

~~/~~TOWARD A "STEADY STATE" THEORY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS/
LOUIS FARRAKHAN AND THE NATION OF ISLAM

by

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TOWARD A "STEADY STATE" THEORY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Background of Study

Over the last 40 years communication scholars have been developing theories to explain the functions and effects of rhetoric in social movements. As of this writing a multitude of perspectives exist to analyze social movements. However, current theory does not explain all social movement phenomena. Specifically, it does not explain movements that do not evolve over time. Central to current theory is the life cycle model. The model implies that social movements go through specific rhetorical stages over time. Specifically, it describes social movements as experiencing an inevitable life-cycle that leads to non-existence through co-optation or failure. This thesis contends that some movements do not evolve at all. Such a movement can be defined as a "steady state" movement. One such movement is the Nation of Islam. It will be proved that the Nation of Islam defies the life-cycle hypothesis and that the Nation

of Islam actually constitutes a "movement". Finally, the rhetorical strategy that have enabled the Nation of Islam to defy the life-cycle model will be examined. In the context of overall theory, a "steady state" theory seeks to illustrate and explain a greater variety of social movements. As such, it does not supplant the life-cycle model which serves to explain many movements. A "Steady State" theory provides communication scholars with another tool to explain the rhetorical processes and functions of social movement rhetoric that would otherwise remain unexplained.

Review of Literature

Since 1947, when S. Judson Crandell discussed patterns of social movement developed by social psychologists,¹ communication scholars have been developing theories to explain the functions and effects of rhetoric in social movements. As of this writing a multitude of perspectives exists to analyze social movements.

To understand the shortcomings of current theory, the origins of that theory need to be examined. The concept of a social movement "life-cycle" was

originally put forth by Leland Griffin. Griffin has been generally recognized as the father of social movement study. His theoretical articles on the study of social movements have had a lasting impact in the field. Much of today's theory is either a reaction to Griffin or an extension of his earlier work. Thus, any understanding of current theory needs to begin with Griffin. I propose to examine the two methodological articles authored by Griffin. I will review the reactions to Griffin's work and the alternative approaches put forth by various scholars. Finally, I will demonstrate that the basic "life-cycle" concept remains unchallenged.

Leland M. Griffin and Social Movement Study

The rhetorical study of social movements can be traced as far back as the late 1940's. Waldo W. Braden's 1948 article on the "Lyceum Movement"² is an example of interest in this area. However, Leland M. Griffin's 1952 article "The Rhetoric of Social Movements" was the first article to focus on providing a methodology for examining social movements from a communication perspective. