in scholarly circles more in terms of theories of racial difference and less in terms of breeding and the issues of gender.

Tucker refers to two pro-eugenics US academics, both of whom wrote after the turn of the last century to highlight the inter-relationship between eugenics and gender. Tucker draws first from the writing of E.A. Ross65 and later W. McDougal. 66

The well known sociologist Edward Alsworth Ross warned the country of 'conquest made by child-bearing,' because the newer immigrants treated their women as mere 'brood-mares,' weapons to be spent 'brutally' in the silent struggle with the older Americans. (According to the eugenacists, the superior American stock was further burdened in this context by modern feminism, which, wrote one Harvard Professor, removed the 'best' women from marriage and motherhood, possibly leading to 'the entire extinction of British and American' intelligence within the next two or three generations.) 67
In the examples given above from Spackman’s portrayal of Italian fascism and Tucker’s description of inter-war American eugenics, it is clear that within both the political and academic cultures being discussed, there is a precise notion of gender difference along with an ideal-type construction of masculinity and femininity. To understand the nature and essence of these ideal-type constructions of masculinity and femininity, it is important to understand the cultural context in which they arise. Mosse alludes to this point when he describes how notions of masculinity and correct gender types underscore much of the prejudice embodied by anti-Semitism and racism.

The history of racism and anti-Semitism has, up to now, all but ignored the important part modern manliness played in the patterns of prejudice, that the standards by which such outsiders were judged were for the most part measured against the body structure and spirit of the masculine ideal.  

Apart from its valid criticism of much of the historical work on anti-Semitism and racism, Mosse’s argument is worthy of attention. Not only does he emphasise the male supremacy that spawns prejudice against the Other, but he also stresses its corporeal aspects. It is clear that Mosse relates prejudice to the existence of an ideal-type construction of masculinity that is derived from patriarchal culture. Meanwhile, Mosse also suggests that these notions of manliness have a distinctly physical quality, which have defined and shaped both academic interests (eugenics) and political agendas (ethnocentrism, racism, sexism and fascism). It is against the backdrop of archetypes of manliness that notions of the Other have been formulated in prejudiced thought.

All ‘outsiders’...were stereotyped in much the same manner as they faced the same manly ideal. Because this ideal was set, its countertype had no room for manoeuvre; it could not change either its looks or character. We shall meet ‘outsiders’ often, trying to become ‘real men’, but eventually founding their own liberation movements partly to escape and mock all that the male stereotype symbolized.
It is interesting to note that at the same time as stemming from a fearful fantasy of the *Other* (as I discuss earlier in this chapter and also in the earlier chapter on psychoanalytic approaches to fascism), prejudice is also the preserve of the powerful. The power of the prejudiced person is emphasised strongly by Mosse, who argues that those discriminated against have little recourse to authority and thus are perennially kept in an unequal and marginalised position.

It is also clear from the discussion above that it is not only the foreign *Other* who is split off from and essentialised by the fascist or eugenicist, but also the internal *Other*: i.e., women. Such constructions of treatment of the internal and external *Other* is described by Kristeva as I discuss in my analysis section of this thesis.\(^70\)

Both Mosse and Kristeva emphasise how the prejudiced person needs the *Other* in order to formulate his own identity.\(^71\) Mosse goes further in his emphasis of the origins of prejudice lying in men’s precarious notion of their own masculinity. It is in Mosse’s portrayal of the foundations of prejudice in terms of the ideal-type notion of maleness that both the fearful and powerful aspects of the phenomena associated with it are located.

Modern masculinity needed the countertype, and those stigmatised as countertypes either attempted to imitate the ideal type or defined themselves in opposition to the dominant stereotype...\(^72\)

And:

Modern society...apparently needs a countertype against which to define itself and that will serve to shore up its self-esteem.\(^73\)

As I discuss earlier in this chapter, fascists and eugenicists had a specific countertype for women. Early American eugenicists saw women as ‘brood-mares’, whilst Italian fascists saw femininity in terms of motherhood, and Nazis defined women in terms of their reproductive potential.\(^74\) However, these were not the only constructions of femininity that informed patriarchal and in particular fascist and eugenic conceptions of women.
Men's imagination toyed with stereotypes of women such as the *femme fatale* or the Amazon (woman as a national symbol was of course sacred).\(^{75}\)

Mosse emphasises that in the prejudiced males' world-view, there is a difference in the perceptions of and reactions to the internal and external *Other*. The woman, as the internal *Other*, does not appear to inspire fear in the same way as the foreign *Other*.

Though they shared some of the stereotype of the outsider, for example, the lack of robustness, a tendency to sickness and hysteria... Unlike true 'outsiders', in the main they had their solid plan in...society as mothers and educators, ruling children and servants, giving tenderness and affection.\(^{76}\)

The perceived weakness of women in relation to the ideal-type construction of males could thus be tolerated by fascists because of the function that the internal *Other* serves to society in terms of the reproductive, domestic and caring roles they were believed to excel in.

The *Otherness* of women described by Mosse: their biological and bodily reality, combined with the emphasis on woman-as-mother is also highlighted in the work of Theweleit on the fantasies of the Freikorps in inter-war Germany.\(^{77}\) Theweleit describes the fantasies of many in the Freikorps, revealing how they contain images of the softness of women as compared to the idealised hardness of men. Within the fantasies Theweleit describes how the female bodily mass threatens to engulf and disturb the hardness of the male, much as the political and military opponent can wound and harm the integrity of society and the fighting male body respectively.
The *Otherness* of the woman can be seen to be more acceptable to the prejudiced male than that of the foreign *Other*. The acceptance of the female *Other* continues only as long as she stays within her defined role.

When woman left the place assigned to her...she became an outsider as well and presented one of the most serious and difficult challenges to modern masculinity.\(^78\)

As shall be seen in the following section of this chapter, similar themes around not only eugenics but also reproduction occur in contemporary fascist texts. Indeed, such is the extent of fascist interest in this subject that one of the analysis chapters of this thesis is devoted to an exploration of the way that contemporary fascists write about the affect of feminism on the nation’s birth rate and general well-being. Whereas today the perceived threat is discussed in terms of the out-breeding of *us* by the *Other*, historically, the fascist and eugenic contention about feminism was, in part, a reaction to the First World War.

In the years following the First World War, nationalists, fascists, and others were concerned to increase the size, rate of growth, and ‘vitality’ of the nation’s population and took steps to manage the reproductive capacities and procreative practices of Italian women and men.\(^79\)

Horn suggests that, certainly in the case of inter-war Italian fascism, there was a tendency to see the individual as an agent of the state. The health of the nation was seen to be under threat of disease, the symptom being a declining birth rate. As with Nazi Germany, attention was given to the need to encourage procreation. The nation was seen to be a body requiring reproduction.

(There was a) linked scientific construction of the Italian nation as a body threatened by the ‘disease’ of declining fertility, and the bodies of women and men as *social* bodies – located neither ‘in nature’ nor in the private sphere, but in the modern domain of knowledge and intervention.\(^80\)
The embodiment of eugenics as well as the social sciences into both historical and contemporary fascist and Nazi thought can be understood to reflect a self-conscious attempt to present itself as a modern and intelligent form of ideology.

The politicisation of science and nature throughout fascist ideology is tangible when observing the arguments about reproduction and gender. Fascist ideas are given credibility by the incorporation of a pseudo-science, such as eugenics. Not only has eugenics allowed fascist arguments about racial difference to be presented as fact, but it has also been used, within a wider scientific framework, to argue that reproduction is a “natural” role for women.

The politicisation of science is apparent in contemporary fascism, where, as I shall discuss in the analysis section of this thesis, it is argued that feminism is unnatural for women and child rearing natural. Meanwhile, as I discuss below, contemporary fascists, like their historical counterparts, follow the eugenic path of intervening in the area of reproduction to ensure that we are not outnumbered by the Other: that unmediated nature does not take its course and result in our extinction. As I discuss below, and in the analysis section of this thesis, it is clear that one of the central points of eugenic accounts in fascist texts is that feminism and women’s emancipation must be opposed because they are unnatural and diametrically opposed to the fascist agenda.

Whatever the updatings, all these discourses remain fundamentally hierarchical. Right-wing discourse promotes hierarchies: hierarchies of ‘race’, gender and class... it is not always such an easy matter to decide on the primacy of these three components.
Contemporary fascism: eugenics, women and breeding

Two studies of contemporary British fascism emphasise the importance of gender to the ideology. Ware describes how, towards the end of the 1970s, the National Front (NF) began to write prolifically about its policies on such issues as birth control and abortion, women working outside of the home and women as mothers. 83

Much more can be inferred about their intentions on the status of women from the copious writings on race and eugenics. 84

Ware describes how fascist arguments about feminism are presented in fascist texts in such a way as to ensure that they do not appear to be misogynist. One of the ways that fascists do this is by attacking feminism whilst celebrating women’s roles as homemaker and mother.

They portray the Women’s Liberation Movement as an unnatural and unhealthy phenomenon, part of a conspiracy to weaken the white race further. Feminists are described as perverse, mixed-up, humourless, puritanical, and above all unhappy and frustrated because they have lost sight of their natural female qualities. 85

In a similar way, the “Women and Fascism Study Group” describe how fascism presents itself as addressing women as women. 86 They point out that fascist texts define women specifically as wives and mothers, and hope to attract female support on that basis. 87 As with historical fascism, the ideology presents itself as virile and masculine, whilst, as I describe in the analysis section of this thesis, liberalism is portrayed as being feminine.

In National Front ideology, the so-called opposites of masculinity and femininity correspond to the political opposites of fascism and liberalism...The Women’s Liberation Movement is for them one of the greatest symptoms of an utterly decadent society, in which women are forgetting how they are “meant” to be, and trying to be like men. 88
By adopting the eugenic credo of biological determinism, both contemporary and historical fascisms portray themselves as advocating policies that are in harmony with nature. Not only do fascists use "nature" as a warrant for their own arguments about race and gender, but they also hope to entice support from women through their advocacy of traditional gender roles. Ware points out that within fascist texts, the promotion of domesticity for women is usually accompanied by an argument that suggests that motherhood is the only way for women to fulfil their own destiny and desires. In this way, fascist accounts generally involve a denial of any alternative perspective on women's sexuality. Similar strategies for advocating traditional gender roles are to be found in even more recent fascist texts, as I describe more fully in my analysis section.

The National Front make it very clear that they believe in "natural order" and that biology or their interpretation of it, is the source of all their policies. Just as they use certain well-known "scientists"...to lend credibility to their racist theories.

The intersection between race and gender in contemporary fascist texts defines white women’s sexuality in terms of motherhood and a traditional nurturing role. Meanwhile, by drawing on eugenic arguments, fascist texts promote a different perspective on the sexuality of black men and women. The stereotypes and the sexualisation of race that are contained within contemporary fascist texts are discussed in the report of the "Women and Fascism Study Group".

Racist stereotypes...identify black women with their supposed excessive fertility. This is clearly related to the way all women in our society are defined by the capacity to have children. The image of the sexually available black woman is an image for the white man, closely connected with the heritage of slavery, which involved the literal ownership of black women and the absolute control of their sexuality. The image of the black man as a violent and cruel sexual predator is also an image for the white man who sees the white woman as his property.
Richards describes how the racist projects his own archetypes of blackness onto black people. Apart from the psychological association of blackness with dirt, Richards points out that there is also a mythology of black masculinity that stems from the biblical story of Noah and Ham and was lived out by some slave-owners in Southern American States.

The highly sexualised nature of the Southern slavery culture is apparent enough – pre-occupation with the black male rapist of the white women, castration as a punishment and sexual exploitation of the black woman being among its most obvious hallmarks.

It is no coincidence that given such archetypes of black male sexuality, there is a proliferation of accounts of black male crime in contemporary fascist texts. As I describe in the analysis section, the types of crime that are associated with black men are situated within their cultural contexts. Whereas historic fascism tended to construct a relationship between race, status and intelligence, contemporary fascist texts are more likely to discuss race in relation to culturally specific crimes such as mugging and rape.

The NF policy towards women is in many ways an extension of the prevalent attitude in this society... The special appeal for women, or the one that the Front plays on most frequently, is the issue of "black mugging and rape". This combines deep racial prejudice...and the fear most women have anyway of being attacked on the streets when they are alone.

At the time of Ware’s study, the National Front were producing accounts of black men raping white women, or stories about inner-city muggings on a weekly basis.

The emphasis on the rape by black men of white women continues in today's fascist texts. As I discuss in my analysis chapter on rape themes in fascist texts, the accounts of rape fulfil several important functions. The use of such accounts
of rape enable fascists to make and endorse their eugenic point about the racial and moral inferiority of the Other, whilst also serving to highlight the threat of miscegenation and multiculturalism.

The NF sees black sexuality too as perverted. Fear of the 'animalistic' black male as sexual predator is widely used. This stereotyping also connects in with racism when the NF plays on fears of street violence. Their publications, particularly National Front News, constantly harp on about this and their 1978 Lambeth Central by-election leaflet shows how they attempt to relate it to their politics, when they claim: 'If you are a White woman...then the biggest problem facing you is...the especially terrifying problem of Black violence. 97

By appealing to the fears of women about their physical safety, fascist accounts of rape can be seen to be providing cautionary tales about multiculturalism whilst simultaneously portraying themselves as caring about women's well being to attract their support. However, as I discuss in both my analysis chapters and the earlier chapter on psychoanalytic approaches to fascism, the distortion of black male sexuality is also apparent in these accounts, as is an implicit warning to women about the need to suppress the desire for autonomy from traditional gender roles.

Ware points out that the distortion of black male sexuality reveals a taboo about inter-racial sex. Simultaneously, rape accounts can be understood to be an extension of this taboo: the idea of a black man and a white woman together is described by Ware as "the ultimate sign of degradation". 98

It increases women's fear of rape and forces women to seek male protection which further enforces men's right to control 'their' women. 99
Conclusion

As I describe above and in the following analysis section of this thesis, there can be no doubt that fascism, with its biologising of race, advocates the adherence to traditional gender roles to ensure the fulfilment of its eugenic agenda. However, this agenda itself has its roots in colonial history.

With or without a theory of biological racism, whether derived from the work of Count Gobineau (1915) or some other source, a deep-seated, unrefined belief in racial difference in performance, and in standards, probably owes its origin to the colonial relationship between white master and black subordinate.\(^{100}\)

It is no coincidence, given the deep-seated traditionalism that lies at the heart of both fascism and eugenics, that the external, non-white (and Jewish) *Other* is not the only target of fascism.

Fascism is vehement in its opposition to any kind of feminism that advocates a reversal of traditional gender roles. However, in so being, fascist movements at worst risk losing potential support, whilst at best have a complex relationship with women supporters.\(^{101}\)

It is for this reason that fascist texts often are found to be *doing* a kind of feminism that praises women for fulfilling their reproductive roles, rather than simply admonishing those that do not. Such strategies mirror the strategies employed by the inter-war German Nazi party. Koonz describes how the elevation of women's status as mothers appealed to women, and specifically feminists who were disillusioned with their struggle to compete with men in patriarchal society.\(^{102}\)

Seidel describes how "most studies of racism speak with a traditional male voice".\(^{103}\) This has resulted in relatively little attention being paid to the very real relationship that exists between race, nation and gender. In particular, the sexualisation of black men, black women and white women is often ignored by
many studies of fascism. Yet, as my analysis section describes, this sexualisation of race is at the very heart of the politics of fascism, whose emphasis is on the need to breed a pure race.

As I describe in the analysis section of this thesis, contemporary British fascism contains many of the same themes as historical fascism. Sexism, and in particular the division of genders according to social, biological and reproductive roles, can exist without racism. However, whenever there is racism, sexism and the essentialisation of women is never far behind.

Almost everywhere that one finds a virulent form of racism, one also finds an idea of traditional roles oppressive to women. This was as demonstrably true in the American South as it was in the Third Reich, and as it always is in reactionary political movements.¹⁰⁴
Notes for chapter 3

26Huxley, J., & Haddon, A., *We Europeans*, Jonathan Cape, 1935, p.266.
39 Jensen, A.R., ‘How much can we boost IQ and educational achievement?’, *Harvard Educational Review* 39, 1-12, 1969,
63 Spackman, B, *Fascist Virilities: Rhetoric, ideology and social fantasy in Italy*, University of Minnesota, 1996, p.34.
64 Spackman, B, *Fascist Virilities: Rhetoric, ideology and social fantasy in Italy*, University of Minnesota, 1996, p.35.
64 McDougal, W., *Is America Safe for Democracy?* Charles Scribner's & sons, 1921, p.150.


Chapter 4
Theoretical Background and Methodology

This chapter describes the theoretical perspectives and concerns that have informed my approach to the texts produced by or in association with the British National Party (BNP). As well as outlining how texts were selected and analysed, this chapter discusses the dilemma of neutrality in the study of prejudice.

Introduction: neutrality and the study of prejudice
It is hard to imagine how an ideology whose very goal is the elimination of Otherness from society can be regarded with total neutrality. This creates a dilemma for anyone seeking to undertake an academic study of fascist phenomena.¹ Much of the emphasis in contemporary psychology has been on maintaining a stance of scientific objectivity towards the subject.

However, the notion of impartiality has been challenged by contemporary psychologists – in particular those involved in a feminist, discursive or rhetorical approach towards the subject.² It has been argued, for example, that claims to neutrality or objectivity are flawed.³

It is now taken for granted that any observation of the physical or social world is imbued with theoretical interpretation. It has been demonstrated that even the simplest scientific description is dependent on a whole variety of theoretical assumptions.⁴

On the basis of such statements, claims to the neutrality of the researcher in any study of social phenomena can be considered disingenuous. In the study of phenomena connected to fascism and prejudice in particular, the approach of the researcher has far-reaching consequences. Not only do academic studies become tools in political argument, as is the case in the eugenic debate described
in the review chapter on eugenics, but they are also often motivated by the researcher’s own views.

Billig argues that any claim to detachment in the study of phenomena such as racism and prejudice is “naïve”, since such a position on the part of a researcher would involve denying that racism is in itself a prejudice – a stance that implies “certain political and social values”.

The failure to make problematic the epistemological status of versions is part of a more general lack of concern on the part of psychologists with factual versions and their role in social life.

The concept of “action research”, developed by Lewin, addresses the problem of neutrality in social and political research. Central to Lewin’s argument was the idea that it is important for psychology to address identifiable social and interpersonal issues.

Given that researchers select issues to study on the basis of their own considerations of their importance and cultural significance, Lewin argued that neutrality and detachment are impossible to achieve. Lewin maintained that rather than aim to create the impression of neutrality researchers should take responsibility for their own position and interest in the subjects being studied.

The Lewinian tradition in social psychology has given rise to a more or less general acceptance that it is appropriate for social psychologists to study prejudice. The very concept of prejudice illustrates the impracticality of the detachment ideal. The notion that some ideas are prejudiced implies, either explicitly or implicitly, that the ideas themselves are unreasonable...As a consequence, social psychology, by virtue of its longstanding concern with prejudice, must contain at least the seeds for a critical psychology of fascism.

My own study of fascism is based on the premise that one can not produce a neutral analysis of fascism. That is not to say that it is therefore impossible to carry out a systematic enquiry into fascist ideology. This thesis combines a critical stance on fascism with a disciplined study of texts produced by or
in association with the BNP. Fairclough describes as critical discourse analysis the methodology through which texts can be described, interpreted and explained by the analyst. My own approach to fascist texts is based on this tradition of critical discourse analysis, but differs from other studies of racism, such as that of Van Dijk, whose emphasis is on specific units of discourse. My approach is to explore how ideological themes and arguments are presented rhetorically, rather than to explore the discursive strategies in isolation from their ideological context.

Finding an appropriate methodology for approaching fascist ideology
The stories that are told in fascist accounts contain a number of recurring patterns and themes. Although a content analytic approach could be useful in helping to identify them, it would not provide an understanding of the reason behind their recurrent presentation in literature produced by the BNP and John Tyndall. Moreover, there is a risk in adopting such a methodology. In particular, an important feature of texts would be overlooked: namely that they “are primarily messages intended for communication”. As shall be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, a true understanding of the nature of fascist ideology requires a methodology that contains within it an appreciation of the constructive processes involved in its propagation.

Traditional psychological approaches to prejudice have tended to look at attitudes in terms of the cognitive processes underlying the holding of negative stereotypes towards the Other. Potter and Wetherell describe how such approaches are susceptible to a form of “cognitive reductionism” wherein emphasis is placed on the mental processes involved in believing and promoting ideologies, rather than on exploring the relationship between those beliefs and the wider cultural context. Moreover, cognitive approaches have been criticised for their lack of consideration of the role that language and communication has in shaping beliefs and attitudes.
The discourse analytic perspective on cognition seems even less surprising when we consider that our mental vocabulary did not evolve to assist people in their moments of quiet introspection but to drive communication and interaction in public settings. The important point at stake here is this. Should cultural contents be treated as a set of mental templates that are slotted into place and allow sense to be made of particular phenomena or should they be analysed as elements of interaction in specific settings: in newspaper articles, in conversations, in political speeches? Social representations theory opts for the former, discourse analysis for the latter.\textsuperscript{14}

In a move away from traditional cognitive approaches, Moscovici developed the social representations theory. This approach explains how representations, such as imagery and stereotypes, reflect the shared views of society, affecting the way that social opinion and action is organised and shaped by core beliefs.\textsuperscript{15}

The social representations theory places more emphasis on the cultural contexts in which attitudes and beliefs are generated than do traditional cognitive approaches. Indeed, the strength of the social representations approach can be found in its exploration of the content of representations and the role of communication as well as culture in shaping them.

At first glance there are similarities between the social representations approach and the discursive and rhetorical perspectives that are outlined below, especially in their emphasis on the importance of the cultural context and communication in shaping ideas and beliefs. However, the two approaches part company in their ideas about cognition.\textsuperscript{16}

Despite giving everyday communication this pivotal role in the theory, social representations researchers have generally paid very little attention to discourse as such. Even where researchers used open-ended interviews the concern was not with the talk in interaction; rather, the talk has been treated as a pathway to underlying representations... Moreover, studies conducted under the rubric of social representations have frequently been little different from the mainstream experimental studies of attitudes, stereotypes and group identity that have dominated social psychology for three decades.\textsuperscript{17}
It is with this understanding that traditional cognitive, psychoanalytic and representation approaches have been rejected in favour of a combined discursive and rhetorical perspective in this thesis. That is not to say that there is no reflection on the substance of these approaches. As I discuss in my review chapters, there are many reasons why the observations that have stemmed from such approaches are worthy of due consideration.

My discursive and rhetorical approach to both *British Nationalist* and *Spearhead* can be seen to reinvigorate rather than ignore many of the understandings that have come from psychoanalytic and social representation perspectives. For example, Potter and Wetherell describe how, in their own study of racist discourse in New Zealand, they treated underlying representations as “features of discourse: versions, formulations, characterisations, descriptions”. 18

### A discursive and rhetorical approach to fascist ideology

Although texts produced by or in association with the BNP can be understood to contain particular representations of the world, reflecting specific interests, attitudes and beliefs, it is important to note that they are more than mere representations of the fascist world-view.

Fascist texts can also be understood to be doing work, warranting particular ideas and so forth. 19 Rather than taking the texts literally (i.e., reading them at the surface level and categorising or measuring their contents accordingly), the approach adopted in this thesis is to explore the rhetorical meaning of the texts. The analysis carried out in this thesis provides a partial exploration into both the representations contained within and the rhetorical strategies that are used to underline and support fascist ideology.
It is with these ends in mind that my methodology has incorporated a discursive, and rhetorical approach to fascist texts. The former emphasises the focal role that discourse has in social life and in the establishment of social structures and meaning.\textsuperscript{20} Meanwhile, the latter is a useful way of understanding how the discourse emerges from an argumentative context.\textsuperscript{21}

It has been particularly important to draw on approaches that facilitate an exploration into how both \textit{Spearhead} and \textit{British Nationalist} construct and explain social and political events through drawing on widely shared stereotypes, imagery and beliefs. Similarly, I have chosen to use a methodology that provides tools with which to examine the work that is undertaken by the narrative structures of the texts themselves, especially in constructing a relationship between the ideology and the wider social context.\textsuperscript{22}

The texts produced by and in association with the BNP have been treated as fragments of discourse. Rather than simply explore the texts to reveal key fascist attitudes, and instead of attempting to provide a theoretical interpretation of the BNP's arguments, they are treated as data in their own right.

A more interpretative approach would run the risk at one extreme of imposing meaning on the BNP's literature. At the other end of the spectrum, it might necessitate a process of inferring meaning from the text – a process that can be problematic and inaccurate, especially if the researcher ignores the complex and contextually sensitive nature of the discourse itself.\textsuperscript{23}

Any such approach would overlook the indefiniteness of the discourse, the variety of ways in which the same events can be formulated within it and the problems encountered by the analyst seeking to produce a definitive and impartial account.\textsuperscript{24}
When a psychologist opts for a particular version he or she is assuming a kind of epistemological privilege (taking, without justification, one version as more correct than potential alternatives) and, second, that the choice of version may be a highly consequential matter for participants. A particular description, a particular style of description, the use of particular terms, and so on may be precisely the way a specific action gets done. By choosing one version rather than another, psychologists can be siding, without realizing it, with one argumentative position rather than another or with some participants rather than others.25

Fascist texts have therefore been analysed in this thesis to explore the techniques of communication that they draw on to promote particular ideas. My analysis explores the ways in which the texts warrant and justify their ideas, identifying techniques such as the construction of an imagined community, denial of racism, deracialisation of racism and fact construction.26 These themes are discussed in more detail below.

The strategies identified in fascist texts are explored and analysed in this thesis in terms of their relationship with the wider social and argumentative context. As such, my analysis examines how the texts produced by and in association with the BNP construct the wider social context, exploring the imaginary notions of them and us that are contained within them. Discourse analysis lends itself well to understanding both the discursive strategies and the cultural context.

It is concerned with the way people collectively construct versions of the world in the course of their practical interactions and the way these versions are established as solid, real and independent of the speaker. It is also concerned with the sorts of resources that people use to construct versions or representations.27

Traditional studies of attitudes and prejudice have tended to ignore the importance of fact construction.
It is striking, for example, that there is virtually no social psychology of fact and description, and what moves there are in this direction—most notably in the fields of social representations (Moscovici, 1984) and the psychology of knowledge (Kruglanski, 1990)—tend to start from precisely the assumption of epistemological privilege we have been questioning.28

My analysis explores the various ways of warranting contentious arguments through calling on expert evidence and through using scientific discourse. My methodology approaches fact construction as a specific type of warranting in fascist accounts.29

It explores how, by turning positive statements about us and negative statements about the Other into “facts”, fascist accounts present their versions as truths rather than as matters of opinion.

Once we see the importance of factual versions in these central social practices another important field of study comes to the fore. To successfully manage the dilemma of stake or interest via a factual version, it is necessary to produce a version that can actually be accepted as factual or at least one that is rhetorically organised in such a manner that it is difficult to undermine or rebut. Thus we can study the procedures that people use to construct their versions as “factual”; that is, external to the speaker and their desires and concerns... How, in other words, are factual accounts given “out-there-ness”?30

Similarly, by exploring the interpretative repertoires contained within BNP-related literature, my analysis focuses on its content and how the content is organised. The notion of interpretative repertoires was first developed in Gilbert and Mulkay’s study of scientific discourse.31 Interpretative repertoires are described as being terms and descriptions that draw on metaphor and imagery to construct particular phenomena.

They can be thought of as the building blocks used for manufacturing versions of actions, self, and social structures in talk.32
Discursive and rhetorical analysis allows an exploration of a number of fundamental aspects, or building blocks, of fascist ideology. By focusing on the way in which both Spearhead and British Nationalist construct them and us, my analysis provides an understanding of “questions of who belongs and who does not, and the substance of group boundaries, (which) are generally crucial to this kind of ideological practice”.33

The rhetorical and discursive structure of modern racism
It is important to situate fascism within its political and temporal context, since dominant cultural values shape consensus as well as giving rise to laws about what forms of behaviour and attitudes are acceptable. Indeed, the social constraints against the expression of racist attitudes are so strongly entrenched in modern industrial culture that most people are aware of them even if they do not agree with them, creating what Billig et al term “ideological dilemmas”.34

Discussing a “World in Action” television documentary aired in 1978, Reeves describes how John Tyndall, leader of the then National Front was revealed (through a letter he had written to an American Nazi) to be sympathetic to Nazism in private whilst modifying his stance in public to attract more votes.

It is as interesting to study their public ideology as it is their private, because it is their public ideology that must be convincing to large numbers of people.35

The prevalence of cultural norms against racism and for tolerance is such that even those who hold racist attitudes do not wish to be identified as racist.36 It is therefore unsurprising that the discourse produced by overtly racist groups and individuals is often ambiguous, indirect and coded.37

Since language provides the very terms in which we understand the world, especially the social world, it becomes one of the principal arenas in which attempts to alter that understanding (and that world) are fought.38
It is for this reason that the details of language are so important in providing an understanding of modern fascist ideology. Racist attitudes and fascist ideology are not expressed in a straightforward and coherent manner. Rather than being able to categorise arguments and ideas as either racist or non-racist, it is necessary to examine racist texts and talk in detail to explore exactly how ideas are transmitted. The reluctance of individuals and groups to be identified as racist means that a detailed study of actual talk and texts has advantages over other research techniques, such as pre-formed attitude questionnaires.

Those promoting contemporary racist and fascist ideologies rely on a range of rhetorical and discursive strategies to overcome the obstacles and constraints imposed by the wider cultural context. However, Van Dijk points out that the surrounding culture may not be free from the influences of its less tolerant past, despite legislation and arguments to the contrary. 39

Ethnic and racial prejudices are prominently acquired and shared...through everyday conversation and institutional text and talk. 40

Given the general movement in social practices from assimilationism to multiculturalism, mainstream political discourse has shifted so that anti-immigrant measures are warranted through using cultural rather than traditionally racial arguments. 41 Potter and Wetherell describe how the cultural repertoire does some of the same ideological work as traditional racial discourses.

It maintains the idea of natural seeming difference and foregrounds majority group explanations of inequality rather than minority group ones. 42

Proponents of racist and fascist ideology are therefore able to borrow from the language of the dominant culture to warrant their own ideas. 43 However, the social context whose prevailing myth is of tolerance requires that those seeking to promote fascist and racist ideas must also find other rhetorical strategies.
Where discrimination and racism are officially banned, and norms have developed that do not tolerate blatant expressions of outgroup hate, denial takes a much more prominent role in discourse on ethnic affairs.\textsuperscript{44}

Denial of racism reflects the racist’s “ideological dilemma”: how to be racist and be able to promote racism without appearing to be racially motivated. According to Van Dijk, denial of racism reveals a “double strategy” whereby the racist presents him- or her- self in a positive light whilst using subtle or indirect forms of discourse to present the Other negatively.\textsuperscript{45}

Even the most blatantly racist discourse... routinely features denials or at least mitigations of racism. Interestingly...the more racist discourse tends to have disclaimers and other denials.\textsuperscript{46}

Denial of racism can be understood to be a defence against the accusation of racism. Such a strategy makes sense given the prevailing attitudes towards tolerance in contemporary society. One of the defensive modes of denial identified by Reeves is that of attribution. The use of expert evidence and the subsequent ease of fact construction are good examples of the way that the racist can make his or claims whilst appearing not to be racist.

Quotation marks can morally insulate him (the speaker or writer) from the accusation that he himself is responsible for that assertion. At the same time the remarks retain their rhetorical effectiveness. In addition, it his evaluation or prescription can be attributed to another person or persons, it may be presented as a matter of fact.\textsuperscript{47}

Reeves terms the various techniques used to promote racist views as if they are not prejudiced “deracialisation”. Such strategies are not only defences but are also pre-emptive against possible accusations of racism.\textsuperscript{48} Denial of racism, or deracialisation is also a very powerful tool in its reproduction.\textsuperscript{49} Reeves’ study describes the different ways in which racial discourse is deracialised. In particular, he explains how deracialisation is carried out systematically so that the racist message is only apparent to the observer who knows the intention behind the argument.
He (the racist) may be disguising the fact with pious words, but, given our knowledge of his 'real' intentions, his words have another more sinister meaning. This argument is particularly convincing if the blandly non-racial prescription can be shown to have racist effects... There is (also) the position that a prescription that prima facie does not employ racial categories may be judged racist by an observer on the basis of its effect.50

Other techniques of deracialisation identified by Reeves are quantification and ambiguity.51 He argues that quantification is effective even if precise statistics are not being used.

For example, Reeves describes how the use of statements about the views of "many" people enables the racist to warrant and justify his or her claims. Similarly, anecdotal material forms part of the quantification process: the audience is invited to derive a general argument from a specific case.52 If one or many people can be argued through such a quantification process to agree with the claims being presented, then racist assertions can be warranted.

Whatever the observer's assessment of its causes and effects, the importance of a deracialised ideology in justifying political acts as serving the general interest of the community as a whole...must continually be stressed.53

Euphemism, metaphor, analogy and imagery are often used in deracialised arguments to mask the racist content.54 For example, Reeves describes how the analogy of flooding (the phoros) to immigration (the theme) is used to portray the latter in a negative light.

Other possibilities for pejorative metaphor and trope lie in comparisons with the spread of disease: plague, viruses, bacteria, infections of the body politic.55

Analogy works because it draws on the audience's knowledge about the affect of the phoros: i.e., in the example above, that flooding is harmful. Because immigration is often compared to flooding through analogy, its affect is immediately portrayed as being negative.
Reeves describes metaphor as a condensed form of analogy. Metaphor combines an element of the theme with an element of the phoros. Metaphor is contained in the statement that ‘immigrants are flooding into Britain’. The defensive purpose of such a strategy is clear. It is the audience that makes the inference about the negative impact of immigration: the metaphor only implies it. Metaphor and imagery allow the racist content of racial discourse to remain obscure. Euphemism and “downtoning” work in similar ways.\textsuperscript{56}

It is not the immigrant but immigration, and not the white racist, but poor race relations that cause havoc.\textsuperscript{57}

One of the final features of systematic deracialisation identified by Reeves is “sanitary coding”, whereby particular words are used as symbols or cues to the reader. An example of such “sanitary coding” is the term \textit{mugging}. Reeves argues that the use of the term “mugging” means that the overt mention of race becomes unnecessary.

Indeed, if the mention of the racial identity of the ‘muggers’ was unspecified... it might automatically be assumed that they where black.\textsuperscript{58}

Hall et al describe how the term “mugging” was first used to symbolise race in the US in the 1960s. Rather than describing a specific form of urban crime, the term “mugging” became a symbol of social, political and racial tensions.

‘Mugging’ achieved this status because of its ability to connote a whole complex of social themes in which the ‘crisis of American society’ was reflected. These themes included: the involvement of blacks and drug addicts in crime; the expansion of the black ghettos (sic), coupled with the growth of black social and political militancy; the threatened crisis and collapse of the cities; the crime panic and the appeal to ‘law and order’... These topics and themes were not as clearly separated as these headings imply. They tended, in public discussion, to come together into a general scenario of conflict and crisis. In an important sense the image of ‘mugging’ came ultimately to contain and express them all.\textsuperscript{59}
The racialisation of crime is an important feature of denial of racism. By portraying us as the victim of the Other, racist ideology can justify the measures it proposes such as repatriation, curbs on immigration and so forth, whilst claiming that they are not motivated by racism. In a similar way, newspapers reporting crime as a racial issue often deny having a racist motive.

A newspaper may repeatedly and prominently publish reports about minority crime, but may at the same time defend such practices by claiming to publish ‘the truth’, and thus deny prejudiced opinions about minority crime and hence deny spreading such prejudices with the intention of discrediting minorities or inciting racial hatred. 60

Reeves describes how this process works, showing that by treating crime as if it is the property of the Other, it is then possible to assert that each, individual one of them poses a threat to us.

The argument from the general to the particular, and from the undistributed property of a crime rate to a distributed property of a criminal propensity in all blacks is fortified by the simultaneous use of the contrary technique of arguing from the particular to the general. This is achieved by the inclusion of anecdotal material. 61

Van Dijk describes how such formulations reflect the strategy of “alleging provocation and blaming the victim”. 62 Through the racialisation of crime, the negative attitudes towards the Other are justified. Not only are strong measures against the Other legitimated, but also they are portrayed as the aggressors and us as the victims.

Reeves describes how such legitimisations take the form of reciprocity arguments: the Other is treated badly because they treat us badly. Such formulations require the prior existence of a sense of who we are and who the Other is. The common sense is constructed through the use of the political pronoun. 63
Political discourse makes use of the term “we” in different ways. By racialising crime, we are made into the victims. Similarly, we are portrayed in racial discourse as being members of a homogeneous community.

Apart from...locating them outside of the consensus, and beyond the community of ordinary people like ‘us’, such appeals to common sense also have powerful ideological implications: self-evident truth is seen as ‘natural’, and hence the position of the others as ‘unnatural’ or even ‘crazy’. The anti-racist Left, therefore, is often called ‘crazy’ or ‘loony’ in the right-wing British press.64

Selection of material for analysis
The texts analysed in this thesis were all selected from publications of or associated with the British National Party (BNP). There are many other varieties of fascism currently operating in the UK, such as skinheads, paramilitary groups and so on. My thesis focuses on the BNP’s version of fascism, because, compared to its alternatives, it is the most comprehensive and is currently the most widely supported and influential fascist ideology in the UK.

The material collected and analysed in this thesis comes from two sources. First is British Nationalist, a tabloid-style newspaper produced on a more-or-less monthly basis. The British Nationalist is the newspaper of the BNP, and can thus be seen to be its public face. As such, it reflects a relationship between the BNP and the wider cultural context, as well as the relationship with its own audience.

Meanwhile, the second publication from which extracts have been analysed for this thesis is Spearhead, a monthly magazine produced under the supervision of John Tyndall, the BNP’s leader. Given that Spearhead is not promoted as the official magazine of the BNP, it can be understood to be the forum for the
BNP's cognoscenti, meaning those who are more interested and involved in the ideological aspects of fascism.

The difference between the two publications examined for this thesis is reflected in both the content and substance of the articles and accounts contained within them. Whilst Spearhead is the more intellectual of the two, going into depth and discussion about different aspects of fascist ideology, British Nationalist has a more direct style, delivering a particular message to the reader through populist discourse. Billig's study of British fascist organisations at the end of the 1970s provides a useful account of the different levels of ideology in British fascist publications. However, my analysis is less interested in comparing the different levels of ideological construction in the two publications than with the way that key themes and ideas are expressed and promoted in both. The approach that I have taken in analysing literature produced by and in association with the BNP is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

The material selected for analysis is contemporary in that it has been written or distributed over the last ten years. Earlier in this chapter, I have discussed how my approach to the material produced by John Tyndall and the BNP has been one that explores it in relation to the wider argumentative and cultural context in which it appears. My thesis examines how the ideology makes itself relevant and acceptable in the present. As such, I am interested in how ideological dilemmas and continuities are presented within the texts and are managed by them. The thesis does not aim to provide comparison of different types of fascism, nor is it a study of the changes and development of the ideology over a period of time. Instead, the analysis explores the content of fascist ideology and how it is promoted and constructed in response to the wider social context. For this reason, it has been considered to be more useful and relevant to explore the content of a small number of texts in detail, cutting across the texts to reveal ideological and discursive themes, rather than studying a larger number of texts on a more superficial basis.
Identifying the Content of Fascist Ideology

As I have discussed in the review section of this thesis, fascist ideology is orientated around the concept of breeding a pure and healthy nation, and the exclusion of the Other. The notion of eugenics has therefore been treated as the key organisational theme in this thesis.

Given that breeding a racially pure and healthy nation is a central tenet of fascist ideology, it is inevitable that a counter-position or argumentative opposite is addressed in its texts. This highlights the rhetorical nature of ideology itself. Billig describes how ideological claims can be seen to be argumentative positions which, either implicitly or explicitly, presuppose and counter alternative beliefs. A rhetorical approach to the central theme of eugenics in fascist ideology would be to ask “what alternative representation is it designed to undermine?”

My approach has been to select a number of texts that focus on the core eugenic themes in fascist ideology, and then move across the texts selected to identify ideological and discursive patterns. As well as distinguishing themes and rhetorical strategies that underline the presentation of eugenic arguments, my approach has been to explore the way that they inter-connect with anti-feminist and anti-Other arguments to form the core of fascist ideology.

Starting with the theme of eugenics, I have selected a number of extracts that deal exclusively with notions of racial purity and that work to justify policies of eugenics. Since the notion of eugenics can be seen to represent the more intellectual or theoretical side of fascist ideology, the articles drawn on in my analysis all come from Spearhead, the magazine produced by John Tyndall.

Following from the idea that an argument for something implies an argument against another, I have selected fascist accounts about feminism to explore how fascists construct feminism as being in ideological opposition whilst at the same
time warranting their arguments about need for traditional gender roles.\textsuperscript{69} The texts selected come from both \textit{British Nationalist} and \textit{Spearhead}.

Finally, I have also analysed accounts of rape in literature produced by or in association with the BNP. The accounts about rape have all been sourced from \textit{British Nationalist}. Rape stories can be understood to provide the intersection between violence, gender and race in fascist ideology. Moreover, the rape stories allow the fascists to claim to be victims of multiculturalism, rather than aggressors against the \textit{Other}.

\textbf{Conclusion}

As we shall see in the analysis section of this thesis, the strategies identified in modern racist discourse are also apparent in the literature produced by the BNP. These have been explored as the medium through which not only ideology but also identity is constructed. As I have described above, racist discourse defines not only \textit{ourselves} but the \textit{Other}.

The primary medium within which identities are created and have their currency is not just linguistic but textual: persons are largely ascribed identities according to the manner of their embedding within a discourse – in their own or the discourses of others.

In this way cultural texts furnish their ‘inhabitants’ with the resources for the formation of selves; they lay out an array of enabling potentials, while simultaneously establishing a set of constraining boundaries beyond which selves cannot be easily made.\textsuperscript{70}

My analysis explores how fascist discourse defines the contrasting identities of \textit{them} and \textit{us} through notions of crime, gender roles and so on. In so doing, I explore how a particular audience is inscribed in the text, and thus how the identity of the reader is also constructed through the fascist narrative.
In being addressed as a particular 'you', in certain particular settings, by certain particular people, you come to know yourself as a particular kind of person among other such persons; as someone whom you can (in both a naturalistic and an ethical sense) address as they address you.\textsuperscript{71}

As I move through the themes of eugenics into the related construction of gender roles, my analysis explores how BNP-related literature implicitly addresses a male audience. This becomes more apparent in the accounts of rape, where women are constructed as the other \textit{Other}: the victim of crime, the sister, mother or wife of the reader.
Notes for chapter 4


Chapter 5
Analysis of eugenic arguments in fascist texts

Introduction
This chapter explores the substance of eugenicist arguments in contemporary British fascist literature. In particular, the use of scientific discourse as a means of attacking liberal arguments is examined. My analysis explores how nature is constructed and used as a warrant for eugenics. Meanwhile, it discusses how fascist ideology about eugenics is situated within a polarised argumentative context. Attempts to minimise the impact of nature are constructed as being ill conceived, and emotional. It is thus that liberal arguments are portrayed as having their basis in myth or intellectual fantasy. My analysis also explores how the reader and the ideology being promoted in the account are inscribed and portrayed as being in harmony with nature and thus not motivated by prejudice.

The analysis also focuses on how the Other is constructed in eugenicist texts. In particular, attention is given to the use of fact discourse and empiricist language in the construction of the Other. My analysis also examines the use of imprecise definition of the Other, exploring its rhetorical purpose, which is to serve the strategy of denial of racism. Particular focus is given to the construction of the necessity of eugenics, and how this in turn gives rise to an imperative to breed that implicitly constructs and defines gender roles.

The accounts selected for analysis in this chapter were chosen because of the primacy that they give to eugenicist arguments. Although most fascist texts contain some statements about eugenics, the accounts selected for analysis discuss it in greater detail. Through analysing such elaborate accounts, it is possible to distinguish the key themes and constructs in fascist arguments about eugenics. The ten accounts analysed all appeared in “Spearhead”, the magazine produced by John Tyndall, leader of the British National Party. Details of the accounts analysed can be found in the appendix to this chapter.
The accounts analysed are not intended to form a representational sample of fascist argument about eugenics. Primarily, this is because the analysis draws on a selection of texts that represent the key ideas and beliefs of the leadership of the BNP.

Through detailed discursive analysis of these texts, it is possible to identify the pattern of argument used to promote, explain and justify eugenics. In particular, through such detailed analysis, it is possible to see how fascist accounts construct "scientific fact". Not only does my analysis highlight the discursive techniques used to construct scientific fact, but it also discusses how these form an important rhetorical strategy, enabling argument to be passed off as fact in a highly ideological context.

The fascist texts selected for analysis in this chapter construct a polarity between science-as-fact and liberalism-as-ideology. This polarity provides the context for fascist arguments about eugenics: a context that is not merely textual but also social. Through this context, fascist literature establishes the parameters of its argument, setting out or inscribing the shared values and norms of the "imagined community", or the audience. The context in which eugenicist accounts are situated in contemporary fascist literature is one in which abstract thought, ideology, and in particular, liberalism is opposed. As Perelman argues, criticism of any particular perspective is irrelevant "unless some accepted norm, end or value has been infringed upon or violated".

In the case of the texts analysed for this chapter, it is the notion of nature-as-fact that is constructed as a norm, whilst liberalism is portrayed as transgressing this absolute value. The construction of nature-as-fact forms part of what Gilbert and Mulkay describe as an "empiricist repertoire". Because of the expertise conferred on scientific discourse, its use provides legitimacy for the arguments contained within eugenicist texts.

By constructing nature-as-fact, and through drawing on commonplaces about scientific discourse, the arguments contained within eugenic and fascist texts
appear to be objective and unproblematic. This can be understood to be a form of appeasement of the audience, which is thereby constructed as being reasonable and therefore not Nazi.

Meanwhile, arguments that fall outside of this logic are constructed as subjective and unnatural. Since arguments for eugenics are constructed through empiricist discourse, and are portrayed as being a logical extension of nature, opposing perspectives are implicitly constructed as being problematic and unnatural. As such, liberal or anti-eugenic argument is presented as a problem that needs to be explained. The accounts selected provide the necessary explanation through contingent repertoires that construct liberalism as being based on emotion and ideology rather than fact.

The construction of nature and science as fact
One of the recurring themes in the eugenicist accounts analysed in this chapter is the construction of a polarity between nature-as-fact and ideology-as-abstraction. The portrayal of racial equality as an “abstract idea” (line 2 – extract A), provides an example of the contingent repertoire drawn on in fascist accounts to dismiss its proponents.

Critics of the obsession with racial differences could easily be dismissed as emotional and unscientific, preferring sentimentality, idealism and wishful thinking to the perhaps unpleasant but nonetheless undeniable truths that emerged from impartial data.

Meanwhile, given that the portrayal of racial equality as an “abstract idea” (line 2 – extract A) occurs within a polarised argumentative context, its opposite (i.e., racial hierarchy) is automatically and implicitly constructed as reality. This happens because, as Billig points out “‘logoi’ are always haunted, if not by the actuality of ‘anti-logoi’, at least by their possibility.”
In the same way, the portrayal of the idea of racial equality as "unnatural" (line 3 – extract A) implies that the opposite (racial hierarchy) is natural. The argumentative polarity that is constructed in the examples above serves to invalidate anti-eugenic beliefs, whilst simultaneously legitimising the biological determinism that underpins eugenic thought.

The strategy of undermining the argument for racial equality is complemented by the simultaneous construction of eugenics as science. Meanwhile, it is further reinforced by the construction of the version of science (and nature) presented in the account as fact. The language used in fascist accounts of eugenics is central to this fact construction. In lines 1–3 (of extract A), the arguments are presented as being unequivocal: no attempts are made to warrant them. The account makes short, factual statements that are presented as being so true that they need no justification. Similarly, the recourse to pseudo-scientific language (from line 3 – extract A) reveals another important rhetorical strategy. It is interesting to note that no actual scientific findings are quoted in extract A. Instead, the account draws on a common-sense notion of science as being fact.

Factuality is conferred on scientific discourse because, as Foucault suggests, texts that contain scientific language do not have their basis in everyday experience, instead being derived from the professional arena. It is the degree of specialisation that this affords scientific discourse that gives it its enhanced status. Shotter argues that authority is conferred on scientific discourse because of the assumption that the statements being put forward have been derived from rigorous scientific enquiry.

It is...their method of institutional justification and criticism which confers upon statements...their claim to be knowledge.

By drawing on this common sense view of science-as-fact, and through claiming to have nature (i.e., fact) as its basis, fascist accounts present their argument as being the truth. Meanwhile, the construction of a polarity between
abstraction (idea) and reality (nature) draws on the commonplaces about
science and ideology.

Abstractions can be invented and modified as desired, but [nature can be studied] in observations, in experience.10

The absence of any justification or explanation in extract A makes the argument appear to be unproblematic and factual.11 Through its construction of nature-as-fact, the account creates the impression that the arguments being put forward are "undeniable truths that emerged from undeniable data".12 Nature is constructed in extract A as being a fact that can not be argued with. The account’s emphasis on the time-scale over which evolutionary changes have occurred serves an important rhetorical strategy: nature itself is portrayed as being the evidence for the arguments presented in the account about racial hierarchy and differentiation. The statement that "nature has produced" (line 3 – extract A) hierarchy contains the subtext that racial hierarchy is not an ideological construction but a natural fact.

In lines 11-14 – extract A, short, factual statements are used to construct racial hierarchy. This section of the account contains two statements about "the reality" of racial hierarchy. By beginning the two sentences with the statement that "the reality is", the account constructs the ensuing arguments as irrefutable facts. Again, the account uses pseudo-technical language as a means of warranting its arguments. The statement that "the reality is" (lines 11 and 13 – extract A) constructs, by implication, what Billig describes as the anti-logoi. In other words, the statement that racial difference is "the reality" implies that there are others (i.e., liberals) whose arguments for racial equality are based on unreality.

The statement that “different races exist” (lines 11-12 – extract A) suggests that there are those (i.e., liberals) who deny the existence of separate races. Meanwhile, the statement that the different races have “evolved over aeonic spans of time” (lines 12-13 – extract A) provides another example of the
recourse to scientific language within the account. Through the use of apparently scientific discourse, the Social Darwinian concept of evolution is constructed as fact. The first and second sentence in this section of the extract repeat themselves, not just in the sense that they both open with the statement that “the reality is” but also because in terms of their content.

A Social Darwinian construction of nature and evolution is also presented in extract B, where nature is portrayed as an agent in population control, guaranteeing the “survival of the fittest” (lines 10-11, extract B). Phenomena such as disease and starvation are defined as “natural controllers both of population growth and genetic health” (lines 5-7 – extract B). In this way, nature is portrayed as providing the means whereby the “survival of the fittest” (lines 10-11, extract B) can occur.

Lines 3-13 of extract B describe the process of natural selection and evolution. The absence of any justification constructs the portrayal of “a natural habitat in which disease and starvation existed as facts of life” (lines 3-4, extract B) as fact. Nature itself is used as a warrant for the arguments contained in the account. Through portraying the process as “natural” (line 3 – extract B) it is automatically constructed as being unproblematic.

The recourse to scientism and the construction of nature-as-fact is also apparent in extract C. Within this particular extract, as in extract A, arguments appear as short, factual statements. It is thus that in line 7 – extract C, the account argues that “intelligence is inherited”.

This factually constructed statement leads into an account of intelligence that draws on scientific discourse to warrant its focus on the genetic aspect of the inheritance of characteristics. Scientific discourse is also used to warrant the racial differentiation that occurs in the account: since science is itself assumed to be fact, it can not be viewed as mere opinion. Scientific discourse is used to construct arguments as though they are real phenomena that exist in a world out
As such, anything that is said in the guise of scientism appears to be fact.

The language in all of the above extracts provides the rhetor with an argumentative advantage. For instance, in extract C, the portrayal of the complexity of genetics (lines 7 – 12 – extract C), gives legitimacy to and confers authority on the arguments contained within the account. Specifically, by mentioning the complexity of the process of genetic determination of characteristics, the account implies its own understanding of it. Through such construction of the expertise of the rhetor, the arguments provided within the account are legitimated. The scientific discourse also constructs factuality in the account, which warrants the arguments contained within it.

The construction of racial hierarchy and difference as fact

The statement that “nature has produced over aeonic spans of time increasing diversity among races” (lines 3-5 – extract A) conveys the idea of naturally developing racial differentiation and evolutionary heterogeneity. This idea is repeated in the other extracts analysed for this chapter, which all draw on the notion of polygenesis. In the case of extract A, the statement that “nature has produced” (line 3) such diversification, and the recourse to pseudo-scientific language (symbolised through the term “aeonic” (line 3 – extract A)), provides an example of how nature is constructed as fact in the account.

Extract A constructs the development of distinct races and racial hierarchy as an evolutionary process (lines 4-11 – extract A). This presentation of evolutionary racial diversification reveals a tendency on the part of fascists to favour a Social Darwinian interpretation.

(They tend) to relate the supposed forces of natural selection and vigorous competition from the natural to the human world... (equating) the different achievements of culture and technological development with variations in skin colour and other physical characteristics.
Having constructed as fact the existence of different races and their increasing heterogeneity (lines 3-5 – extract A), extract A attributes the process of racial diversification to nature. The construction of evolution draws on a common-sense notion of nature as an irrefutable reality, whose logic can only be understood by experts.

From lines 5-8 of extract A, the account constructs the process of the evolution of races in more detail. Although this section of the extract is an explanation for the preceding argument about nature’s role in producing racial differentiation, the statements made in the account appear as factual statements. Again, the account uses short, pseudo-scientific arguments about the evolutionary process. The explanation thus appears to be a description by an expert to an imaginary lay reader about the evolutionary process. The expertise conveyed by scientific and factual discourse reveals the account’s warranting strategy.

The use of evolutionary concepts and factual discourse (lines 9-11 – extract A) is a warrant for the account’s own arguments about racial hierarchy. In particular, the idea of evolution as survival-of-the-fittest is drawn on to support not only the idea of difference, but also the idea of hierarchy and thus superiority.

Evolution implies progress and change, towards a positive improvement and a higher state. Negative consequences come not from the wrong kind of change, but from impeding the process of evolution...The concept of ‘natural selection’ and ‘survival of the fittest’...gave a cutting edge to the popular idea that progress happened only to those who deserved it.16

It is this metaphor that underlines the construction of evolution in lines 9-11 of extract A. Evolution is constructed in the account as tending towards diversity, which is portrayed as being a good in itself. The account draws on the polarity established at the beginning of the account to provide the context for its argument. Nature-as-fact and evolution-as-good are constructed in the account
and are portrayed as being driven towards "more diversity, not less, toward
difference, not equality" (lines 10-11 – extract A). Given the polarized
argumentative context, homogeneity and equality are constructed as being
liberal ideas (or abstractions) and "unnatural" (line 3 – extract A).

The idea that different races exist is repeated in both sentences (lines 11-13 –
extract A). Again, the argument is presented without any advocacy,
constructing it as being unproblematic – an impression that is reinforced
through the repetition of the argument. The statement that different races
exist implies that there are those who believe that there are no separate races.
This ties in with the opening of extract A in which racial equality is constructed
as an unnatural idea.

In lines 14-15 of extract A, racial difference is described as "fundamental, not
superficial". This statement implies that proponents of the notion of racial
equality are unable to accept the "fundamental" differences that exist between
the races. Meanwhile, through the use of fact construction and the warranting
strategies developed within this extract, the idea that racial differences are "not
superficial" is portrayed as being unproblematic. Specifically, given the
construction of nature-as-fact, the idea that racial differences are fundamental is
given the status of truth by this extract. Given such a construction of racial
hierarchy, nature itself is used as proof of the argument that the differences are
fundamental. Meanwhile, the argument that the difference between races is
superficial is portrayed as lacking evidence.

The idea that nature produces difference is also presented in extract C.
Whereas extract A focuses directly on race, extract C discusses the role of
nature in producing differences in intelligence. Extract C makes fundamental
the premise that intelligence is absolute. Within the first paragraph, a precise
normative statement is made (lines 1-3 above), revealing the common sense
that underlines this concept of intelligence. Its emphasis on the "biological"
capacity to learn reinforces the belief that humans are a product of their genes
rather than their environment.
Such a simple statement about the “biological” aspect of intelligence provides a framework for the eugenicist argument that character, capability and value are all genetically determined. Here, it is a particular version of biology (i.e., essentialism) that is constructed as being fact. As in extract A, no scientific justification or evidence is drawn on in this account. The arguments are being presented as so clear and unproblematic through the use of short statements that no further justification is warranted.

Denial of prejudice

As with nature, evolution is constructed as a fact in itself in extract A. This sense of evolution is constructed through the portrayal of races evolving “of themselves” (line 6 – extract A). The account constructs the evolutionary process as being driven by a natural or biological imperative, although this is not defined.

The lack of precise description of the underlying aspects of this biological imperative reveals a construction of nature as being beyond human reasoning and comprehension: beyond argument. At the same time, the lack of detail also obscures the content of the argument, serving the strategy of denial of prejudice. Nature is constructed as being driven by a purpose and logic – the existence of this motivation is constructed as fact but its underlying qualities remain obscure. The purpose behind the evolutionary developments is constructed as being differentiation itself: an idea that ties in with the Social Darwinism described above.

Racial difference is constructed as fact, whilst simultaneously the prejudice of the belief in racial hierarchy can be obscured. It is presented as being the truth rather than an argument whose basis is in racist beliefs. Racial superiority is implied in lines 17-18 – extract A, where races are described as being distinguishable according to “ability ... aptitude ... nature, or character”. Although characteristics are not directly attributed to specific populations, the portrayal of “fundamental” difference serves as a cue for the reader.
The claim that one group is genetically less desirable or capable than others has invariably been part of what Marquis de Condorcet called an attempt ‘to make nature herself an accomplice of political inequality’. 18

Extract C differentiates between intelligence, which is portrayed as innate and natural, and knowledge, which is not. The relationship between the two is factually constructed: the acquisition of the latter requires the presence of the former. The argument that intelligence is the “biological potential to understand and to learn” (line 3 – extract C) provides the context for a deeper argument about racial difference. In lines 4-7 – extract C, the emphasis on race is obscured by the statement that “there are huge variations in levels of intelligence between individuals within a race” (line 4 – extract C).

Race is mentioned at this point in extract C, but in a non-controversial way. Through mentioning that intelligence levels can vary between members of the same race, the apparent significance of the racial argument is diminished, revealing a strategy of denial of racism. No obvious differentiation is made between races. Yet, the racial theme is implicit in a general argument about heredity in families and communities. The account appeals to a common sense that upholds the importance of heredity, leaving room for the argument that there will be differences in intelligence between families.

The apparent contextualisation of the argument in extract C gives credibility to the racial differentiation that occurs in the account. The strategy of denial of racism that is being used here is one of warranting and justification. The statement that there are differences within races is used to legitimate the argument of racial difference. This further serves the strategy of denial of racism. The implied common sense is that communities and families are discernible categories, with race not being singled out for special attention at all.

The racial theme, once explicitly mentioned in extract C, continues to be obscured within the heart of the argument. The cue having been given for
racial difference, the reader is alerted to the possibility that any difference mentioned thereafter will have a racial element. Thus, the strategy of denial of racism continues with a subtle delivery of the racial message. The differences alluded to in lines 10-12 – extract C are at once obvious and obscure. The presentation of the argument that “intelligent people have intelligent children and unintelligent people have unintelligent children” (lines 10-12 – extract C) can be understood to continue the racialisation of difference that has been established earlier in the account, and which has remained latent, yet present, throughout.

**Construction of liberalism as ideology**

In extract A, the argument for racial hierarchy is based on two premises: that the belief in racial equality is equivocal and that racial hierarchy is an indisputable natural (scientific) fact. The former theme is developed between lines 18-25. In line 19, the notion of equality is termed an “unreality” (line 19 – extract A) and a “dogma” (line 20 – extract A). It is attributed to those whose opinions do “not correspond with what actually is real” (lines 20-1 – extract A). The idea of racial equality is effectively undermined here, through its portrayal as having no basis in fact (which has already been constructed through linking nature and science to racial hierarchy).

Instead, racial equality is portrayed as an ideology or “belief” (line 20 – extract A). Those who believe in racial equality are portrayed as disregarding truth in favour of the “wish (that) this ‘idea’ of racial equality was real” (lines 22-3 – extract A). The presence of inverted commas around the word “idea” serves to enforce the argument that racial equality is simply a belief. The inverted commas also serve to ironise the word “idea”, further serving to debunk the notion of racial equality associated with it. It is thus that liberalism is constructed in extract A as a fantasy.
Such a construction of liberalism is mirrored in extract F. Unlike extract A, extract F does not name the opponents of eugenics. Rather, they are described as being people with “sick minds” (line 11 – extract F). This constructs as fact that there is such a thing as a healthy and a sick mind. Meanwhile, it reveals an underlying perception shared by fascists about the need to eliminate such sickness from society. Lifton and Markusen describe how this reveals a totalistic way of thinking.19

Containing an all-or-none set of assumptions which are equally absolute in their claim to truth and in their rejection of alternative claims. Parallel to the psychological principle of totalism is what the Nazis themselves called their ‘political principle of Totalitarianism,’ according to which any differing political ideas were to be ‘ruthlessly dealt with as a symptom of an illness which threatens the healthy unity of the indivisible national organism’.20

The notion of liberal enlightenment is debunked at the start of extract I. The word “enlightened” appears in inverted commas in line 1, extract I, serving to construct it as a belief rather than a reality. In other words, the term “enlightened” is problematised by its appearance in inverted commas. The account distances itself from the belief that society is acting in an enlightened manner, attributing this perspective to others.

A temporal context is constructed around the portrayal of society. The phrase “in our ‘enlightened’ society of the present” (lines 1-2 – extract I) suggests two things. First, it conveys the account’s belief that our society is not enlightened. Second, it portrays the lack of enlightenment as being an attribute of “the present” (line 2, extract I). This suggests that the lack of enlightenment is a phenomenon affecting contemporary society. This ties in with the belief expressed throughout fascist accounts that by moving away from nature (with which these accounts portray themselves as being in harmony), society has become less enlightened. Meanwhile, the proponents of the shift away from nature are portrayed as being misguided for believing that their attitudes are
"enlightened". In this way, an ideological polarity is established in the account, and is set within a temporal context.

Liberals are portrayed as "controlling" (line 2, extract I). This construction of liberalism conveys an image of it as a threat to the freedom of society and to those living within it. In this way, the account constructs itself as caring more about personal freedom than does liberalism. This portrayal of liberalism is the account's way of doing liberalism. The phrase "controlling liberals" (line 2, extract I) also suggests that liberals currently control society. In this way, the account attributes the lack of enlightenment of our present society to liberal rule.

The emotional aspect of liberalism is constructed in lines 3-4 of extract I. By saying that the liberals are in "a constant love affair with the weak and inferior" (lines 3-4 – extract I), the account portrays them as displaying habitual behaviour. Edwards describes how the portrayal of habitual behaviour is used as argument.21 By portraying liberals as habitually in a "love affair", the account constructs the emotional aspect of the liberal perspective, warranting its own judgement against it. Meanwhile, the notion of a "love affair" implies the emotional motivation behind liberal actions, portraying liberalism as having no intellectual or rational foundation. By implication, we are constructed, through our observation of and opposition to liberalism, as being rational and of having moral authority. As such, our authority to judge and oppose liberalism is warranted.

The inappropriateness of liberalism is also constructed through the portrayal of the object of their "love affair". In lines 3-4 of extract I, they are defined as the "weak and inferior". The portrayal of liberals having a habitual love affair with the "weak and inferior" constructs them as being both emotional and motivated by weakness. The implication of this argument is that liberals themselves are weak (and of course that we are not).
Construction of liberalism as emotional and harmful

The portrayal of liberalism in extract B bears some relation to Arendt and Bauman’s ideas of the non-national nation. Both argue that at the heart of the Nazi hatred of the Jews was their territorial dispersion and ubiquity.

Everywhere they (Jews) served as a constant reminder of the relativity and limits of individual self-identity and communal interest, which the criterion of nationhood was meant to determine with absolute and final authority. Inside every nation, they were the ‘enemy inside’. The boundaries of the nation were too narrow to define them; the horizons of national tradition were too short to see through their identity.22

Extract B carries the hallmarks of this way of thinking. First, national boundaries are constructed within the account, allowing for a differentiation between them and us. Second, opposition to liberalism is justified by its portrayal as running contrary to the established notion of national boundaries and national identity - especially in respect of its humanitarian agenda, involving the sharing of our national resources outside of our national entity.

A polarity is constructed between notions of good and bad in extract B. Liberalism is ridiculed in lines 1-2, whilst in lines 3-13, nature is constructed as harsh yet necessary. It is the liberal, rather than the non-white Other whose actions are criticised in this extract, reflecting the tendency for contemporary eugenicist accounts to incorporate racism within criticism of political and cultural ideologies. Within this account, the traditional Other is portrayed as accepting the natural order: “these people” (line 2 – extract B) are described as accepting their fate as “disease and starvation” (lines 3-4 – extract B).

It is thus that extract B portrays liberalism as being forced onto people who accept starvation as inevitable and natural. In this way, the practices attributed to liberalism are criticised as being unnatural, creating an opportunity for the author to promote an alternative (and, by implication, more appropriate) system for dealing with starvation in developing nations.
Extract B constructs liberalism, here presented in the form of humanitarianism, as a threat to the natural order. According to this perspective, nature has differentiated between us and them, and has undertaken an evolutionary project to ensure that “genetic health” (lines 6-7 – extract B) is maintained. No explanation is given for the relative prosperity of the West, implying an acceptance of a status quo whereby a “natural habitat ...(of)... disease and starvation” (lines 3-4 – extract B) provides a means of natural selection that operates selectively. This perspective could be understood in terms of a belief in Social Darwinism and racial superiority. A common sense notion of evolution is constructed in this account: it is portrayed as a process that should not be tampered with, having its own logic. In other words, the argument is that liberalism will not end human suffering: natural selection will. It is in this way that liberal arguments are simultaneously used and opposed in extract B. The account does not oppose the liberal notion of reducing starvation in the Third World: rather it uses it as a warrant for its own arguments.

Extract B ironises the “generosity” (line 1 – extract B) of liberals. In an argumentative context in which nature is sacrosanct, liberal intervention to prevent disease and starvation is portrayed as being anything but generous. This argument reveals the account’s strategy of presenting us as being humanitarian, whilst liberals are portrayed as creating yet more misery in the developing world. This argument is bolstered by the suggestion that humanitarian aid has been “forced on these people” (line 2 – extract B). Not only does this statement serve as a criticism of humanitarianism, but it also suggests that its recipients are unwilling ones. In this extract, the Other is portrayed as accepting illness and hunger as “facts of life” (line 4 – extract B) and “fate” (line 5 – extract B). This construction of the Other is used to portray liberalism as both interfering with nature and unwelcome.

Liberals are portrayed as “do-gooders” (line 16 – extract B) – depicted as trying to protect the Other from nature. In so doing, liberalism is blamed not only for its interference in the process of nature (and its elimination of the unfit) but also
for the upsetting nature's balance. This draws on a common-place that they are a threat to us in terms of their over-use of scarce global resources. The existence of competition is constructed as fact. The liberal agenda is portrayed as one in which its advocates seek to provide a "cotton-wool existence" (line 13 – extract B). The scene set by the account prior to this is of a healthy process accepted by those affected. With the arrival of humanitarians, who "fed the hungry and tried to heal the sick" (lines 16-17), the balance of nature is portrayed as having been undermined.

From line 17, extract B begins to outline the effects of liberal intervention. The question "what resulted?" following humanitarian aid is a rhetorical one. The way it is posed suggests that the description of the consequences of humanitarianism is also factual. Having constructed liberalism as running contrary to nature, the argument that humanitarianism will have dire consequences is warranted without needing justification. Since the account itself is advocating evolution and nature as opposed to intervention, the question raised in line 17 – extract B, can be seen to ridicule further the actions attributed to liberalism.

The description that follows the rhetorical question in extract B highlights once again the fascist concern with the mythical reproductive capacity of the Other. Since the polarity of good-bad, nature-intervention has already been established in this account, the reader is invited to accept that the consequences of intervention at the hands of liberals are negative. It is in this context that the statement that there "are far more people, and they are more able to have more children" (lines 18-19 – extract B) can be taken to be a bad thing.

At this point in extract B, the motives of liberalism are ironised. As with the phrase "do-gooders" (line 16 – extract B), the portrayal of liberals as "angels" can be seen, in conjunction with the statement that their idea is to provide "a cotton-wool existence" (lines 12-13 – extract B) to ironise the motives of humanitarianism, serving further to construct it as misguided. The portrayal of liberals as "saviours" (line 21 – extract B) also has Christian connotations,
implying that humanitarianism has a quasi-religious quality, further reinforced by the earlier use of terms such as “angels” and “do-gooders”. This provides a subtle echo of a theme contained within some fascist literature, opposing Christianity in favour of the older pagan traditions and practices that are thought to be closer to nature.

Extract G criticises liberal intervention in the third world. In particular, it problematises the nature of that intervention and the motive behind it. In lines 1-2 of extract G, the account states that “all the ‘help’ has only made the situation much, much worse”. The use of inverted commas around the word “help” ironises it. In this way, the account contradicts the belief attributed to liberals that intervention is helpful – constructing it as having the opposite effect. This construction is made explicit in line 2 – extract G. The account constructs as fact the argument that the intervention has “made the situation much, much worse” (lines 1-2 – extract G).

This factual construction of the effects of liberal intervention is made through the recourse to nature. In lines 2-3 of extract G, the situation prior to liberal intervention is portrayed as being “one of nature’s balance”. This reflects metaphors about the human relationship with nature, which Haste describes as follows.

They echo the contrast between organic models of human beings in harmony with living nature, and mechanical models of humans controlling nature.25

Through drawing on such notions of nature and by appealing to the common place that nature is a good (discussed earlier), the problematisation of liberal intervention is constructed as fact.26 The account constructs “nature’s balance” (line 2 – extract G) as creating suffering. However, as has been described earlier in the chapter, there is an underlying belief in the necessity of this suffering to ensure healthy evolution.
The common sense of Social Darwinism is alluded to through the phrase, "nature's balance" and is made more explicit in lines 3-4 of extract G. At this point, the account attributes the "suffering on much worse a scale" to liberal intervention. This again warrants the portrayal of liberal intervention that occurs at the beginning of the extract. Liberal "'help'" is constructed as causing unnecessary suffering, unlike that attributed to nature.

The criticism of liberalism continues in lines 4-6 – extract G. The question posed in this section of the extract serves to ridicule liberals. Meanwhile, it reinforces the earlier construction of a relationship between liberal intervention and the worsening plight of those in the third world. This relationship is made explicit in lines 5-6 – extract G, which constructs as fact that the situation now faced by those in the third world is a "catastrophe of their own doing". The behaviour of liberals is portrayed as being motivated by emotion and desire rather than practical concerns. This construction occurs through the question "what do the liberals want to do..." (lines 4-5 – extract G). There is also no justification or advocacy around the presentation of the consequences of liberal intervention as a "catastrophe". The consequences of liberalism are constructed as a fact. Meanwhile, they are presented as being responsible for the consequences of their actions: they "see this catastrophe of their own doing" (lines 5-6).

The construction of liberals as being motivated by emotion is reinforced in lines 6-9 of extract G. The account portrays liberals as becoming aware that they have made a mistake (lines 5-6), and then "running about crazily" (lines 6-7 – extract G). This portrayal of liberals reinforces the construction of them as being driven by emotion (see section of chapter entitled "construction of liberalism as ideology") and lacking any practical behaviour. It also introduces the idea that they are unable to act with authority and dignity.

The portrayal of their insanity complies with the totalistic nature of fascist thought (described earlier in this chapter). Opposition to fascist belief is treated as a sickness to be cured or removed. Here, liberal intervention is treated as a
sign of insanity. Not only does it create suffering but it is motivated by emotion. The lack of emotional intelligence of liberals is constructed through the portrayal of them as acting in an insane manner.

The portrayal of liberals “trying to find some way to scrape together the vast sums of money required to repeat the whole bloody process once again” (lines 7-9 – extract G) reinforces many of these constructions of liberalism. It also introduces some new ideas. One of the ideas presented in this section of the extract is the notion of competition for limited resources. This section of the extract suggests that there is insufficient money available for the liberal project. This belief is presented through the portrayal of the need to “scrape together the vast sums of money required” (lines 7-8 – extract G, emphasis added). The inappropriateness of using limited resources in this way is constructed in this section of the extract. This argument is warranted through the portrayal of liberal intervention as causing more suffering. Meanwhile, the implied argument is that there are better uses for the limited resources. This argument is warranted by the portrayal of the use of “vast sums of money required to repeat the whole bloody process again” (lines 8-9 – extract G).

Liberals are portrayed as not learning from their experience. Instead, the account describes how rather than rectify the situation, or allow nature to return to its “balance”, liberals will use yet more money to intervene in the same way again. The negative consequences of the process is emphasised by the word “bloody” (line 9 – extract G), which provides a graphic portrayal of the “catastrophe” created by liberal intervention.

Line 10 of extract G constructs the inappropriateness of liberal intervention as being unintentional. They are portrayed as being misguided in their intention. Through not accepting responsibility for their mistakes (which is how liberals are constructed in lines 4-9 – extract G), and despite thinking of themselves as helping (line 1, extract G), liberals become “mass murderers” (line 11 – extract G). The liberals are portrayed as being unconscious or unaware.
Constructed as being guided by their emotions and good intentions, the account presents liberals as being unable to accept responsibility for their actions. This lack of awareness, rather than bad motivation, is constructed as being the driving force behind liberal actions. The portrayal of liberalism in this way implicitly constructs us as being better qualified and more motivated to serve the interests of those in the third world. In essence, the attack on liberals is the account’s way of portraying fascists as doing liberalism.

The last sentence of extract G contains the strongest indictment against liberals. They are portrayed as being “selfish criminals” (lines 11-12 – extract G). This reinforces the earlier construction of liberals as motivated by their emotions rather than in the interests of the third world. Meanwhile, the attribution of suffering to liberal intervention is reinforced through the portrayal of liberals as criminals (which emphasises the seriousness of that suffering).

Liberals are also portrayed as being ineffectual. Not only is this a statement about their incompetence, but it also reveals and reinforces a common-sense attitude that nature is unchangeable, that humans cannot control it. Any attempts to counter the effects and logic of nature are thus constructed as being “futile” (line 12 – extract G). The portrayal of liberals as emotional is reinforced through the description of them attempting to “reduce suffering in their lifetime” (line 13 – extract G).

This portrayal again evokes the assumption about the enduring natural process. It also implies that liberals are arrogant in thinking that in a short space of time, they can change nature. Meanwhile, it constructs the impatience of liberals in tackling the problems of the third world. This impatience is portrayed as being inappropriate and emotional, causing suffering for future generations. The emotional aspect of liberal intervention is constructed (through the portrayal of their motivation as “selfish” (line 11 – extract G)) as a consequence of their reluctance to face the harsh reality of nature, thus wishing to change it in “their lifetime” (line 13 – extract G).
Those nations or races that do not have the instinct for survival are portrayed as having a "death wish" (line 4 - extract H). The account constructs those lacking this essential instinct for survival as being misguided through the presentation of their conception of a high birth rate as a "problem" (line 5 - extract H). The word problem appears in inverted commas, serving to construct it as an idea rather than a reality.

It is thus that reproduction is constructed as being essential for survival in this extract. The account constructs a polarity between those that "have the instinct of survival" (lines 1-2 - extract H) and those that "have a death wish" (line 4 - extract H). This ties in with the fascist idea that the failure to breed, or to adhere to eugenistic policies is racial suicide. The account adds to this idea that breeding is an "instinct" and thus natural, rather than political or ideological.

The extract constructs the need to breed within a context of a conflict for scarce world resources. This context is implied in the opening paragraph of extract H, but is made more explicit in the second paragraph. In the opening paragraph, the conflict for scarce world resources is alluded to simply by the construction of the imperative to breed being associated with the instinct for survival. This draws on the notion that population size is an important aspect of survival. Central to this argument is the idea that the larger the population, the more secure the nation or race.

In the second paragraph of extract H, the argument is made more explicit. Those that believe that it is important to keep their population size down are portrayed as reducing their chances of survival in lines 6 to 14. In the first paragraph, the instinct of survival is constructed as being natural. The account draws on a dichotomy between nature as good, and ideology or belief as misguided.

Those who are attempting to keep their numbers down are portrayed as following an ideology. This construction of adherence to ideology is made in
line 7 of extract H, which talks about races or nations getting “taken up with the notion” that there is a need to reduce population size. This portrayal of those following ideology constructs their beliefs as being unreal. This reinforces the polarity constructed earlier in the account between nature-as-reality and ideology-as-unreal.

The account constructs as fact that there are scarce resources in the world (lines 7-8 – extract H), whilst disputing the argument that these shortages necessitate population controls. Instead, it argues that breeding is a means of ensuring survival through healthy competition for limited resources (lines 1-3 – extract H). Rather than go into detail about how a larger population size would prove advantageous in the competition over scarce resources, the account attacks the belief in the need to control population growth. It is through criticising the arguments for reducing population growth and through constructing these as being ideological rather than natural that the account warrants its own position.

The arguments in favour of reducing population size are constructed as being a “notion” (line 7 – extract H). People who agree with the need to control population growth are portrayed as having a “death wish” (line 4 – extract H), and as having “taken up with the notion” (line 7 – extract H). This portrayal contains two elements. First is the construction of them lacking the survival instinct that is attributed to those who believe that a high birth rate is desirable (lines 1-3 – extract H). This mirrors the totalistic nature of fascist ideology described earlier in the chapter, wherein opposition to arguments is seen as a symbol of a sickness that needs to be tackled ruthlessly.27 Second, it portrays them as misguided, following an unfounded belief.

The idea that global resources are limited is not disputed in the account. Rather, both the scarcity of world resources and the impact of large populations upon them are constructed as fact in lines 7-9 of extract H. It is the belief attributed to “a particular race or nation” (line 6 – extract H) that it should “keep its numbers down” (lines 10-11 – extract H) that is problematised in the
account. Although the race or nation that follows this belief is not named or defined in the account, it is constructed as belonging to the category of those who have lost their instinct for survival. The notion that these races or nations are motivated by misguided beliefs is reinforced in lines 9-10 of extract H. The account describes how such nations are acting out of a sense of duty and "global responsibility" (line 10). The term "global responsibility" appears in inverted commas, which serve to ironise the term. In so doing, the account defines as problematic the belief of some races or nations in their "global responsibility". It is thus constructed as a misguided notion, and the actions that are carried out in its name are problematised.

Extract I constructs as fact that there is a relationship between the interests of the "controlling liberals" and low levels of reproduction. This relationship is constructed in lines 4-7 of extract I. It is within the temporal context constructed in the phrase "our society of the present" (lines 1-2 – extract I), in which liberal interests are "controlling" (line 2, extract I) that the account argues that population quality is declining. The account presents this as the context in which "more and more pieces of human chaff are being produced" (lines 4-5 – extract I). The phrase "more and more" (line 4, extract I) constructs the phenomenon of eugenic degeneration as fact, and as being ongoing and worsening. Meanwhile, the inferiority and lack of worth of those being born under such conditions is constructed through the portrayal of them as "pieces of human chaff" (lines 4-5 – extract I).

The lack of breeding amongst those considered to be the "best strains" (line 6, extract I) is also attributed to liberalism, and situated within the particular temporal context in which liberal interests are "controlling". This relationship is constructed in lines 5-7 of extract I, where the account argues that the genetic down-breeding is occurring "while those who represent the best strains in our race are being discouraged from procreating". The account constructs as fact that there are people who "represent the best strains in our race", without defining who these people are. These people are thus constructed as being identifiable without there needing to be any clarification. The construction of
the ability to identify the “best strains in our race” serves to strengthen the construction of them “being discouraged from procreating”. This discouragement is attributed to the “controlling liberals”, and is constructed as being deliberate. The construction of deliberateness alludes to a conspiracy, whereby the “best strains” are discouraged from breeding so that society is weakened. This ties in with the earlier portrayal of the liberals as both “controlling” and also “in a constant love affair with the weak and inferior”.

Construction of us as compassionate

It is through the portrayal of the belief in racial equality that the reader is inscribed into the text in extract A. S/he is differentiated from the proponents of racial equality, whose beliefs are portrayed as being shaped by a “wish” (line 22 – extract A). Instead, s/he is incorporated into an us that appreciates the ‘truth’ about racial hierarchy. The account thereby constructs the reasonableness of the “universal audience”. Through undermining the belief in racial equality, the notion of racial hierarchy is implicitly constructed as both rational and intelligent. Such rationality is contrasted with the emotional basis of support for the notion of racial equality. Through the inscription of the reader, s/he is invited to accept an account about “reality” presented here as racial hierarchy between lines 3-18 of extract A. Just as the reader’s position on racial hierarchy is inscribed by the text, so too, membership of a collective (us) is assumed and used as a basis for linking the reader with the implied meaning of the text. This process can be understood in terms of Vico’s “imaginative universal” whereby particular cultural symbols elicit shared responses from the community.

(Any) utterance always has an addressee (of various sorts, with varying degrees of proximity, concreteness, awareness, and so forth), whose responsive understanding the author of the work seeks and surpasses. This is the second party (not in the arithmetical sense). But in addition to this addressee (the second party), the author of the utterance, with the greater of awareness, presupposes a higher superaddressee (third), whose absolutely just responsive understanding is presumed, either in some metaphysical distance, or in distant historical time...
By inscribing the audience into an imagined community, with shared values and identity, a meaning of racial hierarchy is evoked without requiring exposition. The text itself is "off-centred, without closure", making symbolic associations and inferences. This can be seen to reflect a rhetorical strategy whereby community is invoked along with its shared meanings, so that explicit exposition of these meanings is not required, and overt racism can be left unstated.

The strategy of distancing from overt racism is also in evidence in extract B (manifest in the way that criticism is focussed on an ideology rather than against the *Other*). Although the implicit fear of being outnumbered by the *Other* is apparent, the argument presented in extract B is framed within a seemingly more caring context. It is argued that the increasing population sizes are dangerous for the *Other*. Such a portrayal reinforces the strategy of denial of racism that is set up in extract B.

In extract B, *we* are constructed as being concerned with demography because *we* care about everyone – not just *ourselves*. The use of fact construction earlier in the account warrants the continuing presentation of argument as fact in lines 19-20 – extract B. It is thus stated as fact that "famine strikes harder still" (line 20 – extract B) when a population expands beyond its capacity. Again *we* are constructed as being genuinely concerned with the well-being of all concerned. *Our* interest or stake in the argument is to address the imbalances and hardships that are constructed as being the result of liberal intervention.

As part of the strategy of denial of racism, extract B strives to construct *Us* as caring about *them*. It is thus that the discrediting of liberalism takes a form of criticising the type of help that is given to the affected populations. The account is disparaging of humanitarianism, it is quick to identify it with liberalism (see, for example, lines 1-2 – extract B) to warrant the attack launched on it. Differentiation is thus made between general concern about the issues (which the account identifies itself with) and misguided concern, which
here is associated with liberalism. The inappropriateness of liberalism is further constructed in lines 20-23 – extract B, where they are termed "shortsighted".

Building on the earlier construction of *us* as compassionate, extract B claims that the misguided actions of liberals will lead to the "numbers of starving and sick people increas(ing) rapidly" (lines 23-4 – extract B). By disregarding nature, it is argued, liberal practice will result in "suffering on much worse a scale" (lines 25-7 – extract B) than that already present in the course of natural selection. Here, the suffering created by nature is again portrayed as inevitable and appropriate. By implication, the actions of liberals are constructed as being counter-productive and unlikely to bring about a reduction in suffering. By portraying the liberal solutions to the problems as being counter-productive, *we* are constructed as having the interests of the populations of the third world at heart. This implied portrayal of *us* as caring about the *Other*, reveals an important ideological dilemma in fascist ideology.\(^\text{32}\) The fascist agenda is tainted by the agenda it opposes. Although fascists oppose liberalism, there is a paradox in that they are attempting to portray themselves as non-racist and caring, drawing on strategies of denial of prejudice.

The process of distancing from taboo arguments is also present in extract C. The advocating of ‘positive’ measures to enhance intelligence appears to be indirect. Rather than ‘*us*’ making proposals about what ‘*we*’ think, the eugenicist sentiment is passed on to the audience. Whilst this continues the illusion of expertise in the account (with the authority passing on information and indeed teaching its followers) the use of ‘*you*’ as opposed to ‘*we*’ passes responsibility for eugenics on to the reader.

**Construction of the case for eugenics**

Within the extract B, which constructs the evolutionary process, the perils of liberalism are portrayed. Below, the eugenicist concerns with “downbreeding” are put into a different context: the breeding of an intelligent nation.
Extract C is concerned with the standard of education in the UK, and claims that whilst exam results appear to be improving educational standards are in decline.

The collective *us* is constructed in extract C. The word "Britain" is used to invoke a sense of community. The type of community inscribed in this part of the text corresponds with Anderson’s notion of *imagined community* outlined in this chapter. The aspirations of the community, its membership, its ancestral heritage and its cohesiveness are all constructed within the text. As has been discussed by Balibar and Van Dijk the notion of national community contains a mythical conceptualisation of genetic transmission of *our* national characteristics, embodying the belief that this transmission should be carried out without contamination. The nationalist discourse presupposes the desirability of a pure transmission of identity by *us*, without contamination by the *Other*.

The membership of *our* community is precisely defined within the notion of "Britain" in extract C. The aspirations for the smooth genetic transmission of *our* characteristics is contained within the notion of positive eugenics outlined above. The characteristics (including membership) of "Britain" are simply contained within the term, becoming what Billig terms “commonplaces”. These commonplaces are established not only through the identification of *us* with Britain, but also with the concern about the "next generation", which further constructs the collective experience of Britishness in terms of communal goals and aspirations. The word "Britain" does important work for the rhetor.

In ways difficult to articulate, the magic of ‘our’ name matters to ‘us’ deeply, whichever national ‘we’ are: it indicates who ‘we’ are, and, more basically, that ‘we’ are.

The notion of Britishness in extract C is not an inclusive one. The context in which Britishness is being implicitly constructed is one of differentiation. Intelligence is not directly attributed to *us*, although it is portrayed as a desirable trait for *us* to have. Meanwhile, the argument earlier about the racial
difference in intelligence, whilst not made explicit, implies that we are more intelligent than them. At this stage in the account, the identity of the Other has not been specified. This obscurity can be understood in terms of the account’s strategy of denial of racism.

There are two types of construction of us that occur in extract D. First is the construction of us that occurs at the beginning of the extract, wherein we are constructed as being “natives” and “white” – with a legitimate claim for and right to power in “white countries”. We are constructed as being complicated and more intelligent than the Other. The second construction of us that occurs in extract D is of the “contemporary ‘educated’ white man” (lines 11-12 – extract D). This delineates between contemporary and past – constructing the present situation as being different to the past.

The word “educated” symbolises this difference between past and present. It alludes to a common sense of the reader about the unhealthy changes that have occurred in the contemporary period. “Educated” appears in inverted commas to ironise and problematise the term. This allusion is reinforced in line 12 – extract D where the “contemporary... white man” (line 11 – extract D) is portrayed in terms of his “assumed sophistication” (line 12 – extract D). It is contemporary white man who thinks himself to be sophisticated – the account challenges this perception by terming the sophistication “assumed”. It is interesting that it is white man that is being referred to here, thereby inscribing a male audience. Whilst it is common practice for “him” to be used as a generic reference to people, it is possible that this also signifies a perception of gender-role, or a refusal to use the increasingly common codes of gender-inclusive language.

Extract F constructs “our present society” (lines 1-2 – extract F) as being part of the “whole white world” (lines 2-3). This constructs an imagined community, whose members share a common identity on the basis of race. The notion that there is such an entity as a “white world”, with its own reality, identity and
culture, is constructed as being unproblematic. This ties in once again with the idea of polygenesis. It also draws on the common-sense notion that racial differences are so fundamental as to produce completely separate beliefs, practices, traditions and cultural identities. The current "white world" is portrayed as being different to the white world of the past.

The metaphor of factory production is more relevant to our present society than it is to the past. Present society is constructed as mechanistic and rational — as capable of relating to the concept of a "production line" (line 4 — extract F). This ties in with Bauman’s portrayal of the sanctity of science in modernity. However, it is the previous era that is portrayed (through the presentation of faulty production as being an issue in "our present society" (line 2 — extract F)) as fulfilling its reproductive potential.

Extract J also focuses on the threat of downbreeding to our society, constructing us as having a distinct "racial heritage" (line 1, extract J). This is described as being a "unique blend of the strongest and most intelligent, inventive and creative north-western European stocks" (lines 2-4 — extract J). This construction of racial superiority reflects the original anthropological and eugenicist ideas about racial hierarchy.

The apex of achievement was the Aryan or Nordic group, most notable in those of Anglo-Saxon lineage. According to anthropologists and linguists most heavily influenced by the Romantic Movement, they were the sole creators and carriers of culture even among European groups... Aesthetic ideals of beauty and heroic personality attributes had been ascribed to the Aryan or Nordic group, and all other races or ethnic groups were accorded inferior appearance and character references.

This attitude about racial superiority is reflected in line 2 of extract J, in which we are constructed as being a "unique blend" of a range of qualities. Our superiority is constructed in lines 2-4 of extract J, where we are described as possessing a "unique blend" of positive attributes. The account constructs as fact the existence of "north-western European stocks" (line 4, extract J). This fact construction occurs through the portrayal of such stocks as "slightly diverse
in their Celtic, Saxon, Norse and Norman variations but overall belonging to the same racial family" (lines 5-7 – extract I). Through defining these stocks both in terms of the diversity and membership of the same “racial family”, the account constructs the identity of this group as being real and thus fact.

Construction of the Other as a threat to our society

One of the reasons why fascist ideology places such importance on breeding is the belief that without positive eugenics, they will outbreed us. Within extract D, the Other is identified as being “non-Europeans” (lines 1-2, extract D) residing in a “white country” (line 1, extract D). The portrayal of a “white country” and the description of the Other as “non-Europeans” (lines 1-2 – extract D) reveal an important strategy of race-construction in fascist texts. Both phrases are a form of object signification. The racial category of “white country” implies the non-whiteness of the Other, non-European, living there. The construction of race in this way serves the strategy of denial of racism, since there is no explicit construction of the Other.

The phrase “white country” (line 1 – extract D) constructs as fact that there are some countries that are white and others that are not. In this way, European countries are constructed as being “white” without any need for justification or explanation. This simultaneously constructs the “non-European” (lines 1-2 – extract D) as not being white (although they are not constructed as black, since, as will be discussed later, this allows for the existence of many categories of non-white Other).

The phrase “white country” (line 1 – extract D) inscribes the audience, providing a cue for the identity-construction of the reader, whilst simultaneously constructing an imagined community. Meanwhile, the Otherness of non-Europeans is constructed through the phrase “their own ethnic and religious enclaves” (lines 2-3 – extract D). First, the phrase “their own” (line 2, emphasis added) constructs the Other as having a separate culture
to us. The emphasis on the "ethnic and religious" (lines 2-3 - extract D) identity of non-Europeans constructs their Otherness. Meanwhile, the portrayal of the existence of non-European "enclaves" (line 3) draws on the stereo-type of ethnic minorities living in ghettos, forming distinct communities around "their own" (line 2 - extract D) cultures.41

The Other is portrayed as seeking power in lines 3-4 of extract D. This draws on the belief that there is a conflict between them and us, a notion that draws on the fascist common sense that there is a race-war between whites and blacks. The statement that "they are working unstintingly to tip the balance of power away from the natives and in their favour" (lines 3-5 - extract D) constructs the deliberateness of the Other's pursuit of power. The notion of the Other "working unstintingly to tip the balance of power away from the natives" (lines 3-5 - extract D) also conveys conspiracy. The Other is implicitly constructed as being motivated by power.

In the same way that the entity of a "white country" (line 1 - extract D) is constructed as a fact, and the reader inscribed into the imagined community, so too, the notion of entitlement to power of its members is constructed as being unproblematic. "Natives" (line 5 - extract D) have power by virtue of being members of the community. The power is constructed as belonging to white people: a product of their race and nationality. The notion of a "balance of power" (line 4 - extract D) suggests two things. First, there is the notion that whilst whites hold on to power, the status quo will be one of "balance" and thus, harmony. This constructs the notion of whites having power as being natural and right. Second, the notion of the "balance of power" conveys fragility: the status quo is portrayed as being in a precarious state. The Other, through "working unstintingly" (lines 3-4 - extract D) can "tip" the balance "away from the natives" (lines 4-5 - extract D).

The notion of the Other's deliberate endeavours to secure power for themselves is continued in lines 6-7 of extract D. Here, the account's portrayal of the
reproductive strategies of the *Other* are constructed as being unproblematic. The notion that the *Other* reproduces more quickly than *us* appeals to the common sense and fears of the reader, that *they* are outbreeding *us*. Whether *they* are *Other* in terms of race, intelligence or mental stability, fascists believe that *we* are in danger of being outnumbered, resulting in their emphasis on breeding (both *ours* and *theirs*).

Certainly eugenicists were preoccupied with sex, or at least with the consequences of sexual activity. They typically believed that the mentally retarded were oversexed, and so utterly irresponsible that they threatened to swamp society with their defective offspring. 42

Whereas the above quote portrays the perception that the “mentally retarded” are “irresponsible”, extract D constructs the *Other’s* breeding-rate as a deliberate strategy in *their* bid for power. The superior breeding-rate itself is constructed as fact. The language used to portray the reproduction strategies of the *Other* is interesting. The account argues that “much of this work consists of labours in the bedroom and the maternity ward” (lines 6-7 – extract D).

The language is euphemistic, distancing itself from direct explicit portrayal of the procreative activity of the *Other*. This can be understood to reflect a desire not to appear to have a prurient interest in sexual activity. The account distances itself from the sexual aspect of breeding whilst emphasising the relationship between sex and reproduction. It is almost as though the sexual aspect itself is perceived to be too disgusting to contemplate. Thus, the sexual behaviour of the *Other* is constructed simultaneously as being difficult to discuss, whilst also needing consideration because of its outcome. The sexual activity of the *Other* is portrayed as being “work” (line 6 – extract D), rather than pleasure. This ties in with portrayal of the *Other’s* motivation to usurp power through reproductive strategies.
This construction of the reproductive activity of the *Other* ties in with the quote presented in the introduction to the chapter, which emphasises how behind the fascist perception of the *Other* is a fear of *their* sexuality.43

In lines 7-9 of extract D, a more specific construction of the *Other* is made. The portrayal of the *Other's* mind as being “relatively uncomplicated” (line 8 – extract D) constructs the *Other* as being less intelligent than *us*. This comparison between *them* and *us* is effected through the word “relatively”. By implication, *we* are constructed as being complicated.

This portrayal infers the stereotype of the *Other* as possessing primitive human characteristics. Whereas earlier in the extract, the account used indirect object signifiers of race, here, it is made explicit. The *Other* is referred to as “coloured” (line 8 – extract D). This racial category is broad, including all those who are not considered to be white. The *Other* is thus defined as all those who are not considered to be white. The lack of specificity of the word “coloured” is important in portraying the diverse range of *Otherness*. Meanwhile, it is interesting to note the account’s construction of the “coloured mind”. This constructs as fact that there is a difference between white minds and *Other* minds, that there is such a thing as a “coloured mind”. This ties in with the belief in polygenesis mentioned earlier in the account, i.e., that there are different races that have evolved differently.

Extract D specifically constructs the sexuality of the *Other* as a “weapon of war” in line 9. This reinforces the earlier portrayal of the *Other* purposefully reproducing to gain power from whites. In case there is any doubt about the existence of a race-war between *us* and *them*, the account clearly constructs the deliberateness of the power struggle. Meanwhile, the existence of a race-war is constructed more specifically in lines 9-10 of extract D, where the account argues that reproduction has been used as the “weapon of war it has always been since the world began”. This constructs conflict between whites and non-whites for scarce world resources as a given, existing throughout the generations.
Extract E provides an example of a warranting strategy used by fascists to support their argument that we are in danger of being outbred by the Other. By using a form of expert evidence, the argument about the higher birth rate amongst those deemed inferior is legitimated. In line 1 of extract E, the account claims that the argument about birth rates has been derived from "extensive research". This confers authority on the argument. First, the account describes the research that is being used as a warrant as being "extensive" (line 1 – extract E), which suggests that it has been thoroughly and rigorously conducted. Second, the term "research" itself alludes to a scientific enquiry, which, in this rhetorical context, means that arguments can be presented as information, since the common sense view being used here is that science equals fact. This constructs the argument as being not only fact but also irrefutable, having its basis in "extensive" research. The term "extensive" also suggests that the research can be corroborated. Rhetorically, this provides a strong warrant for the argument.

Something claimed by independent witnesses is less likely to be a fabrication than would be the claims of a single witness. The word "shown" (line 1 – extract E) reinforces this impression, suggesting that findings – or objective truths – can be obtained through research. It is through such constructions of fact that arguments about them outbreeding us can be presented as unproblematic.

The category "those of lower intelligence" (line 2 – extract E) is presented as if unproblematic and factual. The language being used is formal, conveying authority. There is no definition of what "lower intelligence" (line 2) means. Instead, the account draws on scientific, factual and authoritative language to warrant its statements about intelligence and reproduction. The scientific discourse continues in line 2 of extract E, with the term "on average" presenting the argument as being a statistical fact.
The term “on average” also creates the impression that the account itself is objective. The phrase represents the account’s strategy of doing objectivity, through appearing to be presenting a claim in an objective and moderate manner rather than stating its own arguments or position.

The statement made in lines 4-5 of extract E that “the unintelligent are increasing in number, while the intelligent are shrinking” is warranted by the earlier use of scientific discourse and the warranting strategy of expert evidence used at the beginning of the extract. Similarly, the warranting and fact construction strategies that are used in the extract convey such legitimacy and authority on the account that it can make a definitive statement (or claim to knowledge) that “similarly, physical weakness are also spread” (lines 5-6 – extract E).

It is “other races and nations” (line 12 – extract H) that are portrayed as benefiting from the misguided notion of global responsibility espoused by some nations. It is thus that the Other is constructed as following its instinct for survival, and of doing what is constructed in the account as natural and good: i.e., breeding to increase its population and chances for successful competition. This construction of the Other is made more explicit in lines 13-14 of extract H, where they are portrayed as “not thus inhibited from numerical increase”. This phrase constructs us as having moved away from our natural capacity to reproduce, whilst constructing the Other in terms of not being so “inhibited”. This alludes to a myth about black sexuality, which in turn provides a cue to the reader about the identity of the Other.

The Other is also constructed as being parasitic in extract H. It is portrayed as passively benefiting from the misguided liberal notion of global responsibility. This portrayal of the Other is made in line 12 of extract H. Meanwhile, the Other is also constructed as a threat to us in terms of their desire to maximise their share of the world’s resources. This construction of the Other is made in line 13 of extract H, where the reader is told that they “covet such resources”.

At the same time as constructing the threat that they pose to us, this phrase constructs their lack of entitlement and our right to those resources.

The association between breeding and race-war is constructed in lines 14-18 of extract H. Throughout extract H, the notion of race-war has been expressed in terms of competition for limited resources. This factual construction of the existence of a race-war can be seen to reflect the strategy of denial of racism, wherein arguments about the Other are warranted by the context in which they appear. The earlier construction of the parasitism of the Other (from line 12 – extract H) is reinforced in lines 14-15 of extract H. Here, the Other is portrayed as being opportunistic, and able to “sit back and smile at our foolishness” (lines 14-15 – extract H). Again, the Other is portrayed as being a passive beneficiary of the misguided actions of those seeking to reduce population sizes. It is only at this point that racial identity is made explicit. The reader is inscribed through the phrase “our foolishness” (line 15 – extract H), and is thus invited to recognise those nations that exercise population control as being part of our imagined community. By implication, the Other is constructed as being those nations and races that do not belong to our community.

The relationship between gender and breeding is also made explicit in this section of extract H. A male readership is inscribed when the Other is portrayed as encouraging “their mothers to bring forth ever more offspring as a basis for future strength” (lines 16-18 – extract H).

The ease in the situation of the Other is conveyed through the portrayal of them being able to “sit back and smile” (line 15 – extract H). This phrase also constructs the opportunism of the Other, who is portrayed as being happy in the face of our misguided actions. Their happiness is constructed as having its basis in their understanding that a large population will guarantee their success in competition with us for limited resources. This construction is made explicit in lines 16-18 of extract H, when the Other is portrayed as encouraging procreation “as a basis for future strength”.
Construction of and justification for eugenics

Extract F uses metaphor to describe and warrant eugenics. In so doing, it constructs a common sense that justifies the arguments being proposed in favour of eugenics. The account compares “our present society – indeed the whole white world” (lines 2-3 – extract F) to a factory. The comparison is presented as if unproblematic, suggesting that society is an inorganic system, which requires good management if it is to function effectively. Through comparing society to a “factory with a faulty production line” (lines 3-4 – extract F), the primacy of reproduction or breeding to fascist thought is emphasised. By constructing the productive purpose of the factory, the metaphor implies that as with the factory, society must also produce. Although the productive aim of society is not spelled out at this point, the primacy of family and reproduction in fascist thought, and in particular, throughout accounts about eugenics, provides a cue to the reader.

The implied statement that the productive capacity of “our present society” (lines 2-3 – extract F, emphasis added) is somehow impaired introduces a temporal context. The statement implies that society’s productiveness has started failing recently – that there was a time when society was more effective in fulfilling its reproductive goals.

The statement that contemporary society is producing “defective goods” (lines 4-5 – extract F) is constructed as fact. There is no justification for it, nor is any evidence cited. Instead, the argument is warranted through the use of the metaphor comparing society to an inefficient factory. Appealing to a common sense notion about the need for efficiency in industry, the account constructs its arguments about contemporary society’s reproductive failure through comparing society to a factory “with a faulty production line, turning out defective goods” (lines 3-5 – extract F).

By following the analogy of the inefficient factory, the account depicts the consequences of poor production on society. The reader is invited to infer
meaning from the statement that by producing defective goods, the factory "is going out of business" (lines 5-6 – extract F). This statement conveys the idea that if society does not ensure quality production, it will face its own destruction. The relationship between poor production and "going out of business" (lines 5-6 – extract F) is constructed as fact.

The use of metaphor warrants the argument that appears in lines 6-10 of extract F. "Good management, high quality machines and skilled machine operators" are meant to appeal to the scientism that informs the common sense prevalent in modernity. As Bauman points out, in the modern era, technology is seen as being sacrosanct. The account thus makes an appeal to this common sense, giving legitimacy for its own arguments about the needs of society by comparing it to a mechanistic organisation.

Through this comparison, the common sense remedy that is applied to the problems of faulty production can be extended to society. Thus, the metaphor provides a warrant for the eugenicist arguments contained within the account. The metaphor can be seen to be euphemistic. The "good management" can be translated into government. Meanwhile, "high-quality machines" can be understood to refer to racially viable individuals. The comparison is made explicit in lines 9-10, extract F, by the statement that "with the human race the way to recover is through eugenics".

It is at this point in the extract when the use of comparison and metaphor ends. Instead, the account moves into a direct discussion of the solution to society's problems. Until now, both the problems and the solutions have been constructed as euphemisms. The authority that has previously been conveyed provides a warrant for the argument in favour of eugenics. It thus appears to be unproblematic.

The definition of eugenics from line 11 to line 16 of the extract begins with a statement of what it is not. According to the account, it is only "sick minds" (line 11 – extract F) that would believe that eugenics ties in with the "theory of
the "master race" (lines 11-12 – extract F). This reveals a strategy of denial of racism: the denial takes the form of an attack on the "sick minds" of others.

The account provides a disclaimer to the theory of a master race, attempting to distance itself from such a problematic idea. However, the account is not only providing a disclaimer. Through its not specifying Nazism, the account attempts to appeal to all sections of its audience: Nazi and non-Nazi alike.

Drawing on the common sense that is constructed in this account, eugenics is presented as being the "scientific application to mankind of the findings of the study of heredity" (lines 12-14 – extract F). By defining it as such, the account draws on the authority of science to present eugenics as legitimate, reputable and above or beyond political ideology. This construction is reinforced through the portrayal of eugenics as having emerged from academic study, which again promotes the notion of research that has uncovered an absolute truth, or "findings". As discussed earlier in the chapter, such a portrayal of science-as-fact fulfils a vital rhetorical function, providing support for eugenics, whilst distancing itself from any contentious meaning.

As with other extracts that have been analysed for this chapter, extract F provides legitimacy for its arguments in favour of eugenics by making it appear to be non-partisan. This construction of eugenics is at first effected through its portrayal as a scientific and thus neutral idea. The construction of neutrality and authority is reinforced through the rebuttal of the notion that the aim of eugenics has nothing to do with the desire to create a "master race". The idea that eugenics would seek to do this is attributed to those with "sick minds". This form of rebuttal provides yet another form of denial of racism. The final way that eugenics is constructed as being non-partisan is the way in which no mention is given to the defects that are to be eliminated. Rather, the account argues that eugenics is a means of "perpetuating inherent qualities which aid the development of the human race" (lines 15-16 – extract F). By not mentioning what those qualities are, the account presents eugenics as benefiting the whole of humanity.
Eugenics is defined in terms of seeking to “preserve this racial heritage” (line 1, extract J). The account constructs this motivation as being “no greater crime than the determination of a farmer to preserve the breeds of sheep, cattle or poultry upon which the quality and type of his stock depends” (lines 7-11 – extract J). In equating eugenics with the desire to “preserve” a racial heritage, the account both constructs as fact the worth and existence of a specific racial heritage, whilst also portraying eugenics as an innocuous practice. By portraying it as being motivated by a desire to preserve heritage, the account conforms to the strategy of denial of prejudice, which serves to neutralise the eugenicist argument.

Meanwhile, by equating eugenics with farming practices, and by prefacing the comparison with a statement that eugenics is “no greater crime” (lines 7-8 – extract J) than farming, eugenics is also neutralised as an ideology. Since the common sense is that farming requires good breeding, the comparison between farming and eugenics seeks to apply the same standards as those used agriculturally with the human population.

Breeding and eugenics

By drawing on the evolutionary concepts that stem from Social Darwinism, fascist and eugenic thought places emphasis on the importance of breeding. Set within a context in which nature is constructed as fact, breeding is portrayed as an imperative part of the evolutionary equation in extract H, which portrays survival as an “instinct” (line 2 – extract H). This portrayal of survival-as-instinct constructs it as a primal urge. The “instinct” to survive is constructed as being natural and essential to the evolutionary process, wherein the survival-of-the-fittest occurs. The beginning of the extract starts with the statement that “races and nations that have the instinct of survival will regard a high birth rate as a boon and a blessing” (lines 1-3 – extract H).

This statement implies that there are some nations that live in harmony with nature and others that do not. Those that respect nature are constructed as
understanding and appreciating the evolutionary process. Their instinct for survival is constructed as being good and rational. The means of survival is constructed, in accordance with the principles of evolution embraced in the account, as being guaranteed by breeding.

The survival instinct is also constructed in extract B. The acceptance of “these people” (line 2 – extract B) of their fate at the hand of nature, and their strategies for survival are constructed as fact. In particular, in lines 7-13 of extract B, the reproductive strategies are constructed as being a means of ensuring the continuity of the community. Within the fact construction that occurs in this extract, an implicit sub-text about black sexuality emerges, endorsing a stereotype about the reproductive capacity of black people. As Young argues, racist accounts are often based on a fear that the myth of black sexual prowess may be true. The factual construction of the reproductive strategies of members of developing nations is part of the account’s rhetorical attempt to deny racism.

Both the importance of breeding and its relationship to the notion of survival are constructed in extract H. The centrality of race and nation to the notion of survival is stressed at the start of this extract (line 1 – extract H). This reflects an ideology in which race is seen as the primary unit of nation, or in which a nation is defined by race. In this way, the extract sets up the criteria by which inclusion and exclusion into a national entity is determined.

The argument for positive and negative eugenics is made clearly from line 13 of extract C. Despite the fact that the arguments about eugenics appear in a fascist publication, there is a tendency generally (as discussed elsewhere in this chapter) to obscure arguments that are regarded as being contentious. This general tendency towards indirect argument in fascist accounts reflects the fact that the readership is mixed: some members of fascist groups share the wider societal norms, whilst others openly express their agreement with Nazism and fascism.
Perhaps, a reason why such a normally taboo argument can be made so explicitly at this point in the account (apart from the fact that it is presented in a specialised publication) is that the racial tone of the argument is concealed by the emphasis on intelligence as an absolute. As the eugenicist tone of the account becomes more explicit, the racial argument becomes less so. Intelligence becomes the key emphasis of the argument, presented as a desirable and necessary quality, not just for the individual but for society as a whole. Lines 13-19, extract C, outline the measures needed to improve the intelligence “of the next generation in Britain” (lines 13-14 – extract C). Any such measures are termed “positive eugenics” (line 18 – extract C) – a term that implies selective breeding.

Conclusion
The analysis included in this chapter shows the framework for fascist arguments about eugenics. To begin with, arguments for eugenics are situated within a polarised context, which contrasts what is natural with what is unnatural. The pro-eugenic arguments are presented as being good and reasonable through the recourse to scientific discourse. This, in turn, inscribes the reader, appealing to the sensibilities of a varied audience, some of whom are unwilling to identify openly with Nazi ideology. The scientific language used in both the construction racial hierarchy and in the portrayal of the Other draw on what Gilbert & Mulkay describe as empiricist discourse. It is in this way that arguments about racial difference and pro-eugenic policies are warranted and constructed as being natural.

Meanwhile, opposing perspectives are constructed as being problematic and requiring explanation. It is for this reason that fascist accounts construct contingent repertoires to make sense of views that they have portrayed as being unnatural. These discourses provide the framework upon which fascist arguments about eugenics are based.
Inevitably, once the arguments about racial difference and the threat of racial degeneration have been constructed and legitimated in this way in fascist texts, the argument moves towards the need to encourage reproduction amongst those considered superior. It is at this point that the argument focuses on breeding, which in turn leads to a clearly gendered ideology. The importance of gender to fascist ideology, and its centrality in eugenic thought are presented in the following chapter.
Notes for Chapter 5


Chapter 6
Constructions of gender and nation

Introduction — gender and nation in fascist accounts

This chapter analyses contemporary fascist texts in which the notions of gender and reproductive roles are made explicit. The texts were selected from the two main publications associated with the British National Party (BNP): *British Nationalist* and *Spearhead*. The extracts were selected for analysis because of their emphasis on gender roles. Each extract deals with the issue of gender in different ways. Some focus on gender specifically in terms of women's reproductive role. Others describe phenomena such as the masculinisation of women or the feminisation of men. Others deal with the perceived consequences of feminism and its by-products on the long-term health of the nation.

Given the essentialist perspective on gender that informs fascist ideology, it is unsurprising that in general women have a low profile in the public life of the BNP. However, women do get involved in discussions about gender roles, eugenics and reproduction. All but one of the extracts analysed for this chapter were written by men. This is reflected in the tone of the arguments contained within them as well as the audience that is inscribed by the text. As shall be shown in the analysis below, the account written by a woman presents different argumentative and rhetorical strategies. Rather than the normal form of empiricist warranting, the arguments about gender presented by the woman writer are more personal, and can be seen to be a form of expert evidence.

As I have discussed in previous chapters, fascist ideology has a strong eugenic orientation. The primacy of eugenics in fascist thought necessitates a construction of gender roles that emphasises the importance of breeding. The extracts analysed below provide examples of how such roles are constructed. Taken together, the extracts analysed for this chapter tell a story about how race, gender and ideology are interconnected in fascist thought.
My analysis starts by examining how the idealised family is constructed in fascist literature. Through the analysis of the idealised family, I examine how traditional gender roles are portrayed as being natural and normal. Meanwhile, I explore how the necessity to maintain traditional gender roles is constructed in the extracts, analysing how these roles are presented in such a way that the accounts appear to be doing feminism.

My analysis moves on to explore how deviation from the norm of traditional gender roles is accounted for in fascist literature. In particular, my analysis explores how the extracts selected portray feminism as harmful, unreasonable and unnatural. My analysis examines the way that these portrayals of feminism are warranted and supported within the accounts selected. The analysis ends with an exploration of the way that fascist accounts construct the collapse of traditional gender roles. In particular, I explore the strategies through which the extracts construct phenomena such as the masculinisation of women and the feminisation of men.

Construction of us through portrayal of “ideal” family

Extract A was printed in the final 1980s edition of British Nationalist (December 1989, #96). The article, entitled “women turning away from feminism”, appears on page 4 of the paper, and is accompanied by a photographic image and a caption. The photograph and caption can be understood to have their own meaning, and can thus be seen to be a message in their own right, presented, in the words of Barthes, as a “natural fact”, or a “literal reality”.

The purely ‘denotative’ status of the photograph, the perfection and plenitude of its analogy, in short, its ‘objectivity’, has every chance of being mythical (these are the characteristics that common sense attributes to the photograph). In actual fact, there is a strong probability...that the photographic message too – at least in the press – will be connoted.
The photographic image that accompanies extract A must be understood in this context. On a superficial level, the photograph appears to be simply an analogue of reality. However, the 'reality' that is presented in the photographic image is one that has been carefully constructed. An image is "chosen... treated according to professional, aesthetic or ideological norms" by the presenter.³ Meanwhile the audience reads the picture and "consumes it to a traditional stock of signs".⁴ Although at first glance, the photograph appears to be and is presented as being a neutral or objective image, an understanding of the process underlying the production of the image and of the context in which it appears reveals its cultural meaning.⁵

In the case of extract A, the photograph presents the reader with a racialised and idealised image of a family. The woman in the photograph is young and white. She is pictured embracing two blond children. They are all smiling, and thus appear to be happy and healthy. The image also conveys a mythology of racial purity. Simultaneously, it portrays a mythology of harmonious family life: the mother-child bond is intact. The image of the ideal nuclear family, with mother as primary care giver, is reinforced linguistically through the caption accompanying the photograph, which identifies the woman as an "ex-career woman", and the children as "her two sons".

In Barthes' analysis of an instance of the presentation of a racial mythology through photographs, he describes how the mythic meaning is conveyed in the photographic image, making us "understand something and it imposes it on us".⁶ Because the racial myth is being conveyed through imagery rather than text, it is both obvious and yet ambiguous. The image automatically provides sensory information to the audience about the race and relationship of its objects.

The meaning is already complete, it postulates a kind of knowledge, a past, a memory, a comparative order of facts, ideas, decisions.⁷
Whereas a textual representation of the same information would involve explication, the photographic image is more direct. Yet, because it is in the photographic rather than linguistic form, the signification of race appears to be less direct and also unavoidable.

It is this constant game of hide-and-seek between the meaning and the form which defines myth. The form of the myth is not a symbol... (it) appears as a rich, fully experienced, spontaneous, innocent, *indisputable* image.⁸

Race is signified through the imagery, so there is no need for it to be represented linguistically. The resulting absence of any discursive representation of race plays an important part of the strategy of denial of racism in fascist literature.

The woman pictured in the photograph accompanying the article is also quoted towards the end of extract A. The appearance of an image of and a quotation from the same woman can be understood to reflect the process of reification in this account.⁹ The woman pictured in the photograph accompanying extract A appears all the more real because of the use of her words in the form of a quotation. Meanwhile, the arguments being put forward in extract A are corroborated through the quotation.

At its most simple, these elements depend on the commonplace assumption that something claimed by independent witnesses is less likely to be a fabrication than would be the claims of a single witness.¹⁰

Because the woman photographed and quoted is not the producer of the text, it is unlikely that she will be seen by the reader to have a stake, or vested interest, in the issue.¹¹ She can thus be seen to be both an independent and neutral witness, whose account corroborates the arguments being put forward in extract A. Significantly, she can also be seen to be a representative of the imagined community, and as thus saying something that is relevant to the reader.
She is quoted as asking “what have we done that motherhood has been so diminished that it is not even an option for the so-called intelligent or educated woman?” (lines 48-51 – extract A). This question is an appeal to the imagined community. It constructs a collective guilt for the abrogation of responsibilities to the family and to traditional gender roles. It reinforces the construction of the negative impact of feminism. It is also symbolic as a question posed by a woman who has seen her own pursuit of a career as damaging and has returned to the “virtues of domesticity” (line 31 – extract A). As a rhetorical strategy, it is poignant in adding weight to the warrant for extract A’s attack on feminism. According to the personalised account, the pursuit of a career has “diminished” motherhood (line 49 – extract A) reducing it to a secondary status.

The portrayal of motherhood as no longer being “a conceivable option for the so-called intelligent or educated woman” (lines 50-51 – extract A) portrays feminism as having an effect on a particular group of women. It problematises, or calls into question the virtue of education for women, since it constructs as a fact that “intelligent or educated women” (line 51 – extract A) are the least likely to have children. However, the portrayal of intelligence is problematised by the preceding use of the phrase “so-called” (line 50 – extract A). This ties in with the portrayal of feminism as one of the “fashionable idiocies” (line 24 – extract A) followed by people who are lacking in “intelligence” (line 18 – extract A).

Two kinds of intelligence are constructed in the account: one ‘real’ and one “so-called” (line 50 – extract A). The former is constructed as intrinsic – shared by the universal audience that shares an appreciation of all that the account constructs as being normal and natural. Intrinsic intelligence is constructed as being in alignment with the individual and the nation’s health. Meanwhile, “so-called” (line 50 – extract A) intelligence is constructed as following the “fashionable idiocies promoted by the universities and the media” (lines 24-25 – extract A). The account constructs this as being a “hoax” (line 28 – extract A) leading to many feeling “disenchanted” (line 5 – extract A).
From line 52 of extract A, the account portrays itself as having the answers to the questions posed by Gyngell (the woman in the photograph and quotation). This extract begins in line 52 – extract A with the word “Answer”, immediately warranting the subsequent text by constructing it as a response to the anguished account of Gyngell. Through setting itself up as being knowledgeable, and in presenting the subsequent account as being a response to a heartfelt question posed by one of the many victims of the “hoax” (line 28 – extract A), the arguments contained within the text from line 52 of extract A are legitimated.

