

THE PRESS OF THE RADICAL RIGHT:
AN EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS

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On the far-out fringe of the American press spectrum is a seething segment known as the rightist press; it is also known as the hate press or as the patriotic press, depending upon the point of view, and, somewhat grandiloquently, as "the sub-literature of American hate."

The rightist press is widely quoted, particularly in its more lurid passages, and it is used extensively by political scientists seeking insights into the political right. Some students of political opinion dismiss it as the "lunatic fringe;" others consider it a serious force in the rightist movement.

The rightist press is made up of a heterogeneous melange of periodicals, leaflets, tracts, occasional newsletters, envelope stuffers, books, and, to use the term press in the broad sense, radio broadcasts. The printed matter ranges in tech-

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nical quality from an unevenly-mimeographed newsletter with pencilled corrections to a high-quality magazine printed in two colors.

The word amorphous probably best describes the physical nature of the rightist press. It is insulated against systematic analysis of circulation, ownership, finance, and frequency by two factors. It surrounds this information with an aura of secrecy, and it seems to be exempt from postal regulations requiring Sworn Ownership and Circulation Statements. (1)

The study upon which this paper reports had two objectives: 1) to define and identify the radical rightist press in terms of its place on the public opinion spectrum and 2) to search the radical rightist press for thematic patterns.

Previous studies, while containing valuable data, failed to give clear insights into the nature of the rightist press itself primarily because they did not establish criteria for classification and analysis. (2) (3) (4) Studies by political scientists have employed the rightist press as a means toward insights into rightist political theory, but none has focussed systematically on the manifest content of the press itself.

In developing a method for the analysis it was first necessary to establish working definitions for the terms "rightist" and "press." Students of the political right are by no means agreed on the precise meaning of the term "right" nor are journalists agreed on what is encompassed by "press." (5) It was decided, therefore, to set up structural definitions of the two words in terms of the rightist press itself.

In the case of the term "right" a hypothetical continuum was established, subject to validation in terms of the content under analysis. The notion of the political right, it was assumed, is a function of the position of both the observed and the observer on the spectrum of political opinion. That is, from the viewpoint of the individual in the conservative camp, the individuals located on the political continuum to his left are likely to be "liberals" or "leftists" or worse. One rightist publication labeled Sen. Barry Goldwater "a jew" who is forwarding the cause of "Fabian Communist Sovietism." (6) Thus, it was necessary for the purpose of the study to stabilize the political right continuum, and to assign specific terms to the segments, as follows:

RADICAL RIGHT - ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE - CONSERVATIVE ...

This continuum could be extended to the left polar position, extending through moderate, liberal, left, and possibly ending with radical left. However, the content under analysis quite obviously would not extend past the conservative segment. It should be noted that the continuum is based on rank order and that the segments are not discrete.

The term "press" was made explicit largely by the process of elimination, and was ultimately defined in terms of the specific publications analyzed in the study. However, two ground rules were set forth at the outset: 1) the sample was limited to periodicals -- publications with an established frequency of issue -- eliminating pamphlets, occasional newsletters, books, reprints, etc. 2) general circulation newspapers were excluded, as is more fully explained in the discussion of the sample.

The objectives of the study called for a two-stage approach, one extensive, in which the characteristics of the radical rightist press as a whole were explored, and one intensive, in which the themes of two bellwether publications were measured. This approach, and the methods employed, were affected by the funds available.

The first problem was to establish empirically the physical existence of the rightist press and to acquire some notion of its nature and extent. This problem was met through a multiple-step procedure that also resulted in selection of a sample for the first phase of the study.

1. The basic working list was extracted from First National Directory of "Rightist" Groups, Publications and Some Individuals in the United States (and Some Foreign Countries). (7) This directory, which lists 930 publications, individuals and organizations, has as its criterion: "The single thing in common of these listings is that they all represent a protest of some sort to prevailing 'leftist' political and/or social trends." (8) Two categories of publications were eliminated at this stage: general circulation newspapers of known characteristics (example -- The Chicago Tribune) and religious publications of known characteristics (example -- Valor, The Magazine of Soulcraft). This step yielded a list of 110 publications.

2. The list was checked against another list compiled during the review of the literature. All publications cited in previous writings were represented on the list compiled from the directory.

3. Sample copies were requested through a letter, bearing a Pacific Palisades, Calif., return address and stating that the writer was interested in publications with

a "patriotic point of view." The subterfuge was considered necessary in view of the failure of previous correspondence.

4. Twenty-five letters elicited these responses: deceased, out-of-business, box closed, publication suspended and not pertinent (in the view of publication). The list, reduced to 89 by a rather pronounced mortality rate, was in turn increased to 91 by the addition of four newcomers that came to the attention of the research team (example: American Opinion, edited by Robert Welch of the John Birch Society).

5. Seventy publications responded by sending one or more sample copies. Of these, 28 were eliminated for the following reasons: 1) religious literature of a mystic, cultish nature with little or no political or social content, 2) racist publications with a purely informative or communicative function, the content of which consisted chiefly of reprints of news stories from regular newspapers, and 3) publications which were not in fact periodicals. The sample, then, consisted of 42 publications, represented by one to five issues each.

In developing a technique with which to analyze the sample, the study drew heavily upon two works, The Conspiracy Theory of Politics of the Radical Right in the United States by William C. Baum (9), and The Nature of Prejudice by Gordon W. Allport (10).

Baum's thesis is summarized in his words "...acceptance of the reality of an omnipotent and demonic conspiracy is the most significant and distinctive ideological characteristic of the contemporary American extreme or radical right." (11)

This thesis was also advanced by Hartley. (12) It was not necessary to accept or reject the thesis at this point, but merely to establish it as a polar point on the right-left continuum. In a companion concept, Baum established a working definition for non-rationality: "...[if the assertion] lacks a credible basis of empirical fact." (13) Allport's work, while concerned essentially with society as a whole, provided a rich background which, by extension, permitted insights into the nature of the radical right. His chapter on scapegoats was especially valuable.

The sample was subjected to quantitative analysis in two major dimensions and two minor dimensions.

Major Dimensions

1. Commitment to conspiracy

| <u>Scale Value</u> | <u>Semantic Measure</u> |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| 7 | Preoccupied with conspiracy |
| 5 | Conspiracy conspicuous |
| 3 | Conspiracy present |
| 1 | Hints at conspiracy |
| 0 | No clear evidence of conspiracy |

The word conspiracy as used in the scale excludes the Communist conspiracy, considered as a political device in the world power struggle; it was assumed that such a conspiracy, if this is the correct term, does in fact exist. However, an assertion that Roosevelt was an active conspirator in the Communist cause was taken as evidence of commitment to the conspiracy theory.

2. Non-rational (excluding religious mysticism in the traditional sense)

| <u>Scale Value</u> | <u>Semantic Measure</u> |
|--------------------|---|
| 7 | Paranoic overtones, confused, few or no credible facts |
| 5 | Polemic, shrill, credible facts few and heavily stacked |
| 3 | Heavily one-sided, credible facts present |
| 1 | Mildly one-sided, credible facts lightly stacked |
| 0 | No clear evidence of non-rationality |

The term "paranoic" is used in its lay sense; that is, a mental disorder characterized by delusions of persecution; absence of reality.

Minor Dimensions

3. Black-white, evil-good dichotomy

| <u>Scale Value</u> | <u>Semantic Measure</u> |
|--------------------|---|
| 3 | No attention to material between polar positions |
| 2 | Some attention to means by which to reach ends (perhaps 90-10 ratio) |
| 1 | Additional attention to means (perhaps 30-70 ratio) |
| 0 | No clear evidence of dichotomy |

Baum cites evidence from which he extrapolates the notion of a giant morality play, a battle to the death between good and evil, with the radical right personality aligned on the side of the good. (4) Allport's material, while less dramatic, supports the assumption that such a dichotomy is tenable, particularly in his discussion of stereotypes.

4. Negative, non-constructive

| <u>Scale Value</u> | <u>Semantic Measurement</u> |
|--------------------|--|
| 3 | Violently negative, no positive material |
| 2 | Preponderantly negative, some positive material |
| 1 | Mildly negative, perhaps 70-30 negative-positive ratio |
| 0 | Approximate negative-positive balance |

This is a measure of constructive vs. non-constructive balance. It was added after the research team noted an unmistakable tendency toward negativism. Fellows develops this notion with respect to propaganda. (15)

The four dimensions are not independent. For instance, it is logical to assume that non-rationality correlates to a marked degree with the theory of conspiracy, with negativism, and with the evil-good dichotomy. Thus, the four dimensions were in effect measuring facets of the same or similar characteristics of content.

The scale values yielded a maximum score of 20 and a minimum score of 0. The 42 publications in the sample were rated, each as a unit, by the chief research assistant and by the writer. Disagreements in rank order occurred in five cases, and in no case did the rank order placement vary more than three places. (The high number of tied scores served to minimize rank order disagreement.) In view of the subjective nature of the semantic measurement scale, and in view of the limited number of issues for each publication, it seemed pretentious to subject the rank order disagreement to a statistical test for correlation; the differences were discussed and resolved.

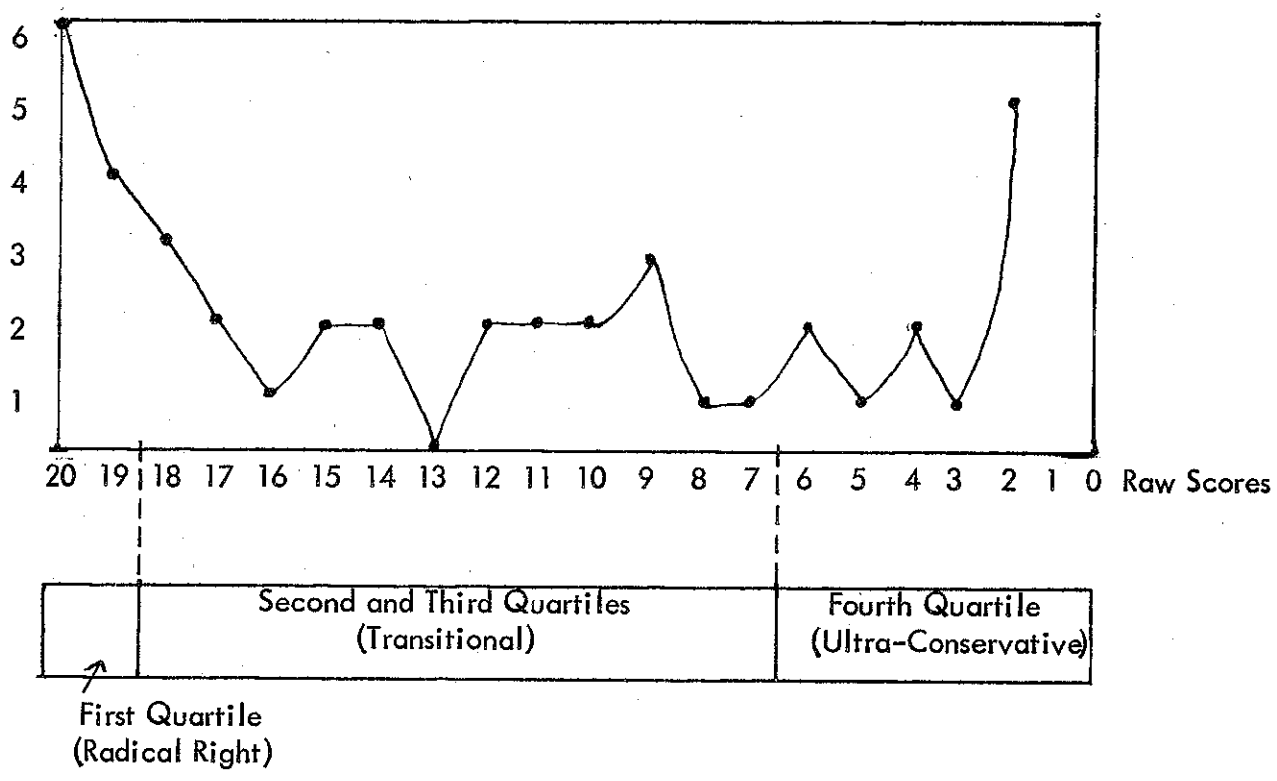
The result is shown in Figure 1. The most notable pattern is the concentration of the first quartile (ten publications) at the left end of the continuum, with raw scores in the 20, 19, and 18 segment. The fourth quartile (ten publications) occupies the segment from Score 6 through Score 2 with a rise at the low end of the continuum, completing a rough U curve.

