**White Supremacy and Racial Ecology in the Obama Era: The Music Messages of RaHoWa**

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“There are certain cultural trends which both belong to the presuppositions and to the effects of Fascism….” Theodor Adorno[[1]](#footnote-1)

“Hatred is the fury of those who do not share our goals, and its object is death and destruction. Anger is a grief of distortions between peers, and its object is change.” Audre Lorde[[2]](#footnote-2)

“Hate is a normal healthy emotion with which Nature has endowed all of its higher species.” Ben Klassen[[3]](#footnote-3)

**Introduction**

The Sikh Temple shootings in Oak Creek, Wisconsin brought national attention to the role of white power music in the racist skinhead movement. Wade Michael Page, who allegedly killed six people before taking his own life, was a member of the Hammerskin Nation, a racist skinhead organization known for its support of white power music, in particular its annual music festivals. Page himself played in multiple white power bands, the best known of which are End Apathy and Definite Hate. [[4]](#footnote-4) In a recent article the Anti-Defamation League notes that “For listeners, white power music is not simply entertainment. It is music with a message, a medium used to express an ideology suffused with anger, hatred, and violence.” [[5]](#footnote-5) According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, “It [white power music] is accomplishing for the radical right what decades of racist theorizing didn’t: It has given skinheads and many other extremists around the world a common language and a unifying ideology….’”[[6]](#footnote-6) When listeners hear white power music they experience more than the racist ideology expressed in its lyrics, though. Scholars continue to debate whether musical expression is a common or even universal language, a question I will bypass here. However, it is difficult to deny that the rhythms and sounds of white power music also carry its racialized messages of anger, hatred, and violence. Not surprisingly, Ugo Corte and Bob Edwards describe white power music as “the soundtrack to the white revolution.” [[7]](#footnote-7)

For decades white power music has thrived in what Pete Simi and Robert Futrell call “hidden spaces of hate” – closed bars, clubs, festivals, and internet websites supported by white supremacist groups. [[8]](#footnote-8) These spaces have expanded since the 1970’s when Ian Stuart Donaldson, the “godfather of the racialist movement,” and his British racist skinhead band Skrewdriver first began performing in England, Europe, and America.[[9]](#footnote-9) In the 1990’s Resistance Records and other online distributors, such as MiceTrap, PanzerFaust, and Stormfront, began marketing white power music online. Membership in white supremacist groups has also risen steadily over the past decade with more significant increases after the 2008 election and now 2012 re-election of President Barack Obama. [[10]](#footnote-10) Today the music and movement have an already strong and still growing internet presence and have begun to receive mainstream media attention following events like the Sikh Temple shootings. The actions of Wade Michael Page, white power musician and alleged domestic terrorist, can – and should -- be seen within this longer history of organized white supremacy.

I have written elsewhere about the role white power music plays in recruiting teenagers, especially girls, to white supremacy and how it promotes a new cellular, hybrid form of fascism.[[11]](#footnote-11) Here I examine a more “philosophical” branch of the movement, the Church of the Creator or the Creativity movement, founded by Ben Klassen as a “racial religion.” The Creativity movement provides an interesting opportunity to study how white power music and politics work in tandem. George Burdi, former leader of Creativity in Canada, founded a racist skinhead band -- RaHoWa or Racial Holy War – that some argue sustained the movement after Klassen’s death. I begin with some brief historical background on Klassen’s Creativity movement and Burdi’s band RaHoWa. Next I analyze the philosophy of Creativity as presented in Klassen’s major writings, *Nature’s Eternal Religion* (1973), *The White Man’s Bible* (1981), and *Salubrious Living: A Natural Life Style for Achieving and Maintaining the Ultimate in Superb Health and Well-being as Taught and Practiced by the Church of the Creator* (1982).[[12]](#footnote-12) I then explore how the music of RaHoWa expresses and enhances the message of the Creativity movement. I have three main purposes in this paper: to 1)increase awareness of a white supremacist movement that usually operates under the radar of mainstream politics; 2)explore the various roles music plays in communicating the ideology of that movement; 3) and, in the process, show how both movement and music represent the anger and hatred that undergird the racialized origins of the United States. The music of RaHoWa and message of Creativity, I conclude, epitomize a national history not yet redeemed.

**The Creativity Movement and RaHoWa: From Ben Klassen to George Burdi**

Ben Klassen founded The Church of the Creator or what is commonly called the Creativity movement in 1973, the same year that he published his first major work, *Nature’s Eternal Religion*.[[13]](#footnote-13) Klassen was born in the Ukraine in 1918. His family fled what he later called “Jewish Communism” and relocated to Canada during his childhood. After graduating from the University of Manitoba in 1943, he moved to the United States where he became an entrepreneur and politician. Klassen co-developed a Los Angeles real estate firm, Silver Spring Land Company; formed his own small company, Klassen Enterprises, to manufacture and sell an electric can-opener he invented; and, following his move from California to Florida, briefly represented Broward County in the Florida House of Representatives from 1966-1967. Klassen actively supported George Wallace for president in 1968 and organized rallies, including at least one co-sponsored by the Ku Klux Klan, for the Wallace campaign in Florida. Although he disagreed with their tolerance for Judaism, Klassen became a member of the John Birch Society and sold their materials through his American Opinion bookstore. In 1970 he founded the Nationalist White Party, a religious party for White Christians, but he soon also became critical of Christian teachings. In contrast to Christianity, the Creativity movement espouses a racially-based religion centered on what Klassen calls, “racial ecology.” The symbol of the church is a “W” with a crown and halo over it. [See appendices A and B] As its self-appointed leader, Klassen held the title of Pontifex Maximus. Klassen located the church headquarters in Otto, North Carolina, where he also ran a school for boys, some of whom later became leaders in the movement.

Klassen had always been more interested in writing about Creativity than leading the movement and in 1992, when his wife was diagnosed with cancer, he decided he wanted to retire. He asked multiple prominent white supremacist leaders to succeed him, among them, Tom Metzgar (founder of White Aryan Resistance) and Dr. William Pierce (founder of the National Alliance). Both declined, and Mark Wilson briefly – and unsuccessfully – led the organization until Dr. Rick McCarty assumed the title of Pontifex Maximus in 1993. He led Creativity for several years in which the movement experienced increasing factionalism and declining membership. Then in late 1993 Klassen committed suicide ostensibly over grief related to the death of his wife and the decline of his church. He was buried in “Ben Klassen Memorial Park” near the church headquarters in Otto, North Carolina. Not until 1995 when Matthew Hale became its leader would the Creativity movement find new life. Hale led the movement through several turbulent years marked by multiple acts of racially-motivated violence, including the well-known Illinois murders by Benjamin Smith. In 2004, a federal grand jury in Chicago convicted Hale on two counts of soliciting crimes of violence and three counts of obstructing justice. Following Hale’s imprisonment the Creativity movement largely disintegrated, though splinter organizations remain active and Klassen’s ideas still influence the radical right.[[14]](#footnote-14)

Klassen coined the term Racial Holy War and acronym RaHoWa in his 1987 book entitled, *Rahowa – This Planet is All Ours.* [See appendix C]In 1989 RaHoWa became the name of a band formed by George Burdi, aka Reverend George Eric Hawthorne. Burdi was born in 1970 and grew up in suburban Toronto. He first became interested in racism when he was eighteen and his girlfriend’s father, who was involved in the white power movement, gave him George Lincoln Rockwell’s book, *White Power.* Burdi found Rockwell’s call for young whites to take heroic action and join the epic struggle to save their race very compelling. In an interview, Burdi mentions that while he was reading Rockwell, a black friend loaned him a tape of the Black Nationalist, Louis Farrakhan, speaking. [[15]](#footnote-15) Burdi says, “I thought it was great! Here’s this guy doing the same thing as Rockwell. He’s looking after his people and promoting separation of the races, because higher culture [supposedly] is produced through homogenous nations.” [[16]](#footnote-16) Burdi encountered the Creativity movement a few years later when a fellow college student gave him Klassen’s book, *The White Man’s Bible.* As Burdi describes it, he was initially astonished and appalled by Klassen’s hateful arguments, but eventually accepted his responsibility to protect the White Race, the “the creators of civilization.” He began working for the movement, promoting Creativity across the U.S. and Canada, and spent two months at Klassen’s North Carolina church headquarters, producing the Creativity newspaper, *Racial Loyalty.*

When Burdi founded RaHoWa in 1989, it quickly became one of the most popular white power bands in North America. RaHoWa concerts often drew large crowds of 500 or more and its CD, *Cult of the Holy War*, sold approximately 40,000 copies, making it a white power music bestseller. In addition to performing as lead singer, Burdi now led the Canadian branch of the Creativity movement. His musical-cum-political organizing efforts were widely regarded as having preserved Creativity after Klassen’s death. Burdi also founded Resistance Records, a company he later sold to Willis Carto, who passed it on to William Pierce, the leader of National Alliance. In 1997 the company offices in Detroit, Michigan were raided; Burdi was arrested and convicted in Windsor, Ontario for “promoting hatred.” In order to avoid jail time he agreed to stop performing with RaHoWa and managing Resistance Records. He may have been partly motivated by having served an earlier jail term. In 1995 Burdi had been convicted of “assault causing bodily harm”; he spent a year in prison for allegedly kicking (Burdi still denies it) an Anti-Racist Action protestor following a RaHoWa concert. Burdi describes his prison experience as life-changing and includes it among the reasons he later renounced white supremacy. In the following interview for *acidlogic*, he explains his transformation:

GB [George Burdi]: “My defining moment came while in jail. I was surrounded by white trash, who were griping and moaning about the system, trying to appropriate blame on anyone but themselves for the state of their sorry lives. Listening to them talk, I could see myself in them. It dawned on me that they were just skinheads without the thin veneer of idealism.”

AP [Anthony Passonno]: “The great mirror of self-revelation was thrust in front of you, with no means to turn away?”

GB[George Burdi]: “Yes…and I only wish it stopped there. Suddenly, everywhere I looked, I began to see reflections of myself, in different moods, at different points in my life. The whole mass of humanity began to appear as one gross machine, enslaving the higher self. Does it really matter which delusion I fell for?”[[17]](#footnote-17)

Burdi now works with Life After Hate, a U.S.-based organization founded by former members of the white power movement.[[18]](#footnote-18) He also performs with a new multi-racial band, Novacosm, whose members include a Black bassist/producer, B. Valentine, and a Jewish guitarist, Sy Sylver. Novacosm performs alternative rock music, and their repertoire still includes, “Ode To A Dying People,” a song from RaHoWa’s *Cult of the Holy War* CD. [See Appendix D] Burdi now claims that the song is not racist: “This version is meant to be enjoyed by everyone, just think about how the collective modern rush off the cliff makes this song as relevant and universally applicable as ever.” While insisting that he has not merely traded ideologies and even that “…‘ideologies’ are prisons for the mind,” Burdi now invokes Native American and Far Eastern teachings about how “the web of life” links all beings. In a paraphrase of Chief Seattle, he says: “Everything is everything. We are all a reflection of each other.”[[19]](#footnote-19) To the continuing confusion of many white supremacists, Burdi’s new ecological perspective transcends the racial ecology of Klassen’s Creativity movement.

**The “Philosophy” of Creativity**

Klassen’s first major work, *Nature’s Eternal Religion*, is a lengthy (two volumes, forty-nine chapters, more than six hundred pages) rambling work punctuated by bullet lists of major points. It covers topics ranging from fundamental natural laws (biological distinctions between species, the survival of the fittest, etc.) to the five most dangerous Jewish books (*The Old* and *New Testaments, Protocols of the Elders of Zion, Das Kapital,* and *The Communist Manifesto*) to relationships with other political and religious movements (Christianity, Communism, National Socialism, Mohammedianism, etc.). In style and tone *Nature’s Eternal Religion* resembles Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*, a work Klassen (and his followers) knew well. Klassen praises Hitler’s skilled use of propaganda and agrees with him that “The real genius of a successful politician is to keep hammering away on just a few points at the most…. Propaganda should not be like a scattering of buckshot, but should carry the wallop of a Magnum high-powered rifle bullet.”[[20]](#footnote-20) Like Hitler, Klassen would focus his movement on a “single enemy” – the Jews – to whom he attributes most problems that have befallen the White Race. Also, like Hitler, he advocates hatred: “….we do not love our enemies. We hate them. It is our purpose to destroy our enemies. In arriving at these philosophies we have not invented anything new. We are faithfully following Nature’s laws, and only by following nature’s laws can we survive.” [[21]](#footnote-21) According to Klassen, Hitler was the greatest leader of the White Race to date. He praises him for establishing a racially-based government (rather than a “polyglot democracy”), exposing the international Jewish conspiracy against Whites, and exemplifying the leadership principle. Klassen also recasts the Holocaust as a Jewish-inspired hoax: the Jews were “removed” from Germany, but they were not “physically mistreated.” [[22]](#footnote-22)

Despite his praise for Hitler, Klassen emphatically distinguishes the Creativity movement from German National Socialism. The latter “bought time” but only offered a “partial solution” for the White Race; it was ultimately too narrow, too divisive, and too national. Regarding the deficiencies of Hitler’s program outlined in *Mein Kampf*, Klassen writes: “…(1)it is based on a political rather than a religious approach; (b)it emphasizes Pan-Germanism, rather than the White Race as a whole; (c)it does not come to grips with Jewish Christianity, a crucial omission.” [[23]](#footnote-23) According to Klassen, the current racial situation requires a broader program: “We…need, and now have, a more comprehensive creed, one that embraces the total White Race, is predicated on a racial-religious base, and is brought up to date to fit the situation in today’s foremost bastion of potential White Power – America.” [[24]](#footnote-24) Regarding America, Klassen invokes Hitler’s prophetic remark shortly before his death: “Somewhere in a faraway place, a Nazi band is playing Dixie and Swannee River, the blood will run in the streets of American and Great Britain, then my spirit will rise from the grave and the world will know that I was right.”[[25]](#footnote-25)

The philosophy of Creativity transcends national socialism and provides a “racial socialism” based on nature’s eternal laws. [[26]](#footnote-26) According to Klassen, the White Race is the highest achievement of human evolution. Too many whites have been duped by the Jews into believing in Christianity, a religion that defies the law of survival of the fittest. In passages that echo Friedrich Nietzsche’s writings, Klassen presents Christianity as form of slave morality; it promotes compassion, equality, generosity, poverty, and sacrifice – all of which are life-denying virtues. As a result, whites have lost their racial pride and, with it, their racial loyalty, purity, and unity. For Klassen, “The main problem is to straighten out the White Man’s thinking and get him back to sanity.” The teachings of Creativity counter the Jewish media project of “brain pollution” (one of Klassen’s more memorable phrases) which has confused many Whites.[[27]](#footnote-27) According to Klassen, “The White Race needs a new religion polarized around the value of his race, the greatest value on the face of the earth.” [[28]](#footnote-28) He advocates racial religion as a more powerful tool than political ideology, but religious teachings must be properly matched to racial groups. Unlike political ideologies, racial religions penetrate all aspects of their members’ lives – mind, body, spirit (or will) and environment. Again echoing Nietzsche, Klassen writes: “All people in order to survive and flourish need a religion, a creed, a life-philosophy. They urgently need a religion to give them direction, goal, and purpose.”[[29]](#footnote-29)

Ironically (and pragmatically), Klassen’s model for a new White religion is Judaism, a religion he claims is known for its great success with “tribal” loyalty. For Klassen, the White Race must organize across national borders and overcome any intra-racial divisions; for example, between Aryan and Nordic peoples. He proposes Latin as a universal language to facilitate this process, partly because it remains the language of law, medicine, and science. Klassen points to miscegenation as primary cause for the downfall of past great White civilizations, and he claims there is greater genetic distance between Whites and Blacks than between Blacks and apes. However, he does not advocate racial genocide or, from his perspective, even white supremacy. Separatism will suffice for Whites to regain a sense of their natural instincts, gradually reduce peoples of color, and eventually control the planet. As Klassen puts it, “I believe in the spirit of pioneering America….Shrink the colored races, expand the White Race, until we populate all the worthwhile lands of this Planet Earth in its entirety.”[[30]](#footnote-30) The racial stock of White Americans was – and is -- far more important for the future of America than principle of equal rights enshrined in the U.S. Constitution.[[31]](#footnote-31) Faced with a long history of race betrayals, Klassen argues that the stakes are now very high: “For the White Man it is either: White supremacy or extinction.”[[32]](#footnote-32)

*The White Man’s Bible* has a more didactic tone and programmatic focus than *Nature’s Eternal Religion.* It includes the “Sixteen Commandments of Creativity,” summarizes the “Essence of a Creator,” and provides a “Gullibility Quiz” for readers. It also contains lists of organization goals and member pledges.*[[33]](#footnote-33)* In keeping with his sense of propaganda, Klassen simply reiterates many earlier arguments, now in another context. However, Klassen also introduces several additional aspects of his racial religion that merit further discussion. First, there is a more extensive discussion of evolution, marked by metaphors describing “black Africans” as the “black plague,” “black rot,” as well as “cancer” and “excrement” of the “racial body.” Although Klassen reluctantly recognizes “black Africans” as human beings, they are a lesser species of humanity, closest to the apes. Invoking standard stereotypes, he presents black people as “shiftless, lazy, and dumb” and “prone to crime and violence.”[[34]](#footnote-34) Klassen claims black people are “the means by which the Jews plan to destroy the White Race,” through race-mixing (or mongrelization), misplaced compassion due to Christian teachings, and misguided government policies, such as affirmative action, school desegregation, public welfare, and voting rights. Against this Jewish plot, Klassen invokes the Founding Fathers’ support for racial inequality in the U.S. Constitution. America, he argues, belongs to the White Race: “So why should we be all tears, blubber and bleeding heart for the shiftless n----s in America being sent back to their homeland?”[[35]](#footnote-35)

Second, Klassen elaborates on the importance of emotional attachments in his racial religion. He argues that “love, hate, and anger” play a valuable role in stirring “men[sic] into action.” However, he distinguishes real fears based on the need to survive the imminent danger of racial extinction from what he regards as the unreal fears fostered by Christian theology. Christian stories of “spooks-in-the-sky,” the “devil,” and “hell” gradually sicken and weaken human instincts. In contrast, Creativity “energizes” people through “healthy, normal emotions.” The following passage is worth quoting at length for the (il)logic it reveals:

You can’t hate something unless it is a threat to something you love, and you can’t protect that something you love unless you are aroused to hate and anger towards that threat. How many times in your own life were things simply at a standstill, and it wasn’t until you got “mad”’ (at yourself, or others) that the fur began to fly and things finally got done? Practically every important movement in history was engendered by the Love-Hate, Push-Pull Dynamics of Human Nature. To quote a few: the American Revolution—hate for the British, love for America; Hitler’s National Socialist movement—hate for the Jews and traitors, love for the German people, and the most durable of all –the Judaic religion—hate for all Gentiles, loyalty to the Jewish race.[[36]](#footnote-36)

With its plan to build a “better, whiter world,” the Creativity movement is the next important movement in human history. As a racial religion, Creativity reaches deeper than a political ideology and appeals to the emotional needs of its members, including the need to love or hate.

Third, *The White Man’s Bible* also elaborates on Klassen’s political views*.* Klassen thinks government structure is a minor problem that can be easily solved – if and when the White Race regains its “will to triumph.”[[37]](#footnote-37) Racial socialism requires collectivist or cellular organization: in a living racial body “… each individual takes care of his specialized duties toward himself and the best interests of the society as a whole, just as does the individual cell in its relationship to the body as a whole.” [[38]](#footnote-38) Like the individual body, the larger racialized body politic cannot include “differentiated races” (by analogy, cancers or parasites) or it will be “at war with itself.” According to Klassen, all heterogeneous or polyglot societies are ultimately doomed: “The end result finally is either the suicide of all groups, or the emergence of the group, or race, or element, that was best prepared to fight and survive.”[[39]](#footnote-39) Because nothing less than race survival is at stake, Klassen thinks terrorism and violence are justified. Invoking the logic of Jefferson’s “Declaration of Independence” and Locke’s *Treatise of Civil Government*, he argues that when a government violates the Constitutional rights of its citizens it engages in criminal activity and the citizens are justified in “taking the law into their own hands.” [[40]](#footnote-40) This makes second amendment rights very important. Klassen says, “…while we are still in the process of regaining control of our own destiny, in no case will we ever surrender any of our guns or weapons, under any pretext, ruse or semblance of law whatsoever. Never, never, never, not even one gun. The Second Amendment gives us the constitutional right to keep our guns, and we damn well mean to exercise that right at all costs.”[[41]](#footnote-41) He follows this statement with the chapter, “Enabling the White Race to Protect itself From a Hostile Government—Articles For Defense of the White Race.” It includes the slogan: “A FREE PEOPLE IS NEVER UNARMED AND AN UNARMED PEOPLE IS NEVER FREE.”[[42]](#footnote-42)

Klassen frequently reminds readers of *Nature’s Eternal Religion* and *The White Man’s Bible* that Creativity is a “FOUR DIMENSIONAL RELIGION” committed to “A Sound Mind, A Sound Body, A Sound Society and a Sound Environment.” All four aspects are “necessary for the survival, expansion and advancement of the White Race.” Although nine chapters of *The White Man’s Bible* address the topic of salubrious living, Klassen thought it required further discussion in a separate work. *Salubrious Living* was mostly written by the natural hygienist, Arnold Devries, author of *The Fountain of Youth.*  Klassen provided an introduction that endorsed DeVries’ views and added a final chapter on “Eugenics.” In his introduction, Klassen traces the term, “salubrious,” to its Latin root, “*salubris*,” which means ”healthy; wholesome; sound; useful; vigorous.”[[43]](#footnote-43) For Klassen, the principle of “racial health” – or eugenics -- extends salubrious living beyond its origins in the philosophy and practice of natural hygiene.

*Salubrious Living* begins with a critique of the myth of medical progress. Several chapters document failures of medical science ranging from poisonous drugs, unnecessary supplements, to unnecessary and unsuccessful surgeries. Most important, Klassen claims “medical ‘science’ studies disease, not health.”[[44]](#footnote-44) Even alternative medicine – Klassen mentions chiropractic, osteopathy, naturopathy, Christian Science, physical medicine – focuses on treating symptoms rather the underlying causes of disease. The Hygienic System instead “holds that disease is a restorative and healing action, not a malevolent force” and works to create the conditions under which the body can heal itself.[[45]](#footnote-45) According to Klassen, “We need only to adopt our correct human dietary [sic], expose our bodies to the sun as needed, breathe fresh pure air, get adequate rest and sleep, ingest only pure water, maintain emotional equilibrium – in short, we must observe the essential influences and factors of health.”[[46]](#footnote-46)

Successive chapters contrast civilized diets – salt, refined sugar, pasteurized milk, refined grains, condiments, coffee, tea, cocoa, alcohol, soft drinks, gelatin, ice cream, canned foods -- with those of primitive tribes. Detailed charts establish the buildup of toxins and depletion of minerals and vitamins in the bodies of civilized races. Klassen recommends fasting to cleanse the body of toxins, followed by an “all-raw” and “fruitarian” diet. “ Only natural, uncooked, unrefined, unprocessed, unchanged foods must be used, and these must be selected from the plant kingdom.”[[47]](#footnote-47) Klassen recommends buying a good juicer and even provides recipes for raw foods. He also worries about soil depletion and pesticide use, and endorses organic farming because it provides safer foods and healthier soil. Other features of salubrious living are: heliotherapy, including solariums in schools; regular physical exercise, especially team sports; dental care; exercises to maintain eyesight; foot care; preventing baldness; prenatal and infant care, including breast-feeding instructions; and natural beauty without cosmetics.

Last, Klassen turns to what he calls “genetic health” and chastises the white race for its failure to heed nature’s laws. As he states those laws, “(a)There is a continuous culling out of the misfits in order to improve the genetic quality of the herd of the flock (survival of the fittest), and, (b)They do not interbreed with another similar species, no matter how closely related that species may be.”[[48]](#footnote-48) According to Klassen, whites have been “insanely generous” and “flagrantly flouted” these natural laws by mixing their genes with “inferior species” or “lesser races.” Again, he sounds a warning call: “If it does not soon change its course, nature will exact its final punishment on the White Race – Extinction. This is as certain as the extinction of the dodo and the dinosaur and this process is crashing about our ears at an astounding speed….” [[49]](#footnote-49)

**The Music Messages of RaHoWa**

Like many elder leaders of the white power movement, Klassen relied on his voluminous writings to convey the message of Creativity. For others, like George Burdi, music provides a more effective medium. Conversion stories are not uncommon among white supremacists, and George Burdi ultimately credits the music of Ian Stuart Donaldson’s Skrewdriver with his conversion to Creativity.[[50]](#footnote-50) He tells this story of his drive home one night after the bars in Toronto closed:

I was fatigued, and stared wearily at the road, thinking about the struggle I was deeply attracted to. More than half-way home, I remembered that the “White Power” tape was in my pocket. Almost immediately, my speakers hissed with white noise, and my woofers buzzed from being over-bassed as the first song kicked in. It was “Hail The New Dawn” by Skrewdriver, and it sent shockwaves through my body. I mean, here I was in a movement that surrounded me with middle-aged and elderly men, and suddenly I heard this voice – this amazing, soulful, mighty voice—that was from a young man, like myself. Thirty minutes of listening later, I was hooked on Skrewdriver….I still remember today how much that first experience impacted my life.[[51]](#footnote-51)

Burdi formed his own band, RaHoWa, because of his conviction that white power music was the most effective recruiting tool for the white power movement.

The lyrics Burdi composed for RaHoWa songs convey the basic messages of the Creativity movement: the struggle for survival of nature’s fittest; the imminent danger of white racial extinction; the rise and fall of American empire; death of God at the hands of Jewish Christianity; the glorious battles of the racial holy war (World Wars I and II); and the legendary heroes of the White Race (Viking warriors, Napoleon, Hitler, Matthews). The same songs often mix expressions of impending doom with calls for valiant struggle against overwhelming odds. [Again, see Appendix D] The combined effect is nihilistic, rebellious, tragic, and hopeful – all at once. The words of RaHoWa lyrics can be understood by listeners unlike some metal, punk, and skinhead bands whose language is perhaps intentionally obscured. Klassen was arguably skilled at creating slogans for the movement, what he called “Sound Bites, Brain Bombs, & and Word Grenades.” We have already seen some examples: “brain pollution,” not “brain-washing”; “boating, not busing”; and the battle cry, “RaHoWa.” Burdi was also skilled at “message” and his lyrics contain many memorable phrases; for example, “What you call Christianity. I call ‘Christ-insanity’” or “Our race is our religion, it’s our reason and our creed”; “It’s nature’s plan to weed-out man, And test who are the strong.”[[52]](#footnote-52) He also set his lyrics to simple, catchy tunes.[[53]](#footnote-53) Music is a highly effective mnemonic device, a feature often used by school teachers (“The Alphabet Song” and counting songs, “99 Bottles of Beer”) and presidential candidates alike (will.i.am’s “Yes, We Can” is forever linked with the Obama 2008 campaign). [[54]](#footnote-54) These songs work as mnemonic devices by presenting information in small “chunks” and repeating it many times. Most RaHoWa songs repeat a chorus for the audience to sing along and some use familiar melodies, making it easy to participate in the singing and shouting.[[55]](#footnote-55) RaHoWa did perform some ballads that told longer stories of struggle, but most songs simply “chunked” the basic ideas of Creativity into what our internet age might call “music messages.” [[56]](#footnote-56)

Although Burdi wrote song lyrics with meaningful content, he criticized the tendency of older white supremacists to communicate through printed books, flyers, and pamphlets. He thought some books, such as William Pierce’s *Hunter* and *The Turner Diaries,* or even Hitler’s *Mein Kampf,* could reach their readers on a deeper level.[[57]](#footnote-57) However, Burdi felt that white power music generally had a stronger emotional effect than books on younger members of the movement. Regarding the power of musical sound, Burdi says:

Adolf Hitler is considered one of the best orators in human history, by people that do not even Understand German. I for one can understand very little, yet I love to sit and listen to him speak, because it makes me feel alive.

Our music, especially the best songs, has that effect on the listener. It operates on an entirely different level than the cold, dry rational approach of our predecessors. Music can chill you to the bone, raise up your spirit, and make you want to explode with energy and vibrancy. It has the power to reach you on the deepest emotional level. [[58]](#footnote-58)

In this passage, Burdi explicitly invokes the power of music as a common language, as a way of making emotional connections across linguistic differences. Instead of Klassen’s Latin, Burdi suggests that musical sound provides the universal language Creativity needs.