The argument appears to be a direct response to the questioner: “What we have done, Mrs. Gyngell” (lines 52-53 – extract A). The presentation of the woman as “Mrs. Gyngell” (lines 52-53 – extract A) positions her within her familial role and context. Meanwhile, the use of the word “we” (line 52 – extract A) seems to imply a collective responsibility. It is a strategy for incorporating Gyngell (and others in her position) into our community, creating a link between the woman and the reader. The word “we” serves to inscribe the audience whilst reinforcing the construction of an imagined community. Included in the imagined community are the “millions of women (and men)” (lines 26-27 – extract A) who are portrayed as victims of the “hoax” (line 28 – extract A). Through constructing the collective responsibility of the community, the statement that “we have... listened too long” to those promoting feminism (lines 52-53 – extract A) becomes a command that we owe it to ourselves to stop listening.

Those that we have listened to are portrayed as “trendy liberals and ‘progressives’” (line 54 – extract A). The use of inverted commas around the word “progressives” in extract A serves both to ironise the term and also distance the account from it. It is thus that extract A makes clear its own position that liberalism is not progressive. This ties in with the description of feminism as being one of many “fashionable idiocies promoted by universities and the media” (lines 24-25 – extract A). The “liberals and ‘progressives’” (line 54 – extract A) are constructed as being at once appealing and at the same time insubstantial through the word “trendy” (line 54 – extract A).
This argument reflects an important aspect of the fascist perspective. In terms of both race and gender, fascist ideology is informed by essentialism: the belief that racial and sexual differences are innate, biologically determined and fixed. The notion that women and men have fixed biological natures is not particular to fascists. As I discuss in my review chapter on eugenics, until recently, such essentialist thinking was part of a common sense that found expression in both academic and cultural discourse. It is the academic opposition to essentialism, heralded by post-modern and feminist thinking, that is symbolised and problematised in lines 24-5, and again in line 54 of extract A. Anti-essentialist thinking is portrayed as being wrong-headed and as running counter to common sense.

The appearance of the word progressives in inverted commas automatically problematises it, ironising the term and calling into question its appropriateness, suggesting that despite its name, the ideologies presented under its auspices are anything but progressive. A similar means of constructing feminism as authoritarian was used earlier in extract A. Through ironising the word “progressives” (line 54 – extract A) and through portraying liberals as “trendy” (line 54 – extract A), the account constructs the existence of an insidious, appealing and yet powerful conspiracy behind feminism.

The ironisation of the term progressives also ties in with the earlier portrayal in extract A of feminism as going against nature and the construction in the account of ‘true’ progress. Whilst the intrinsic intelligence described in extract A is constructed as being in alignment with nature, liberalism and feminism are portrayed as working against the truth to the detriment of all.

The problematisation of liberalism is strengthened in lines 55-56 of extract A, when liberals and progressives are portrayed as having “sneered an (sic) woman’s home-making and mothering role” (lines 55-56 – extract A). The role of women is constructed as a fact, without any explication, since it appeals to a common sense belief about the “virtues of domesticity” (line 31 – extract A).
It is by listening for “too long to the trendy liberals and ‘progressives’” (lines 53-54 – extract A) that the mothering role has been “diminished” (line 49 – extract A). Extract A thereby constructs our motive, in pursuing careers, as being to avoid the contemptuous sneering of those promoting feminism. It is unclear whether the us being constructed at this point is racial or national. The ambiguity in the construction of us serves to inscribe the widest possible audience. Again, extract A constructs the insidious and powerful existence of a conspiracy that draws women away from their traditional roles. The echoes of conspiracy theory continue when the account talks about us being left with “a nation in which family life is breaking up” (lines 56-57 – extract A). This constructs feminism as an internal threat to the nation’s health.

Extract A constructs a relationship between a woman working and the dissolution of the family, reinforcing the portrayal of women sacrificing families in favour of their careers (discussed later in this chapter). The construction of the importance of reproduction for the nation’s strength and health is reinforced from line 52 of extract A. Once again, the echo of eugenics appears in the presentation of a “nation in which family life is breaking up” (lines 56-57 – extract A). Family is constructed as a vital aspect of the nation’s health. A warrant is made for positive eugenics – i.e., promoting women’s reproductive role – through it appearing as a response to a heartfelt plea from an “ex career woman” (caption).

The statement that it is “we” who have “listened for too long” (lines 52-53 – extract A), constructing our collective responsibility, provides a warrant for the solutions that are promoted in the text. The account urges the reader to “turn our back on these counsellors of decadence” (lines 60-61 – extract A). The rejection of liberalism is portrayed in physical terms in extract A. It suggests that we should embody our anger and should directly express our rejection of those who have caused us harm. The portrayal of liberals as “counsellors of decadence” (line 61 – extract A) is important in constructing the powerful hold that the ideology has had on the “nation”.
It evokes the previous constructions of “trendy” (line 54 – extract A) liberals, but also builds on the “dangerous” (line 36 – extract A) aspects of the ideology. Whilst constructing liberals as decadent, we are constructed as having the moral high-ground in extract A.

By advocating a return to “traditional biological roles” (lines 63-64 – extract A) the account constructs as fact that there was a time when these roles were “recognise(d)” (line 62 – extract A). By constructing the traditional roles of men and women as “biological” (line 64 – extract A), the account constructs them as a fact. The “importance” (line 62 – extract A) of these roles is also constructed as a fact, and inscribes the universal audience into the text. By recognising the “importance” of these roles, we are encouraged to follow them and to “recognise again” (line 62 – extract A) their centrality to the survival of our community. The juxtaposition of the words “traditional” (lines 63-4 – extract A) and “biological” (line 64 – extract A) suggests that society’s traditions are in harmony with nature. The common sense constructed at this point in extract A is of nature having its own wisdom and reflecting the interests and needs of the nation, unlike the “fashionable idiocies” (line 24 – extract A) that are espoused by feminists.

In contrast to the portrayal of liberals as sneering (line 55 – extract A), we are constructed as reasonable. This construction of us is effected through the portrayal of acceptance that there are some “women who are determined on pursuing careers” (lines 67-68 – extract A). The construction of our reasonableness is important in warranting the idea that we should be encouraging “the majority (of women)... to be housewives and mothers first and foremost” (lines 76-78 – words in parenthesis added). Our reasonableness being constructed in extract A means that we can accept women who work, as long as they are the minority. Meanwhile, the account constructs as a “national ideal” (line 70 – extract A) the traditional and biological roles of women – which should be accepted by “the majority of the population” (lines 71-72 – extract A). As in other fascist accounts, there is an ambiguity in the construction of the imagined community. Billig and Wilson both describe how
such ambiguity in the construction of the community serves an important rhetorical function, addressing the widest possible audience. 12

By saying that "heads of education and of the media should get their priorities right" (lines 72-74 – extract A), the account suggests that until now, they have been out of alignment with the interests of the nation. It suggests that these institutions should now use their power to serve the "national ideal" (line 70 – extract A).

By appearing to source its arguments about the decline of feminism from a newspaper (line 7 – extract A), the account constructs a consensus to warrant its arguments. 13 This warranting strategy distances extract A from the case being presented (constructing its objectivity), whilst lending credibility to the arguments being put forward. The use of an external source of information (here the Daily Mail newspaper) allows "intra-linguistic references" to be made. 14 This strategy of warranting is used to create the impression that the arguments being presented in extract A are facts.

The same for everyone, independent of people’s wishes and opinions ... knowledge of them was based upon personal observation, communicated by an authority, etc. 15

To serve the strategy of warranting, an assumption is constructed about the existence of a definitive and objective version of events. 16 Thus, external sources are constructed as unproblematic evidence for arguments that can therefore be presented with full rhetorical force.

The newspaper quoted in extract A (the Daily Mail) is described as having derived arguments contained in its article from “information obtained by the Henley Centre independent forecasting group” (lines 8-10 – extract A). The language at this point in extract A is scientific: the argument is presented as a “finding” (line 6 – extract A), published in a newspaper “report” (line 6 – extract A). 17 The scientific discourse is reinforced further through the statement that the Henley Centre “obtained” information (line 9 – extract A). The
scientific discourse can be understood to be an attempt to construct them as factual, truthful and therefore irrefutable.

In doing so, they...present the truth...as definitive, singular and objective – as what should be obvious to any rational person who is apprised of the evidence. 18

The portrayal of the report publishing its “finding” (line 6 – extract A) and of information being “obtained” (line 9 – extract A) creates the impression that ‘out there’, there exists a tangible ‘truth’ or ‘fact’ that can be extracted or derived through research. 19 In other words, this construction does not envisage a “process of investigation involving both ‘finding’ and ‘making’”. 20 In this way, the extract A does objectivity, constructing the arguments as both neutral and irrefutable: i. e., as ‘fact’. 21 Through referring to the sources of the argument as a “report” (lines 7-8 – extract A), the arguments presented in the account are warranted, and the image of scientific and rigorous research is reinforced.

The name of the organisation – “the Henley Centre Independent forecasting group” (lines 9-10 – extract A, emphasis mine) – reinforces the impression of objectivity. Meanwhile, the notion of objectivity is strengthened by the presentation of a process whereby the “report was taken from... the Henley centre” (line 8 – extract A) and published in the Daily Mail newspaper. This creates the impression that the scientific “finding” has been reproduced, unadulterated by the newspaper, its purity maintained. It is interesting to observe that the normal assumption of media conspiracy is suspended during this section of the extract A. This gives the account the opportunity to use the media’s portrayal of the decline of feminism to warrant its own arguments. The presentation of the argument as a quote in lines 11-16 of extract A lends it credibility, making it appear authentic.

The constructive process used to furnish the world ‘out there’ and the dichotomies which result remain obscure. The world and its objects appear ready completed. There seems no alternative but to accept it as it appears. 22
The quotation in lines 11-16 distances extract A from the argument contained within it. By presenting the views as belonging to an outside source, extract A creates an impression of its own objectivity. Through this approach, extract A denies that it has a theoretical perspective on feminism, mirroring the strategy used to deny racism (as discussed in the next analytic chapter).

Construction of women's roles and gender difference

Being a woman is defined through the quote in lines 11-16 of extract A by what it is not: i.e., women “do not have to be like men” (line 11 – extract A). Accepting one’s role requires acknowledging the “differences between the sexes” (lines 15-16 – extract A). Again, these differences are not specified in the quote. The lack of discussion about these differences implicitly constructs them as real and unproblematic: i.e., as facts.

Lines 17-23 of extract A differentiate between those ideas that are reasonable and those that are not. A polarity is constructed from line 17 of extract A between feminism and its perceived rejection of the notion of sexual difference, and common sense, which is portrayed as being aware of and embracing sexual difference. The latter position is constructed as being normal. This construction is effected through corroboration (in the form of the use of an external source in lines 1-16 – extract A), “invoking consensus as a warrant for truth”. Shared by “any person with a modicum of intelligence” (lines 17-18 – extract A), the belief in gender difference is constructed as an absolute truth, as reasonable and as common sense. The common sense that is being invoked in this account is the belief in essential differences between men and women that is described earlier in this chapter. The common sense is constructed through the association of the belief in essentialism with intelligence. The polarised argumentative context allows for an implied argument that attempts to collapse or ignore fundamental differences are unintelligent.

The beliefs and behaviours of those who deviate from the essentialist consensus are constructed in extract A as unreasonable. It is thus that the portrayal of
these beliefs (in feminism) as “preposterous” (line 23 – extract A) and as “fashionable idiocies” (line 24 – extract A) is warranted. Simultaneously, by constructing gender-difference as a truth that “any person with a modicum of intelligence” (lines 17-18 – extract A) would “recognise” (line 19 – extract A), a common sense is established into which the reader is inscribed. It is those who follow the “fashionable idiocies” (line 24 – extract A) of feminism, and who “fail to recognise” (line 19 – extract A) the fundamental gender difference that are portrayed as “preposterous” (line 23 – extract A). It is not only feminist and post-modern beliefs that are being attacked in extract A but also those individuals who have been influenced by and acted according to non-essentialist philosophy.

The suggestion that there is a “healthy national birthrate” (lines 33-34 – extract A) makes explicit the theme of positive eugenics and the role of women as breeders.25 Having set the theme up in lines 1-28 of extract A (through the presentation of gender roles), the account manages to define the traditional role of women in terms of her reproductive potential before constructing as fact the existence of a level of births that are “healthy” for the nation.

However, it is not merely for the nation that childbearing is considered to be important. The second half of extract B argues that motherhood is the “highest” (line 20 – extract B) role for women. Extract B starts with a portrayal of women who neglect this role in favour of careers (analysed later in this chapter). The second half of extract B describes as “very sad” (line 11 – extract B) that some women choose careers and the life they entail “in preference to the preparation of the nest for the children” (lines 12-13 – extract B). This constructs the cost of women’s pursuit of careers in emotional terms. In contrast, extract B describes how women who have children experience “the joy of feeling a second life in their wombs (sic)” (lines 13-14 – extract B).

Motherhood is constructed in biological ways in extract B. Metaphors of nature are used to portray motherhood. Principally, the description of the role of the mother as being the “preparation of the nest for the children” (lines 12-13 –
extract B) draws directly on natural imagery. Such a presentation of motherhood constructs the role as being natural, universal and therefore appropriate. It also ties in with the cultural commonplace about women’s relationship with nature.

Woman was supposedly closer to nature, both because nature herself was female and because women were less equipped with those things, such as rationality, which distanced them from nature.26

The first half of extract B (which is analysed later in this chapter) implicitly constructs the activities of career women as unnatural. Meanwhile, the imagery used to portray motherhood in the second half of the extract constructs it as a natural and appropriate function for women.

Extract B continues to construct motherhood in lines 13-17. Although the author of the account is a man, the experience of pregnancy in terms of “the joy of feeling a second life in their wombs (sic) (lines 13-14 – extract B) is constructed as fact through the use of biological metaphor. Similarly, the absence of the portrayal of any alternative experience in the account constructs the “joy” (line 13 – extract B) of pregnancy as being a universal phenomenon for women. Pregnancy is constructed as bringing happiness to women.

In extract B, pregnancy is portrayed in biological terms, through its description of the “joy of feeling a second life in their wombs (sic)” (lines 13-14 – extract B, emphasis added). However, it is not just the biological aspect of pregnancy that is being constructed in extract B. The portrayal of the “joy of feeling a second life” in the womb (line 13 – extract B) elevates pregnancy to an almost mythical status. The account constructs as fact that a pregnant woman will experience such joy, and also that she will feel the “second life” (line 13 – extract B) in her womb. Extract B thereby constructs pregnancy in both physical and emotional terms. Such a portrayal of pregnancy symbolises the essentialisation and celebration of gender difference in fascist accounts.
The exaltation of pregnancy continues between lines 17-22 of extract B. The account explains that for women pursuing careers “broodiness is a complaint they take to the doctor” (lines 17-18 – extract B). This argument is presented as fact. It appears within a short, factual statement. The absence of any justification or advocacy makes the statement contained in lines 17-18 of extract B appear to be unproblematic. Since earlier in extract B, motherhood was constructed as a natural role for women (and implicitly, the pursuit of careers was constructed as being unnatural), broodiness is constructed as being a natural experience for women.

Meanwhile, broodiness is constructed as being a tangible physical and emotional reality. This construction is made explicit through the portrayal of the reaction to it of career women (lines 17-18 – extract B). In particular, the portrayal of their perception of broodiness as “a complaint they take to a doctor” (lines 17-18 – extract B) reinforces this perception. The word “complaint” (line 17 – extract B) constructs it as a tangible reality. The portrayal of women talking about it with their doctor (line 18 – extract B) constructs it as a real physical and emotional phenomenon, and thus an innately biological characteristic.

In lines 18-22 – extract B, the account continues to glorify motherhood and pregnancy. In lines 18-20, a contrasting view of broodiness to that of career women who treat it as a “complaint” (line 17 – extract B) is constructed. In lines 18-20, extract B constructs as fact that broodiness is “the signal that all is ready for them to fulfil their highest roles” (emphasis in original). Broodiness is thus constructed as serving a biological function: it is portrayed as the body’s way of telling a woman that she is ready to become a mother. The elevation of pregnancy and motherhood continues in line 20 of extract B, when both are portrayed as women’s “highest roles”. Not only are pregnancy and motherhood exalted in this extract, but are also presented as being the most important roles for women. Gender roles are constructed accordingly in extract B. The glorification of motherhood can be seen as an attempt to do feminism in extract B.
The more mythical construction of motherhood (described earlier) is reinforced in lines 20-22 of extract B. Here, motherhood is linked to “the soil, the harvest—these are the truly sacred things which should be elevated, feted and lauded” (lines 20-22 – extract B). This portrayal of motherhood places it on a spiritual plane, signified through the word “sacred” (line 21 – extract B). Again, the statement that pregnancy and motherhood should be “elevated, feted and lauded” (lines 21-22 – extract B) can be seen to reflect the account’s attempts to do feminism.

Images of reproduction, fertility and the land are all combined at the end of extract B. Women are constructed in terms of the concept of the Earth Mother. A particular readership is inscribed by this portrayal of motherhood and its association with the land: one that understands its significance and shares a sense of belonging to a pre-Christian British tradition. Women's power is constructed in extract B in terms of the reproductive potential that also defines their role, again revealing the essentialist core of fascist constructions of femininity.

Meanwhile, in lines 14-15 of extract B, motherhood is portrayed in terms of “letting flow all those wonderful maternal qualities”. It is interesting to note that it is a man who is portraying maternal qualities as “wonderful” (line 15 – extract B). This idealisation of motherhood in extract B can be understood to be a means of doing feminism — exalting women in their role as mother. Meanwhile, the Otherness of woman’s reproductive role to the writer (and reader) is also signified through the word “their” (line 14 – extract B) and “those” (line 14 – extract B).

The imagery of flowing (line 14 – extract B) draws on the common-sense construction of femininity, which is set within the duality of male-hard/woman-soft. Theweleit describes how since the Enlightenment, culture has associated the notions of flowing and femininity with one another, with flowing having particular symbolic meaning in literature.
The writers applied the name "woman" to anything that flowed, anything limitless; in the place of God, the dead transcendence, they set the female sex as a new transcendence that finally abolishes lack...In other words, they used, or misused, the fluidity – the greater malleability and as yet unspent utopian potential of femaleness...to encode their own desire, their own utopias, their own yearning to be free of boundaries.\textsuperscript{31}

The polarity between male and female is reinforced in lines 15-17, extract B, where the account describes the "wonderful maternal qualities that should be in sharp contrast to the male world outside the home". The world of women is constructed as being in the private sphere in extract B. It is constructed as being a world in which nurturing and live giving can occur. Extract B constructs the woman's sphere as being close to nature.

The woman's world is portrayed as being "in sharp contrast to the male world outside the home" (lines 16-17 – extract B). At this point in extract B, the private and public spheres are contrasted reinforcing another important construction of polarity between the feminine and the masculine.\textsuperscript{32}

Meanwhile, the account also promotes the maintenance of sex difference – signified through the word "should" (line 16 – extract B). Having constructed women as being innately different to men, and having portrayed as anti-nature those women who pursue careers (analysed later in this chapter), extract B constructs a distinction between the masculine and the feminine that "should" (line 16 – extract B) not be blurred. This fits in with the essentialist thinking described by Haste.

If, like Tennyson, we conceptualise men and women as two separate parts of a dualistic system, then necessarily, whatever man is, woman must be its antithesis.\textsuperscript{33}

A construction of the difference between men and women is central to extract E. Within this extract, women are constructed according to their reproductive potential. The account from which extract E was selected opposes what it calls "radical feminism". It argues that radical feminism "comes from a perverted,
destructive ideology – the cornerstone of which is that somehow child-bearing is a degrading activity, which is unpleasant and causes us to be enslaved to a life of drudgery”. Written by a woman, the account proposes an alternative to this kind of feminism. It is this alternative that is outlined in extract E.

From the start, extract E can be understood to be doing feminism. Extract E presents a form of expert evidence about the merits of motherhood and supports the essentialisation of femininity. The kind of feminism being promoted in extract E is one that suggests that women have value because of their role as mother. This argument is presented in lines 1-2 of extract E, in which it is argued that it is “our ability to bear children that is the mark of our great worth as a sex”.

Unlike extract B, in which a man constructs as fact the feelings that pregnant women experience (in the third person plural), extract E speaks with a distinctive woman’s voice, signified by the word “our” in both lines 1 and 2. The statement that “it is our ability to bear children that marks our great worth as a sex” (lines 1-2 – extract E) portrays the reproductive capacity of women as a merit. Meanwhile, it is portrayed as being a distinguishing feature of femininity. It is “our ability to bear children” (line 1 – extract E, emphasis added).

Women are portrayed as having an innate ability that “marks our great worth as a sex” (line 2 – extract E). Between lines 1-2, the account appears to be doing a kind of feminism that suggests women are superior to men because of their reproductive capacity. The construction of the superiority of women is made explicit in lines 2-4 of extract E, in the statement that “one could argue very easily that this ability makes womankind superior to malekind!” The argument about female superiority is portrayed as being problematic through the statement that “one could argue very easily” (lines 2-3 – extract E), which suggests the existence of other perspectives.
Between lines 1-4 of extract E, the account constructs its own feminism, whilst rejecting what it calls “radical feminism”. The feminism being promoted in extract E is one that defines sexual difference on the basis of inherent biological characteristics. The differences that are portrayed as being inherent in gender are constructed in extract E as determining the kind of roles that both men and women have in society, as well as their value. Previously, the account in which extract E is situated rejected what it called “radical feminism” on the basis that it undermines women’s child bearing role. The kind of feminism promoted in the account is one that accepts and encourages women to reproduce. In other words, it is a feminism that does not collapse essentialism but rather celebrates and practices it. Thus, the account differentiates not only between the roles of men and women but also between the feminist practices that predicate on biological determinism and those that collapse essentialism.

Extract E states that the belief that women are superior because of their ability to have children “is a feminist argument, and it is the central point in my vision of what the female role in the ideal society would entail” (lines 5-7 - extract E). It is thus that between lines 5-7, extract E defines feminism as not being what it calls “radical feminism” but, rather, being an ideology that supports women in their child bearing role. The ideology being described as feminism in extract E is one that sees women who fulfil this role as being superior to men. Meanwhile, extract E portrays its own version of feminism as being compatible with eugenics, thereby both doing feminism and challenging the fascist orthodoxy that feminism disregards gender differences.

It is interesting to note that the argument is presented in extract E as if it is the perspective of the author. As has been shown in this and the other analysis chapters of the thesis, there is a tendency towards the use of fact construction in fascist literature, and in particular, the use of the language of objectivity to avoid such presentations. Arguments are generally presented as though they are universal truths rather than personal opinions: the possibility of dissent is thereby denied. However, in extract E, the argument is unreservedly put forward as the perspective of the author. This makes sense when put into its argumentative context. The author of extract E is presenting her argument as an
appeal to the audience. She is asking the audience to support the kind of feminism she is advocating.

In linking her feminism with the eugenicist agenda of breeding, and in distinguishing between what she calls feminism and the ideology that opposes biological determinism, the author of extract E appeals to the common sense of the universal audience. The use of the personal statement is therefore possible in extract E because it serves a rhetorical purpose: namely, to warrant an alternative perspective whilst inscribing the audience through its appeal to the common sense of the imagined community. Gergen outlines how texts provide the means by which an audience formulates their identity by constructing shared values and beliefs.\textsuperscript{34} Potter and Wetherell also describe how particular notions of the self are embedded in peoples' everyday discourse.

The self is ... articulated in discourse in ways that will maximize one's warrant or claim to be heard. Some versions of the self will thus come to predominate in some contexts...And a vital part of warranting one's actions, making them appear reasonable and justifiable, is being able to present different kinds of the self appropriately.\textsuperscript{35}

The personal statement about women's superiority due to their child-bearing potential in extract E can also be seen to be aimed at a specifically female audience. My analysis of the statement until now has been based on the premise that the audience is either mixed or male. However, Coward describes how literature aimed specifically at women (magazines, etc..) construct notions of what is pleasurable and appropriate for women, thereby constructing female desires.\textsuperscript{36} Extract E can be understood to be doing much the same thing, producing a consensus about what is appropriate and desirable behaviour for women.

Feminine positions are produced as responses to the pleasures offered to us; our subjectivity and identity are formed in the definitions of desire which encircle us.\textsuperscript{37}
As in extracts B and E, the importance of reproduction for the individual woman is constructed in extract A. The pursuit of a career is portrayed as having an emotional cost in extract A when ex-career woman, Gyngell, is quoted as saying that going to work caused her “heartbreak” (line 44 – extract A). The portrayal of the emotional impact of her choice draws on a common sense notion of motherhood that presupposes a strong bond between mother and child. This construction of motherhood reflects those contained in extracts B and E (discussed above). In line 44 of extract A, the choice to pursue a career is problematised. It is constructed as having as its basis the authoritarian and powerful pull of feminist ideology, rather than being based on free will or the inclination assumed to be derived from nature and biology.

By lines 43-46 of extract A, the account describes how she “has spoken of her heartbreak at having to leave her baby each day to go to the TV studios” (emphasis added). The notion of career-as-sacrifice is constructed in the text. The bond between the woman and her family is implicitly portrayed as being inevitable and natural. Meanwhile, the sacrifice demanded of her by her career is portrayed as leading to “heartbreak” (line 44 – extract A). A dynamic is constructed in the text, mediated by the woman’s emotional and natural attachment to her family. Implicit in this construction is the notion that she has suffered through being lured away from her natural, nurturing role into a mechanical and male world: i.e., “the TV studios” (lines 45-46 – extract A).

The “heartbreak” (line 44 – extract A) is portrayed as the inevitable consequence of women trying to “be like men” (lines 5-6 – extract A). The implicit argument in extract A is that by following a career, women are entering a world that is not natural for them. The consequence is portrayed as a feeling that the family and its needs have been “abandoned” (line 30 – extract A), whilst also leading to the woman experiencing “heartbreak” (line 44 – extract A).
Construction of feminism as harmful – warrants for opposition to feminism

Extract A begins with a direct expression of opinion: that the movement away from feminism is “hopeful” (line 1 – extract A). As will be discussed later on in this analysis, the decline of feminism is constructed as fact in this account. However, what is interesting here is that the portrayal of the decline of feminism as “hopeful” (line 1 – extract A) is made explicit. As is discussed throughout this thesis, there is a tendency in fascist texts for views that are considered contentious to be concealed, or subtly signified. Much as with pre-war fascism, a tension exists between the desire to express core ideology in its entirety and the need to conceal contentious beliefs for the sake of attracting a mass following.

The solution is the partial concealment of the ideology and the specific creation of propaganda designed for mass circulation, which may not accurately reflect the demands of the ideology’s inner logic. 8

The explicit statement about the decline of feminism being “hopeful” (line 1 – extract A) suggests that this perspective is considered to be universally shared by the readership, or the imagined community. The audience is thereby inscribed into the text in line 1 of extract A: its attitudes and beliefs are implicitly constructed. The clear statement that the decline of feminism is “hopeful” reflects an assumption that this view is unproblematic to the audience, otherwise some form of advocacy would be in evidence.

One does not advocate, properly speaking, when one merely declares that one is in favour of this or that. Advocacy starts when the statement of belief is supported by reasons. 39

The overt nature of extract A’s attack on feminism can best be understood when it is set within its argumentative and social context. 40 Opposition to feminism is a cultural or social commonplace (i.e., it is not confined to fascists) and has been described by both Faludi and Haste, amongst others, as taking the form of a backlash. 41 Feminism has been blamed for such phenomena as the ‘crisis of masculinity’, a falling birth rate, the ‘decline of the family’ and so on.
The metaphors of backlash reflect anxieties about the perceived changes in the rhetoric of gender, expressed as lay social theories about the 'dire consequences' of changing gender roles, and assertions about 'natural' sex differences and relations between the sexes. Backlash is a fascinating rhetorical process; it is trying to rebuild the rhetorical boundaries, to appeal to shared assumptions about the assault on 'normality'.

Such a social context can be understood to be the justification for extract A's attack on feminism. What is unique about this particular attack on feminism is its slightly apocalyptic tone, symbolised through the introduction of a temporal context. In extract A, the start of the 1990s is marked as a turning point for society (lines 1-2 – extract A), heralding an era without feminism.

The inverted commas around the word feminism (line 3 – extract A) ironise the term, setting up the argument that feminism does not serve women's interests. Potter and Wetherell discuss how inverted commas problematise discourse and distance the producer of the discourse from it. Through using inverted commas, extract A disowns the term, suggesting that what others call feminism is not what the writer would call feminism. This can also be seen to be an attempt of extract A to do feminism, i.e., to portray itself as having women's interests at heart.

Extract A describes how women have become "disenchanted with the idea of trying to be men" (lines 5-6 – extract A). This portrayal of women's emotional state as "disenchanted" (line 5 – extract A) draws on a common sense construction of woman-as-emotional. Haste discusses how the perception of women-as-emotional has historical precedence. She describes how Aristotle believed that emotion defiled rationality.

It was Aristotle, too, who originally mapped this on to gender; females were more emotional; they were therefore less rational.

Extract A also attributes the emotional state of disenchantment to the failure of feminism to meet women's needs – a failure that is portrayed as being due to feminism's "idea of trying to be men" (lines 5-6 – extract A).
The photographic image of the smiling woman accompanying extract A and the argument that “women in Britain are growing disenchanted with the idea of trying to be men” (lines 4–6 – extract A) are central to the construction of both feminism and traditional gender-roles in this account. Feminism is portrayed in extract A as leading to unhappiness. Meanwhile, the photograph accompanying extract A presents an image of a woman who is happy in her domestic role. This impression is reinforced by the caption that identifies the woman in the photograph as a “ex-career” woman. In advocating domesticity for women, extract A can thereby present itself as having women’s interests at heart.

The recognition amongst women “that they do not have to be like men” (lines 12-13 – extract A, emphasis added) reveals an underlying construction of feminism-as-authoritarian. Extract A’s portrayal of feminism echoes the common sense opposition to the ideology, and thus appeals to the shared beliefs of the audience.45

Meanwhile, the suggestion that women are “beginning to recognise” (line 12 – extract A, emphasis mine) that they “do not have to be like men” (lines 12-13 – extract A) portrays them as waking up to the fundamental truth of sexual difference, which is implicitly constructed as a fact. Simultaneously, it symbolises women “beginning” to release themselves from the powerful grip of feminism.

The idea that women can “be proud of being women and acknowledge differences between the sexes” (lines 13-16 – extract A) suggests that there is a consensus about what being a woman means that falls outside of feminist definitions. Specifically, the report is promoting the idea that women should be “proud of being women” (line 14 – extract A), implying that feminism has failed to give women such pride. This attack on feminism is presented as a strike in favour of women (an example of extract A doing feminism).

Extract A portrays feminism as having taken women away from themselves. Meanwhile, it portrays the report from the Henley Centre and also the account
as having real concern about the welfare and needs of women. It is thus that the statement that women "can be proud of being women" (line 14 – extract A) portrays women's identities as being unproblematic and definable. Women's roles are implicitly constructed as being biological and as thus being common sense in line 14, extract A.

From line 29, extract A describes the effects of feminism on society at large and on its individual members. From the outset, these effects are portrayed as being negative (e.g., the use of the term "appalling" (line 29 – extract A)). In describing "one appalling consequence" (line 29 – extract A), the account makes clear that feminism has far-reaching effects: the "one" (line 29 – extract A) being described is one of many.

The issues being described from line 29 of extract A are attributed to feminism. No other explanation is given for the phenomena that are being described, so that although extract A does not directly state that feminism is to blame for the social trends, the fact that no other factor is mentioned provides a strong inferential cue to the reader. The ability to make inferences from discourse is described by Edwards and Potter.

The words that we use to describe simple, everyday actions and states carry with them powerful implications for the causal explanation of those events.46

Extract A describes how "women have abandoned belief in the virtues of domesticity" (lines 30-31 – extract A). The account implicitly suggests that there was a time (before the advent of feminism) when gender roles were ascribed to wholeheartedly by all members of society. Feminism is thus constructed as an interruption to the natural order of society. It is portrayed as promoting ideas that "millions of women (and men)" (lines 26-27 – extract A) have followed.

The portrayal of women's actions under feminism from line 29 of extract A is brutal and vivid. The word "abandoned" (line 30 – extract A) evokes an image
of the rejection and neglecting of a baby by its mother. This imagery echoes society’s belief in the role of mother as primary carer, conveying the fear of abandonment that lies beneath the need for this role to be fulfilled.

The domestic and familial roles of women are portrayed in the account as “virtues” (line 31 - extract A). This constructs the traditional roles of women as being socially sanctioned roles as well as being biologically determined ones. By talking about the “virtues of domesticity” (line 31 - extract A), the account implicitly constructs motherhood as a social good, which women are responsible for providing. The account argues that since the advent of feminism, women have “abandoned belief in” (line 30 - extract A) the traditional roles and have thus failed to provide the care for which they were traditionally responsible.

This theme continues with the argument that since the advent of feminism, “women” (line 30 - extract A) have “failed to produce enough children to maintain a healthy national birthrate” (lines 32-34 - extract A). The account portrays reproduction as the responsibility of women. This ties in with the notion that there exist “virtues of domesticity” (line 31 - extract A) that are transpersonal. The “virtues” that are constructed in this account correspond with the responsibilities that come with gender roles. The declining birth rate is constructed as a direct consequence of feminism. The responsibility of men and the role of environmental and economic factors are not discussed in extract A. This implies that before the advent of feminism, women maintained the “belief in the virtues of domesticity” (lines 30-31 - extract A) to the extent that they were able to “maintain a healthy national birthrate” (lines 33-34 - extract A).

From line 29, extract A begins to construct a more sinister portrayal of feminism. Building on the notion of conspiracy conveyed in lines 25-28 - extract A), the account attacks feminism on the basis of its “appalling” consequences (line 29 - extract A). The complaint against feminism is constructed as having a social and moral basis in extract A. The account argues that feminism has lured women away from “domesticity” (line 31 - extract A):
responsibility for the family's well being has been "abandoned" (line 30 - extract A) for the sake of an ideology. The purpose of the ideology is also constructed in extract A through the statement that through pursuing careers, women have "failed to produce enough children to maintain a healthy national birthrate" (lines 32-34 - extract A).

Extract A constructs as fact that there is such a thing as a "healthy national birthrate" (lines 33-34 - extract A). Whilst this is not quantified, the "healthy national birthrate" is portrayed in extract A as having existed prior to the emergence of feminism as a dominant ideology. It is in leading women away from their traditional social responsibilities (i.e., "the virtues of domesticity" (line 31 - extract A) that feminism is portrayed as having effected the decline in birth rate. The social trends being described from line 29, extract A, are constructed as the "appalling consequence" (line 29 - extract A) of feminism. The implicit argument being put forward is that the "hoax" (line 28 - extract A) that has lured women away from the "virtues of domesticity" (line 31 - extract A) was designed for this very purpose. It is this notion of conspiracy that takes the fascist version of essentialism beyond the mainstream common sense. The notion of conspiracy theory forms a contingent repertoire to explain the success of an ideology (i.e., feminism) that goes against the fascist version of common sense. However, it also the source of an ideological dilemma for fascists in that it moves the argument outside of the broader essentialist consensus.

The idea that there exists a "healthy national birthrate" (lines 33-34 - extract A) implicitly constructs the threat to the health of the nation should that rate not be met. In constructing the nation in this way, the notion of an imagined community is invoked by the account.47 However, the construction of the imagined community remains ambiguous: it is unclear whether it is a racial or national entity. Despite this ambiguity, the implicit construction of the threat faced by that community warrants the attack made against feminism by the account.
Central to the construction of the imagined community in extract A is the notion of our survival. When constructing the need for a “healthy” birth rate, extract A appeals to the perceptions of threat shared by the universal audience. It is thus that the audience is inscribed into the text, incorporated into the community of us that not only faces an external threat, but due to the effects of feminism, now faces an internal one. The notion that an external threat exists is further constructed at the end of the paragraph, when the account states that the failure to produce enough children has resulted in “dangerous shortages of young people now available for important jobs, particularly military service” (lines 36-38 – extract A).

Extract A uses fact construction to portray the effects of feminism on the nation’s health. Through the statement that “we are now beginning to see” (line 34 – extract A), the account draws on the language of observation to factually construct the trends being portrayed. Through fact construction, the arguments about the effect of feminism on society are warranted. The effects of feminism are once again constructed factually in lines 35-36 of extract A when the account talks about the events that “we are now beginning to see” (line 34 – extract A) as being the “results of this low birthrate” (lines 35-36 – extract A). The statement that “we are now beginning to see” (line 34 – extract A, emphasis added) contains an ambiguity in that it is not clear who “we” are. It is thus that the readers can recognise themselves in the term. Wilson describes how the use of what he terms the political pronoun can be understood to have tactical uses: involving the audience in the arguments, creating a sense of shared understanding and building a sense of identity. Similarly, Billig describes how the use of the political pronoun and the definite article are important linguistic devices.

Beyond conscious awareness, like the hum of distant traffic, this deixis of little words makes the world of nations familiar, even homely.

The word “results” (line 35 – extract A) establishes as fact the causal relationship between the low birth rate (previously attributed to feminism) and
the social issues being described. The term “this low birthrate” (lines 35-36 – extract A) emphasises the connection with feminism.

Although there is some use of scientific and objective language (“results” (line 35 – extract A) and “we are now beginning to see” (line 34 – extract A), respectively), there is also some more dramatic language. The “results” (line 35 – extract A) that are being discussed in the account are described as “disastrous” (line 36 – extract A). This ties in with the earlier description of the “appalling consequence” (line 29 – extract A) of feminism. It also corresponds with the implicit construction of the internal and external threat to the nation’s health (line 33 – extract A). The account states that there are “dangerous shortages of young people now available for important jobs, particularly military service” (lines 36-38 – extract A). These shortages are constructed as fact. Through the earlier temporal statement that “we are now beginning to see” (line 34 – extract A), they are attributed to feminism. The portrayal of the temporal context at this point in extract A, combined with the description of the shortages being “dangerous” (line 36 – extract A) emphasises the external threat to the nation or race.

There is no gender assignation of the “young people” (line 36 – extract A) needed for military jobs. However, extract A sets up an implicit construction that these jobs should be filled by men. Earlier in extract A, the role of women was constructed, whilst men’s roles were left ambiguous. Similarly, whilst race is not made explicit in the account (revealing the strategy of denial of racism), the construction of the need for a “healthy national birthrate” (lines 33-34 – extract A) and the implicit portrayal of the external threat to the nation sets up the racial theme.

The threat posed to society by liberalism in general is also constructed in extract D, which is drawn from an article by John Tyndall, leader of the BNP. The article in question attributes the perceived decline in the nation's health to liberalism. Extract D is drawn from a section of the account that deals with a specific symptom of that decline: namely the “feminisation” of society. The
section of the account entitled "feminisation" describes how the nation's leadership has been emasculated (see analysis of extract C in the section of this chapter entitled "the masculinisation of women and the feminisation of men"). The account then goes on to outline the effects of the trends it describes. Extract D is drawn from this part of the account.

Extract D constructs liberalism as a "sickness" (line 4 - extract D). This construction of liberalism draws on biological metaphor to portray the threat posed to our health and well being by liberal ideology. Such a portrayal of liberalism reveals a deep-seated fear of contamination that reverberates throughout fascist literature. The spread of sickness attributed to liberalism in extract D is not portrayed as being accidental. Instead, its deliberateness is implicitly constructed through the statement that "civilisations and societies which allow themselves to become victims of the liberal sickness" (lines 1-3 - extract D - emphasis added) will suffer. Liberalism is portrayed as an ideology that spreads sickness.

The purpose behind liberal "sickness" (line 3 - extract D) is portrayed at the end of the extract, when the account states that nations that "allow themselves to become victims" (lines 1-2 - extract D) "will eventually succumb to the conquest of stronger forces" (lines 6-7 - extract D). At this point of extract D, the account constructs a relationship between the spread of "liberal sickness" (lines 2-3 - extract D) and "the conquest of stronger forces" (line 7 - extract D). It is through constructing such a relationship that the account implies that liberalism has a wider function and significance. Specifically, the spread of "sickness" (line 3 - extract D) is portrayed as serving the interest of those "stronger forces" (line 7 - extract D).

It is unclear from extract D whether those "stronger forces" (line 7 - extract D) are the agents of a conspiracy, or whether they merely know how to defend themselves from "liberal sickness" (lines 2-3 - extract D). However, the portrayal of the corrosive impact on a nation's health of liberalism, coupled with the portrayal of power struggles between "forces" (line 7 - extract D)
conveys the essence of Social Darwinism that underlies fascist thought. This sense of the survival-of-the-fittest is reinforced through the portrayal of the process of the weakening of society being an evolutionary one — an impression created through the statement that societies “will eventually succumb” (line 6 – extract D, emphasis added). Simultaneously, the formulation of a relationship between liberalism as an internal threat and the external threat posed by the Other contains a hint of conspiracy that is perennial in fascist ideology. Nolte describes how the fear of the Other leads to the fascist tendency to see conspiracy everywhere. Such fear of the Other is clearly signified in line 7 of extract D. However, Billig suggests that it may not be fear that motivates fascists to believe in conspiracy, but rather the desire to return to a former idealised age where current phenomena attributed to the Other or to ideological change were not present.

With this in mind it will be suggested that the dominant emotional force of the conspiracy theory is wish-fulfilment itself; the conspiracy theory allows unrealistic hopes of change and is therefore reactionary in effect.

Nolte’s interpretation of conspiracy stems from the belief that fear brings avoidance. However, as my analysis in this thesis shows, rather than ignore the phenomena attributed to the Other, fascists consistently turn their attention to them. Bell noted this tendency in fascist ideology when he described how fascists seem to “become mesmerised by the enemies they have studied so assiduously and with such horrified fascination”.

The description of the impact of liberalism on society in extract D, and the portrayal of the ideology itself is highly gendered. The deterioration of society through liberalism is conveyed through the portrayal of the once healthy “civilisations and societies” (line 1 – extract D) becoming so weak that they “eventually succumb to the conquest of stronger forces” (lines 6-7).

The portrayal of nations prior to liberalism as “civilisations and societies” (line 1 – extract D) conveys health, vigour and integrity. The word “succumb” (line
6 – extract D) is attributed to those nations that have deteriorated through “liberal sickness” (lines 2-3 – extract D) and conveys weakness. The word “succumb” (line 6 – extract D) suggests behaviour such as yielding, submitting, surrendering and so forth: all of which are traits associated with society’s construction of the feminine. Haste describes how socially constructed polarities between male and female are both deep-rooted and pervasive in society’s thinking, and are applied to a wide range of phenomena.

We take them for granted; they are so embedded that we are not conscious that they are metaphors. For example, we describe male and female in terms of soft and hard; we even strive to achieve these metaphorical states through physical exercise or cosmetics, and the textures we chose for our clothes.55

The notion of surrender can be traced back to the start of extract D, where the account states that it is “civilisations and societies which allow themselves to become victims” (lines 1-2 – extract D, emphasis added). The type of surrender being constructed here is particularly interesting. Lines 1-2 of extract D portrays civilisations surrendering to “sickness” (line 3 – extract D) and allowing “themselves to become victims” (line 2 – extract D). Both of these portrayals allude to weakness. Meanwhile, the notions of permission and casualty (suggested through the words “allow” (line 1 – extract D) and “victims” (line 2 – extract D) respectively convey behaviour associated culturally with the feminine.

The “conquest” (line 7 – extract D) of society is portrayed as a long term effect of liberalism. In the short term, liberalism – which in extract D can be understood to be an umbrella term including feminism – is portrayed as a “sickness” (line 3 – extract D) that has a number of unpleasant side-effects. The list of the by-products of liberalism provided in extract D is portrayed as being incomplete. This impression is created through the account describing “liberal sickness in all its manifestations, including the feminisation of the male and the introduction of female bitchiness into all the great decisions of the state” (lines 2-6 – extract D, emphasis added). It is through such constructions of
masculinity and femininity that politics itself is portrayed in essentialist terms in this extract.

The portrayal of the list of social ills attributed to liberalism as not being exhaustive lends credibility to the argument being presented within extract D. It suggests that they are some of the “manifestations” (line 3 – extract D) of liberalism. The language used here is the language of observation. By using such scientific discourse, extract D lends credibility to its argument, both that liberalism is a sickness, and that the phenomena associated with it are real. They are thereby constructed as fact.

Given the context in which it is portrayed, the “feminisation of the male” (line 4 – extract D) is constructed as a negative or undesirable phenomenon because of its blurring of the sexual boundaries between men and women. The effects of this phenomenon as portrayed in contemporary fascist texts are described later on in this chapter, in the section entitled “the masculinisation of women and the feminisation of men”.

The negative portrayal of the feminisation in extract D can be understood to point to a general dislike of characteristics or activities considered feminine. This aversion can be detected in extract D, which warns of the potential “introduction of female bitchiness into all the great decisions of state” (lines 4-6 – extract D, emphasis added). The account portrays “bitchiness” (line 5 – extract D) as a female quality. Meanwhile, the negativity of this factually constructed phenomenon is conveyed through drawing on the commonplace of the universal audience that “bitchiness” (line 5 – extract D) is bad.

The formulation contained in lines 4-6 of extract D portrays the “great decisions of state” (lines 5-6 – extract D). The word “great” (line 5 – extract D) suggests both size and importance. The “introduction of female bitchiness” (lines 4-5 – extract D) into the context of such importance is constructed as being inappropriate. The account constructs such influences on “great decisions of state” (lines 5-6 – extract D) as devaluing those decisions, leading nations
that make decisions under such conditions to "eventually succumb to the conquest of stronger forces" (lines 6-7 – extract D). The appropriate world of decision-making is thereby constructed as being a male one, unless "feminisation" (line 4 – extract D) has already occurred.

The context in which extract D is situated is one that has clear boundaries between the masculine and the feminine. Nowhere is this made clearer than in the portrayal of the "feminisation of the male" (line 4 – extract D). The category "the male" (line 4 – extract D) presupposes a set of characteristics that are masculine – an inference legitimated through the use of scientific and thus seemingly objective language. The "male" (line 4 – extract D) is constructed as a homogeneous species. By implication the female is constructed as a separate and different homogeneous species. The "feminisation of the male" (line 4 – extract D) is thus constructed as being a problematic occurrence. The account draws on a common sense belief that gender difference exists biologically (an idea signified through the term "male" (line 4 – extract D), which suggests that the account is describing a species). It also draws on a common sense belief that these differences need to be maintained. Both common sense beliefs are explained by Haste, who describes the patriarchal consensus as being one in which it is believed that the biological differences between men and women shape their ability to perform in social and private roles.

The qualities required for the performance of particular tasks and the roles required for membership of the institution are male characteristics; to include the female would be impossible, because she would not pass the tests. More usually, however, exclusion depends upon a metaphor of pollution.56

The need to maintain distinct gender roles is also tackled in extract A. The text that appears in quotes in extract A is attributed to the ex-career woman whose photograph accompanies the account. As such, it provides a strong form of ‘evidence’ for the arguments that appear in the text. The personal account of the woman, in conjunction with the photograph and caption that appear alongside the text, lends weight to the arguments contained in extract A. As an
"ex-career woman" (caption), Gyngell appears to be happy (photograph). However, prior to her decision to return to her family, she is portrayed as having “devoted many of her best years” (lines 39-40 – extract A) to her career, resulting in her “heartbreak” (line 44 – extract A). Extract A portrays a woman who has chosen to return to her natural child-rearing role following her insight into the suffering caused by her earlier pursuit of a career.

Unlike the choice to follow a career (which is portrayed in extract A as being both coercive and as leading to unhappiness), the woman’s decision to return to her family is constructed as being based on free-will, leading to her and her family’s happiness. This construction is strengthened in the quote attributed to Gyngell. Her description of the “terrible pang of separation” (line 47 – extract A) reinforces the earlier construction of the bond between mother and child. It also provides more evidence of the sacrifice exacted by feminism in the form of career: particularly, the sacrifice of the “best years of her life” to her career (line 40 – extract A). The implied suggestion is that those years are best spent with the family.

The quote associated with Gyngell: that “nobody...warned me of the terrible pang of separation” (lines 46-47 – extract A) reinforces the construction of feminism as a “hoax” (line 28 – extract A). It also warrants the arguments contained in the account, by endorsing them through the voice of a repentant woman. Attempts to follow feminism, and the pursuit of career over family, is constructed as not being a real choice. This ties in with the earlier portrayal of the authoritarian power of feminism, which was constructed as making women feel that they “have to be like men” (line 13 – extract A). In the case of Gyngell, feminism and the pursuit of a career is portrayed as resulting in her “having to leave her baby each day to go to the TV studio” (lines 44-46 – extract A). Again, the lack of choice associated with the pursuit of a career is constructed. The absence of information and support around her pursuit of a career is also symbolised by her statement that “nobody...warned me” (lines 46-47 – extract A).
Gyngell is portrayed as having pursued her career without anyone telling that she might feel a “terrible pang of separation” (line 47 – extract A). Feminism is constructed, once again, as failing women. Echoing the earlier portrayal of feminism leaving many women feeling “disenchanted” (line 5 – extract A), it is shown to lead to feelings of “heartbreak” (line 44 – extract A) and the “pang of separation” (line 47 – extract A). The idea that “nobody ... warned” (lines 46-7 – extract A) her implies that she was duped, echoing the portrayal of feminism as a “hoax” (line 28 – extract A). An implicit argument is that somebody should have told her about the emotional impact of her pursuing a career.

Agency is given to “the universities and the media” (line 25 – extract A), since they are portrayed as the propagators of the “fashionable idiocies” (line 24 – extract A) that provided the incentive for her to follow a career in the first place. Meanwhile, Gyngell is portrayed as an innocent victim – one of the “millions of women... (who) have actually fallen for this hoax” (lines 26-28 – extract A).

Construction of feminism as unreasonable – conspiracy theory of feminism

The ideas and behaviours of those who deviate from the gender specific norms are constructed in lines 19-23 of extract A. The description of the behaviour of those failing “to recognise the difference between the sexes in the first place” (lines 19-21 – extract A) reflects the construction of feminism as unreasonable, and of opposition to feminism being, therefore, reasonable. In particular, extract A ridicules those who have gone against common sense. It portrays them as having “had to learn about it (the existence and nature of sexual difference) by the experience of trying to deny it” (lines 21-22 – extract A, words in parenthesis mine). The normality that is constructed in extract A is one in which the fact of sexual difference is accepted. Those with a “modicum of intelligence” (lines 17-18 – extract A) are portrayed as accepting these differences, which, by implication constructs those who have followed feminism as lacking intelligence.

The previous construction of feminism as unreasonable necessitates an explanation for why some people have chosen to pursue it. Between lines 17-
23 of extract A, the contingent repertoire developed within the account is one that explains the appeal of feminism in terms of its followers’ intelligence.\(^{57}\) However, as my analysis of a later section of extract A shows (see in particular my analysis of lines 30-32 – extract A), the construction of intelligence is itself problematic. The contradictions in the constructions of intelligence and the subsequent difficulty in attributing support for feminism to it requires the use of further contingent repertoires. These come in the form of an insinuation of conspiracy theory between lines 23-28 of extract A.

By lines 27-28 of extract A, the account makes clear its belief that those people who have deviated from the norm “have actually fallen for this hoax” (i.e., feminism). This ties in with the idea that those who have followed feminism lack real intelligence. Feminism is constructed as being a “hoax” (line 28 – extract A), which suggests that a conspiracy of some sort is behind it.

The construction of conspiracy is effected through the portrayal of the process whereby “millions of women (and men) have actually fallen for this hoax” (lines 26-28 – extract A). Extract A portrays this process in terms of “fashionable idiocies promoted by the universities and the media over the last few decades” (lines 24-26 – extract A). The emphasis on the time scale over which these “fashionable idiocies” (line 24 – extract A) have been promoted serves to construct the relentless and continual nature of the conspiracy, which is portrayed as having operated “over the last few decades” (line 26 – extract A).

The durability of the conspiracy and its momentum is also constructed by this emphasis on the time scale. Meanwhile, the conspiracy’s incremental impact on generations of “women (and men)” (line 27 – extract A) is also constructed through the emphasis on the time scale over which it has operated. The word “actually” (line 27 – extract A) does some important work in suggesting the power of the conspiracy. Considering that feminism is being termed a “hoax” (line 28 – extract A), the account implies that the media and the universities
(i.e., the agents of conspiracy) are powerful in persuading millions to follow an ideology that is in fact a “hoax” that does not serve women’s interests.

Ideologies that go against what is natural and what is normal are portrayed as being inspired by “the universities and the media” (line 25 - extract A). These institutions are portrayed as being behind the “hoax” (line 28 - extract A) that has led “millions of women (and men)” (lines 26-27 - extract A) to engage in behaviour which seeks to overturn the natural order, resulting in women becoming “disenchanted” (line 5 - extract A).

The power behind this conspiracy is constructed through the portrayal of “the universities and the media” (line 25 - extract A, emphasis added) as homogeneous entities working together to promote such ideas. It is interesting to note that by this point of extract A, the account has moved from its earlier use of the media to warrant its arguments to the construction of the media as an agent in conspiracy. The notion of conspiracy is a vital ingredient that differentiates fascism’s stance of feminism from the more general backlash. Billig describes how fascists attribute the presence of ideologies and phenomena that they oppose to a conspiracy that seeks to overturn the established order in its quest for world domination.

The conspirators plot to destroy nations and races by promoting conflicts, fought by protagonists who are unaware that they are being manipulated. 58

Feminism is constructed as being one element in this conspiracy. The portrayal of its protagonists as being “the universities and the media” (line 25 - extract A) construct their power and influence – the means of conspiracy. By marking the 1990s as a “turning point” (lines 1-2 - extract A) for society, the account situates its conspiracy theory within a temporal context. In so doing, extract A sets up the idea of an apocalyptic struggle against the agents of conspiracy, in which common sense will prevail. 59
The masculinisation of women and the feminisation of men through feminism

Extract B starts with the statement that “personally, I cannot understand all those ‘liberated’ types” (lines 1-2 – extract B). The use of the personal statement is different to that described in my analysis of extract E (above). Whereas in extract E the personal statement can be understood to be what Potter and Wetherell call a warranting voice, the self being constructed in the personal statement in extract B has a more authoritative voice. As I will show in the following analysis, the arguments in extract B problematise the behaviour of women who pursue careers. The statement that “personally, I cannot understand all those ‘liberated’ types” (lines 1-2 – extract B) can be understood to involve a construction of the self as trying to understand or make sense of behaviour that is problematic. Lines 11-22 of extract B portray child bearing and rearing as the natural role of women, thereby constructing a norm of woman-as-mother. Given this context, the anomalous or deviant behaviour of women who do not conform to this norm needs to be explained.

We do this mainly by reference to the same theories that explain the taken-for-granted: the anomalous has occurred because something has gone awry, contingencies have created something out of the ordinary – accident, divine intervention, faulty upbringing or genes.

To this list that is used to explain the anomalous, we could add “feminism”, since extract B clearly links the behaviour of “those ‘liberated’ types” (lines 1-2 – extract B) to feminist ideology. The association of the behaviour of women pursuing careers is made in extract B through the phrase “those ‘liberated’ types” (line 2 – extract B).

Through putting the word “liberated” (line 2 – extract B) into inverted commas, the account problematises the notion that women who pursue careers are in fact liberated. In so doing, extract B problematises the idea that feminism is an ideology that liberates women. Through ironising the term “liberated” (line 2 – extract B) in this way, the account implies that women who pursue careers are anything but liberated.
The portrayal of feminism as not liberating women continues in lines 2-8 of extract B. Career women are portrayed “belting around the country hawking every kind of trashy merchandise, in their trouser-suits dealing in banking and insurance, sat on the tills in countless supermarkets looking bored out of their minds; chasing careers that seem so important” (lines 2-8 – extract B). The activities and feelings attributed to career women in lines 2-7 of extract B are constructed as fact. This factual construction of the lives of women pursuing careers is supported through the statement that “you see them” (line 2 – extract B), which suggests that the evidence is visible to anyone who cares to look.

Extract B constructs two types of woman in its portrayal of women who pursue careers. These can be understood to be a sub-category of the “‘liberated’ types” described in line 2 of extract B. Having constructed women into categories of “‘liberated’” and not “‘liberated’” in line 2, extract B then constructs its sub-categories of the former.

In lines 3-5 of extract B, the portrayal is of women in “trouser-suits” (line 4 – extract B), doing jobs traditionally associated with men. The portrayal of the attire and activities of this category of woman “hawking every kind of trashy merchandise...dealing in banking and insurance” (lines 3-5 – extract B) constructs this category of woman as emulating men. Meanwhile, the portrayal of women “sat on the tills in countless supermarkets looking bored out of their minds” (lines 5-7 – extract B) portrays women in jobs conventionally associated with them. Whether women are being portrayed “hawking trashy merchandise” (lines 3-4 – extract B), or “sat on the tills...looking bored out of their minds” (lines 5-7 – extract B), the pursuit of career is constructed as meaningless and unfulfilling.

The portrayal of careers in extract B constructs them as both hard work and trivial. The hard work is signified by the word “belting” (line 2 – extract B) suggesting that they require frenetic activity. Meanwhile, the trivial nature of women’s careers is conveyed through the portrayal of them “hawking every kind of trashy merchandise” (lines 3-4 – extract B). The construction of the
inconsequential nature of women’s careers is reinforced in lines 7-8 of extract B, when women are portrayed as “chasing careers that seem to be so important” (emphasis added). The implication of the portrayal of women’s careers in extract B is that the pursuit of careers is inappropriate for women – that there are more important things for women to do.

The portrayal of women portraying careers that “mostly leave no more mark on time than the daubings of a child on the beach after the tide has flowed” (lines 8-10 – extract B) contains some poignant and evocative imagery. The portrayal symbolises the argument that women’s careers are meaningless in a visual way, conveying their impermanence through the imagery of the sea washing away marks in the sand. The account constructs this argument as being reasonable through qualifying the statement: it is not all women whose careers are meaningless, but “mostly” (line 8 – extract B) they are. Meanwhile, the image evokes an identification with the importance (and permanence) of children through its portrayal of the child drawing in the sand (lines 9-10 – extract B).

Having portrayed careers as unworthy and impermanent, extract B alludes to a means whereby women can become fulfilled (discussed in my analysis of lines 11-20 of extract B in the section of this chapter entitled “construction of women’s roles and gender difference”). It is thus that extract B makes its appeal to a female readership that desires fulfilment, defining how this can be realised, thereby constructing women’s roles and desires.63

Sexual differences are constructed in extract A as being deterministic – that is they are portrayed as biological, obvious and thus immutable.64 Whilst these differences are not specified, their enduring quality is constructed through the portrayal of them withstanding the efforts of those who have embarked on the “experience of trying to deny it” (line 22 – extract A). Such a construction of sexual difference warrants the portrayal of those who attempt to “deny” (line 22 – extract A) it as “preposterous” (line 23 – extract A). Those who embark on such a route are portrayed as victims of a “hoax” (line 28 – extract A) at best: at worst, they are portrayed as people who “fail” (line 19 – extract A) to accept
fundamental truths and common sense. In either case, their “intelligence” (line 18 – extract A) is called into question.

Intelligence is constructed in extract A as being a quality belonging to those who accept the common sense of the community. Normality and intelligence are allied in the text: both are attributed to those who accept and work with fact rather than trying to change it. The common sense of the community is constructed as having nature as its basis and thus gender differences are constructed as fact. However, there is an interesting contradiction here: it is the “so-called” intelligent people (line 50 – extract A) that are portrayed as rejecting common sense and as falling for the media’s conspiracy. Since extract A argues that nature cannot be challenged, it warrants its attack on feminism. Ideologies such as feminism, and the behaviours they engender are portrayed as working against common sense and against nature.65

Extract A’s attacks against feminism are thus warranted: the strategy of denial of prejudice (or misogyny) is present here. The attack is constructed as being motivated by a notion of what is natural and what is true, rather than revealing negative attitudes about women per se. Extract A constructs itself, as an advocate of normality, as playing an important role in its opposition of feminism, setting itself up as being a champion of intelligence, common sense and the happiness that ensues from these. This strategy of denial of misogyny can also be understood to be a device used by extract A to do feminism.

People’s inability to transcend or redefine traditional gender roles is constructed as inevitable in extract A. The truth is constructed as being so real as to be indestructible. Attempts to “deny” sexual difference (line 22 – extract A) are portrayed as leading to unhappiness. Extract A constructs itself as being motivated by a desire to see people acting in accordance with common sense. It thus constructs a universal audience that shares this common sense and the beliefs contained within it.
Principally, the portrayal of feminism as a fashion in extract A presents it as a whim (which by implication constructs the account and those who uphold common sense as being more substantial). Extract A presents itself and the audience as being strong and intelligent enough to buck popular trends in favour of what is real. The audience and those with “a modicum of intelligence” (lines 17-18 – extract A) are portrayed as robust enough to withstand the temptation to follow fashionable ideas. This being despite the fact (constructed in lines 25-28 – extract A) that powerful forces have been promoting them.

The idea that feminism is one of many “fashionable idiocies” (line 24 – extract A) ties in with the statement made at the beginning of this extract that “any person with a modicum of intelligence” (line 17 – extract A) would “recognise the difference between the sexes” (lines 19-20 – extract A). This constructs an appreciation of sexual difference as common sense, and more specifically, fact, since an argument appears to be unproblematic if it is not explained, rationalised or justified: i.e., if it is not argued about.66

The notion that “women... have failed” (lines 30-32 – extract A), and that they have “abandoned belief” (line 30 – extract A) in their domestic role constructs a betrayal by women since the advent of feminism. The desire of women to pursue their careers is portrayed as selfish, especially in the sense that it overrides the traditional “virtues of domesticity” (line 31– extract A).

From line 39 of extract A, the account makes use of a personalised account of a woman to illustrate the argument presented at the start of the article: that “women in Britain are growing disenchanted with the idea of trying to be men” (lines 4-6 – extract A). The personal statements are attributed to the woman whose photograph appears alongside the text. The personalised account fulfills an important rhetorical strategy in that it warrants and lends credibility to the arguments being presented in extract A. The detail in the personal story adds poignancy and depth to the arguments made in extract A, whilst also providing ‘evidence’ for them. The woman is presented as one of the many of the
"millions of women (and men)" (lines 26-27 – extract A) who have become “disenchanted” with feminism (line 4 – extract A).

The woman is described in the account as having “devoted” (line 39 – extract A) time to her career. This portrayal draws on the more traditional notion of the woman who is “devoted” to her family. Devotion is implicitly constructed as a defining feature of ‘femininity’ (drawing on the notion of the “virtues of domesticity” (line 31 – extract A). In this case, the woman’s devotion is portrayed as being misdirected.

The portrayal of Gyngell devoting “many of the best years of her life” (lines 39-40 – extract A) to her career presents her actions as a sacrifice. By following a career, rather than the “virtues of domesticity” (line 31 – extract A), Gyngell is depicted as having wasted or lost her “best years” (line 40 – extract A). Implicitly, this argument suggests that her time would have been better spent raising her family. This draws on a common sense belief that there is a particular stage in a woman’s life cycle during which it is appropriate to raise a family. This notion draws on a biological idea about women’s reproductive role. The sacrifice constructed in lines 39-40 of extract A is also a personal one, tying in with the notion of disenchantment with feminism that is addressed at the start of the account. The link between the construction of the traditional and biological role of woman-as-breeder and the notion of the sacrifice made by Gyngell is strengthened in line 41 – extract A. She is portrayed as having pursued a career because of the pressure from feminists who are constructed as “trying to be men” (lines 4-6 – extract A). Her former decision to follow a career is described as being “to the neglect of her family” (line 41 – extract A).

As the title of this section of the chapter might suggest, fascist ideology opposes the blurring of gender distinctions. As I have discussed in the previous analysis chapter on eugenics, fascist ideology has a Social Darwinist core. Given that such eugenicist ideas underlie fascist ideas of race and gender, it seems reasonable to assume that fascist opposition to the blurring of gender roles has its basis in the notion that the maintenance of gender difference is essential for
the healthy evolution of either sex. Haste describes how Social Darwinists promote the notion of unimpeded, natural evolution.

So the prototype of woman which already prevailed in the mid nineteenth century was strengthened by the justification that femininity should be in sharp contrast to masculinity for the benefit of the species; crossing gender boundaries was going against evolutionary progress.  

Concern that men are losing their distinctive masculine characteristics is expressed in extract C. Drawn from the section of an article entitled "feminisation", extract C describes how this trend has affected politics. The portrayal of politicians in lines 1-5 of extract C is a biological account of the deficiencies in men. Evidence of the feminisation of men is constructed in extract C as being visible. One only needs to "look among the faces and listen to the voices of our leading politicians" (lines 1-2 - extract C) to know that feminisation has occurred: that what is being described is true. It is through the words "look" (line 1 - extract C) and "listen" (line 2 - extract C) that the portrayal of the effects of feminism is warranted and constructed as fact. By making the argument appear to correspond with an outside reality, extract C warrants its portrayal.  

Our "leading politicians" (line 2 - extract C) are automatically assumed to be male, signified through the statement that "it is difficult to detect anything indicative of a male hormone between the lot of them" (lines 2-5 - extract C, emphasis added). The account portrays a leadership that is rightly male in the sense that it is believed that men should be the natural leaders in politics. This belief is made explicit in lines 5-8 of extract C when the account attributes the ability of "a female Prime Minister...to dominate the political scene for an entire decade up till quite recently" (lines 5-8 - extract C) to the feminisation of men.

The portrayal of a woman being "able to dominate the political scene for an entire decade" (lines 6-7 - extract C, emphasis added) constructs her leadership and its duration as both problematic and inappropriate. The anomalous female
leadership is explained through the use of contingent repertoire of feminisation provided in lines 3-5 of extract C. Our “leading politicians” (line 2 – extract C) are portrayed as only being men in certain respects. They are described as lacking “anything indicative of a male hormone” (lines 3-4 – extract C). The reason for this lacking is explained in extract D (analysed earlier in this chapter).

The portrayal of the feminisation of men draws on biological metaphor: the leaders lack “anything indicative of a male hormone” (lines 3-4 – extract C) that would make them into real men. This lacking of “anything indicative of a male hormone” (lines 3-4 – extract C) is portrayed as undermining the differences between men and women. The divisions of gender cease to be just biological in this portrayal of feminisation. The “leading politicians” (line 2 – extract C) are obviously men, but they are portrayed as not behaving like men should.

In lines 8-12, extract C constructs the appropriate model of male leadership, that is “utterly absent in these ‘leaders’” (lines 8-9 – extract C). The inverted commas that appear around the word “leaders” (line 9 – extract C) ironises the term. Through such ironisation, the account constructs as inappropriate the leadership of those in whom the requisite “male hormone” (line 4 – extract C) is “utterly absent” (line 8 – extract C). This “male hormone” (line 4 – extract C) is portrayed in lines 9-12 of extract C as creating physical characteristics that can be seen and heard.

The account constructs un-feminised men as having “a gleam in the eye, a set of the jaw, a tone of speech which indicates true strength of character or belief in anything profound or powerful” (lines 9-12 – extract C). It is thus that extract C constructs masculinity in both physical and intellectual terms, essentialising male qualities. Men with the “male hormone” (line 2 – extract C) are portrayed in extract C as having these physical and intellectual capacities. By implication, women and feminised men are not.
Extract F portrays the degeneration of men “in this century” (line 3 – extract F). It attributes the increased amount of miscegenation to a perceived decline in manhood. The “wimp” (line 2 – extract F) is constructed as a contemporary phenomenon. Extract F argues that “as with many other life-negative forms, the wimp blossomed and came into his own in this century” (lines 1-3 – extract F). The temporal context implies that there are particular developments that have occurred to provide the fertile soil from which the “wimp blossomed” (line 2 – extract F). Although these developments are not explained, the introduction of the temporal context can be understood to provide a cue to the cognoscenti.

The portrayal of the wimp as having “blossomed” (line 2 – extract F) portrays his development in both biological and feminine terms. The language used constructs the “wimp” as non-masculine, and also as a growing plant. The kind of plant being portrayed is like “other life-negative forms” (line 1 – extract F), suggesting that the wimp has a parasitic presence, feeding off and weakening its host.

A second temporal context is introduced in lines 3-5. The account states that “70 years ago he (the wimp) might have been attracted to an older woman, a widow or a divorcée” (lines 3-5 – extract F, words in parenthesis mine). This statement is juxtaposed with another statement that “today he is as likely as not to seek out – or, more precisely, to be grabbed off by – an Oriental or Hispanic female of his own approximate age.” (lines 5-9 – extract F).

Both these statements construct the “wimp” through his choice of sexual partner. The first statement portrays him being “attracted to” (line 4 – extract F) women who are older. The emphasis on age and marital status suggests that these women have had sexual experience, implying that the “wimp” is drawn to them because they can initiate him sexually (a reversal of the common sense belief that men should be sexually dominant). The older woman can also be understood to represent a mother-figure for the “wimp”, again constructing his lack of independence.
Similarly, the portrayal of his choice of sexual partner in lines 5-9 constructs the wimp’s lack of sexual mastery. The portrayal of the temporal context, signified by the word “today” in line 5 of extract F, is important in introducing the racial argument. The argument suggests that “70 years ago” (line 3 – extract F), society was not multicultural whereas “today” (line 5 – extract F) it is.

The portrayal of the wimp’s choice of sexual partner in lines 5-9 of extract F construct her Otherness in terms of race, whilst implicitly constructing the wimp’s whiteness, thereby inscribing a white audience. She is constructed as being more powerful than he is through the portrayal of the wimp being “grabbed off by – an Oriental or Hispanic female of his own approximate age” (lines 7-9 – extract F). The notion of the woman’s power is reinforced in line 10 of extract F where the account describes “these aggressive yellow or brown females”. The Otherness of the woman is constructed both in terms of colour and also in terms of inappropriately aggressive behaviour.

The portrayal of the inferiority of the woman is constructed in lines 14-15 of extract F, when she is described as seeking out a wimp to marry, and in so doing, she “takes a gigantic social step upward” (lines 14-15 – extract F). There is an interesting contradiction here. Despite the construction of her inferiority, she is portrayed as being able to overpower the wimp. Meanwhile, the emphasis on her age portrays the convention that a man is usually older than his sexual partner. This reflects the earlier portrayal of his attraction to older women “70 years ago” (line 3 – extract F) which is central to the construction of him as a wimp.

The account constructs the female Other as having a reproductive and social strategy in lines 12-15 of extract F. She is portrayed as benefiting from marrying him by taking “a gigantic social step upward” (lines 14-15 – extract F). The portrayal of the benefit to the woman of marrying a wimp implicitly constructs her inferiority.
The account uses biological metaphors to construct both the wimp and the woman. The latter is portrayed as a scavenger in lines 11-12 of extract F. She is described as being able to "spot a white wimp miles away. He is the easiest of prey" (lines 11-12 – extract F). In this way, she is portrayed as seeking out her prey, of knowing what she is looking for, of having the visual capacity to “spot” (line 11 – extract F) him and of using her power to enable her to take “a gigantic social step upward” (lines 14-15 – extract F).

Meanwhile, the feminised male, or the “wimp” (line 2 – extract F) is portrayed as “prey” (line 12 – extract F), evoking the evolutionary metaphor. He is portrayed as having become so weak and unfit that he is unable to survive the predatory antics of the woman. Simultaneously, he is portrayed as being “one of these specimens” (lines 12-13 – extract F). The recourse to pseudo-scientific discourse is used here to construct the inferiority of the wimp. Although the developments that have led to the prevalence of the wimp in contemporary society are not explained in extract F, the link between the emergence of the wimp and the trend towards mixed-race relationships and, ultimately, miscegenation is constructed throughout.

**Conclusion**

This analysis chapter explores the centrality of gender to fascist ideologies of race. The extracts analysed above describe how the collapse of traditional gender roles is constructed as being harmful to individuals, to families, and to nations. Throughout the accounts analysed for this chapter, polarities are established between male and female. These polarities form the basis for the construction of gender-appropriateness in fascist ideology. The loss of gender distinctiveness is portrayed in the accounts in terms of a blurring of this polarity. Men are portrayed as acting in less male ways. Meanwhile, women are portrayed as behaving in more male ways and less female ways. Such portrayals are shaped by the essentialist philosophy that underlines fascist thinking about both race and gender.
The accounts all make use of factual discourse to portray the phenomena they describe as feminism, masculinisation, feminisation, and so on. The importance of breeding for the nation is made explicit in four of the accounts analysed in this chapter, wherein the threat posed by the internal and external Other to race and nation is constructed as fact. Each of the accounts make use of factual discourse and warranting strategies to present contentious or problematic arguments about the meaning of gender. However, it should be noted that the idea of gender difference and inherent biological natures is not particular to fascists, and as such is not contentious. Such ideas have, until recently, informed common sense in both academic and popular culture. Indeed, the philosophies of feminism and post-modernism have been, in part, a reaction to biological determinism and as such have sought to collapse traditional gender roles whilst celebrating diversity.70

As such, postmodern and feminist academic approaches have challenged the recourse to scientism that has been used as a warrant for essentialism in both academic and political life, thereby undermining biological arguments. It is precisely because of its position on biological deterministic ideologies that feminism is attacked in fascist texts. Meanwhile, the accounts analysed appear to be doing feminism by constructing motherhood as the ultimate role for women, thereby constructing female desires.71

The attempts to do feminism reveal how fascists are not immune to the ideologies they oppose, but in fact have been tainted by them. Rather than simply promote a return to traditional gender roles, the accounts analysed frame their advocacy of motherhood within an argument that such roles are actually good for women. Although in some of the accounts analysed, forthright statements about gender difference are made, the attempts to do feminism in many can be understood to be a co-option of feminist rhetoric in the service of fascist arguments. This reflects one of the ideological dilemmas inherent in fascist constructions of gender.72
The dilemmas are signified in these accounts through the attempts of some accounts to do feminism. Whilst the accounts analysed are doing feminism they are also opposing the kind of feminism that blurs traditional gender roles and negates biological determinism. However, this is not the only ideological dilemma present in fascist accounts of gender and breeding. A feature common to the accounts of gender analysed for this chapter is the portrayal of the negative consequences of liberalism in general and feminism in particular. Each of the extracts analysed above use warranting strategies to support their arguments for distinct gender roles. In some, there is a portrayal of motherhood as natural and normal, and of feminism as unnatural and deviant. To explain the spread of feminism, contingent repertoires are developed in such accounts. It is at this point that the theme of conspiracy is introduced in fascist accounts. In attributing the collapse of traditional gender roles to the presence of a conspiracy, fascism goes further than the essentialism that is part of the wider common sense, thereby creating more ideological dilemmas for fascist ideology.
Notes for Chapter 6


Chapter 7

Analysis of BNP accounts of rape

Introduction – the meaning of rape in fascist literature

This chapter explores how accounts of rape symbolise key aspects of the racialised and sexualised constructions of them and us in fascist literature. Embodying eugenic ideas about racial hierarchy, fascist accounts of rape appeal to the fears and fantasies of their readers. At their most basic, fascist accounts of rape represent cautionary tales about multiculturalism. They reflect the belief that the Other poses a threat to both the racial purity and health of the nation, and reveal a deep fear of contamination that pervades fascist ideology. Ultimately, they bind together the themes of race and gender.

These accounts contain narratives that portray us as being the actual or potential victims of the Other. Through unravelling the narratives that form the intersection between violence, race and gender in fascist ideology, and in particular through examining the way that the Other is portrayed as a threat to us, it is possible to lay bare the strategies employed by fascists to warrant arguments for the exclusion or the Other from society.

My analysis explores how the strategy of fact construction, combined with the use of subtle signifiers of race, enables fascist ideology to construct race, whilst simultaneously denying that it is racially motivated. This rhetoric of the denial of prejudice reflects a core ideological dilemma in fascist ideology. This, in turn, reveals a deep-seated tension between the desire to promote racist ideas and the desire to not appear to be motivated by race.
The portrayal of the *Other*, particularly in terms of his proclivity to crime, provides an important context for fascist accounts of rape. Combined with the symbolic function of the portrayal of the rapist (i.e., to demonstrate the sinister effects of the presence of the *Other*), the portrayal of the rapist's habitual criminality reinforces the construction of the *Other* as a threat to the health and well being of our society.

The analysis examines how the strategy of denial of racism affects the portrayal of the *Other*. In particular, I explore how race is set up through photographs and texts. I examine the use of cultural markers, deracialised racism, stereotype, metaphor, imagery and euphemism. I explore how blurred metaphor is used to construct the *Other*, so that not only is he portrayed as being like an agent of disease: the accounts portray him as creating and being disease. I look at how this becomes a form of warranting.

In my analysis, I explore how the nature of the threat posed by the *Other* is conveyed through the construction of an imagined community. My analysis contrasts the construction of the portrayal of innocent white women with the construction of the *Other*. Highlighting the ways in which a polarity is established between the construction of *us* and *them* this chapter discusses how the establishment of binary opposites is a vital aspect of argumentative strategy.

This chapter explores how links between the reader and the victims of crime are constructed rhetorically in fascist texts. I look at how a universal and specifically male audiences are inscribed and portrayed within the text. The portrayal of *us* as victims or potential victims of the *Other* provides a means whereby racist arguments and ideology can be presented as if they are non-racist. As I describe through my analysis in this chapter, the actions of the *Other* are factually constructed as being attacks on our community, and in particular on our women.
Background to the accounts selected for analysis
The first extract (extract A) to be examined is from an account of a gang-rape printed in British Nationalist, the “newspaper” of the BNP. The account appears as the main article on the second page of the paper, alongside the editorial. The position of the article suggests its priority: an impression reinforced by the layout of the heading, which runs along the top of page 2.

Extract B is a racialised account of rape that appeared in British Nationalist in July 1994. Accompanied by a photograph of a black man the article carries the title “Evil Rapist Gets 15 Years”. Accompanying the photograph is a caption that identifies the man in the photograph as the rapist. The caption reads “RAPIST SELWYN Hall’s victims included a nun”. A statement from the end of the account is printed in quotation marks alongside the photograph of the rapist. The statement reads “this animal raped a nun; if the BNP was in power, he’d be surgically castrated”. The whole article appears on the top half of page.

Extracts C & D are both from an article entitled “‘War on Whites’ hits South Africa: Whites raped and slaughtered as tribal gangs go on rampage”. The article appeared on the bottom half of page 3 of the January 1993 edition of British Nationalist. Two photographs accompany the article. The first has a side profile of the face of a black man, beneath which is a caption identifying him as “TERRORIST: Benny Alexander”. Meanwhile, the second photograph portrays two smiling white women. Beneath the photograph is a caption that identifies the women as “VICTIMS: Julie Godwin and Elizabeth Over, both raped and murdered”. Extract C is from the beginning of the article and constructs the relationship between politics and black crime in South Africa. Extract D is from the middle of the same account and portrays the crime in more detail.

Extract E is from an article entitled “VENGEANCE RAPE ATTACK: 14 YEAR-OLD VIRGIN RAPED IN THE GUTTER BY EVIL BRUTE”. The
article is printed on the top half of page 5 of the May 1995 edition of *British Nationalist*. Accompanying the article is a photograph of the profile of a black man’s face. Beneath the photograph is a long caption that both identifies the man as the rapist being portrayed in the account and concludes the arguments of the account. The article is also accompanied by some text that appears in a box beneath the heading “BN COMMENT”. Both the caption and the text under the heading “BN COMMENT” emphasise the seriousness of the crimes being portrayed in the account to warrant the argument for more stringent penalties for rapists.

**Construction of *us* as imagined community**

From the outset, extract A invites the audience to sympathise with “South London Whites” (line 1 – extract A) and their reaction to the rape. A sense of shared feeling and unity is implied (lines 1-2 – extract A), creating an “imagined community” such as that described by Anderson. Race is made explicit in the case of the wronged community (line 1 – extract A) and appears to be central to its definition.

The community is also constructed through the portrayal of the activities of the victims prior to the attack. This portrayal, that takes place from line 6 of extract A constructs the victims as ordinary children with average means and interests, going about their normal business. Here the account is not only constructing the status of the victims as children, but is also defining the community as white, normal, respectable, family-centred. The phrase “looking forward to Christmas”, attributed to the victims in lines 6-7 – extract A, portrays the community as white Anglo-Christian (i.e., not devoutly so).

The Christmas narrative does more than construct the youthfulness and identity of the victims, just as the construction of their status as children (see section
entitled “construction of us as victims” later in this chapter) does more than express their innocence. What both these themes convey is a sense of kinship, defining the behaviour that is appropriate and normal in the community. In other words, they establish and draw on a common sense notion of community.  

The link between the orator and the audience rests upon more than a sharing of argumentative forms. It also comprises a common content. If orators are identifying with their audiences, then they are emphasising communal links, foremost amongst which are shared values or beliefs. The orator, in identifying with the beliefs of the audience, will be treating the audience as a community bound together by shared opinions.

In much the same way, the producer of texts must draw on symbols shared by the community and readership to identify grounds for membership of and inclusion into that particular society (in this instance, of “South London Whites”). The common sense and normality that are being constructed at this point in extract A are central to the establishment of community in the account as well as to the readership.

Extract A constructs a contradictory sub-category of us. This in turn highlights the problems in constructing the commonality of the imagined community. The term “Yuletide” (line 9 – extract A) can be seen to be an example of the rhetoric of the esoteric. As with metaphor, imagery and stereotype, the esoteric term is at once elusive and resonant. For those who share the cultural symbols or common sense being presented, the image, metaphor or esoteric term provides a strong cue. A particular readership is inscribed by the term Yuletide: one that understands its significance and shares a sense of belonging to a pre-Christian British tradition. The term Yuletide can thus be understood to echo a deep and core sense of kinship shared by the fascist cognoscenti. As such, it suggests a much more specific construction of us (or an us within us).
The narrative describing the attack is interrupted in line 14 of extract A. In its place is a commentary (by us) on the attack and on the events to be reported. Through commenting on their behaviour, the constructions of us and them are sharply contrasted. The commentary enables both the audience and the paper to be associated with the community of “South London Whites”, and thus constructs us as the victims of the attack. Despite the lack of any gender differentiation in the construction of us, a male audience is inscribed. Just as the absence of any explicit signifier of race implies that the subject is not white (as is discussed later in this chapter), it can be assumed that the text addresses a male audience unless women are specifically identified.

The “belief” that is being represented in the phrase “What happened next almost defies belief” (lines 14-15 — extract A) is our belief. The statement that the events defy belief reveals a strategy of objectification of the events. By portraying the events as being incredible to the narrator, the account implies that they are therefore not made up, and thus are real. The following sentence that constructs British Nationalist as a “family paper”, along with the previous objectification, rhetorically establishes the credentials of the narrator as a story teller. It also depicts the audience as family-based and respectable.

The portrayal of the events as incredible also serves to emphasise the different constructions of us and them. The latter are portrayed as acting in a way that is shocking to us — both explicitly in lines 1-2 of extract A and implicitly in lines 14-15 of extract A. It is thus that we are distanced from the attack. The distance between us and the attack is reinforced in line 15 of extract A, where it is portrayed as being “difficult to describe”. Emphasised in this phrase is both the Otherness of the attack (in that it is not something that we find easy to discuss) and also its severity. Similarly, the credentials of the story teller are established, whilst the audience is also inscribed by this phrase. The relationship between the audience and the British Nationalist is constructed in lines 14-17 of extract A.
The statement that the story being recounted “almost defies belief – and is difficult to describe in full detail in a family newspaper such as this” (lines 14-17 - extract A) constructs the British Nationalist as a family newspaper, which in turn defines the audience.

Similar rhetorical strategies are in evidence at the start of extract E. In lines 1-2 of extract E, British Nationalist is presented as being motivated by a sense of duty to report the particular rape being described in the account. Not only does this construction of duty serve as a warrant for the amount of detail presented in the account, which is therefore portrayed as being a necessity rather than a prurient luxury, it also warrants the arguments contained later on in the same account. The portrayal of duty also establishes a relationship between the newspaper and the reader and so constructs a community.

Extract E constructs the reasons why British Nationalist has such a duty. These are constructed in lines 1-5 of extract E. First, the self-presentation of British Nationalist as having a “duty to report” (lines 2-3 – extract E) to the community constructs a relationship between British Nationalist and the audience. Meanwhile, in portraying the facts that it has a duty to report as “revolting and brutal crimes which are now an everyday occurrence in today’s Britain” (lines 3-5 – extract E), the account also constructs an imagined community that is being threatened. Although the account does not make clear at this point what or whom is threatening the community, the introduction of a temporal context in lines 4 and 5, extract E (through the words “now” and “today’s”, respectively) provides a cue to the reader.

Through placing the “revolting and brutal crimes” (lines 3-4 – extract E) into this temporal context, extract E constructs the Otherness of such crimes. They are portrayed as being recent phenomena that have not always been part of the experience of the imagined community. No explanation is given at this stage of
extract E for why these events are "now" being experienced. Instead, the
temporal context can be understood to act as a cue to the audience.

Extract E indirectly attributes the crimes to the presence of the Other in society,
whilst simultaneously constructing the imagined community as being good. The
obscure nature of the construction of us and them in lines 1-5 of extract E
reflects the tendency of contemporary fascist writers to conceal or obscure more
contentious arguments, revealing the rhetorical phenomenon described by
Reeves as deracialised racism.  

Extract E also constructs the imagined community through the way that it
portrays the crime and the reaction to it of the "experienced journalists" (line 9 -
extract E) writing for British Nationalist. The Otherness of the crimes being
reported in extract E is constructed in lines 1-10. As described above, one of the
ways that the construction of the Otherness of the crimes is constructed is
through the introduction of a temporal context, which in turn inscribes the
audience and constructs the imagined community. The portrayal of the reaction
of the "experienced journalists" (line 9 - extract E) to the crimes (lines 6-10 -
extract E) reinforces the construction of the Otherness of the crimes and ties in
with the construction of the imagined community. In particular, through the
implicit attribution of the crimes to the presence of the Other in our society
(through the use of temporal contexts in the portrayal of crime), extract E
constructs us as being law-abiding, professional and non-violent.

It is both the through the construction of the crimes of the Other in lines 1-10 of
extract E and the portrayal of the reaction of British Nationalist's journalists to
these crimes that the account constructs the imagined community. The
construction of the relationship between the audience and British Nationalist
(symbolised through the word "duty" - line 2, extract E) is central to the
construction of us as law-abiding, responsible and respectable. As shall be seen
later on in this chapter, the self-presentation as reasonable gives rise to and necessitates the use of factual discourse, which in turn provides a warrant for arguments being put forward in fascist texts. The portrayal of the emotion of the "experienced journalists" (lines 9-10 – extract E) adds weight to this warrant, as shall be discussed later in this chapter. Meanwhile, it also constructs us as being sentient and feeling people.

In lines 55-69 of extract A, the account distances itself from the argument that the attack was racially motivated, attributing it to "many Eastenders" (line 55 – extract A). This does not imply that there is a universal agreement about the nature of the attack or its treatment by the media. However, as at the start of the account, there is some insinuation that the view is held by a significant number (i.e., "many"). The attribution of the belief that the attack was racially motivated to "many Eastenders" (line 55 – extract A) is a form of 'footing'. Through attributing the view to "many Eastenders" (line 55 – extract A), the account’s own position is warranted. Edwards and Potter describe the purpose of such footing.

It is one of the principal ways in which speakers display the accountability of their utterances; are they themselves responsible for their words or are they passing on the views of others? People can emphasize their distance from a particular attitude or evaluation…or they can align themselves with it.

In the case of extract A, the ‘footing’ serves to construct the views of “many Eastenders” (line 55 – extract A) as a commonplace shared by the universal audience. In this way, the argument that the “attack was racially motivated” (lines 56-57 – extract A) is warranted.

The feelings of “many Eastenders” are invoked in lines 57-60 of extract A as a further warrant for the arguments being presented. The statement that “what
hurts most is what many whites feel is the unfair way that the media treats crime with a ‘racial’ angle” (lines 57-60 – extract A) provides an example of the way that the account does objectivity. In particular, the use of inverted commas around the word “racial” distances the account from the word, attributing it to the group being discussed. Meanwhile, the hurt and feeling are similarly associated with “many whites”.

Although the emotional nature of the argument is distanced from the account itself, it is not totally disallowed. This is important because it reveals a rhetorical strategy. In putting forward an argument, there is an implied understanding about the need for objectivity and reasonableness. However, our emotions are used to shape the arguments that are being put forward. They are important in inscribing the audience and creating the imagined community that provides the argumentative context for the arguments. The opinion of the Eastenders is constructed as fact in line 55 of extract A (through the phrase “the fact is...”) and thus irrefutable. In their description of fact construction in political discourse, Potter and Edwards show how some forms of fact need not be based on ‘hard’ evidence, and can be “naively produced”.¹⁵

Meanwhile British Nationalist’s own perspective on racial crime continues to be presented in a veiled or ‘objective’ manner. In lines 66-69 of extract A, the interpretation of the threat posed by black crime is again attributed to “many whites” (line 66 – extract A). The familiar form of warranting argument through attribution and quantification is repeated. Again, rather than factually constructing an argument about the frequency or occurrence of black crime, the claim is linked to the feelings and emotions of the imagined community. Such presentation of argument depends on the account’s ability to inscribe the audience, which is affected here by the reference to “whites” (line 66 – extract A). The argument itself is externalised from the account through the use of italics on the word they (line 66 – extract A).
As will be discussed later in this chapter, extract B makes use of biological metaphor to construct the *Other* (see, for example lines 2-3, extract B). The lack of precise definition of the *Other* is an important, yet subtle, part of the construction of our community. As is discussed throughout this chapter, an important rhetorical strategy, namely the use of esoteric language, is employed in fascist texts as part of the presentation of us as non-prejudiced.

Thus, in the case of extract B, biological metaphor is given as a cue to the cognoscenti, serving to reinforce the notion of commonality or shared experience. The existence of such cues within the account provides a means of identification between the audience and producer of text.

Identification between the selves of the orator and audience might parallel what some anthropologists have termed 'situational identity'... Not only will there be a convergence of gesture and language, but opinions will be expressed with the appropriate ethnic coloration.\(^{16}\)

The account portrays the presence of "parasites" and crack-addicts in "Britain's inner cities" as a recent phenomenon, with the temporal context established through the word "now" (line 3 – extract B). This suggests that prior to their arrival, neither category (crack-addict nor parasite) existed in Britain: *We* are implicitly constructed as responsible, moral, British, not foreign, etc. The account is thus making attributions: linking the presence of *them* to the phenomena (crime, drugs, etc.) being portrayed in the text.

Extract C factually constructs a relationship between white people in Britain and those in South Africa. This draws on the common sense notion of polygenesis.\(^ {17}\) This relationship is constructed in line 1 of extract C. Britain is constructed as being a white country whereas the racial identity of South Africa is constructed
as being more ambiguous. These constructions are apparent in the statement about “Britain’s white kin-folk” (line 1, extract C).

Through its construction of Britain as a white country, the account automatically inscribes a white audience. The racial identity of Britain is constructed factually and thus as being unproblematic. Meanwhile, by referring to “white kin-folk in South Africa” (lines 1-2 – extract C), the account constructs South Africa as a multiracial country. Through the notion of polygenesis, the relationship between whites in South Africa and those in the UK is constructed as being an irrefutable fact.

The word “kin-folk” symbolises the type of relationship that is being constructed in the account between whites in the UK and those in South Africa. The word “kin” suggests a familial style of relatedness. Meanwhile, the word “folk” constructs community. The word “folk” can also understood to have a deeper resonance within fascist texts. Primarily, it could be seen to be a direct translation of the word “Volk” to which Nazi rhetoric traditionally has made its appeal. The word “folk” can also be understood in terms of the British pre-Christian tradition.18

There is some ambiguity in the construction of us in extract C. The imagined community constructed in the account comprises two groups. First we are constructed as a nation (i.e., Britain), which is assumed to be white. The racial element of the construction of Britain as a nation occurs in line 1 of extract C, signified by the statement “Britain’s white kin-folk in South Africa”. Meanwhile, the same statement also constructs us as a transnational, racial group.

The ambiguity in the construction of us as both transnational and national mirrors that contained within traditional nazi ideology, wherein the “volk” were
seen to be both German (and thus national) and Aryan (and thus non-national). The ambiguity remains unresolved in extract C, thus appealing to as broad an audience as possible: incorporating both those who see us as national, and those who identify us in terms of race.

Construction of us as victims

The most obvious way in which fascist accounts construct us as victims is through portraying our innocence. It is thus that in extract A, the innocence of the victims is portrayed through the emphasis on their ages “young girls” (line 4 – extract A). This reflects an important feature of accounts of rape that is not particular to fascist ones. Given that rape is specific in definition yet ambiguous in interpretation, society has generally placed great importance on proving the innocence and lack of complicity of the victims. However, such a portrayal of the victims of rape can also be understood to reflect fascist ideas about gender-appropriateness, as has been discussed in the preceding analytical chapter.

The emphasis on the innocence of the victims serves to create a dichotomy between good and evil. The establishment of this polarity is essential to the construction of the victims and attackers respectively. The construction of the innocence and vulnerability of the victims continues with a description of their status as “schoolgirls” (line 5 – extract A). The term “schoolgirls” reinforces the construction of the age, weakness and innocence of the victims. It also defines the relationship of the victims to the wider community, conveying order, discipline and responsibility.

In defining the age and status of the victims, extract A makes clear that the victims are the responsibility of teachers, parents and State. Agency is removed from the victims, thus reinforcing the construction of their innocence. In lines 7-
of extract A, the status of the children in terms of responsibility and authority is made explicit. The victims are described as having been “allowed” by “their parents” to go to McDonalds as “a ... treat”. The age of the victims is reinforced at the end of line 5 of extract A by the word “just” which not only emphasises the young ages of the victims, but rhetorically signifies its importance.19

The victims (via the construction of the authority of parents and the wider community) were previously portrayed (lines 1-9 – extract A) as being in control of their environment, going about their appropriate behaviour happily and uninterrupted. However, agency is removed from them in line 12 of extract A, where the phrase “fun turned to terror” conveys their passive role in the change of environment.

The description of the rape from line 23 of extract A emphasises the innocence of the victims and the responsibility of the attackers. The last sentence describes how “the girls were stripped and repeatedly raped by various members of the gang” (lines 23-25 – extract A). Agency is attributed to the “various members of the gang” whilst the victims’ passivity is constructed.

There is a continued emphasis on the powerlessness of the victims and on their lack of compliance in their rape from line 25 of extract A. The account portrays the victims as resisting their attack. This is important in preserving the construction of their honour and innocence, and in portraying the strength of the attackers relative to the victims. The description of their “pleas for mercy” (line 25 – extract A) also continues the construction of their powerlessness.

The vulnerability of the victim and the relative strength of the rapist are also portrayed in lines 24-27 of extract B. Drawing on the imagery of the predator, the description of the rape of the nun highlights how she was attacked when she was at her most vulnerable. In emphasising that the victim was a nun, the
account draws on the archetype of the non-sexual woman. This archetype is important in constructing innocence through the portrayal of sexual abstinence.\textsuperscript{20}

The selection of facts that are included in extract B are an important form of warranting. The account constructs all of the victims as good and weak (which also draws on a common sense image of woman), through mentioning the occupations of the nun (line 24 – extract B) and the “social worker” (line 29 – extract B). The construction of femininity and of good and bad women is looked at in the previous empirical chapter that deals specifically with how gender issues are treated in fascist texts.

The title of extract C, “War on Whites’ hits South Africa: Whites raped and slaughtered as tribal gangs go on rampage” automatically constructs whites as victims. Although the perpetrators of the “war on whites” are not explicitly identified in the title, the portrayal of the war as targeting “whites” provides a cue as to the identity of the aggressors. As is discussed elsewhere in this chapter, such an indirect means of signifying the race of the \textit{Other} is often used in fascist texts as part of the strategy of denial of prejudice.\textsuperscript{21}

Although the account from which extracts C and D have been selected is concerned with events in South Africa, it also constructs a relationship between whites in South Africa and whites in the UK. In extract C, this relationship is made through the portrayal of whites in South Africa as “Britain’s white kin-folk in South Africa” (lines 1-2 – extract C). The title of extract C constructs the existence of a race-war as fact. This fact construction occurs through the use of inverted commas around the term “War on Whites”, which create the impression that the term exists outside of the account. It is thus constructed as being a phenomenon that exists and is talked about out there.\textsuperscript{22} As such, the notion of a war against white people is warranted and treated as an issue that is known
about, i.e., for which there is a terminology and about which there is discursive evidence.

The second function of the title is to attribute agency in the race-war. Since it is termed a “war on whites”, the title implies that the war as being instigated by non-whites. Although the title does not explicitly define or describe the protagonists in the “war on whites”, their racial identity is implied by the statement that the war is “on whites” (i.e., against whites). The construction of race-war as fact, and the implied construction of its protagonists sets up the polarity in this account between good and bad, between victim and aggressor, between us and them and between white and black.

The binary opposition established in the title of the account from which extracts C & D are drawn is reinforced through the photographs that appear beneath the title and above the text of the account. As has been discussed by Barthes, photographs create their own reality. In the case of this account, the photographs serve to construct several realities. They serve to reinforce the binary opposite between them and us.

The Other is represented photographically in extracts C & D through an image of the face, head and shoulders of a black man. Beneath the photograph is the caption “TERRORIST Benny Alexander”. His face is photographed in slight profile, his eyes are looking away from the camera and the corners of his mouth are pointing downwards. Meanwhile, we are represented by a photograph, which shows the faces, heads and shoulders of two white women. These women are smiling and facing the camera. Beneath the photograph is the caption “VICTIMS: Julie Godwin and Elizabeth Over, both raped and murdered”. As with the text itself, the photographic portrayal of the Other does not distinguish between type of crime. This blurring is central to the general construction of the Other as a criminal.
Line 2 of extract C constructs whites in South Africa as victims through the word “suffering” that is associated with them. The passivity of whites in South Africa (which in turn constructs their innocence) is also signified through the attribution of their suffering to the actions of the government of South Africa in giving power to the Other. This attribution is made in lines 2-5 of extract C, in which it is argued that whites in South Africa are “suffering terrible atrocities as a result of FW de Klerk’s policy of handing over the country to black communist rule”. Whites in South Africa are thus portrayed as innocent bystanders suffering from the consequences of the actions of politicians.

The causal link between the political situation and the “terrible atrocities” is established through the statement that whites are suffering “as a result” (line 3, above extract) of the actions of de Klerk. This attribution reinforces the construction of whites in South Africa as innocent victims.

As will be discussed below, this reflects an important rhetorical strategy in the construction of them and us as criminal and victim respectively. The construction of the Other as a criminal is blurred in the account. This constructs the Other as being generally predisposed to crime of any description, rather than being responsible for one particular kind of crime. Such blurring of the crimes constructs the habitual criminality of the Other, which is important as an argumentative strategy. The Other is constructed as a perennial threat to us, whilst we are constructed as being victims.

The violence associated with war is reinforced through the word “hits”, which depicts both physical aggression and force. Meanwhile, the terms “raped and slaughtered” provide strong imagery to support the construction of violence attributed to the non-white Other. They also emphasise the extremely physical nature of this violence, which is constructed as attacks on our bodies. Such an
emphasis is an important part of the construction of the Other as a primarily physical being and of us as being under physical threat.

In extract D, the Other is constructed as being the aggressor, whilst we are constructed as being passive victims. These constructions draw on the polarisation that forms the basis of the portrayals in the account of us and them as good and bad, respectively. The emphasis on the negative actions of the Other that is given in lines 1-6 of extract D implicitly constructs the status of us as victims.

The reporting of rape in this and other accounts analysed for this chapter follow a similar pattern. The accounts present rape as being more than an attack on a woman by a man. They neither represent interpersonal relations nor gender issues. Instead, fascist accounts of rape symbolise race. It is for this reason that in fascist accounts, the rapist is perennially a black man whose victim is a white woman.

The portrayal of victims of rape highlights some important aspects of the construction of women and gender-appropriateness in fascist texts. For example, in line 4 of extract A, the victims are described as "young girls". This portrayal of the victims emphasises their innocence, an issue that, as Haste describes, is important to both fascists and the wider society.

It was also assumed that if women did not cultivate the aura of innocence and vulnerability, they would stimulate the bestial nature of males - and therefore be to blame for the consequences. These beliefs have long underpinned the interpretation of rape. 26

The statement that "gang-rape is the worst kind of sexual assault that can be suffered by a woman, particularly where the victim is a virgin" (lines 29-32 -
extract A) contains an implied argument that rape is less serious if the victim is not a virgin. The portrayal thus draws on a ‘nice-girl’ metaphor traditionally held by society.

Nice girls didn’t express explicit sexual interest, or wear provocative clothes. The underlying assumption was that women were supposed to operate the sexual constraints, and were rather delicate creatures who needed protection from the unpleasant manifestations of sexuality. 27

The nice-girl metaphor is invoked through the hint that the victims may have been virgins in lines 31-32 of extract A. The idea that the victims were virgins prior to the attack echoes the construction of the victims in earlier extracts where their appropriateness and innocence was portrayed in the Christmas narrative.

Construction of rape as attack on our community
Through portraying the response to the rape as being shared by “South London Whites”, extract A constructs the rape as an attack against the whole community. This interpretation of the rape is reinforced in line 3 of extract A. The rape is portrayed as a “racially motivated attack”. This statement uses overt labelling to identify the race of the collective victims of the attack (i.e., South London Whites), which implicitly signifies the race of the attackers. It is thus that by line 3 of extract A, an us and a them are constructed in terms of both race and role in the attack, the former explicitly, the latter implicitly.

The idea that the rape was “racially motivated” (line 3 – extract A) is attributed to an ambiguous “many” people (line 2 – extract A). Despite meaning that not all “South London Whites” share this opinion, the way that it is presented creates the impression that it is a commonly held belief rather than the author’s own. This process of warranting serves to distance the producer of the account from a
problematic statement. The strategy of warranting fulfils two important functions: namely, the denial of racism and making a problematic argument appear reasonable.

The Other has been portrayed elsewhere in extract A as being motivated by their hatred of us. From line 70 of extract A, the arguments are less explicit but still suggest that it is they who are attacking us. The violence by us against them is both denied and also portrayed as a reaction to the violence we face at their hands.

The absence of any direct portrayal of the victims in extract B serves two functions. First, it implies the victims’ passivity in that they were acted upon thus constructing the rapist’s agency. Second, it implies that anyone could be a victim of such crimes. This impression is also created in the second half of extract E, in which the account states that the convicted rapist will “almost certainly be out on the streets within about eighteen months” (lines 16-18 – extract E). The very existence of the rapist “on the streets” (line 17 – extract E) is implicitly constructed as representing a threat to our community.

Since the category of which the rapist is described as a “typical” (line 2 – extract B) member is being constructed through the portrayal of his crimes, the argument about the threat posed to us by the rapist (as Other) is presented and warranted. The story being told in extract B can be understood to be allegorical, serving as a cautionary tale.

In lines 23-24 – extract B, we learn how the rapist “targeted the home of a 39-year-old nun”. The purposefulness of the rapist is constructed through the word “targeted”, reinforcing the earlier predatory imagery in extract B. The juxtaposition of the first victim’s occupation (which implies her innocence and
chastity) and the crime being described reinforces the polarity constructed in extract B. It is also significant in constructing the rapist’s motive as being to defile and contaminate our purity in the same way as the parasite at the start of extract B.

In extract B, the portrayal of the rapist’s use of extra aggression (through his “confronting” and being “armed with a chisel”) against women who he has already made vulnerable through his premeditation and relative power is important in reinforcing his badness. The hint of defilement continues with the portrayal of the rapist attacking his victims “in her home” (line 29 — extract B) and “tying her up with her own bra” (line 30 — extract B, emphasis added). Significantly, not only is he defiling her space and making it unsafe for her, but he is also using something of hers to harm her. The imagery is of a perversion or destruction of objects and space by the rapist.

Construction of the Other generally

From line 10 extract A, the tone of the narrative changes with the introduction into the story of the “street-gang”. The first sentence hints at the existence of an external and menacing presence: “a jeering street-gang appeared from the shadows” (lines 12-13 — extract A). The extract starts with a direct interruption to the story about “the carefree Christmas fun” (lines 11-12 — extract A).

The loss of the victims’ control over their environment is attributed to the presence of the street-gang, through the phrase, “fun turned to terror as a jeering street-gang” (lines 12-13 — extract A, emphasis added). The time of the arrival of the gang is the moment when the fun turned to terror. Although the race and the gender of the gang are not specified, both are implicit. The gender of the attackers is implied through the nature of the attack itself. Meanwhile, race is signified through the use of stereotypes. Race was also set-up implicitly and
explicitly earlier in the account, when “South London Whites” were said to be in shock following an attack that was thought to be “racially motivated”. 29

Given the strategy of denial of racism in many surface fascist accounts, subtle signifiers of race are used. 30 First, where race is not made explicit, there is an underlying assumption that perpetrators of attacks are black. Thus, in this account, the mentioning of “South London Whites” is a form of object signification, wherein the racial categorisation of the collective victims implies the Otherness of the perpetrators of the crime, and thus their not-whiteness. 31 Second, the portrayal of a “street-gang” provides a clue about the race of the attackers. Associated with the notion of a “street-gang” are types of behaviour and attitudes stereotypically linked to black men and in particular, mugging. 32 The term street-gang, then, can be seen to be part of the rhetoric of race.

The imagery contained in the description of events also implicitly constructs the race and characteristics of the attackers. In line 12 of extract A, the description of the gang as “jeering” creates an impression of their contempt for the victims, along with their menacing behaviour. This may tie in with the earlier suggestion that the rape was racially motivated, since this portrayal presents the gang as being deliberately hostile to the victims.

The extract contains a third, striking clue to the race of the attackers, contained within the imagery of the gang emerging “from the shadows” (line 13 – extract A). This portrayal creates the impression that the gang-members were deliberately lurking in a dark place, hoping to use their invisibility to their advantage. The word “shadows” is also a metaphor for the race of the attackers, conveying darkness, which can also be seen to be symbolic of the evil of the perpetrators. The contrast between us as white and good, them as black, bad and frightening is made.
The construction of the attackers, avoiding any direct reference to race, complies with the rhetorical strategy of denial of racism. Fairclough discusses how euphemistic portrayals reflect a strategy of avoidance. Through combining an implicit construction of race with an explicit portrayal of the malicious intention of the attackers, an argument about their hostility towards us is established. This, in turn, can be understood as a form of warranting for arguments about how we must defend ourselves against their attacks, wherein the racist essence of the argument is concealed or neutralised. This process is described as empiricist warranting by Potter and Edwards who explain it as a process in which conclusions can be presented “as if these were constrained by a neutral and available record of events”.

From line 80, extract A makes use of biological metaphor, alongside stereotype and strong imagery to construct the Other. In lines 80-81 of extract A, the Other is constructed explicitly through the use of the word “ghettos” (line 80) and implicitly through the word “teeming” (line 81 - extract A) which suggests an infestation and contamination, parasitism, and ultimately, race. The Other is also constructed through the description of the activities of the “gangs”. In particular, the portrayal of the types of crime carried out by the gangs emphasises that “British women” (line 85 - extract A) are under threat. This implies both the gender and race of the attackers, since within the context of this account, British can be understood to be a racial (white) category.

The portrayal of the Other as “human garbage” (line 86 - extract A) mirrors the belief that they are inferior to us. It implies that the Other contributes little to society, portraying them as dispensable. The biological metaphor used earlier in this section continues in line 87 of extract A where the account describes how the gangs “flourish” with the government’s complicity. The portrayal of rape in this extract is interesting. Whereas in other accounts, rape is portrayed as an act of race-war, here it is portrayed as hedonistic.
In lines 86-87 of extract A, the gangs are described as raping women “for kicks”. This ties in more with the construction of them as garbage, having little social responsibility or utility. The account creates the impression that they are wilfully destructive. It is here that Bauman’s gardening metaphor is evoked. In order to keep our breed healthy, we need to decontaminate ourselves and prevent a destructive weed from spreading.

Barthes discussed how photographs do not necessarily present an analogue of reality, but are constructed by the communicator and presented in such a way as to fulfil ideological functions. He described how the photograph creates its own reality, informing the readers’ interpretation of the text, thus distorting the relationship between written word and image in favour of the latter. Drawing on Barthes’ analysis of the relationship between image and text, we can understand how the photograph dominates text, rather than vice versa. So, in the case of extract B, the photograph of a black man informs our reading of the accompanying text: we are invited to believe that the photograph is of the perpetrator of the crime being described in the account. This belief is based on the fact that there is a caption that so identifies the man in the picture.

The photograph clearly serves to set up race in extract B, obviating the need for explicit reference to it in the text itself. In a context in which racism is routinely denied, the presence of the photograph facilitates the process of innocent ing the accompanying text. The language in extract B appears, at least superficially, to be racially neutral. It is left up to the photograph, which appears as a ‘natural fact’, to convey the underlying and central message of race.

The construction of the rapist that occurs in the introduction of extract B makes use of biological imagery and racial stereotypes. Initially, the term “crack addict” presents the reader with a categorisation.
Pick up any newspaper and many of the stories will concern people who are described, evaluated and understood not in terms of any unique features of their biography but through their category membership.\textsuperscript{40}

Categorisation can thus be understood to define the individual, allowing inferences to be made about the person and the category to which s/he belongs.\textsuperscript{41} Categorisation can also be seen to be a social accomplishment, used to achieve particular goals.\textsuperscript{42} In particular, social scientists have pointed out the role of categorisation in fostering stereotypes and discriminatory behaviour.\textsuperscript{43} For now, it is enough to understand categories as “deliberate constructions fitted for many tasks”.\textsuperscript{44} Not only does the categorisation exist in the account in the form of the label “crack addict” (line 1 – extract B), but also in the portrayal of the rapist as “typical of the low-life parasites who now inhabit Britain’s inner cities” (lines 2-3 – extract B).

The biological metaphor used in lines 2-3, extract B, is one commonly found in fascist accounts. Despite the fact that it is descriptive and ambiguous, its prevalence and specificity is based on the fact that it draws on shared assumptions, premises and values. The ambiguity or blurring of metaphor is apparent throughout fascist texts. For example, in this instance, the biological metaphor being invoked is that of parasitism. Not only are the people being described being portrayed as being like parasites, they are being portrayed as being parasites. Thus, on reading the text, it is possible to believe that the people who are being portrayed as being parasitic in behaviour are indeed parasites. It is the blurring of boundaries between portraying something as \textit{like} something else, and portraying something as \textit{being} something else that is used to construct the eugenic inferiority of the Other.

Race, having been set up in extract B via the photograph that accompanies the text, is not explicitly discussed in the text. The text does do some work,
however, in making an association between the man in the photograph and the 
Crimes being described. The construction of race within extract B itself takes a 
more subtle form, in compliance with the strategy of denial of overt racism. The 
use of stereotypes through categorisation is an important strategy for 
constructing race in the account. The text is also rich with metaphor. 

The photograph can be seen to be a kind of externalising device. Through the 
photograph, the out-there-ness of race is constructed. Within the text, racial 
stereotype is initially introduced through the terms “crack addict” (line 1 – 
extract B) and “inner cities” (line 3 – extract B), which provide deracialised 
imagery and strong cultural markers.

The notion of addiction in the first category that is constructed is important in 
conveying negativity, symbolising immorality, decadence, crime and violence. 
Drugs also symbolise foreign substance and disease (both moral and physical). 
The negative portrayal of the rapist is reinforced in line 2 of extract B, where he 
is described as “typical of the low-life parasites”. The imagery of parasitism is 
laden with meaning, conveying a sense of burden, sickness, opportunism, 
Otherness and lack of entitlement. The imagery of parasites living off their host 
also implies a threat to the latter’s health. The relationship between parasite and 
host can be understood to symbolise that existing between them (the parasite) 
and us (the host). The threat to health that is conveyed through the imagery 
implicitly conveys the belief in racial hygiene.

The second paragraph of extract B describes the activities of the rapist. The 
portrayal of the rapist, who has been described as “typical” of the categories to 
which he belongs, is part of the construction of the Other in the account. The 
parasitic portrayal of the rapist continues with the description of his living off 
society drawing “social security handouts” (lines 4-5 – extract B). Moral 
weakness is also implied through the term “handouts”, suggesting dependency,
lack of entitlement as well as general parasitism. In lines 4-5 of extract B, the account describes how the rapist not only drew “social security handouts” but also “supplemented” these through “violent burglaries”. This stretches the metaphor of parasitism, constructing the rapist as at once greedy and aggressive. The rapist’s lack of morality is constructed at this point in the account through the use of irony. The word “supplemented” (line 4 – extract B) invites the notion of entitlement and respectability. However, the activities attributed to the rapist clearly do not fall within the accepted moral boundaries reinforced in this account.

The presentation of the rape as part of a “series” of crimes in extract B constructs the general criminality of the rapist: the rapes being described in the account are part of a more general pattern of crime. It also creates the sense that extract B is based on detailed knowledge (i.e., research, testimony or factual evidence) rather than on imagination, prejudice or belief. The portrayal of the rapist’s general criminality is consistent with the construction of parasitism earlier in extract B. However, at this point, extract B begins to focus on the violent nature of the rapist’s crimes. It is at this point that the portrayal of the acts of the rapist moves away from the imagery of parasitism. The impression that is presented at this stage in extract B is one of a more virulent, aggressive and pernicious threat posed by the presence of the rapist in our society.

The impact of that presence is constructed in lines 6-8 of extract B, which describe the effect of the rapist on his victims. In its portrayal of the impact of the rapist’s violent crimes, extract B continues to adopt the appearance of fact construction, creating a sense of out-there-ness in the description. In using fact construction to portray the violence of the crimes attributed to the rapist, extract B warrants its own position and arguments.
A polarity is also constructed between the rapist and his victims in extract B. He is the aggressor: the victims are innocent. The polarity is important in distinguishing between us and them. Accordingly, race is once again set up implicitly, obviating the need for elaboration and explicit statement.

Once symbols, metaphors or images have been attached to one pole, by implication their negative becomes attached to the other: things of the body become other than things of the mind. Non-white people, in certain social contexts (such as in Britain), become Black - whatever the diversity within that category. We have seen that masculinity and femininity, with all their associations, get mapped on to other dualities. 48

As is discussed above, the construction of race, particularly of the race of the Other, is handled with varying degrees of sensitivity in contemporary fascist literature. The desire not to appear to be prejudiced, indeed the rhetorical strategy of denial of racism, necessitates the use of less obvious means of signifying race. In general, fascist accounts draw on cultural markers and stereotypes, as well as imagery, to signify race. In other accounts analysed for this and the other empirical chapters of this thesis, and in particular, in the titles thereof, race has largely been constructed through imagery and stereotype. It is relatively infrequent that race is made as apparent as it is in extracts C and D.

The construction of the Other as a criminal is blurred in extracts C & D. Both construct the Other as being generally predisposed to crime of any description, rather than being responsible for one particular kind of crime. In other words, this blurring of the crimes constructs the habitual criminality of the Other, which is important as an argumentative strategy.

The protagonists are described as “tribal gangs” in the title to extracts C & D. This portrayal of the Other draws on two important stereotypes that inform the common sense construction shared by the universal audience of the non-white
Other. First, the portrayal of the Other as tribal draws on a common sense notion of them as primitive, not civilised, and as therefore being different to us. Second, the reference to gangs draws on a stereotype of the behaviour of the Other in western society. Both words convey the image of aggression and brutality that is central to the construction of the Other. All crimes are situated within the context of a general war against whites (conducted by non-whites) by the account. This context is made apparent in the title of the article.

Extract C makes its position regarding the political developments in South Africa apparent in constructing the Other as enforcing “black communist rule” (line 5, extract C). Without explication, this portrayal of “black communist rule” contains the argument against de Klerk’s decision. First is an implied argument that power should remain with the white population in South Africa. The proposal that white populations be governed by white rulers is discussed later in this chapter. Second is the portrayal of black power as “communist” which conveys dissent, which in turn provides a cue to the cognoscenti.

The account directly attributes the rise of violence in South Africa with the release of Nelson Mandela from prison (lines 6-8 – extract C). This attribution is made explicit through the word “since” in line 6 of extract C. Through attributing violence to the release of Nelson Mandela, the account again sets out an argument against the political developments in South Africa. The position of the account is made explicit through the portrayal of Nelson Mandela as a “terrorist” (line 7 – extract C).

The word “terrorist” is also linked to the ANC by the account, which serves to discredit the organisation, its leadership, political ideology and activities. The account assumes knowledge on the part of the reader to make an association between the ANC, Nelson Mandela and the “black communist rule” (line 5 – extract C). The construction of the ANC and Nelson Mandela as “terrorist” not
only serves to discredit their authority, but also portrays them as unlawful and violent. It is this way that the attribution of violence to the political situation is warranted in the account.

Extract C constructs the Other through its portrayal of both Nelson Mandela and the ANC. The construction of the Other continues with the portrayal of “a wave of violence” (lines 7-8 – extract C) that is linked by the account to the release of Nelson Mandela from prison and to the general political situation. The phrase “wave of violence” constructs it as being an inevitable consequence of the political situation. Meanwhile, it also portrays the violent potential of the Other as an unstoppable force unleashed by these political changes.

Construction of the Other through portrayal of specific crime
Having forewarned the reader about the seriousness and Otherness of the attack, the amount of detail used to describe the rape in lines 18-25 of extract A is warranted. Starting with the construction of them, the account describes one of the perpetrators of the attack as “arrogant” (line 18 – extract A). Race is conveyed here, with the word “arrogant” (line 18 – extract A) presenting one of the dominant stereotypes about black man available from the general racist repertoire. The term “arrogant” in extract A also suggests inappropriate behaviour on the part of the Other. It suggests that it is inappropriate for them to approach us.

The idea that the behaviour towards the victims was inappropriate is reinforced in lines 19-20 of extract A which describe how the gang-member “demanded cigarettes”. This description constructs the behaviour of the attacker as lacking manners (which would be essential in the ordered society portrayed in the construction of us).
The statement that when a cigarette was “demanded” (line 20 – extract A) from the victims, they “replied that they did not smoke” (lines 20-21 – extract A) constructs the politeness of the victims. They are described as having “replied” (line 20 – extract A) to a demand, displaying appropriate and orderly behaviour. Meanwhile, the Other is portrayed as having “demanded” (line 20 – extract A) cigarettes from their victims, portraying their behaviour as impolite and aggressive.

The description of the rape indicates a causal link between the fact that the victims did not smoke and the attack that followed. The relationship between the response of the victims to the demand for cigarettes and the actions of the attackers is signified by the statement that “when they replied that they did not smoke, the thirty-strong gang surrounded the girls” (lines 20-22 – extract A, emphasis added). The gang is portrayed as being motivated by the innocence of the victims. The imagery of contamination and the construction of the contemptuous behaviour of the gang (highlighted by the description of them as “jeering” earlier) are mirrored in this construction of the motivation of the attackers.

The description of the attack emphasises the size and power of the gang through the phrase “thirty-strong gang” (line 21 – extract A). Through portraying the power of the gang, the powerlessness (and thus innocence) of the victims is implied. This theme is mirrored in lines 22-23 of extract A which describe how the gang “dragged them into a nearby alley”. The use of force and roughness is suggested through the word “dragged”, which again implies the absence of any complicity on the part of the victims. The imagery of this account also serves to construct both the attackers and the victims. The superiority of the latter is implied through the idea that they were “dragged” (which suggests a downwards movement) by their attackers. The imagery of the “alley” reinforces the earlier portrayal of the gang emerging from the shadows, conveying darkness and crime.
That the rape is portrayed as continuing "despite" (line 25 – extract A) the victims’ "pleas for mercy" is instrumental in reinforcing the construction of the unrelenting evil of the attackers. The account describes how the victims were "brutally raped" (line 26 – extract A). This portrayal carries the echoes of the notion of racial hierarchy, in which the attackers are portrayed as being sub-human or animalistic. The imagery of inhuman behaviour continues in the description of the "disgusting sex acts" (line 27 – extract A) that were imposed on the victims. The portrayal of this particular rape as a series of "disgusting sex acts" constructs the attackers as being beyond our morals. It also draws on the earlier portrayal of us as a family newspaper, both through implying a lesser morality on the part of the attackers, and also our greater morality in remaining ambiguous about the nature of the "disgusting sex acts".

The portrayal of the rapist through the description of his crimes is also a feature of extract B. Despite the use of the sub-heading, "Victims", the ensuing text in extract B is only indirectly concerned with the victims of the attacks (insofar as they are part of the description of the actions of the rapist). The word "victims" conveys the seriousness of his crimes: they were not victimless ones. It also implies that his actions had a direct impact on others. It also reinforces (since the word "victims" is a plural) the earlier portrayal of the rapist as responsible for multiple crimes.

The power of the rapist over his victims is constructed in the first of the three paragraphs under the sub-heading. The imagery contained within it is striking. First, the reference to the "150-foot tower block" (line 9 – extract B) conveys height and visual dominance over the inner city location being portrayed. The imagery associated with inner cities provides an indirect reference to race. The imagery also suggests size and omnipresence. The rapist becomes a giant. Biological metaphor is also mobilised. He is portrayed as a predator in lines 10-13 of extract B.
This portrayal is reinforced by the imagery of height conveyed in line 9. The rapist is described as having “scoured the neighbourhood ... in search of homes and victims” (lines 10-13 – extract B). The text invokes the image of a bird of prey, stalking its quarry from an unseen lair. The invisibility of the rapist is thus constructed, so that just as the victim could be anyone, the rapist could be anywhere.

The portrayal of the invisibility of the rapist in extract B is an important aspect in the construction of his power over his environment and his victims. He is portrayed as taking control of the inner city, deliberately ensuring his visual advantage, reinforcing the earlier implication that anyone could be a victim of his crimes. The imagery of him looking through binoculars (line 11 – extract B) reinforces the idea of his ability to see without being seen. The magnification of his visual power through the binoculars also reinforces the image of him “scouring the neighbourhood” (lines 10-11 – extract B). His looking through the binoculars represents an intrusion: the first of his incursions into the lives of his victims. The portrayal of the rapist “scouring the neighbourhood” and being able to see into the homes around him suggests that many people were visually intruded upon (unbeknownst to them) besides the victims listed in the account. This reinforces the implication that anyone could be his victim.

Having described his modus operandi, extract B goes on to explain the rapist’s motive: “to rob - and rape”. The amount of detail given to extract B’s portrayal of the rapist’s activities suggests prior knowledge on the part of the author, reflecting the strategy of fact construction. The portrayal of the motive of the rapist also constructs the victims. First, he is looking for victims “to rob”, suggesting a limitless range of victims. Second, rape is assumed to be an act of violence against women by men. The paragraph climaxes on the word “rape”. A hyphen is used to add emphasis to this word (line 12 – extract B), marking it as a uniquely significant form of attack.
In constructing the perpetual violence of the rapist, extract B implies that crime is central to his character. This becomes more apparent in lines 14-18 of extract B, which depicts the rapist's compulsion as driving him to deliberate action. Thus, he is portrayed as carrying out a “year-long campaign of terror” (lines 16-17 – extract B). The deliberateness of the rapist's action is conveyed in the word “campaign”. His commitment to violent ends is also suggested by mentioning the length of time over which his “campaign” was waged. This ties in with the earlier portrayal of him using his binoculars, which also suggests deliberateness. The impression created is of the rapist watching his potential targets and planning his attacks on them, rather than acting on impulse. The imagery in extract B is militaristic, echoing the belief that they (in the sense that he is representative of the Other) are carrying out a race-war against us. The threat posed by the rapist’s “campaign” against specific targets is constructed in this section of the account. Not only are they subjected to “brutal ... assaults” but also “terror”.

The final paragraph in this section of extract B continues with the construction of factuality. Whilst the amount of detail might be taken to represent a prurient interest in the activities of the rapist, the apparent factuality removes any semblance of voyeurism. The term “method of operation” (line 19 – extract B) suggests detailed knowledge on the part of the producer of the account. It also reinforces the construction of the rapists' habitual criminality and the centrality of it to his character, by signalling premeditation. The purposefulness of his behaviour is also constructed through the portrayal of his crime.

The account describes how the rapist broke “into the victims home in the early hours of the morning” (lines 20-21 – extract B). This implies the prior selection of his victims, and also premeditation, the rapist is portrayed as striking when the victim is at their most vulnerable, reinforcing the imagery of the predator set up
earlier. Through using words like “demanded” (line 21 – extract B), the account constructs the aggressive, yet controlled, personality of the rapist.

The premeditation of the rapist is constructed through the portrayal of his attack on the nun (lines 24–27 – extract B). The account portrays him as attacking the nun in her bedclothes. In portraying the attack in this way, the account emphasises his ability to destroy her safety. The image of him “confronting” her highlights his aggression. The imagery of her “in her nightclothes” (line 25 – extract B) reinforces the construction of her vulnerability and her innocence. It also hints at a prurient fascination with details.

The strength of the rapist is also built in to the way that agency and control are attributed in extract B. The victim was attacked (i.e., she was passive). The rapist was doing the “confronting”. It was he who “ordered her to strip” (lines 25-6 – extract B). The powerlessness of the victim is built into the description of the rapist having “ordered” her, whilst she was already vulnerable, to remove her last line of defence (i.e., her bedclothes). The claim that he “viciously raped” his victim (line 26 – extract B) constructs the aggression of the rapist, who is being shown to have used excessive force against his victim. The salience of the attacks is constructed through the description of the aggressive quality of the rape. In particular, by lines 26-7 – extract B, the portrayal of the rapist as having “viciously raped her in her own bed” emphasises the imagery of defilement and threat. Specifically, the use of the word “own” in this phrase signifies this defilement. Underlining this portrayal is the hint of the fear of contamination of us that is attributed to the Other in a wide range of fascist ideology.

Line 28 begins by introducing a temporal context into the description of the attacks. The statement “weeks later” (line 28 – extract B) suggests shortness of time and habituality (in the same way that “just weeks” did in the earlier section of extract B). Through introducing time into the description, extract B re-
emphasises the frequency of the rapist’s attacks, and thus reinforces the idea of
him representing a perpetual threat through his uncontrollable and violent nature.
There is also a hint of an ominous gap between attacks, reinforcing the earlier
portrayal of him as a scavenger, watching his victims and premeditating his
attacks before moving in for the kill.

The portrayals of the rapes that are carried out in lines 28-33 of extract B are less
detailed than the first. The same pattern of attributing agency and the
construction of a polarity between the rapist and his victims continues in this
section of the account. Meanwhile, this part of extract B continues with its
portrayal of the rapist’s premeditation. The aggression of the rapist is also
reinforced in line 28 of extract B, where he is described as being “armed with a
chisel”. This construction of his power over his victims strengthens the
polarisation between power and innocence and evil and good of the rapist and
his victims respectively.

In lines 31-33 of extract B, there is no description of the rape at all. All the
attributions and portrayals of the rape that occurred in the previous two
paragraphs are important in constructing the rapist and his victims. Specifically,
the “nun” is a symbol of purity. Rape is a symbol of defilement. The badness of
the rapist is constructed by the portrayal of him attacking someone who is so
pure. However, the third rape is mentioned only to reinforce the habitual
criminality of the rapist.

The heroic nature of the victims is constructed in lines 34-6 of extract B, where
one of them is described as having provided the police with a “detailed photofit
description” of the rapist. The incontrovertibility of the evidence against the
rapist is constructed from line 34 of extract B. Rhetorically, this warrants the
factual construction of the rapist’s crime and the portrayal of his habitual
criminality throughout extract B.
At the end of extract B the aggression of the rapist is portrayed through the description contained in lines 36-38 of extract B about how he “threatened” the arresting police with “an eight inch kitchen knife”. The portrayal of the rapist threatening the police constructs his habitually aggressive behaviour, whilst the description of the weapon used, with its emphasis on size, also serves to convey violence.

The habitual criminality of the Other is also a theme in the second half of extract E. Between lines 11-18 of extract E, the account states that “the most sickening aspect of the case was the fact that the rapist was led away smirking from the dock, knowing that the pitiful five-year sentence given means that he will almost certainly be out on the streets within about eighteen months”. The portrayal of the rapist “smirking” (line 13 – extract E) and the statement that “he will almost certainly be out on the streets within about eighteen months” (lines 16-18 – extract E) construct the habitual criminality of the rapist and accordingly, the threat that he poses to the imagined community.

The use of factual discourse to construct “meaning” or implication of rape and to warrant arguments

The idea that *British Nationalist* is a family newspaper (lines 14-17 – extract A) distances it from the political arena, serving the strategy of denial of racism. The self-presentation of *British Nationalist* as a “family newspaper” (lines 14-17 – extract A) lends credibility to its contents. By portraying *British Nationalist* in this way, an audience is inscribed whilst an imagined community is constructed.

Identifying itself as a newspaper can thus be seen to be part of *British Nationalist*’s strategy of fact construction. The common sense view of newspapers being presented between lines 14 and 17 of extract A is one that is
not generally upheld in fascist literature. Indeed, by the end extract A, it is contested. However, between lines 14-17 of extract A, newspapers are being presented as being of value. They are portrayed as reporting news objectively. This mirrors the assumption that “someone who has a strong personal stake may manufacture a story to fit in with it.”

The fact construction that occurs here is a device used to warrant the arguments that are contained within the account. The idea that the British Nationalist is a family newspaper highlights the importance of the family in fascist ideology. Finally, the portrayal of the publication as a family newspaper creates the impression that the material contained within it is prepared for a family audience and is thus respectable and unproblematic.

The issue of power is also raised in the construction of British Nationalist, which is portrayed as being in a position to decide how much information to impart to the audience. This impression is signified by the statement that the attack “is difficult to describe in full detail in a family newspaper such as this” (lines 15-17 – extract A). The portrayal of itself as a family newspaper creates the impression that decisions about censorship are made according to its responsibility toward the reader rather than on the basis of power.

The portrayal of us as a family paper suggests a benevolent relationship between reader and producer of texts. The implied statement in lines 15-17 of extract A that some details have been omitted from the account suggests that the producers of the text have no pleasure in reporting those facts that are conveyed. This is particularly important given the nature of the attacks being portrayed. Given that a detailed portrayal of rape could be seen to be prurient, this particular expression of displeasure could be seen to warrant and justify the amount of detail that then follows.
The fact construction is used throughout extract A, but becomes more specific from line 28 of the account. Principally, the apparent use of expert evidence (line 28 – extract A) gives legitimacy to the arguments that are contained within the account. Expert evidence can be seen to be a form of witness testimony that works on the premise that such discourse is impartial.

Something claimed by independent witnesses is less likely to be a fabrication than would be the claims of a single witness.53

The argument at this point in the account is attributed to “experts in rape counselling” (line 28 – extract A, emphasis added). The evidence being used appears to give a generalised understanding of gang-rape, and is used to illustrate the specific case outlined in the account. The evidence being used suggests that “gang-rape is the worst kind of sexual assault that can be suffered by a woman, particularly where the victim is a virgin” (lines 29-32 – extract A). This statement reinforces the seriousness of the rape in the specific instance being discussed through the word “suffers”.

In lines 33-38 of extract A, a comparison is made between the so-called Catford rape and the more famous rape that occurred at the Ealing Vicarage. The comparison is used to warrant the arguments contained within the account about the seriousness of the rape and its significance to our community. In the case of the Ealing Vicarage rape, it was widely reported in the media at the time that the victim was both innocent and a virgin prior to the attack. By association, this implies that the victims of the Catford rape fulfilled the socially determined criteria by which they may be deemed worthy of such sympathy: i.e., it occasions the inference that the victims of the Catford rape were similarly innocent. The argument is reinforced in lines 33-36 of extract A in which it is argued that the rape “was arguably the most appalling rape incident since the infamous attack on the Ealing vicarage some years ago”. 
It is interesting to note that the rape in Ealing is portrayed as an attack on a property (i.e., the vicarage) rather than on an individual. This mirrors a view of women-as-chattel. The comparison with the so-called Ealing Vicarage rape re-invokes the earlier Christian theme, which was central to the construction of us.

Having established comparisons between the rape in Catford and the rape in Ealing, the argument contained in extract A that they are both worthy of the same level of media and public attention is warranted. The different treatment by the media of the two rapes is implied at the end of the paragraph (lines 36-38—extract A), where it is argued that “that attack (i.e., the rape in Ealing) gained huge publicity, and the rapists were caught within a few weeks”. The implication is that the Catford rape did not attract such attention and that the perpetrators were not similarly identified.

It is in the construction of the difference in treatment of the two rapes that the strategy of comparison can be understood.

Contrasts...present what in attribution terms would be ‘distinctiveness information’. 54

Through the comparison between the two rapes, key aspects of their similarity and differences between them are identified. In presenting such ‘distinctiveness information’, the argument about the lack of appropriate response to the Catford rape is warranted. The argument about the different treatment of the two rapes is made explicit in lines 39-41 of extract A. The account goes as far as to claim that the rape has been “played down and virtually ignored” by the media (line 40—extract A). In so doing, the account gives a focus to its interest in the issue: to understand and explain the absence of attention devoted to the rape by the media.
The question "Why?" (line 42 - extract A) constructs the absence of media concern as having and needing explanation. Through portraying the lack of coverage in this way, the arguments or explanations that then follow are warranted. The tone used in the explanation is measured, creating the impression that the argument is a rational rather than emotional one. It is interesting to note the implicit construction of rational-as-good and emotional-as-bad within the form of warranting used in extract A. Within fascist rhetoric, whose strategy is to distance itself from overt racism, arguments must appear to be accountable rather than ideological. It is for this reason that an outside source (i.e., the Observer newspaper) is used as a warrant for race in extract A.

The portrayal of the argument as reasonable is made possible through the use of an outside source as a warrant for race in extract A. The outside source used here is a form of expert (and thus respectable) eye-witness evidence. The account describes how the facts of the rape were found in "a small report that appeared on the inside pages" of the Observer newspaper (lines 43-44 - extract A). The description of the size and location of the "report" gives fuel to the argument already expressed in extract A that critical information about the rape was deliberately obscured by the press: indeed, it constructs this argument as a fact. It also suggests that the argument has only been put forward in extract A following research. That the eye-witness being used in extract A to warrant the claim of a cover-up is part of the media being accused here strengthens the argument being presented.

The quote from the Observer fulfils other important functions. First, it makes explicit the race of both victims and attackers. Although race has been set up in extract A from the outset, the strategy of denial of racism has restricted the possibility of direct expression of race. The account has had to rely on imagery, stereotypes and other, indirect means of constructing race. Thus, this particular piece of eye-witness testimony in extract A allows issues to be raised that have
hitherto been strategically avoided or codified. The newspaper extract allows the extract A to follow a strategy of distancing from contentious arguments. Not only does the newspaper extract enable the strategy of denial of racism. It also warrants the impending argument about media cover-up.

Having warranted the arguments about the racial nature of the attack and the media’s lack of concern by attributing them to eye-witnesses, and associating the emotional impact of the crime with the imagined community of us, extract A becomes more explicit in presenting its own arguments. The authoritative tone used in extract A lends credibility to the arguments contained within it. In this way, extract A constructs itself and the audience as reasonable. As the account begins to express its arguments directly, it endorses and universalises the arguments attributed to the eye-witnesses and the “many Eastenders”.

The authoritative tone, and the semblance of reasonableness and thorough research that have been established throughout extract A warrant the more generalised perspectives that are being put forward, simultaneously appealing to the universal audience. The claim that one rape has been covered up in the media (occasioned through the use of eye-witness testimony) makes the idea that there is a general trend towards hiding crimes with a racial element acceptable.

Extract A gives an example of how a specific case can serve to warrant a general argument, and vice versa. Such movement from particular to universal provides the context for an argument about conspiracy. This comes in the form of the factual construction of the media’s treatment of racial crime in general. The media is portrayed as “routinely” (line 61 – extract A) claiming that white-on-black crime is racially motivated. The previous construction of authority of the account legitimises the questioning of the media’s interpretation of such violence. In line 63 of extract A, the suggestion that there is “little or no evidence” for the media’s claims is presented as unproblematic.
Meanwhile, the factual construction of the media’s interpretation and portrayal of racial crime continues. Lines 64-5 of extract A carry the claim that white-on-black crimes are “often given massive publicity, despite their relative rarity”. Within this statement, the claim that such crimes are given “massive publicity” is presented without justification. The controversial nature of the claim is apparently neutralised by the preceding word, “often” that serves to remind the audience of the objectivity of the account. The claim implies an alternative interpretation to that of the media. In line 65 of extract A, the portrayal of the “relative rarity” of white-on-black crime contains the suggestion of more frequent black crime. The media’s interpretation of racial crime is thereby problematised in extract A.

The strategy of distancing the account from the argument is important in continuing the semblance of objectivity in extract A whilst warranting the claims made within it. The distancing strategy continues in lines 67-68 of extract A, when it claims that black violence “could be construed as a ‘racial attack’”: the use of the word construed is one way that the account continues to do objectivity and moderation. Similarly, the inverted commas around the term racial attack distances the account from the term, thereby presenting the account’s own objectivity. So whilst extract A directly challenges the media’s portrayal of white-on-black crime, its arguments about black-on-white crime are externalised or implied. This kind of formulation reflects the strategy of denial of racism.

The strategy of distancing continues in lines 70-1 of extract A, where, in the name of objectivity, the account appears to neither accept nor deny that the Catford rape was racially motivated. At this point, the distancing can be seen to be a form of warranting for the argument that ends this extract. The Government is blamed for allowing “street crime” to escalate to the point that it is “out of control” (lines 72-74 – extract A). The account continues to construct the Otherness of the attacks.
The description of “street crimes” draws on the stereotype of black men mugging (see earlier reference to mugging as rhetoric of race). Meanwhile, the idea that the crimes are “out of control” (lines 73-4 — extract A) contrast with the construction of us as ordered and responsible (see first extract). The portrayal of the government response as a “national disgrace” (line 72 — extract A) also implies the Otherness of the attacks.

The portrayal of the government’s response to the attack as a “national disgrace” (line 72 — extract A) constructs the government as not representing the imagined community (i.e., the racial us). The implicit argument is that our government should represent our whiteness and act in our interests. The portrayal of the government as failing to act in the interests of the imagined community reflects the ambiguity of the construction of us that is discussed in more detail earlier in this chapter. The ambiguity in the construction of the community allows for the incorporation of notions of us that are both racial and national. It is through maintaining this ambiguity that the account can position itself as speaking for the broadest possible audience.55 The ambiguity of the political pronoun is not only a feature of fascist texts, but is an aspect of national politics in which politicians can be heard to use the term “we” to address different audiences.56

Both extract A and C share a similar ambiguity in the construction of us. Both use a racial construction of us to define the community. Similarly, as I describe earlier in the chapter, both use a racial construction of us to define the appropriate form of leadership and government. In the case of extract C, whites in South Africa are portrayed as requiring a white government: the ANC government is constructed as being inappropriate, through its portrayal as violent and communist. The racial inappropriateness of a non-white government in South Africa is constructed both through the object signification of the white race and also through the use of indirect (non-racial) means of constructing the negative qualities of the Other.57
The “national disgrace”, portrayed in line 72 of extract A, mirrors the belief that there is an imperfect relationship between the Government and the community. It provides the context for the argument that neither government nor media are responding adequately to the interests of the people, which implies that we (as in the BNP) are representing the people’s interests. The imperfection of the system is emphasised through the description of the establishment allowing such crime to develop. Within the construction of the imperfect system of government is the implication of a perfect one.

At the end of the previous section, the account’s criticism of the government inaction implied that there was something that could be done to eradicate gang violence. At the end of this section, the solutions of the BNP are presented. In setting itself up in direct contrast to the constructed inadequacy and permissiveness of the Government, the BNP is presented as capable of government, powerful and representative. This can be seen to be an example of extreme-case formulation, described by Pomerantz.58

The “violent burglaries” attributed to the rapist are portrayed as being part of a “series” (line 6, extract B). This is important in constructing the habitually and perpetually criminal behaviour of the rapist.59 A semblance of factuality is effected in this extract through the use of apparently neutral narrative. The account appears to be merely describing events, rather than presenting an argument. Edwards and Potter describe how accounts do description as a form of fact construction.60 The use of fact construction is a vital part of the warranting of arguments that occurs in the account. In this extract, it appears that the concerns of the account and its readership about the link between race and violent crime (and in particular, rape) are based on fact, and are thus legitimate.
The rhetorical strategy being used in extract B creates the impression that the account itself is ideologically neutral (i.e., factual rather than argumentative). By appearing to present information rather than argument, it seems that the (constructed) facts are being allowed to speak for themselves. The content of extract B is grounded in a contextual rhetorical strategy of denial of racism.

Having produced some rich imagery to construct the omnipotence and omnipresence of the rapist, extract B continues with an apparently factual portrayal of the rapist’s activities leading up to his conviction (constructed through the introduction of the temporal context). The habitual nature of his criminality is implied through the phrase “just weeks” (line 14 – extract B). The precise nature of this term implies a short period of time between attacks. The word “just” plays an important role in arguing the case for tougher sentencing (which occurs later in extract B). It also creates the impression that the rapist, when left to his own devices, is unstoppable. This in turn constructs the rapist’s character, warranting arguments that he needs to be restrained by society.

It is thus that the construction of the habitual criminality of the rapist is important in warranting arguments that appear later in extract B about the law and sentencing. The impression of chronology is important in the fact construction that is undertaken in the account. The habitual nature of the rapist’s criminality is further conveyed in lines 14-15 of extract B, when the account mentions that he has previously served a prison sentence.

Having portrayed the habitual, persistent and perpetual nature of the rapist’s criminality, extract B then reinforces the construction of his violent character. In detailing the other crimes associated with him, extract B stresses their violent nature. Thus, in line 15 of extract B, an “aggravated burglary” is attributed to him.
The semblance of factuality, through portraying the detail and chronology of his attacks, lends credibility to the account’s construction of the rapist as habitually criminal. From line 23, extract B continues to construct factually the crimes of the rapist. By so doing, it warrants arguments that appear within it.

Interpretations have to be made into facts. The journalist’s interpretations are presented as what any rational person would be forced to acknowledge, given such powerful warrants as accurate records, independent accounts, vivid memories, contextual plausibility (‘logic’), and common knowledge (what everyone knows). And thus the interpretations become indistinguishable from the facts.⁶³

The crimes listed from line 23 of extract B are presented in some detail, which implies that the text is based on background knowledge. The author needs to convey that the detail is being given for sound reasons (i.e., out of necessity) rather than through prurient interest. Therefore, the author must ensure that he is being delicate in his handling of the details. In other words, it is important that the impression is created that the facts are being given out of necessity rather than on the basis of some desire to write in detail about rape.

In contrast to the heroism of the victim, the rapist is described as “cowardly” (line 41 – extract B). This portrayal of the rapist is warranted through the claim that he denied his responsibility for the crimes being attributed to him. The attribution occurs through the factual construction of the existence of forensic evidence. This is preceded through the portrayal of the indisputable identification of the rapist by one of his victims (line 35 – extract B), which serves as a form of eye-witness testimony.⁶⁴ The construction of the evidence of the victim as “detailed” (line 35 – extract B) serves to reinforce the argument that the rapist is undeniably responsible for the crimes. The semblance of chronology at the start of the paragraph also lends to the fact construction, giving the appearance that the account is once again based on detailed knowledge.
The cowardice of the rapist, constructed at once through his failure to take responsibility for his crimes and via the portrayal of his attempts at resisting arrest in extract B are important in establishing the polarity between him and his victims. The latter are presented in extract B as heroic and civic minded (again providing a contrast between them and the rapist). The portrayal of the rapist's failure to face his responsibility in extract B serves to construct his attempted use of guile to elude the law. The portrayal of him denying responsibility in extract B is a description of his attempt to remain free from society, which ultimately serves to construct the threat that he poses to society.

From line 45, extract B draws on specialist eye-witness testimony. The quote, apparently from the Judge trying the case, adds weight to the construction of the rapist's badness. The Judge's status reinforces and warrants the constructions of the rapist and the subsequent arguments. Significantly, extract B portrays the Judge as having compared the crimes attributed to the rapist with others he has tried. This warrants the arguments about the seriousness of the rapes described in the account, in turn legitimising the focus given to the incidents by the paper itself.

The same strategy of warranting (i.e., expert evidence) is used from line 52 of extract B. Again, the seriousness of the crimes attributed to the rapist is emphasised by the quote. The perpetual criminality of the rapist is also constructed, warranting the arguments about the threat posed by him to society. The quote also serves to introduce the argument about the need for strong measures to restrain and remove the rapist from society.

Lines 45-58 of extract B warrant the account's own arguments which are presented from line 59. The validation for the arguments contained from lines 59-63 of extract B occurs through the quotes and expert evidence provided from lines 45-58, which in turn draw on the constructions and portrayals of the rapist.
that have occurred earlier in extract B. In lines 59-63 of extract B, the BNP presents itself as a legitimate political organisation, capable of government. The word "power" is used in line 59 of extract B to illustrate this possibility. The paper and its readers are seen to be motivated by their opposition to crime and in particular to rape rather than racism. This construction of motivation is used to warrant the paper's own position about the need to treat rape harshly.

The portrayal of the rapist as an animal occurs for the first time in extract B in the sub-heading preceding line 64. Having undertaken strategies of warranting, such as the use of expert evidence, and fact construction earlier, the tone of extract B shifts from an ambiguous one in which imagery, metaphor and stereotype are used to a more explicit statement of belief.

From line 64 of extract B, the link between the BNP and the readership is made clear. Its interest in the issues being described is constructed as being motivated by a concern about crime, and specifically rape. The BNP is portrayed in extract B as a new party, providing an alternative to the old, and representing the people. The traditional parties (and in particular the Left) are reviled and portrayed as weak in extract B. By implication, the BNP constructs itself as being strong. In lines 74-78 of extract B, the question about the feelings of the audience is used to justify the arguments for castration and deportation. The argument is also justified by the apparently clinically sound and technologically advanced method of castration being suggested in the word "surgically". The question in lines 75-78 of extract A inscribes a male audience. The relationship being constructed between the crime being discussed and the reader is indirect. It is not the reader who is being asked how she would feel if she was raped, but how he would feel if a member of his family was attacked in this way. Ultimately, the importance of family to us and the appropriate gender roles within it are constructed through this inscription.
Conclusion

A feature common to all accounts of rape analysed for this chapter is the portrayal of the inevitability of crime in general, and rape in particular, in multicultural society. In this chapter, I have explored how the *Other* is constructed as habitually criminal.

This construction draws on two rhetorical strategies. One is the use of stereotype and the projection of the shared assumptions and fears of the universal audience. This strategy is situated within a polarised argumentative context. The effects of this strategy can be observed in the sections in this chapter that deal with the construction of the *Other* generally, and also the sections that deal with the construction of *us* both as victims and as an imagined community. Within the first of these sections, I have discussed how the *Other* is constructed in fascist texts through imagery and stereotype. This serves important functions: to construct the threat (through vivid narrative) posed by the *Other* and to deny racism.

The second rhetorical strategy described is the use of apparently factual discourse to present contentious or problematic arguments. The accounts analysed for this chapter use various warranting strategies, including the use of expert evidence, to present the habitual criminality of the *Other* as objective fact. In other words, factual discourse is used in all of the accounts analysed to present problematic arguments as being acceptable. The predisposition to crime of the *Other* is constructed in all the accounts, which then use the specific cases being outlined to illustrate the claim that *we* are under threat from the *Other*.

As has been discussed earlier in this chapter, stories of rape in fascist accounts always symbolise race. In other words, rape is often a signifier for race in fascist accounts (as is mugging and crime in general). The portrayal of the rapist-as-animal can be seen to construct the racial *Other* in general as
animalistic or subhuman. Since rape is an object signifier of race in fascist accounts, the portrayal of the rapist-as-animal can be seen to construct the racial Other generally as animalistic. The accounts analysed for this chapter all use particular cases to highlight the animalistic nature of the Other, the threat posed to us by the Other and the action required to overcome this threat.

As I have mentioned earlier in this chapter, stories about rape represent cautionary tales about the perils of multiculturalism in fascist literature. They are used to portray the threat posed to our society due to the presence of the Other, or since the collapse of boundaries in the case of Apartheid. It is for this reason that accounts of rape use portrayals of gender and race in precise ways. The black man is always the aggressor in fascist accounts. He always targets white rather than black women. These women are always portrayed as innocent victims. It is through such specific portrayals of race and gender that fascist accounts of rape come to symbolise race and the threat posed to the imagined community by multiculturalism.

The use of fact construction to present the particular cases being cited in the accounts serves to warrant both these constructions in general and the specific arguments presented towards the end of each account. Each account makes its concluding arguments on the basis of the preceding story told within it. Each account can therefore be seen to be a climactic structure. The story being told within the main narrative can be understood to be the build up to the argument that punctuates the account. There is an interesting paradox here. Whilst the main narrative of the accounts analysed is presented as a factual account and therefore as objective and “independent” of any conclusion being drawn, the two are nonetheless linked: the latter can not be drawn without the former which not only warrants it but also contextualises it. Meanwhile, the apparently factual discourse is presented as being neutral and independent, from which any caring member of our community would draw the same conclusion.
It is thus that the accounts inscribe a universal audience of rational people who would share the same concerns as the writers of the accounts were they in possession of the same information about the crimes being described. It is thus that accounts analysed draw on rhetorical and discursive strategies to appear reasonable, non-racist and rational, whilst presenting arguments that are not.
Notes for Chapter 7

4 Anderson, B., Imagined Communities, Verso, 1983.
5 Anderson, B., Imagined Communities, Verso, 1983


Conclusion

Introduction: contemporary British fascism and its relationship with the social context

This study has found that far from being uncomplicated and cohesive, modern British fascism is beset with ideological dilemmas and internal contradictions. These stem, in part, from the contemporary cultural taboos surrounding the expression of hostility towards minorities. Yet, as I discuss in the review section of this thesis, fascism did not create the hatred and fear of the *Other* that it expresses. Racism, along with other prejudices, existed in society long before the emergence of fascist ideology.

It is possible to locate the origins of both fascism and eugenics in the hierarchical traditions of colonialism, imperialism and essentialism that have, in the past, been dominant in the wider social context. In the review section of this thesis, I describe how the myths and stereotypes about race, along with the eugenic and essentialist principles that form the basis of fascist thought, are derived from the wider cultural context and have since become part of the fascist common sense.

Despite the increasing popularity of liberal and egalitarian perspectives in modern society, racism is still deeply embedded in its institutions. The relationship between fascism and the wider social context is therefore a complex one. At some levels, society can be seen to endorse fascism through strong immigration controls, academic traditions such as eugenics, and so forth. At others, opposition to fascism is more apparent, via legislation against racial hatred and violence.
Discussion of methodology

Previous studies of contemporary British fascism, such as that undertaken by Billig, have explored its ideology in terms of the layers of presentation.¹ Such approaches have been useful in distinguishing between the surface and depth of fascist ideology. However, they have not used rhetorical theory or critical discourse analysis to explore the strategies of presentation. Meanwhile, studies that have focussed on discursive strategies involved in the presentation of racist ideas, such as those undertaken by Potter and Wetherell, Van Dijk and Reeves have not explored them in the context of the general ideology.²

This thesis has done both. Analysis has not only been undertaken to explore the rhetorical details of specific presentations, but has also located them within the overall pattern of contemporary British fascist ideology. There is a further difference between this study and those mentioned above. Whereas most studies have looked at fascism and racism in terms of the racial and nationalist elements of its ideology, I have located the origins of these aspects of fascist thought in an essentialist tradition. It is thus that, as I describe in more detail below, I have come to see the centrality of gender as well as race in fascist thought.

The methodology employed in this thesis has allowed me to explore how British fascist ideology responds to the limitations imposed on it by the wider social context and the ideological dilemmas that arise from it. My analysis shows that fascist texts draw on elaborate systems of warranting to justify the arguments contained within them.

My methodology has been useful in uncovering the means by which portrayals of us and the Other are deracialised in contemporary British fascist texts. At the same time, it has enabled me to explore the various discursive strategies that contemporary British fascist texts draw on to allow for a positive self-presentation. These are both important, since the contentious nature of fascist ideology and the taboos surrounding the expression of prejudice in
contemporary society means that racist arguments need to be constructed in such a way as to appear non-racist. Van Dijk refers to “face-saving” techniques, such as denial of prejudice, that perform such a function. Similarly, Reeves describes how prejudiced arguments are deracialised so that they appear to the reader to be non-racist.

In my own analysis, I have found that even in texts that specifically associate violence and criminal behaviour with the Other, race is carefully camouflaged, formulated through euphemism, imagery and subtle racial signifiers as part of the strategy of denial of prejudice. This strategy reflects the ideological dilemma of being a fascist in contemporary society, wherein views that are hostile to the Other can not be expressed in a straightforward manner.

My methodology has also enabled me to explore the means by which negative portrayals of the Other are made. For example, through my analysis, I have uncovered the various discursive and rhetorical strategies that are used to create distance between the fascist texts and the racist arguments contained within them.

In all the accounts analysed for this thesis, it was found that the negative presentation of the Other is often attributed to external sources. For this reason, contentious ideas appear as quotations by independent and expert witnesses. My analysis has shown how this strategy is used both to authenticate the arguments and to distance the producers of fascist texts from them.

Similarly, the methodology has enabled me to explore how strategies of quantification are used in contemporary British fascist texts, so that arguments and claims can be presented as being widely shared. In the same way that the accounts of eugenics analysed do not actually cite any scientific facts, but rather draw on the common sense notion of what science is, my analysis has found that accounts of gender and rape do not use any statistics. In accounts of rape, my
analysis has found that the strategy of quantification involves the use of simple statements about what "many" people believe, or how "most" people feel. Similarly, in accounts of gender, my analysis has found that texts draw on the use of specific arguments (or cases) to illustrate general arguments. For example, in the accounts of gender, claims about the negative effects of feminism on the family are illustrated by presenting testimonies as expert evidence.

The methodology adopted in this thesis has also enabled me to explore how notions of *us* are constructed in contemporary fascist ideology. In particular, I have been able to uncover the means by which notions of Britishness and community are constructed, and the techniques that are used to address the audience and to construct a sense of common identity and shared values.

The methodology has also enabled me to explore the ideological dilemma behind the ambiguity contained within the construction of the imagined community in contemporary British fascist texts. As I describe in the review section of this thesis, the same dilemma haunted the Nazi party prior to the Second World War: namely, whether we are a nation or a race. The approach adopted in relation to the texts analysed has enabled me to reveal how contemporary British fascism alternates between portraying *us* as British and *us* as white, to appeal to the widest possible audience. Through my analysis, I have found that references to *us* as a racial category are less frequent and less explicit except in accounts of rape, wherein, as I discuss in some detail below, we are also constructed as victims of the Other. Meanwhile, in discussions about gender and eugenics, the texts have been shown to present their arguments as being part of the democratic (British) consensus, co-opting liberal and egalitarian rhetoric to warrant their beliefs.

Finally, the methodology adopted in this thesis has allowed me to explore the relationship between fascist ideology and the social and cultural context. In the
review section of this thesis, I describe how society has changed its focus from traditional to cultural repertoires of race. In my analysis, I have explored how fascism has mirrored this shift by co-opting apparently egalitarian rhetoric and deracialised arguments. However, as my analysis also shows, fascism does not simply reproduce the common sense of the wider community. It goes beyond commonly accepted attitudes and beliefs, reinforcing its own ideology of racial hierarchy through its portrayals of *Otherness* and via notions of conspiracy.

**Eugenic arguments in contemporary British fascist texts**

In the chapter focussing on pro-eugenic texts, I have explored how eugenics is constructed as a necessity and warranted through scientific and naturalist discourse. I have analysed how arguments about racial difference are constructed as facts, with scientific discourse being a principle means by which authority is conferred on the texts. I have also described how such strategies highlight the way that the prevailing attitude of dominant culture — that science is impartial — informs and facilitates the construction of fascist arguments. My analysis of eugenic themes shows how by drawing on scientific or naturalistic discourse, fascist arguments about racial hierarchy are presented as being both reasonable and factual.

The empiricist language has been shown to help fascist texts to pass off argument as fact in a highly ideological context. Through my analysis of eugenic arguments, I have shown that the use of statements from expert witnesses performs a similar function. My analysis of eugenic arguments has also revealed the discursive practices that inscribe the audience into the pro-eugenic argument, such as the portrayal of *us* as reasonable, responsible and knowledgeable. Through my analysis, I have described how such strategies enable fascist texts to construct the imagined community as being in harmony with science and nature, or a particular reading of it that fits with the eugenic argument. For example, in the accounts of eugenics analysed, I have found that
contentious arguments about specific racial differences are hidden beneath apparently less problematic arguments about the inheritance of such qualities as intelligence.

Through my analysis of eugenic arguments, I have found that racist motivation is routinely denied by fascist texts, with arguments about racial difference being concealed through the imprecise definition of the *Other*. Meanwhile, my analysis has also found that the racial differences that are described in fascist accounts are portrayed as being the product of nature. It is thus that the evolutionary metaphor is used in fascist texts as a warrant for its arguments about racial hierarchy.⁶

My analysis has also found that liberalism is constructed as the internal *Other* in eugenic accounts and as the binary opposite of eugenics. Thus, if eugenics is portrayed as symbolising science and reason, liberalism is constructed as opinion and emotion. My analysis has found that liberalism is portrayed as violating the norms of the community and transgressing natural law. At times, the texts have been found to portray liberalism and its opposition to eugenics as a product of mental sickness, revealing the totalistic nature of the ideology. For example, in the analysis chapter on eugenic themes, I have explored how the argument that liberalism is a sickness is used to warrant fascist opposition to it.

My analysis has found that liberalism is portrayed as being motivated by a desire to protect the *Other* from the harsh reality of nature. Meanwhile, eugenics is constructed as a process that allows nature to take its course. In all the accounts analysed, the racial motivation behind fascist arguments for eugenics is denied. The fascist fear of outbreeding by the *Other* is revealed through my analysis, although the emphasis of fascist texts is on the argument that there is a need to avoid the negative consequences of liberalism.
By focussing on the binary opposite that is constructed between liberalism and eugenics in the accounts analysed, my analysis has uncovered an important rhetorical strategy. The eugenic accounts analysed all portray liberalism as being based on emotion, yet having disastrous effects. By implication, and because of the polarised argumentative context in which this argument is situated, eugenics is presented as being based on a genuine understanding of reality, and as a responsible way of ensuring the well being of all people. My analysis has found that such self-presentation enables the fascist texts on eugenics to co-opt the rhetoric of liberalism to attack it. Yet, this in itself reveals an important dilemma in fascist ideology, since liberalism and egalitarian beliefs are the very ideologies that fascism, with its dogma of racial hierarchy, opposes.

Anti-feminist arguments in contemporary British fascism

In the accounts of gender analysed for this thesis, I have found that fascist texts portray us not only as victims of the Other's actions (see in particular my discussion of rape themes below), but as victims of liberal democracy and feminism. My analysis shows how both liberalism and feminism are constructed as posing a fundamental threat to the health and well being of the nation in fascist accounts of gender. Indeed, so firm is the fascist belief in hierarchy that my study has found that egalitarian principles are often portrayed as mistaken ideas whose prevalence needs to be explained. It is for this reason that conspiracy is subtly alluded to and used as a contingency repertoire.

For example, my analysis of accounts that discuss the collapse of traditional gender roles has found that both the media and universities are portrayed as powerful institutions that are involved in stirring up peoples' emotions. My analysis shows how this construction of the source of liberal and feminist ideology is used to explain the levels of sympathy for the ideas of racial and gender equality and multiculturalism that are so abhorrent to fascism. Through my analysis, I have explored how feminism is portrayed as a "hoax" whose
insidious nature is constructed through the portrayal of the contemptuous attitude of feminism towards motherhood, and the suggestion that feminists undermine women’s confidence and self-esteem.

My analysis has thereby shown how fascism opposes feminism not only through the construction of its effects in terms of declining birth-rates, but also through its portrayal the unhappiness of women who have chosen to pursue careers. In my analysis, I show how this construction of the misery of women and their families is attributed to feminism and is used to portray it as running counter to common sense.

Meanwhile, my analysis shows how the polarity that is set up between us as reasonable and representing common sense, and feminism as unreasonable is used to construct the fascist attitude as being pro-women. I describe how this formulation provides the means through which fascist arguments can be presented as doing a form of feminism that truly serves women.

My analysis shows how accounts of gender also set up a polarity that differentiates between the ideal type construction of women and feminists. The audience is inscribed into the former category through a range of discursive and presentation practices. The use of photographs of families in one such technique used in the texts analysed. I describe in my analysis how the use of photographs enables common identities to be constructed whilst obviating the need for linguistic explication. Racial identification can thereby be presented as unavoidable and unintentional reflecting the strategy of denial of racism. Similar means of signifying race have also been found in the accounts of rape analysed in this thesis.

Through my analysis, I show how anti-feminist and pro-mothering arguments are given legitimacy through the apparent use of expert evidence and biological discourse. I have shown how fascist accounts can thereby distance themselves
from the arguments they present, thereby denying their own prejudice, motivation or stake in the debate. Meanwhile, I show how the use of such evidence and warranting techniques legitimates the portrayals of feminism as harmful, unreasonable and unnatural.

My analysis also shows how motherhood is constructed using biological and naturalist metaphors. In this way, motherhood is constructed as healthy, enjoyable and natural for women. I show how by presenting traditional gender roles as natural, fascist texts portray feminism and liberalism as unnatural and as an intellectual idea with little foundation in reality.

Through my analysis, I have found that the fascist construction of natural gender roles for men and women draws on the archetypal dichotomy of hard-men and soft-women. The latter are portrayed as being closer to nature. Whereas in general, fascist texts inscribe a male audience and are written by men, I have found that in one particular fascist account of motherhood written by a woman, a female audience is inscribed. In the example included in the analysis chapter on gender themes, I show how more I-statements and less objective language are used, suggesting that such texts are rhetorically different to most fascist (male) accounts. Not only does this reinforce the polarity constructed between masculine and feminine, but such accounts can also be understood to be a form of evidence from women that provide a warrant for anti-feminist arguments.

Ultimately, my analysis has found that the fascist opposition to feminism is based on the perception that it undermines an appropriate polarity between the genders. In, my analysis, I describe how it is constructed as leading to the feminisation of men and to masculinity in women. Meanwhile, my analysis has found gendered constructions of politics, which is portrayed as lacking biologically male qualities of leadership. My analysis shows how the weakness of society that is attributed to feminism and liberalism is also portrayed in gendered language. The nation is constructed as becoming vulnerable to attack
by stronger forces. My analysis shows how the threat posed by the stronger forces is sexualised in fascist texts. In particular, my analysis reveals how interracial relationships between white men and non-white women are portrayed as demonstrating not only the feminisation of men, but the sexual conquest that is constructed as being the weapon in the race-war believed to be being launched against us by the Other.

**Accounts of rape in contemporary British fascism**

Meanwhile, my analysis has found that the notion of race-war and the conquest of the white nation by the Other is also promoted in accounts of rape. In such accounts, I have found that the perpetrators of rape are always portrayed as black men, and the victims are always white women. The stories of rape analysed in this thesis have been found to perform the sanitary coding of race. Stories of rape have been shown in my analysis to symbolise race in much the same way that the term "mugging" has been found to in other studies.

My analysis of such accounts reveals that the sanitary coding of race is one of many techniques used to construct deracialised arguments. The construction of the Other's habitual propensity to crime has been found as a central theme in rape accounts. My analysis has shown that through drawing on discursive strategies such as the use of witness evidence, quantification and so forth, the Other's habitual criminality and the gravity of the attacks are constructed as fact. My analysis has shown that the construction of the perpetual criminality of the Other reinforces and warrants eugenic arguments about the inferiority of the Other. Through analysing fascist accounts of rape, I have discovered that the criminality and inferiority of the Other is also constructed through imagery and the use of blurred biological metaphors that portray him as not only being like a parasite but as being a parasite. In this way, rape and crime are portrayed as being the manifestation of Otherness.
As with accounts of gender and eugenics, I have found that a polarity is constructed in fascist texts: in the case of accounts of rape, the polarity is constructed between us and the Other. Through my analysis, I have shown how the audience is inscribed into a community that is collectively constructed as being the victim of the Other. At times, I have found that the construction of the universal audience is ambiguous, drawing on the rhetoric of the esoteric. The community into which the audience is inscribed is constructed according to both widely prevalent cultural values about the meaning of being British, and more specialised ones that appeal to the fascist cognoscenti. Meanwhile, my analysis has explored how the race of the victims is made explicit in fascist accounts of rape, occasioned by the construction of us as being victims of the Other. My analysis has shown how this is also part of the object-signification of the race of the Other.

In the accounts of rape analysed for this thesis, I have shown how the presentation of us as victims also acts as a warrant for negative portrayals of the Other. In particular, I have shown how the accounts emphasise the innocence of the victims through portrayals of their age, status and relationship with the community. This focus on the innocence of the victims has been found as a central feature of fascist accounts of rape. I have shown how they enable both the reader and producer of the text to believe in the positive self-image that is being constructed, whilst simultaneously accepting the negative portrayal of the Other.

My analysis shows how, whilst the fascist accounts emphasise the violent behaviour of the Other they also construct our reasonableness. We are constructed as being responsible and the discussion of the rapes is portrayed as being motivated by a need to protect ourselves from the aggression and destruction imposed on us by the Other, rather than by racism. I have shown how such a construction of the motivation behind the reporting of the rapes also serves to deny a prurient interest in the nature of the crimes. My analysis has
thereby found that the amount of detail given to the description of the rapes is warranted through the fascist self-presentation as acting in the interests of the community.

My analysis of contemporary British fascist accounts of rape has also explored how stories about the criminality of the Other are used to warrant the measures and arguments that are presented in the texts. In my analysis, I have found that accounts of rape allow the formulation of reciprocity arguments in which we are portrayed as being the victim of the Other, and are therefore required to carry out actions against the Other to protect ourselves.10

Ultimately, my analysis has shown how stories about rape bind together the fascist notions of race and gender. Not only do they act as a warrant for eugenic arguments about the inferiority of the Other, but they also symbolise the notion of race-war and the white nation succumbing to enemy forces. The weapon of the race-war is sexualised in these accounts, reflecting the centrality of fascist concern with miscegenation and breeding.

The importance of gender in fascist ideology
In the review section of this thesis, I have discussed how fascist ideology predicates around the notion of breeding a racially pure and healthy nation. Similarly, I have discussed how the hierarchical thinking that typifies fascist ideology not only applies to race. Fascist ideology sees everything in terms of hierarchy: race, society and politics. It is the juxtaposition of hierarchical and essentialist thinking that makes gender an integral theme in fascist ideology. By taking eugenics as the key organisational theme of fascist ideology, this thesis has explored how race and gender interconnect in its arguments about the need to breed a healthy and racially pure nation.
In my analysis of contemporary British fascist literature, I have found two counter-positions or argumentative opposites to eugenics. The first is liberal ideology in general, and feminism in particular. The second is multiculturalism in general and miscegenation in particular. The first counter-position has been explored in my analysis of arguments against feminism and for a return to traditional gender roles. The second has been examined in my analysis of accounts of rape. In analysing the three themes of eugenics, feminism and rape together, this thesis has explored the general and symbolic constructions of the internal and external *Other*, and has uncovered the means by which fascist ideology integrates its gendered and racial beliefs.

By bringing gender and race into focus in this way, it has become clear that the fascist position on gender roles is not just about encouraging women to breed and discouraging them from working. In my analysis of accounts of gender, I have found that the hierarchical and polarised notions of superiority-inferiority, strength-weakness and so on, are constructed to portray men and women respectively. Meanwhile, my analysis has also found that other polarities are constructed between masculine and feminine in fascist texts. The former is presented as rational whilst the latter is presented as emotional. My analysis has found that even when fascist accounts are not dealing with gender specifically they construct the ideologies they oppose — such as liberalism — as being weak, irrational, emotional and so forth, whilst their own ideas are expressed as virile, rational and objective. It is thus that I have found gender to be implicit throughout fascist ideology.

Of course, there are other reasons why gender is such an important theme in fascist ideology. As I discuss in the review section of this thesis, fascism’s core concern is about breeding a pure and healthy nation. Since breeding involves reproduction, the sexualisation of both race and gender are central to fascist ideology. This is made most apparent in the accounts of gender and rape analysed for this thesis.
I have found that black men are sexualised in accounts of the latter. My analysis describes how rape accounts evoke stereotypes and representations of black sexual and physical prowess alongside archetypes of black men. In the review section of this thesis, I discuss how Kovel interprets fantasies of black men raping white women as being a racialised manifestation of the Oedipal complex in adult white men.\textsuperscript{11}

Meanwhile, my analysis has found that white women are constructed as being non-sexual in both accounts of rape and feminism. In the former, I have found that white women are portrayed in terms of their innocence, whilst in the latter, the accounts offer ideal-type constructions of women as mothers and nurturers. Such constructions reflect the archetypes of white female sexuality that are typical of patriarchal and racist societies.\textsuperscript{12} In my analysis of accounts dealing with gender roles and feminism, I have found that white women are portrayed as being sexually innocent and passive, whilst the sexuality of non-white women is constructed as being more aggressive. These portrayals of sexual differences between races are inherent in fascist ideology. Whilst the black man is portrayed as being sexually aggressive and as posing a threat to the sexually pure white woman, white men are constructed as the protectors of the latter.

Through my analysis of these themes, I have found that in constructing the threat posed by Otherness in society, fascist ideology constructs an ideal type of both masculinity and femininity. The idealisation of women as mothers and as being sexually pure has been found to be part of that construction. Meanwhile, I have found that an ideal type of masculinity is constructed in fascist ideology. By portraying the Other through metaphors of parasitism and predatory behaviour, I have shown how he is constructed as a contaminating and destabilising influence on society. By contrast, the implied construction of the ideal-type is of a virile and responsible authority figure and protector.\textsuperscript{13}
As I discuss earlier it is not just relationships that are constructed in traditionally gendered ways, it is also politics and leadership. This gendering of politics is not just evident in fascist ideology but also in fascist practice. As I describe in the review section of this thesis, studies of contemporary fascist organisations in both the UK and France have found that fascist activists are predominantly men. This is reflected in the nature of fascist texts themselves, which as I discuss in my analysis, mainly address a male audience. For example, I have found that in the accounts of rape, the audience is asked how they would feel if the victim was their sister, mother or wife – not how they would feel if they were raped. My analysis has also found that fascist texts tend to use the masculine pronoun as a generic reference to people, which demonstrates both the inscription of a male audience and also the refusal to use codes of gender-inclusion.

My analysis has found that the varieties of feminism that oppose traditional gender roles and biological essentialism are rejected by fascism, which portrays them as a threat to the health and well being of the nation. Meanwhile, to attract support from women and to encourage a return to traditional gender roles, I have shown how fascist literature presents itself as having its own type of feminism. At the same time as blaming feminism for the reduced national birth rate, the texts analysed in the gender chapter of this thesis were found to blame feminism for making women unhappy by encouraging them to reject their traditional child rearing roles. Arguments that feminism leads to unhappiness in women have been shown through my analysis to warrant advocacy of a return to traditional gender roles. My analysis describes how by presenting itself as being concerned with women’s happiness, fascism presents itself as being feminist.

My analysis reveals that fascism has a strongly essentialist orientation. The fascist rhetoric of breeding enforces the idea of heterosexuality for procreation rather than recreation. This reinforces and draws on the patriarchal tradition of linking sex, reproduction and power.
It is here that the anti-feminist rhetoric contained within fascist texts has been shown to be constructing what Kristeva refers to as the internal Other.\textsuperscript{15} Mosse points out that the internal and external Other share some of the same characteristics such as a lack of robustness and a propensity to sickness.\textsuperscript{16} Such qualities of Otherness have been found in the portrayals of the feminisation of politics mentioned above. In general, my analysis has found that the internal Other is constructed as posing a threat to society only insofar that they might deviate from their accepted role as breeders.

It is in this way that gender and eugenics have been shown to be inextricably linked in fascist thought. Fascist ideology constructs women and men as being more than individuals. They are social bodies whose role and identity is constructed according to the nation’s interest.

Although much insight into the fascist construction of gender can be gleaned from accounts that attack feminism, accounts of rape and eugenics are also a valuable source of information. The gendered aspects of fascist and eugenic ideology have largely been lost in academic accounts. To date, academic interest has largely been shaped by concern about the arguments for racial hierarchy. However, it is clear that given the hierarchical and essentialist nature of fascism, race can not be looked at in isolation.

\textbf{Future directions for discursive and rhetorical studies of fascism}

1. This thesis is based on a small number of texts, taken from a restricted source. The reason for this is that each extract has been analysed in depth to provide a detailed overview of the pattern of ideology as well as its rhetorical presentation. It would be useful to incorporate a larger number of texts into a future study, to ascertain the prevalence of the ideological and rhetorical patterns uncovered in this thesis. A future study of this type might also draw examples from a wider selection of sources. For example,
it would be useful to study a larger number of texts produced by or in association with the BNP, as well as by other British and European fascist organisations.

2. This thesis has been based purely on textual information. Studies that have contrasted the written and oral word have found ideological contradictions and discrepancies between the two.\textsuperscript{17} This has provided valuable insight into the motivation behind support for fascism, levels of ideological commitment and so forth. It would be interesting to undertake a similar comparison between the written and spoken word – this time focussing on women supporters and fascist texts that do feminism to explore the ideological dilemma of being a woman and a fascist. Such a study could also investigate texts about feminism to contrast those written by women to those written by men.

3. Given the increasing prevalence of cultural rather than traditional racial repertoires of race, it would be interesting to explore in more detail the ideological dilemma of promoting the latter. Whilst the more specialised literature addressing a more ideologically motivated audience goes into the detail of eugenic arguments, the public rhetoric of fascism is more populist. Yet, eugenics and scientific racism remains at the ideological heart of fascism. A study focussing on the ideological dilemma of promoting scientific racism could compare the nature of argumentation in Spearhead with that presented in British Nationalist. Such a study could explore the relationship that fascism has with intellectual traditions such as eugenics. In particular, focus could be given to the way that fascism mirrors the rhetoric of academia and science.

4. A study that combines psychoanalytic theories of splitting and projection with detailed discursive and rhetorical analysis of texts could be used to explore in more detail the substance of fascist fantasies of rape. In particular, I would be interested in exploring how the construction and sexualisation of white women and black men are derived from a white,
masculinist version of race and gender. I would also explore how such accounts construct both the internal and external *Other*. Such a study would explore the ideal type of constructions of masculinity and femininity that are presented in fascist texts, as well as examining the portrayal of its counter-type, fear of contamination and so forth.

5. One of the features common to all fascist texts is the inscription of an audience and the construction of an imagined community. In this way, they can actually be seen to be giving their audience an identity. It would be interesting to compare the oral versions of identity of individual fascist members with those presented in the texts. In particular, such a study could explore what myths the supporter draws on to construct his or her own identity and what repertoires of race and nation s/he uses. I would thereby explore whether the psychoanalytic assertion that an individual’s sense of identity and psyche evolves with the surrounding culture is true.
Notes for Conclusion


APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 5
EXTRACTS USED IN ANALYSIS OF PRO-EUGENIC ARGUMENTS

EXTRACT A
From middle of "Natural Justice Versus Modern 'Law': David Myatt pinpoints some distinctions" (Spearhead #302, April 1994, p.6).
1. Racial equality
2. is an abstract idea – and one which is
3. unnatural. Nature has produced over aeonic
4. spans of time increasing diversity among
5. races – that is, races have evolved, and
6. those races have evolved of themselves (into
7. sub-races), have changed, become more
8. distinct, more different from other races.
9. This is evolutionary development – toward
10. more diversity, not less; toward difference,
11. not equality. The reality is that separate
12. races exist, having evolved over aeonic
13. spans of time. The reality is that these races
14. are different. These differences are
15. fundamental, not superficial. There are
16. differences of physical appearance. There
17. are also differences of ability, of aptitude of
18. nature, or character. The abstract idea of
19. racial equality expressed an unreality. It is a
20. dogma, a belief, which does not correspond
21. with what actually is real. The fact that
22. many people wish this 'idea' of racial
23. equality was real is irrelevant to the
24. unnatural and de-evolutionary nature of the
25. idea in the first place.

EXTRACT B
From beginning of "How Liberalism Is The Enemy of Progress: Linda Miller looks at the trail of chaos and destruction left by our dedicated do-gooders" (Spearhead #296, October 1993, p.8).
1. Before the humanitarian generosity of the
2. liberal was forced on these people, they had
3. a natural habitat in which disease and
4. starvation existed as facts of life, accepted as
5. fate by all. These were natural controllers
6. both of population growth and genetic
7. health. Everyone would have several
8. children. The healthiest and strongest would
9. live and become parents of the following
10. generation – in other words, survival of the
11. fittest. None questioned it. It was just life –
12. no-one's fault. No-one expected a cotton-
13. wool existence.
14. EVERYTHING GETTING WORSE
15. Now look at the situation! Along came the
16. liberal do-gooders. They fed the hungry
17. and tried to heal the sick. What resulted?
18. There are far more people, and they are
19. more able to have more children. Next time,
20. famine strikes harder still. So, like the short-
21. sighted angels they are, the saviours of libera-
22. lism come again with more aid for the
23. Third Worlders. And so the numbers of
24. starving and sick people increase rapidly.
25. All the 'help' has only made the situation
26. much, much worse, changing it from one of
27. nature's balance to one of suffering on
28. much worse a scale.

EXTRACT C
From beginning of "Intelligence and Civilisation: modern comforts says Linda Miller. are producing a down-breeding of our population which must be reversed" (Spearhead #320

1. Intelligence is biological. Knowledge is
2. the acquisition of facts, but intelligence is the
3. biological potential to understand and to learn.
4. There are huge variations in levels of
5. intelligence between individuals within a race
6. and between different races, communities or
7. families. Intelligence is inherited. Because
8. there are many genes involved in determining
9. intelligence, it is a very delicate balance.
10. Usually (not always, due to such factors as
11. recessive genes and mutations) intelligent people
12. have intelligent children.
13. If you wanted to improve the intelligence
14. of the next generation in Britain, you would
15. achieve this if you successfully encouraged
16. intelligent couples to have several children and
17. discouraged unintelligent people from so doing.
18. This positive eugenics would result in a more
19. intelligent population.
20. If, on the other hand, the policy were to
21. encourage the intelligent to concentrate on
22. careers at the expense of having children, and
23. to lavish resources on the less intelligent, who
24. as a rule produce the most offspring, this will
25. result in a rapid lowering of the intelligence of
26. the population.
27. Civilisation without a eugenic policy is
28. self-destructive. Civilisation could, with the
29. correct eugenic policy, be a great asset to
30. intellectual advancement; but in practice it has
31. always proved to be an implement for the
32. erosion and down breeding of the population.
EXTRACT D
From middle of “The Population Time-Bomb: John Tyndall examines how the birth-control racket is working against the British and other white peoples”. (Spearhead #292, June 1993, p.6).
1. In every white country where these non-
2. Europeans have established their own ethnic
3. and religious enclaves, they are working
4. unstintingly to tip the balance of power away
5. from the natives and in their favour, and
6. much of this work consists of labours in the
7. bedroom and the maternity ward – some-
8. thing which the uncomplicated coloured
9. mind sees as the weapon of war it has
10. always been since the world began. Only the
11. contemporary 'educated' white man, in his
12. assumed sophistication, thinks that we have
13. done with such primitive practice.

EXTRACT E
From beginning of “Intelligence and Civilisation: modern comforts says Linda Miller, are producing a downbreeding of our population which must be reversed. (Spearhead #320, October 1995, p.14).
1. Extensive research has shown that
2. those of lower intelligence, on average, have
3. more offspring than those of high intelligence.
4. The unintelligent are increasing in number,
5. while the intelligent are shrinking. Similarly,
6. physical weaknesses are also spread.

EXTRACT F
Beginning of “Producing Better People: Alex Moore argues that the alarming decline in population quality calls for a firm adoption of eugenic policies”. (Spearhead #299, January 1994, p.13).
1. In an allegorical sense, our
2. present society – indeed the whole white
3. world – is like a factory with a faulty
4. production line, turning out defective
5. goods. Consequently, the factory is going
6. out of business. The way to stop this trend
7. is to employ good management, high-
8. quality machines and skilled machine
9. operators. With the human race the way
10. to recover is through eugenics.
11. Equated in sick minds with the theory of
12. the 'master race', eugenics is the scientific
13. application to mankind of the findings of the
14. study of heredity – with the object of
15. perpetuating inherent qualities which aid the
16. development of the human race.
EXTRACT G
From beginning of "How Liberalism Is the Enemy of Progress: Linda Miller looks at the trail of chaos and destruction left by our dedicated do-gooders". (Spearhead #296, October 1993, p. 8).

1. All the 'help' has only made the situation
2. much, much worse, changing it from one of
3. nature's balance to one of suffering on
4. much worse a scale. And what do the
5. liberals want to do when they see this catas-
6. trophe of their own doing? They run about
7. crazily, trying to find some way to scrape
8. together the vast sums of money required to
9. repeat the whole bloody process once again.
10. Little do they realise that they are in fact
11. mass murderers! They are the most selfish
12. criminals, since in their futile efforts to
13. reduce suffering in their lifetime they store
14. up much greater horrors for future gener-
15. ations.

EXTRACT H
From end of "The Population Time-Bomb: John Tyndall examines how the birth-control racket is working against the British and other white peoples". (Spearhead #292, June 1993, p. 8).

1. races and nations that have the
2. instinct of survival will regard a high
3. birthrate as a boon and a blessing; only
4. those that have a death wish will regard it as
5. a 'problem'.
6. And once a particular race of nation gets
7. taken up with the notion that, because of the
8. finite nature of the world's resources and the
9. pressure of population upon them, it is its
10. duty out of 'global responsibility' to keep its
11. numbers down, that will just be all the more
12. convenient for other races and nations which
13. covet such resources and which are not thus
14. inhibited from numerical increase. They will
15. sit back and smile at our foolishness while
16. they encourage their mothers to bring forth
17. ever more offspring as a basis for future
18. strength.

EXTRACT I
From beginning of "Producing Better People: Alex Moore argues that the alarming decline in population quality calls for a firm adoption of eugenic policies". (Spearhead #299, January 1994, p. 13).

1. in our "enlightened" society
2. of the present, where the controlling liberals
3. are in a constant love affair with the weak
4. and inferior, more and more pieces of
5. human chaff are being produced, while
6. those who represent the best strains in our
7. race are being discouraged from procreating.
EXTRACT J
From middle of “Have We the Will to Survive? Giving the British nation a future, says John Tyndall, involves a preparedness to make tough decisions by which some people may get hurt”. (Spearhead #309, November 1994, p.7).
1. To seek to preserve this racial heritage –
2. in the first place a unique blend of the
3. strongest and most intelligent, inventive and
4. creative north-western European stocks,
5. slightly diverse in their Celtic, Saxon, Norse
6. and Norman variations but overall belonging
7. to the same racial family – is no greater
8. crime than the determination of a farmer to
9. preserve the breeds of sheep, cattle or
10. poultry upon which the quality and type of
11. his stock depends.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 6
EXTRACTS USED IN ANALYSIS OF ANTI-FEMINIST ARGUMENTS

EXTRACT A
“Women Turning Away From Feminism” British Nationalist. December 1989. #96. p.4
1. If there is one hopeful sign for the 1990s,
2. beginning next month, it is that
3. ‘feminism’ seems to be on its way out and
4. that women in Britain are growing
5. disenchanted with the idea of trying to be
6. men. This is the finding of a report in the
7. Daily Mail, published on November
8. 17th. The report was taken from inform-
9. ation obtained by the Henley Centre
10. independent forecasting group.
11. According to the report, “Women are
12. now beginning to recognise that they do
13. not have to be like men. Instead they
14. can be proud of being women and
15. acknowledge differences between the
16. sexes.”
17. To any person with a modicum of
18. intelligence, the idea that women or
19. men could ever fail to recognise the
20. difference between the sexes in the first
21. place, and therefore have to learn about
22. it by the experience of trying to deny it,
23. is preposterous. However, such have
24. been the fashionable idiocies promoted
25. by the universities and the media over
26. the last few decades that millions of
27. women (and men) have actually fallen
28. for this hoax.
Low Birthrate

29. One appalling consequence is that
30. many women have abandoned belief in
31. the virtues of domesticity and motherhood and have failed to produce enough
32. children to maintain a healthy national birthrate. We are now beginning to see
33. the disastrous results of this low birthrate in the dangerous shortages of
34. young people now available for import-ant jobs, particularly military service.
35. One woman who devoted many of the best
36. years of her life to the pursuit of a
37. Career, to the neglect of her family, is
38. Mrs. Cathy Gyngell, who has worked as
39. an editor for a TV programme. She has
40. spoken of her heartbreak at having to
41. leave her baby each day to go to the TV
42. studios. “Nobody,” she said, “warned
43. me of the terrible pang of separation.
44. What have we done that motherhood
45. has been so diminished that it is not even
46. a conceivable option for the so-called
47. intelligent or educated woman?”
48. Answer: what we have done, Mrs.
49. Gyngell, is listened too long to the
50. trendy liberals and ‘progressives’, who
51. have sneered on woman’s home-making
52. and mothering role, and left us a nation
53. in which family life is breaking up and
54. which cannot produce enough young
55. people to have a strong and prosperous
56. future. What we have to do is turn our
57. back on these counsellors of decadence
58. and recognise again the importance of
59. men and women fulfilling their tradition-al biological roles.
60. This does not mean that we have to
61. Close the career doors to those women
62. Who are determined on pursuing
63. Careers.
64. But it does mean that the career
65. woman should not be the national ideal
66. to be encouraged among the majority of
67. the population. It means that the heads
68. of education and of the media should get
69. their priorities right. If a few women
70. want to make careers, let them. But let
71. the majority be encouraged to be
72. housewives and mothers first and
73. foremost.
74. For if they are not, we will have no
75. nation left in a few generations’ time!
EXTRACT B – taken from middle of “Dear Reverend: Colin Burges puts his local vicar straight” Spearhead, January 1991 #263, pp. 7-10.

1. Personally, I cannot understand all those
2. ‘liberated’ types. You see them belting
3. around the country hawking every kind of
4. trashy merchandise, in their trouser-suits
5. dealing in banking and insurance, sat on the
6. tills in countless supermarkets looking bored
7. out of their minds; chasing careers that seem
8. so important yet mostly leave no more mark
9. on time than the daubings of a child on the
10. beach after the tide has flowed. How very
11. sad it is that they choose these things in
12. preference to the preparation of the nest for
13. the children; the joy of feeling a second life
14. in their wombs (sic); letting flow all those
15. wonderful maternal qualities that should be
16. in sharp contrast to the male world outside
17. the home. Broodiness is a complaint they
18. take to the doctor, instead of it being the
19. signal that all is ready for them to fulfil their
20. highest roles. Motherhood, the soil, the
21. harvest – these are the truly sacred things
22. which should be elevated, feted and lauded.


1. Look among the faces and
2. listen to the voices of our leading politicians
3. and it is difficult to detect anything
4. indicative of a male hormone between the lot
5. of them – perhaps a reason why a female
6. Prime Minister was able to dominate the
7. political scene for an entire decade up till
8. quite recently. Utterly absent in these
9. ‘leaders’ is a gleam in the eye, a set of the
10. jaw, a tone of speech which indicates true
11. strength of character or belief in anything
12. profound or powerful.


1. Those civilisations and societies which allow
2. themselves to become victims of the liberal
3. sickness in all its manifestations, including
4. the feminisation of the male and the intro-
5. duction of female bitchiness into all the great
6. decisions of state, will eventually succumb
7. to the conquest of stronger forces.
EXTRACT E – taken from beginning of "Feminism: The Word For A Perverted Natural Right – Linda Miller examines a deadly danger to our race" Spearhead. February 1990 #252. p.11.
1. It is our ability to bear children that is the mark of our great worth as a sex. One could argue very easily that this ability makes womankind superior to malekind! This is a feminist argument, and it is the central point in my vision of what the female role in the ideal society would entail.

EXTRACT F – taken from middle of “Miscegenation and the ‘wimp factor’: race mixture and feminism, says VIC OLVIIR, are primarily the results of a decline in white masculinity” Spearhead. April 1992 #278. pp.7-8.
1. As with many other life-negative forms, the wimp blossomed and came into his own in this century. Whereas 70 years ago he might have been attracted to an older woman, a widow or a divorcée, today he is as likely as not to seek out – or more precisely, to be grabbed off by – an Oriental or Hispanic female of his own approximate age.
2. These aggressive yellow or brown females can spot a white wimp miles away. He is the easiest of prey. By latching on to one of these specimens, and by marrying same, the non-white female takes a gigantic social step upward.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 7
EXTRACTS USED IN ANALYSIS OF RAPE THEMES

EXTRACT A
1. South London Whites are in a state of shock after what many believe was a racially motivated rape attack against two young girls.
2. The two schoolgirls, aged just fourteen and fifteen, were looking forward to Christmas, and their parents had allowed them to visit McDonalds in Catford as a Yuletide treat.
3. STREET GANG
10. Suddenly, the carefree Christmas fun turned to terror, as a jeering street-gang appeared from the shadows.
What happened next almost defies belief - and is difficult to describe in full detail in a family newspaper such as this.

An arrogant gang-member approached the two girls and demanded cigarettes. When they replied that they did not smoke, the thirty-strong gang surrounded the girls and dragged them into a nearby alley. There the girls were stripped and repeatedly raped by various members of the gang.

BRUTALLY RAPED

Despite their pleas for mercy, the girls continues to be brutally raped and forced to undergo disgusting sex acts. Experts in rape counselling have said that gang-rape is the worst kind of sexual assault that can be suffered by a woman, particularly where the victim is a virgin.

The assault was arguably the most appalling rape incident since the infamous attack on the Ealing Vicarage some years ago. That attack gained huge publicity, and the rapists were caught within a few weeks. Yet the Catford rape has been played down and virtually ignored by the national press this time around.

Why? One possible explanation is voiced in a small report which appeared on the inside pages of the Observer (16.12.93). 'The case is a sensitive one for the police because the victims were white, the rapists black.'

The same report went on to point out: 'Detectives are playing down the racial aspect, claiming it was not a racially motivated attack.'

The fact is that many Eastenders believe the attack was racially motivated, but what hurts most is what many whites feel is the unfair way in which the media treats crime with a 'racial' angle. Assaults by whites against blacks are routinely described as 'racial attacks', even when there is little or no evidence of a racial motive. Such crimes are often given massive publicity, despite their relative rarity. But many whites feel that when *they* are the victims of what could be
construed as a ‘racial attack’, there is little or no publicity.

Whether or not the Catford gang-rape was racially motivated, it is a national disgrace that the Government has let street-crime get so out of control that such appalling attacks are no longer regarded as ‘unusual’. What sort of country have we become when two teenagers can be brutally gang-raped only a few yards from a busy street?

WILDING GANGS

The ghettos of London and other British cities are teeming with gangs similar to that which carried out the Catford attack, and it is not the first time that ‘wilding’ gangs have attacked British women. It is clear that the human garbage that rape women for kicks will continue to flourish while this Government is in power.

Tories have repeatedly ignored the British National Party’s demand for tougher punishments for criminals.

Tory judges continue to allow rapists and violent thugs to escape with pitifully inadequate sentences. Instead of sending these thugs on foreign holidays, they should face tough jail sentences, and if necessary, the ROPE!

EXTRACT B

“Evil Rapist Gets 15 Years”, British Nationalist #145 July 1994, p.3

CRACK addict Selwyn Hall was typical of the low-life parasites who now inhabit Britain’s inner cities.

He supplemented his social security handouts with the proceeds from a series of violent burglaries which left his victims terrified and in need of long-term counselling.

VICTIMS

From his 150-foot tower block home in Birmingham he scoured the neighbourhood with binoculars in search of homes and victims to rob and rape.

Just weeks after being released from prison for aggravated burglary, Hall began a year-long campaign of terror which included a number of brutal rapes and sexual assaults.

His method of operation was to break into the victims home in the
21. early hours of the morning and demanded
22. money and valuables.
   RAPED
23. He first targeted the home of a 39-
24. year-old nun. Confronting the woman
25. in her night-clothes, he ordered her to
26. strip and then viciously raped her in
27. her own bed before escaping with cash.
28. Weeks later, armed with a chisel,
29. he raped a social worker in her home
30. after tying her up with her own bra.
31. A third woman was indecently
32. assaulted during another break-in by
33. Hall.
   ORDEAL
34. He was finally caught thanks to a
35. detailed photofit description given by
36. one of his victims. Police who arrested
37. him at his flat were threatened with an
38. eight inch kitchen knife. Despite
39. forensic evidence, and the recovery of
40. the victim’s possessions at his flat,
41. cowardly Hall refused to admit the
42. rapes, forcing the women to go
43. through the ordeal of testifying in
44. court.
45. Judge Peter Crawford QC told
46. Hall: “you have been convicted of two
47. of the most horrible rapes this court
48. has heard in many a long year. Your
49. motive was the humiliation and
50. degradation of women and to some
51. extent to protect yourself.”
52. After the sentence was passed, Det
53. Sgt Ken Griffiths commented: “As this
54. series of crimes progressed they were
55. getting more and more serious and I
56. still say that if we hadn’t got him when
57. we did he would have gone on to kill
58. someone.”
59. If the BNP had been in power,
60. these dreadful assaults would never
61. have taken place. Hall would have
62. been deported following his original
63. sentence for aggravated burglary.
   ANIMAL
64. A more important point is that the
65. BNP takes the crime of rape much
66. More seriously than the old parties.
67. This animal raped a nun, and if the
68. BNP was in power he would be
69. Surgically castrated to make sure he
70. Never committed such a crime again.
71. No doubt the usual chorus of
72. wimps in the Labour Party and
73. elsewhere would whine that this was
“too harsh.” But what about the feelings of the victims? Readers should try to imagine how they would feel if a member of their family was raped by an animal like Hall. The BNP’s tough response to crime is the only policy that makes sense.

**EXTRACT C**

Title, photographs & caption, and beginning of “‘War on Whites’ hits South Africa. Whites raped and slaughtered as tribal gangs go on the rampage”. British Nationalist, January 1993, #127.

Caption 1: “TERRORIST: Benny Alexander”
Caption 2: “VICTIMS: Julie Godwin and Elizabeth Over, both raped and murdered”

1. BRITAIN’S white kin-folk in South-
2. Africa are suffering terrible
3. atrocities as a result of F W de
4. Klerk’s policy of handing over the
5. country to black communist rule.
6. Since the release of ANC
7. terrorist Nelson Mandela, a wave
8. of violence has swept the country,
9. giving a chilling foretaste of what
10. is in store for the white population
11. should South Africa fall to black
12. rule.

**EXTRACT D**

From middle of “‘War on Whites’ hits South Africa. Whites raped and slaughtered as tribal gangs go on rampage.” January 1993 edition BRITISH NATIONALIST (#127), p.3

1. It is not only direct
2. ‘political’ terrorism which is
3. affecting whites, but the outbreak
4. of criminal violence and
5. lawlessness which has been
6. caused by the ending of Apartheid.
7. South Africa once had one
8. of the lowest crime rates in the
9. world. The Apartheid system
10. strictly regulated the movement of
11. black workers within white
12. residential areas. Now that
13. segregation and the ‘pass’ laws
14. have been abolished, many white
15. South Africans have taking to
16. arming themselves and barricading
17. their homes at night.
18. Two British women are
19. among the latest white victims of
20. the breakdown in law and order.
21. Holidaymakers Julie Godwin and
22. Elizabeth Over were attacked by a
23. gang of ANC gun-runners while
24. sunbathing on an isolated beach.
25. The two women were raped,
26. mutilated and then hacked to
dead, before being dumped in the
28. sea.

EXTRACT E
From beginning of "Vengeance Rape Attack: 14-year-old virgin raped in the gutter by evil brute", British Nationalist May 1995. #155, p.5
1. All too often it has been the sad
2. duty of British Nationalist to
3. report on the revolting and brutal
4. crimes which are now an everyday
5. occurrence in today's Britain.
APPALLING
6. But this particular incident was
7. so appalling that it made for
8. distressing reading even by the
9. experienced journalists on the BN
10. crime incident desk.
11. The most sickening aspect of
12. the case was the fact that the
13. rapist was led away smirking from
14. the dock, knowing that the pitiful
15. five-year sentence given means
16. that he will almost certainly be
17. out on the streets within about
eighteen months.
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