FIGURE 1

Array of 42 Rightist Publications on a Right-Left Continuum (by Raw Scores)

Number of Publications

N=42



Two inferences were drawn from the pattern. First, the concentration at the high end of the scale seemed to clearly justify assignment of this quartile to the radical right. Second, the semantic measurement scale tended to lose efficacy at the lower end of the continuum; that is, it appears adequate to measure the radical right, but not the ultra-conservative right or the conservative right. However, the measurement provided convincing evidence that the radical rightist press differs significantly from the publications in the fourth quartile.

The second and third quartiles were assigned a transitional role, with the assumption that at some point in the second and third quartiles the radical right merged into the ultra-conservative.

The raw scores were designed to provide an index with which to collapse the sample into rank order and subsequently into quartiles. In order to explore the differences between the quartiles further, a research assistant condensed the content of the samples in the first and fourth quartiles. The result, analyzed in the qualitative sense, provided evidence for a comparison of thematic characteristics, listed in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Thematic Characteristics of the First and Fourth Quartiles of a Rank Order Continuum of the Rightist Press

| <u>First Quartile</u> | <u>Fourth Quartile</u> |
|---|---|
| U. S. leaders are <u>active</u> conspirators in the Communist cause | U. S. leaders are <u>unwitting</u> conspirators in the Communist cause, with hints at conscious collusion |
| Violently anti-Semitic | Majority anti-Semitic by inference, but some not at all |
| Religious overtones, some ultra-mystic | Divides into two distinct categories, those with religious orientation and those without. |
| Writing shrill, venomous; numerous grammatical errors | Writing comparatively moderate in style, with exceptions; few grammatical errors |
| Directly anti-Negro (inferiority theme) | Anti-Negro in context of states rights |
| Preoccupation with mental health clearly present | Little evidence of preoccupation with mental health |
| Minimum concern with legal and constitutional documentation | Definite concern with legal and constitutional documentation, but loaded |

TABLE I (Continued)

Thematic Characteristics of the First and Fourth Quartile of a Rank Order Continuum of the Rightist Press

| <u>First Quartile</u> | <u>Fourth Quartile</u> |
|---|---|
| Largely concerned with ends rather than means | Discusses means toward ends but heavily negative |
| Preoccupation with pornography, sex, obscenity, clearly present | Occasionally mentions pornography, sex, obscenity |
| (Generally, formats indicated lack of adequate financing) | (Generally, formats indicated ample financing) |

This analysis provided convincing evidence that the publications in the fourth quartile are not conservative in the dictionary sense of the word, i.e., "tending to preserve established traditions or institutions and to resist any change in these; as a conservative political party" (16) While the publications qualify in the main under this definition, they go quite definitely beyond its terms. It was therefore the decision to assign the fourth quartile to the ultra-conservative segment on a hypothetical basis, pending validation in the future.*

* The study does not claim validity for location of any single publication within the quartile, especially in the fourth quartile where classification was more difficult than in the first. However, for the purpose of repeatability and as a matter of interest, names of the publications, the sponsoring organizations, the cities of publication and names of editors are listed below:

FIRST QUARTILE

American Eagle, unknown (maybe Citizens National Law Enforcement Commission), Louisville, Ken., Millar Grubbs; Aryan Sun-Work-Shop, independent, San Diego,
(continued on next page)

The intensive phase of the study sought insights into the preoccupation with certain themes in the radical rightist press.