According to Burdi, music also energizes the emotions of anger, fear, and hate that Klassen argues will motivate the White Race in its battle to survive. By tapping into raw emotions and visceral responses, music empowers people to act:

As primitive a form of culture as it may be, White Power concerts, and the mechanisms that surround it, are the breeding ground for a new identity. In this age of war, we are not afforded the luxury of contemplating the cosmos in peace and security. Instead, we live in a world that bloodlusts for our annihilation, and our music reflects the aggression and anger of a generation forced into war by powers beyond our scope of understanding….When a cat is cornered, it does not think about the “morality” of its reaction. It will lash out, teeth bared, claws slashing wildly, and hair standing on end to create an illusion of great mass. It is concerned only with its survival, not looking ‘nice’ or ‘pretty’ or ‘friendly.’ Much like that cat, Skinheads are not elements of conservatism or stability. They are symptoms of a social disease called egalitarianism, and they react with vengeance and extreme dissension….[[59]](#footnote-59)

Not surprisingly, RaHoWa (and other white power music) concerts were often accompanied by violence between patrons, protestors, and bystanders. These violent reactions are partly the effects of how the human brain processes hard-hitting musical rhythms and sounds. The most primitive regions of the brain -- the amygdala, cerebellum, and hippocampus – trigger a visceral fight or flight response before complex information reaches the cerebral cortex. These areas of the brain are also where we process emotional reactions to music, memories of musical experience, rhythm, dance, and movement. [[60]](#footnote-60) RaHoWa’s best- selling CD, *Cult of the Holy War,* which one reviewer describes as a “stunning mix of hard rock, the heaviest of metal, and Goth, with strains of neo classicism throughout,” intentionally taps into these primitive brain regions.[[61]](#footnote-61)

The visceral reactions of individual listeners that generated the seeming anarchy of “white riots” after RaHoWa concerts can also produce a collective phenomenon called “muscular bonding.”[[62]](#footnote-62) Music has the power to create an experience of ecstasy that is both individual and collective. The term ecstasy derives from *Ekstasis.* As Robert Jourdain describes it: “*Ex-*for ‘outside*,’ stasis* for ‘standing.’” Sounds that leave you standing outside yourself. Sounds like those that called Ulysses to the Sirens’ rock. Sounds whose potency lies beyond pleasure and even beyond beauty. Sounds that reveal to us truths we have always known yet won’t be able to recount when the last echo has subsided.”[[63]](#footnote-63) The military and churches have long used rhythmic sounds to create a sense of coordinated group action that transcends individuals’ sense of physical vulnerability.[[64]](#footnote-64) Elsewhere I have argued that the embodied solidarity of racist skinheads’ group violence resembles what Michael Hardt and Negri call “swarm intelligence.” A swarm is “a mobilization of the common that takes the form of an open, distributed network, in which no center exerts control and all nodes express themselves freely.”[[65]](#footnote-65) Drawing on Rimbaud’s poetry, they compare the “music of the swarm” to “the reawakening and reinvention of the senses in the youthful body…that takes place in the buzzing and swarming of the flesh.”[[66]](#footnote-66)

What Hardt and Negri call “swarm intelligence,” Kathleen Blee describes as an “anarcho-proto-fascist” form of organized behavior practiced by racist skinhead groups.[[67]](#footnote-67) Whatever the terminology, the violent acts of white supremacists, such as Wade Michael Page or Benjamin Smith, should be seen as part of a coordinated strategy adopted by the white power movement and not, as the mainstream media often portrays them, isolated incidents involving mentally disturbed individuals. In his announcement of the formation of Resistance Records, Burdi confirms the important role white power music was intended to play in the movement: “There is a bold new force on the horizon—and you guessed right—it is Resistance Records….the most important emotion that you can feel is not hatred, nor love, It is empowerment. Empowerment is the feeling of strength that results from positive influences , be they actions or ideas. The revolution—any revolution—begins in the hearts and minds of the most heroic elements of a population: the revolution begins with you….”[[68]](#footnote-68) The music of RaHoWa, like other white power bands, was meant to empower revolutionary action, including violence. Recognizing this phenomenon, German government sources have described white power music as “Gateway Drug #1” to violence.[[69]](#footnote-69)

**Conclusion: Racial Ecology and the Social Contract**

In *Music and Social Movements, Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century,* Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison describe how American folk music has mobilized a variety of left-wing social movements by reinvoking shared traditions. Musical traditions, they argue, can sustain a movement long after its established leadership and official organization has disappeared.[[70]](#footnote-70) Although Eyerman and Jamison focus on progressive social movements, such as civil rights, labor, and peace, the role of music in the history of Creativity suggests that their argument can also apply to right-wing movements. RaHoWa’s music sustained Creativity after Klassen’s death and arguably continues to sustain it today. The band’s CDs are still being sold (they are available on Amazon) and Burdi’s songs are still performed at White Power music festivals.

Burdi has long since recanted his former racist views, however. When asked about his views on racism in a recent interview, he replied:

Racism is wrong because…I should probably say hatred is wrong, anger is wrong. Hatred and anger are wrong because they consume what is good in you. They smother your ability to appreciate love and peace. Another reason that racism is wrong is that you attach yourself to the accomplishments of white Europeans, instead of developing yourself and actually contributing to the society you are in.[[71]](#footnote-71)

Today Burdi offers the following advice to White Power musicians: “Remember that every lyric you ever write will be read by your children someday, that once it’s out there you can’t take it back, and that you have to speak out to the kids who listen to your records, keep them out of jail, and make the concerts more family oriented and culturally uplifting. Focus more on what you love, not what you hate.”[[72]](#footnote-72) He describes his personal evolution through white supremacy as a way of finding “purpose and meaning” in his life that ultimately resulted in a spiritual worldview that transcends blood and politics.[[73]](#footnote-73) With the music of his new band, Novacosm, he strives to express a more spiritual understanding of the cosmos and the future of humanity. So far, Novacosm has had much less musical success that RaHoWa did.

Although white power music may have provided a path to spiritual enlightenment for George Burdi, the growing presence of hate crimes, hate groups, and hate music in America (and other western liberal democracies) suggests more remains to be done. In one of my opening epigraphs, Audre Lorde distinguishes anger from hatred. The former, she says, is motivated by a “grief of distortion among peers, and its object is change.” The latter is “the fury of those who do not share our goals, and its object is death and destruction.” In another epigraph, Ben Klassen affirms anger and hatred as natural, healthy emotions that motivate the fittest in their struggle to survive. Unlike Lorde, however, he conflates the two. Burdi, who now rejects the anger and hatred of white supremacy, also continues to conflate these emotions. In closing, I want to suggest the importance of sustaining Lorde’s distinction between anger and hatred, because it may offer a way to rethink the history of white supremacy on which the racialized American nation-state was founded.

Part of this process of rethinking involves acknowledging the grain of truth, however small, in white supremacists’ arguments. In *Nature’s Eternal Religion*, Klassen writes “…our success in America was not due to our ‘wonderful’ Constitution. It was due to the good white racial stock and the wealth and bounty of our land. The Constitution had little to do with it.”[[74]](#footnote-74) As Carole Pateman and Charles Mills have argued powerfully, a racial and sexual contract does undergird the social contract established in the U.S. Constitution at the American Founding.[[75]](#footnote-75) I would suggest that this grain of truth in Klassen’s philosophy is reason enough to take white supremacists’ anger and, with it, the music messages of RaHoWa, seriously. Their hatred may spring, in part, from a sense that the American racial-sexual contract has been breached. And their violent acts of destruction may represent desperate efforts to restore that contract, a mission made more urgent (in their eyes) by the election and now re-election of President Obama. His electoral victories symbolize a broad, deep and necessary transformation of American society, an overcoming of the original racial-sexual contract that founded America.

What angry white supremacists fail to recognize is that the social contract enshrined in the U.S. Constitution was distorted (in Lorde’s terms) and hence illegitimate from the start. The list of struggles, including the Civil War, to remedy its distortions is already much too long. The “white trash,” with whom George Burdi did prison time, serve to as a reminder that those distortions also include a labor contract. Class, race, sex – all three undergird the American social contract, and all three result in distortions that remain to be redeemed. I close with these questions: What happens when we distinguish white supremacists’ anger from the unjustified -- and unjustifiable -- hatred and violence that it so often fuels? Might we then ask another question: Does their anger signal an opportunity to rewrite the American social contract? Or, when white supremacists excavate the capitalist-racial-sexual contract do they also reveal the limits of a political order that understands individuals as property? Might white supremacists’ calls for racial ecology in the Obama era signify that the original American social contract is finally obsolete? If so, how might their anger be redirected so that its object is not hatred, but change? Are preventing ecological collapse, protecting the constitutional rights of citizens, or even building a collective social order goals Americans might share someday? As George Burdi sings in the final chorus of “Ode to a Dying People”: “Don’t let it end this way.”[[76]](#footnote-76)

Appendix A:Ben Klassen, PM, *The Little White Book, Fundamentals of the White Racial Religion Creativity, For Daily Reading and Affirmation of the White Faith (Otto, NC: The Church of the Creator, 1991).*

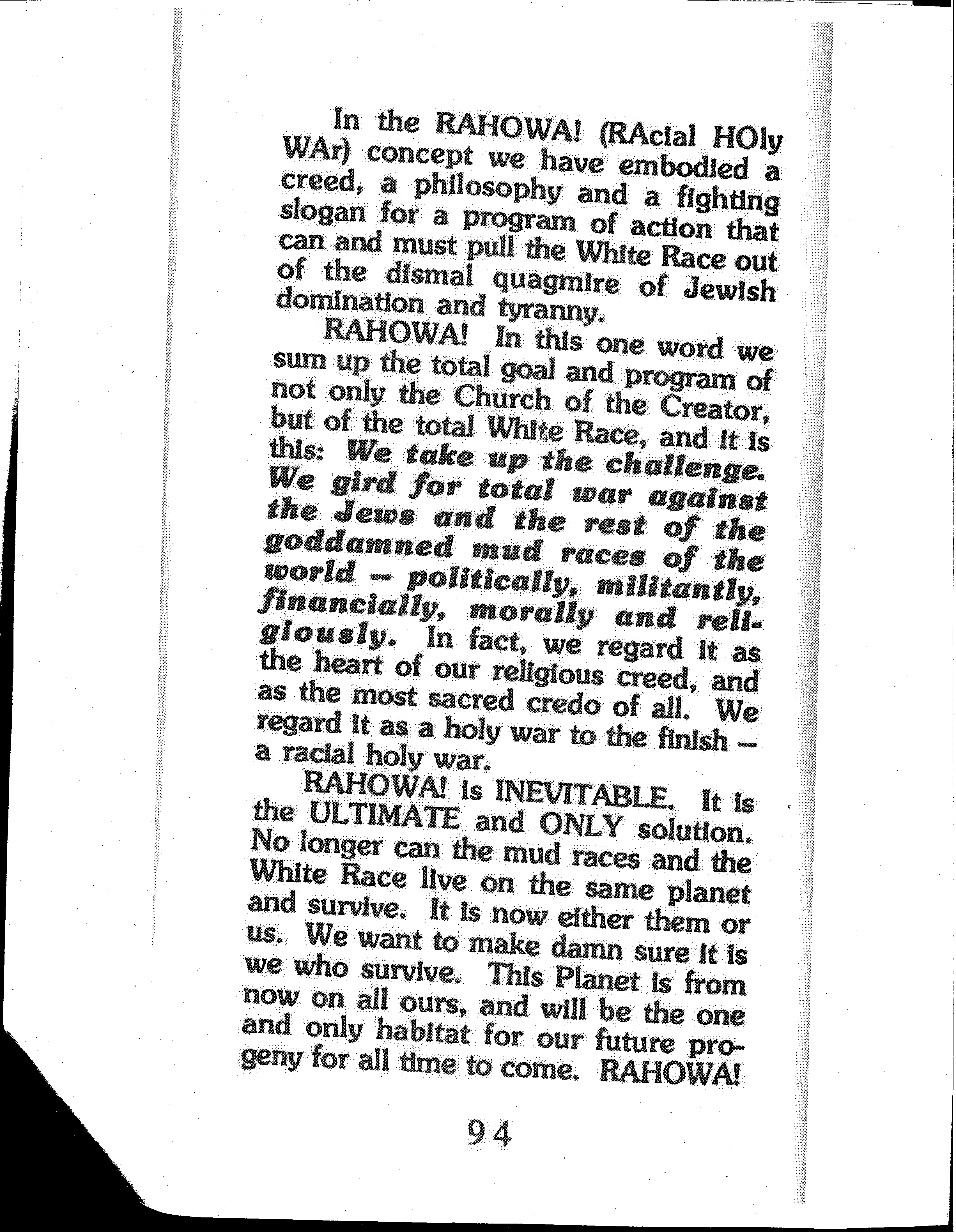
Explanation of the C.O.T.C. Logo (upper left): “The ‘W’ of our Logo stands, of course, for the WHITE RACE, which we regard as the most precious treasure on the face of the earth. The Crown signifies our Aristocratic position in Nature’s scheme of things, indicating that we are the ELITE. The Halo indicates that we regard our race as being UNIQUE and SACRED above all other values.”



Appendix B: Battle Flag of the Church of the Creator. From Klassen, *The Little White Book:* “Symbolism of our Flag: (a)the blood-red color of our flag symbolizes our struggle for the survival, expansion and advancement of the White Race. (b)The end-side triangle of pure white color symbolizes the emergence of a Whiter and Brighter World out of our struggle. (c)The center of the flag is adorned with the C.O.T.C. Logo, which symbolizes our unique White Racial Religion – Creativity: the Beacon of Hope and Salvation for the White People.”



Appendix C: Ben Klassen, *The Little White Book,* “Epilogue, RAHOWA! This Planet is All Ours.”

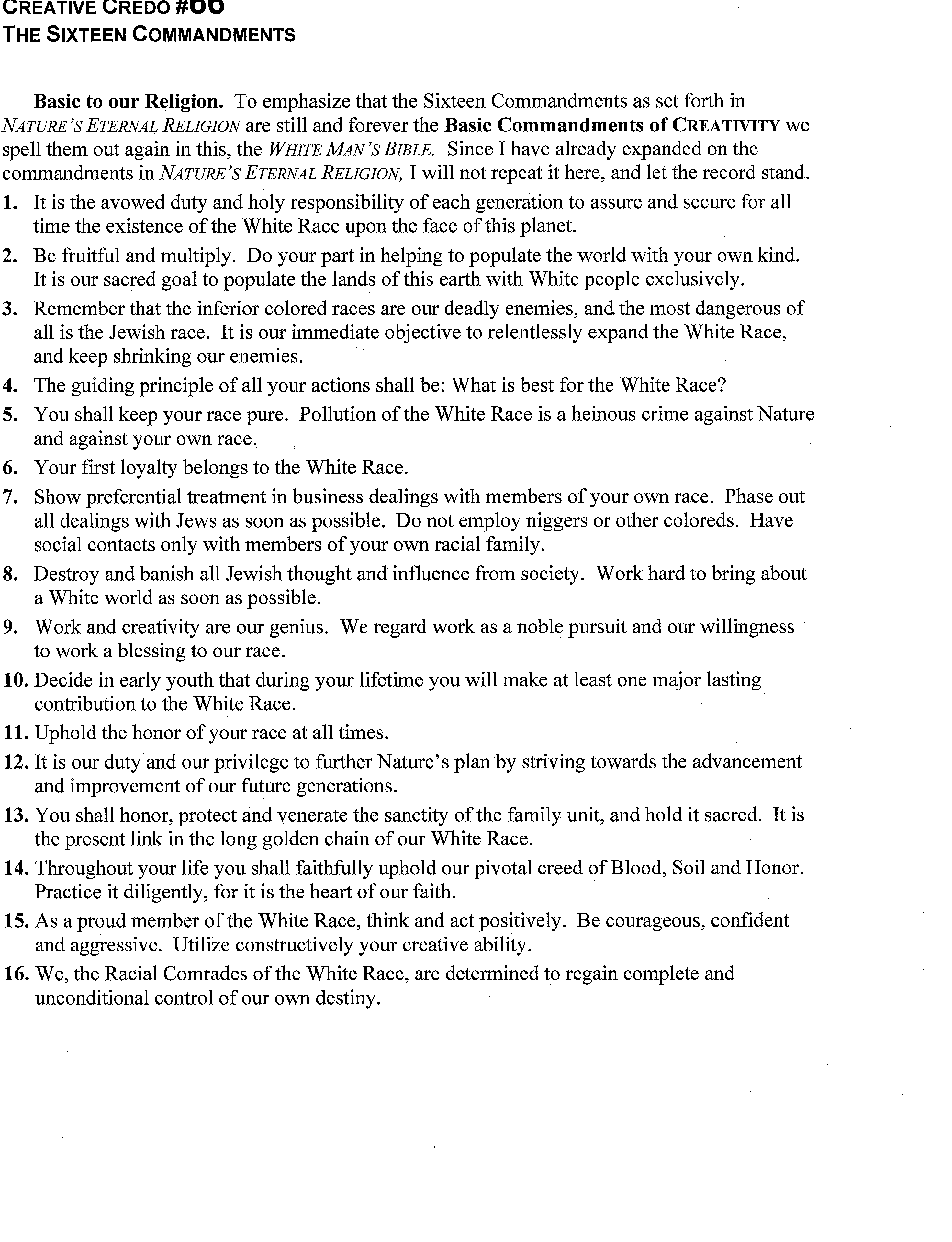


Appendix D:

“Ode To A Dying People”

Eyes shining bright with unspilt tears,   
Thinking about all these wasted years.  
Everything worth living for is gone,   
Brother, I find it hard to keep fighting on.  
Falling down towards the abyss,   
The reaper embraces me with his kiss;   
It makes me want to refuse to care,   
To watch this all unfold - too much to bear.  
  
If this is the way it ends -  
If this is the way my race ends...   
If this is the way it ends - I can't bear to witness  
  
Disease encroaching on all I hold dear,   
Somehow I gotta get my soul outta here.  
Heart of agony, faint burning hope,   
I'm finding it hard to try to cope...   
  
Because liars own the world with conquering poise,   
In a wasteland of meaningless noise;   
We don't stand a chance with dormant pride,   
The heroes of our race have already died...   
  
If this is the way it ends - if this is the way my race ends...   
If this is the way it ends - I can't bear to witness...   
  
To imagine it has all come down to this,   
Apathy and suicidal bliss...   
  
It's all over except for the cryin',   
With a whimper instead of the roar of a lion...   
  
The greatest race to ever walk the earth,   
Dying a slow death with insane mirth,   
The tomb has been prepared, our race betrayed,   
White man, fight the flight towards the grave...   
  
If this is the way it ends - if this is the way my race ends...   
If this is the way it ends - I can't bear to witness...   
If this is the way it ends - if this is the way my race ends...   
If this is the way it ends - I can't bear to witness...   
  
Don't let it end this way,   
Don't let it end this way,

Appendix E:



1. Theodor Adorno, “What National Socialism Has Done to the Arts,” in *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert, trans. Susan H. Gillespie (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 374. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Audre Lorde, “The Uses of Anger: Women Responding to Racism” in *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (Freedom, CA: The Crossing Press, 1984), 129. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Ben Klassen, *Nature’s Eternal Religion,* (Lighthouse Point, FLA: Church of the Creator, 1973), Book II, Ch. 18. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. The white power music industry contributes millions of dollars annually to white supremacist groups and national front parties. Roughly 350 white power bands perform in the United States and Western Europe, with 120 based in America. Major genres include: neo-nazi folk, racist skinhead, black or death metal, and fascist experimental music. Anti-Defamation League (ADL), “Neo-Nazi Hate Music: A Guide,” 2004, <http://www.adl.org/main_Extremism/hate_music>. [EXTEND NOTE] [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Anti-Defamation League, “The Sounds of Hate, The White Power Music Scene in the US in 2012,” <http://www.adl.org>. Also see Marilyn Elias, “Sikh Temple Killer Michael Page Radicalized in Army,” Southern Poverty Law Center, *Intelligence Repor*t 148 (Winter 2012). This issue also includes a slideshow, “Murder and the Musician,” that features Page’s performances. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Southern Poverty Law Center, “White Pride Worldwide: The white power music industry is helping to drive the internationalization of neo-Nazism,” *Intelligence Report* 101 (Fall 2001), <http://www.splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article>. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Ugo Corte and Bob Edwards, “White Power Music and the Mobilization of Racist Social Movements,” *Music in Arts in Action* 1:1 (June 2008), 4-20. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Pete Simi and Robert Futrell, *American Swastika, Inside the White Power Movement’s Hidden Spaces of Hate* (New York: Rowman & Littlefeld, 2010); Futrell, Robert and Pete Simi. “The Sound of Hate.” *The New York Times*, August 9, 2012. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/09/opinion/the-sikh-temple-killers-music-of-hate.html?_r=0>. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Paul Burney, “A Tribute to Ian Stuart, 11 August 1975-24 September 1993, http://www.Skrewdriver.org/htm. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. In the United States, right-wing extremist groups increased 40% in 2009. This figure reflects an 80% surge in anti-immigration nativist groups and a 244% increase in active Patriot groups. According to Mark Potok of the Southern Poverty Law Center, Patriot groups, mostly paramilitary organizations, have mobilized in anger against changing demographics, rising public debt, declining economic opportunities, and a series of Obama initiatives perceived as “socialist” or even “fascist.” (Mark Potok, “Rage on the Right,” *Intelligence Report* 141 (Spring 2010), <http://www.splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article> For additional historical context see: Leonard Zeskind, *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 2009); Peter H. Merkl and Leonard Weinberg, eds. *The Revival of Right-Wing Extremism in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Frank Cass, 2003); Betty A. Dobratz and Stephanie L. Shanks-Meile, *The White Separatist Movement In The United States* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000). [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. See Nancy S. Love, “Privileged Intersections: The Race, Class, and Gender Politics of Prussian Blue,” *Music & Politics* VI, 1 (Winter 2012), <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mp>; “Playing with Hate: Skinheads, Supremacists, and Skrewdriver,” in *Doing Democracy: Activist Art and Cultural Politics* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, forthcoming 2013). [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Ben Klassen, *Nature’s Eternal Religion* (Lighthouse Point, FLA: Church of the Creator, 1973), *The White Man’s Bible* (Lighthouse Point, FLA: Church of the Creator, 1981), *Salubrious Living: A Natural LifeStyle for Achieving and Maintaining the Ultimate in Superb Health and Well-Being as Taught and Practiced by the Church of the Creator* (Lighthouse Point, FLA: Church of the Creator, 1982). These books have been reprinted multiple times and remain available from Amazon. Free online versions are available at: [http://archive.org/details/[booktitle](http://archive.org/details/%5bbooktitle)].. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. The name of the movement has changed repeatedly, partly as a result of copyright and trademark litigation. For a detailed discussion of its history see: George Michael, *Theology of Hate, A History Of The World Church Of The Creator* (Gainesville, FLA: University Press of Florida, 2012), ch. 8. In this paper, I follow Michaels’ practice and use the label, Creativity movement, to refer to the group over time. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. For discussions of Hale’s leadership of the movement and its continued influence on the radical right, see Michaels, *Theology of Hate*, chs. 8, 10-14. The movement website is: http://www.creativitymovement.net [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. George Burdi, “Former Hate Music Promoter George Burdi Discusses His Experiences with Racism and the White Power Music Industry,” *Intelligence Report* 103 (Fall 2001), <http://www.splcenter.org>. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. *Ibid.* [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. George Burdi, “I am not my DNA! An Interview with George Burdi,” by Anthony Passonno, *acid logic*, http://www.acidlogic.com/georgeburdi.htm. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Burdi, “Former Hate Music Promoter George Burdi Discusses His Experiences with Racism and the White Power Music Industry,” *Intelligence Report* 103 (Fall 2001), http://www.splcenter.org. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Burdi, “I am not my DNA!” [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Klassen, *Nature’s Eternal Religion*, Book II, ch. 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Ibid., Book, II, ch. 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Ibid., Book II, ch. 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Ibid., He adds that Hitler made a mistake by allying with a “yellow race,” the Japanese, in World War II. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Ibid., Book II, ch. 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Klassen defines socialism as “organized society, striving to promote its own best interests collectively.” Ibid., Book II, ch. 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Ibid., Book I, ch. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Ibid., Book I, ch. 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Ibid., Book II, ch. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Ibid., Book II, ch. 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Ibid., Book II, ch. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Ibid., Book II, ch. 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Klassen, *The White Man’s Bible,* chs. 66, 72. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Ibid., chs. 29, 31. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Ibid., ch. 29. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Ibid., ch. 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Ibid., ch. 69. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Ibid., ch. 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Ibid., ch. 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Ibid., ch. 64. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Ibid., ch. 64. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Ibid., ch. 65. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Klassen, *Salubrious Living,* ch. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Ibid., ch. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Ibid., ch. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Ibid., chs. 7, 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Ibid., ch. 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. For discussions of other conversions triggered by Skrewdriver’s music, see: Benny, *Ian Stuart Donaldson: Diamond In The Dust,* 2001, 2, <http://www.Skrewdriver.org/diamond.html>; Simi and Futrell, *American Swastika,*  62-63. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Quoted in Michaels, *Theology of Hate,* p.110. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. George Burdi, “God is Dead,” “RaHoWa,” and “Might Is Right.” [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. RaHoWa “ringtones” are available with song lyrics online. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. On campaign theme songs, see Benjamin S. Schoening and Eric T. Kasper, *Don’t Stop Thinking About The Music: The Politics of Songs and Musicians in Presidential Campaigns* (New York, NY: Lexington Books, 2012). [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison discuss how activist musicians combine new lyrics with familiar melodies to mobilize supporters in *Music and Social Movements, Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), ch. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. On music as a mnemonic device and the use of “chunking,” see Robert Jourdain, *Music, The Brain, and Ecstasy: How Music Captures Our Imagination* (New York, NY: William Morrow & Co., 1998). On the neuroscience of music, also see Daniel Levitan, *This is Your Brain on Music: The Science of a Human Obsession* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2007); Oliver Sacks, *Musicophilia: Tales of Music and the Brain* (New York, NY: Vintage, 2008). [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Andrew MacDonald (aka William Pierce), *The Turner Diaries: A Novel* (Barricade Books, 1996), Andrew MacDonald (aka William Pierce), *Hunter* (National Vanguard Books, 1989). [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Quoted in Michael, *Theology of Hate*, p. 112. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Ibid., 114. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. William Connolly, *Neuropolitics, Thinking, Culture, Speed* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2002). [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Quoted in Michael, *Theology of Hate,* p. 111. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Burdi now admits that he was involved in “at least 15 riot situations with police and anti-racist groups,” the most violent of which occurred after a 1994 Skrewdriver memorial concert in London. Goerge Burdi-Interview, *NSRevolt*, Thursday 8 October 2009, http://revoltns.blogspot.com/2009/10\_george-burdi-interview.html. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Jourdain, *Music, the Brain, and Ecstasy*, xii. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. William H. McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995). [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude: War and Democracy In The Age Of Empire* (New York: Penguin, 2004), 218. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Ibid., 92-93. Kathleen Blee describes racist skinhead’s organization as “anarcho-proto-fascist” in *Inside Organized Racism*, [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Kathleen Blee, *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003). [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. Quoted in Michael, *Theology of Hate, p.111.* [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. See Timothy S. Brown, “Subcultures, Pop Music and Politics: Skinheads and Nazi Rock in England and Germany, “ *Journal of Social History* 38(1): 157-178. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Eyerman and Jamison, *Music and Social Movements*,p. 73. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. “Burdi: Interview,” *NSRevolt*, 2009. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. VNN Staff, “Interview: George Burdi,” *VNN*, 27 April 2004,

    <http://www.vanguardnewsnetwork.com>/v1/2004/42704burdiinterview.htm. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. Klassen, Nature’s Eternal Religion, Book II, ch. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. Carole Pateman and Charles W. Mills, *Contract & Domination* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2007). I have written elsewhere about the intersections of race and sex/gender in the white power movement. Love, “Privileged Intersections,” *Music & Politics* VI: 1 (Winter 2012). Also see, Kathleen M. Blee, *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003). Regarding the Creativity movement, Klassen writes “It is the man’s duty and obligation to provide for the family, and it is a woman’s privilege to take care of the home and raise her family.” *Nature’s Eternal Religion*, ch. 23. Creators have a separate organization, the Women’s Frontier, founded by Lisa Turner in the late 1990s. See Michael, *Theology of Hate*, ch. 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. George Burdi, RaHoWa, “Ode To A Dying People.” [↑](#footnote-ref-76)