Two publications, Common Sense and The Cross and the Flag, were selected to represent the radical rightist publications. Selection was made largely on the basis of availability. A partial file of Common Sense was made available to the research team by the Los Angeles office of the Anti-Defamation League. The editor of The Cross and the Flag, Gerald L. K. Smith, presented the UCLA Department of Journalism bound volumes for 1959 and 1960. Fortuitously, the two publications loom large in the family of rightist publications, as revealed in the survey of literature. Common Sense was investigated by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1954, and thus some information is available. (17)

(continued from previous page)

Calif., C. Leon de Aryan; Common Sense, Christian Educational Association, Union, N.J., Conde McGinley; The Cross and the Flag, Christian Nationalist Crusade, Glendale, Calif., Gerald L. K. Smith; Grass Roots, independent, San Angelo, Tex., John Henry Monk; Keeping the Record Straight, independent, Glendale, Ariz., Edith Essig; National Socialist Bulletin, American Nazi Party, Arlington, Va., Lincoln Rockwell, Ralph Forbes; Know-Awareness, independent, San Francisco, Calif., Fred C. Weiss; The Thunderbolt, National States Rights Party, Birmingham, Ala., Dr. Edward R. Fields; Women's Voice, independent, Chicago, Ill., Lyril Clark Van Hying.

FOURTH QUARTILE

American Mercury, Defenders of the Christian Faith, Inc., Oklahoma City, Okla., Gerald S. Pope; American Opinion, Robert Welch, Inc., Belmont, Mass., Robert Welch; Background for Tomorrow, independent, Lawrence Griswold, Washington, D.C.; The Defender, Defenders of the Christian Faith, Inc., Wichita, Kan., Gerald S. Pope; Destiny, independent, Merrimac, Mass., Howard B. Rand; The Freeman, The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y., Paul Poirot; Human Events, independent, Washington, D.C., Frank C. Hanighen; Inform, International Services of Information Foundation, Inc., Ulius Louis Amoss; National Review, independent, New York, N.Y., William F. Buckley, Jr.; U.S.A., independent, New York, N.Y., Alice Widener (publisher).

Baum includes both publications in a list of five rightist publications he uses to illustrate approximate circulations. (18) Both are "stable" in the sense that they have histories. Common Sense was launched in June, 1947. (19) The Cross and the Flag began publication in the early 1940's, according to its serial numbering.

Samples were chosen by lot. The sample from Common Sense was composed of 37 articles totalling 41,987 words, a mean of 1105 words per article, from the issues of January 1960 through July 1960 and September 1960. The sample from The Cross and the Flag was composed of 119 articles totalling 51,732 words, a mean of 434 words per article, from the January, June and November 1960 issues.

Standard content analysis techniques, gross as they are, proved too fine. A deprivational-indulgent scale turned out non-discriminatory, inasmuch as the material was almost wholly negative. No patterns emerged in an analysis of contemporary events used as news pegs by the publications to carry their editorial messages. Neither was it possible to detect patterns based on a social-political-religious-economic-cultural scale. Thus in the pilot, or experimental, stage it was determined that the content was too confused for standard content analysis classification techniques, and too single-purposed for measurement of assertion strength. The research team therefore developed its own technique, a measure it called "Recurring Value Word Count."

The objective was a list of recurring words from which, it was assumed, preoccupation with given themes could be extrapolated. Words were counted only once in a given assertion, the unit of the analysis. For instance, in an assertion

citing the Bible as justification for segregation practices, "Bible" was counted once and "segregation" once. Pronouns such as they (Negroes) and it (Bible) were not counted. "Value word" was interpreted as a word salient to the context, as distinct from a descriptive word. For instance, "American" would not be counted in the term "American foreign policy" inasmuch as it modifies the salient subject. The nature of the material was such that virtually all words occurred in an indulgent-deprivational context; hence the term "value word." The method was in effect a compromise dictated by limited resources in which a large amount of material was included at some expense to content analysis precision.

The word count was then collapsed into connotative categories. For instance, the connotative category "Jew" includes Jewish, Semite, Khazar (a term applied to Jews in an effort to separate them from Christ), Zionists, etc. The results are given in Table 2. These data yield a quantitative pattern but do not indicate the direction

Table 2
Connotative Categories Resulting from the Collapse
of Recurring Value Words

| Category | Number of Value Words <u>The Cross and The Flag*</u> | Number of Value Words <u>Common Sense*</u> |
|------------|--|--|
| Jew | 163** | 529 |
| Communism | 182 | 275 |
| Negro | 99 | 11 |
| Patriotism | 312 | 52 |
| Religion | 192 | 108 |
| | 948 | 975 |

(Continued on following page.)

* The Cross and the Flag mentioned health and morality prominently, and Common Sense mentioned morality (pornography) prominently. However, neither occurred with enough frequency to warrant a connotative category.

** After data were adjusted for the difference in total number of words in the samples the difference in emphasis among categories is significant at .001 (Chi Square value >18.46).

or the specific nature of the content. In the next step, a research assistant summarized each article with special attention to a basic assertion for each. They are further summarized below:

ASSERTIONS

Common Sense

1. Communists want Kennedy in the White House.
2. New immigration law facilitates admission of subversives.
3. God and the Bible oppose mongrelization through integration.
4. Kruschev assured Eisenhower of fair treatment of Jews (conspiracy overtones).
5. Jews are adversaries of all men; will become Christians to satisfy their hatred.
6. Sanford Griffith and Gordon Hall are agents of the Anti-Defamation league, members of Zionist world conspiracy.
7. Jewish pressure groups court non-Jews with honors; non-Jews trapped by threat of anti-Semitism.
8. The U. N. set up by American Jewish Committee as part of conspiracy.
9. (Editor accuses CBS of being in league with American Jewish Committee to embarrass him on television.)
10. Lewis Strauss conspired to give Jews control of uranium.

11. Producers of the film "He Who Must Die" are communists; to see film is traitorous act.
12. Dual theme: Ambition of Catholics may obscure real threat: Jews; Judaism asserts world control objective.
13. Cites one Roy Pursell in refutation of Erwin Canham's advocacy of Red China recognition; Red China's dope production will give victory.
14. Adlai Stevenson is pro-Communist.
15. Jews move to delete name of Christ from prayers, pledges, especially at government functions.
16. Jews denied Lincoln Rockwell right to public speech, yet no sanctions on Communists.
17. State Department encourages Communism -- cites China, Hungary, Aswan Dam, Cuba.
18. Communism pervades western world with U. N. its fifth column; cites Bible, Reader's Digest, Shakespeare.
19. Jews are in fact "Khazars" who conceived and promote Communism, not Semites; Christ a Semite.
20. Common Sense supports HCUA, Jews oppose.
21. Mass media controlled by conspiracy; Catholic church fails to warn of conspiracy, betraying Christianity.
22. Communists have infiltrated churches; cites National Council of Churches, Air Force manual controversy.
23. United World Federalists active Communist-fronters; seek one world, to undermine the Republic.
24. Pornographic literature controlled by Jews under protection of Jewish judges.
25. Jews sensually inclined; flooding market with pornography.
26. American Jewish Committee closely connected with American Legion.

27. In latter article one John Beatty objects to rabbi being Legion chaplain; demands Christian representation.
28. Jewesses marry top U. S. officials; Jews linked with Communism.
29. Anti-Semitism considered a crime subject to governmental action whereas Communism goes unguarded, unpunished.
30. U. S. Rep. Francis Walter praised for action against Communist insults.
31. Reprints Jewish article citing plans to cooperate with Catholics and Protestants. (Conspiracy overtones)
32. National Council of Churches has Communist leanings.
33. English warned against control by Jewish (Communitic) bank, as has befallen U. S. .
34. Zionists divert funds given by Americans to world conspiracy; funds should go to American Council for Judaism instead.
35. Series of arguments against socialized medicine (no radical right overtones).
36. U. S. will lose national sovereignty if Connally amendment (exempting U. S. from world court) defeated.
37. Jews promoted persecution, as defacing synagogues; Jews now control Europe, and U. S. Christians should "pray to Christ and read Common Sense."
38. Communism is evil. (Figurative, with profuse use of metaphors and similes.)

ASSERTIONS

The Cross and the Flag

(Note: In deference to space restrictions, the list below is limited to the central assertion for every third article. It should also be noted that this publication uses

reprints liberally; it was not possible in many cases to determine which were reprints and which were not, and the content must be regarded as manifest, without respect to original source.)

1. A Jew, seeking refuge, robbed 17,000 British of their savings under protection of Israel.
2. Cattle breeders are honored; why not human breeders?
3. Kruschev used visit to United States for propaganda.
4. West Pointer's warning of Soviet power ignored; he then saw Russia communize Poland.
5. U. S. administration because of petty jealousy refused to recognize General MacArthur's genius.
6. Negroes as well as whites anxious not to integrate; prefer own life, people.
7. Kruschev is front man for a brain trust in Russia.
8. NAACP operated by a New York Jew through Negro fronts.
9. Jews manipulate the American social structure, as they did the rigged television programs.
10. Flouridation brings people under control as a narcotic; not good for teeth.
11. Soviets plan to execute 150 Hungarian children for listening to a Christian sermon.
12. Communism, if it comes to America, will succeed through corrupted American traitors.
13. Milwaukee discovered that crime and political corruption increased with arrival of Negroes.
14. Latvians are kept under control by bayonets.
15. Unemployment is increasing in U. S. because trade is in the hands of an international cult; foreign commodities compete with American.

16. Only southerners understand Negroes; NAACP financed and manipulated by Jew.
17. U.N. white diplomats soon to be outnumbered by blacks; latter can act as spies.
18. International conspiracy; cites Jews averring they are pro-Communist, anti-Christian.
19. Organized Jewry tried to sabotage the gospel message in the film "Ben Hur."
20. Communists plot to undermine U. S. through Cuba and through Cuba take over Latin America.
21. Organized African "barbarians" get public sympathy, yet no outcry when Jews seized Arab lands, since Jews control press.
22. Adrenalin glands in time of emotion can evoke feats of strength; today the fad is to pretend to no tensions and to show no emotion.
23. Emerging nations sponsored by international communism; have a sporific effect on the alert against Communism.
24. Defends Common Sense against anti-Semitic charge, says example of Jewish tyranny.
25. Schools should not receive federal subsidies.
26. The "profane and depraved materialism of Sigmund Freud" is displacing the Christian religion.
27. History will record the abuse of white southerner who supports and lives with the Negro; Jews finance unrest in south.
28. Fish, wildlife, vegetation destroyed by DDT; must be harmful to humans.
29. James Roosevelt is a "scionic drip" living on ancestral fame.
30. There is a conspiracy in America to destroy state sovereignty by abolishing free debate.

31. If the "wretched refuse" of other lands is admitted, cultural level in America will sink; must be elective.
32. Indian Jews in Israel meet with color prejudice, are slaves of American and European Jews.
33. Editor alarmed at National Council of Churches assumption that it speaks for protestantism.
34. California intelligence tests give choice of two evils, making one seem right.
35. "Anti-Christian white minority" has launched a crusade against Christ; aim at youth, hope to defeat Christianity, then America.
36. Racial purity denotes self-respect, not hatred or contempt; cites problems of mixed blood in Japan.
37. Editor suggests his committee to abolish U. N. be revived to drive the "barbarians" back to their own countries.
38. Soviet "weather bomb" can destroy the U. S. with floods, hurricanes, etc.
39. Hospitals undesirable for routine check-ups because of virus danger; children should be born at home.

Summarization of the articles into assertions lost much of the radical right flavor. For instance, Assertion 34 from The Cross and the Flag, concerned with intelligence tests, was introduced in the article with this paragraph: "SPITTING ON THE FLAG AND THE BIBLE: A group of patriots in the State of California have recently uncovered an academic rat's nest among high school instructors who seem to take a negative satisfaction in introducing shocking questions to high school students in the name of intelligence tests." (20) The other assertions, with few exceptions, were framed in similar prose.

Interpretation of Table 2 in the context of the assertions shows the connotative categories to be a relatively valid reflection of direction in some cases but not in others. In both publications both the Jew category and the Communist category are wholly negative. The Negro category is negative in the social sense (i.e., integration-segregation) but not entirely negative in the personal sense; that is, neither publication attacks the Negro with the same personal attention reserved for the Jew. The patriotism theme, which looms large for The Cross and the Flag in terms of value words, is not reflected to the same extent in the assertions, and it is logical to assume that this is an editorial semantic device rather than a central theme. The religion category is both negative and positive, reflecting recurring attacks on the National Council of Churches and the "liberal" ministry generally and the aligning of religious values against the object of the attack.

Differences between the two publications, as revealed through Table 2 and validated in some degree by the assertions, are chiefly in emphasis and not in overall direction. Common Sense concentrated heavily on the Jew-Communist conspiracy, leaving little space for other matters, whereas The Cross and the Flag, using shorter articles, ranged more widely, and in particular devoted more attention to the Negro.

Inferences

1) The radical rightist press responds to analysis in terms of a) preoccupation with a vast, unreal conspiracy, b) of non-rationality, c) of an evil-good dichotomy, and d) of a negative-positive (constructive-destructive) approach. The ultra-conservative press and the conservative press do not respond to the same extent. Other tools are required for their analysis.

2) The radical rightist press exists at the extreme of a rightist continuum, as measured by the above variables, and from this point the so-called rightist press recedes into the ultra-conservative and perhaps into the conservative. Publications such as American Opinion and American Mercury differ significantly from publications such as Common Sense and Women's Voice. This distinction is critical to the study of the political right through its press.

3) It is tenable to assume that the radical rightist press does indeed reflect a small segment of political opinion that has been cast afloat in a sea of unreality. The appeal of the radical rightist press has little likelihood of reaching large segments of the population.

4) Conversely, to the political liberal the press existing on the ultra-conservative and conservative segments of the political opinion spectrum may be the true adversary. Its relative subtlety and its moderate approach as compared to the radical rightist press might be expected to appeal to a relatively large segment of the population.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Postal Regulation 132.6. The pertinent sentence reads: "This section is not applicable to religious, fraternal, temperance, scientific or similar publications." Nearly all rightist publications are published by organizations that qualify for exemption under this regulation.

(2) Ralph E. Ellsworth and Sarah M. Harris, "The American Right Wing -- A Report to the Fund for the Republic," University of Illinois Library School Occasional Papers, No. 59, Nov. 1960. This work contains a wealth of material but suffers from lack of organization.

(3) Margaret L. Hartley, "The Subliterature of Hate in America," Southwest Review, Vol. 37, No. 3, Summer, 1952. This article is notable for its treatment of rightist semantic techniques.

(4) William C. Baum, "The Ideology of the Radical Right," The New Leader, Oct. 17, 1960. The author seeks insights into rightist ideology through the press.

(5) For a discussion of the semantic problems concerning the political right, see Ellsworth, op. cit., 7-8.

(6) Lyril Clark Van Hyning (ed.), Women's Voice, Vol. 19, Nos. 1-4, 4, Nov., 1960.

(7) Third Edition, published by Liberty and Property, San Francisco, 1957.

(8) Ibid., i.

(9) Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of Political Science, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, June, 1960.

(10) Doubleday and Company, Garden City, New York, 1954, 1958.

(11) Baum, The Conspiracy Theory . . ., op. cit., 2.

(12) Hartley, op. cit., 181-190 passim.

(13) Baum, The Conspiracy Theory . . ., op. cit., 110. See also Erwin W. Fellows, "Propaganda and Communications: A Study in Definitions," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 34, No. 4, Fall, 1957, 431-442.

(14) Baum, The Conspiracy Theory . . ., op. cit., 8.

(15) Fellows, ibid., 444.

(16) Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, College Edition, 1959, 312.

(17) "Exposing Fascists and 'Hate' Groups in U. S.," U.S. News and World Report, Vol. 37, Dec. 31, 1944, 68-74.

(18) Baum, "The Ideology of the Radical Right," op. cit., 14. Baum gives the following circulations as "reputable approximations": Common Sense -- 30,000 to 300,000, depending on the topic (Note: This refers to bulk orders by other rightist groups): The Cross and the Flag -- 25,000.

(19) "Exposing Fascists..." (U.S. News and World Report), op. cit., 72.

(20) The Cross and the Flag, Vol. 19, No. 8, Nov., 1960, 15.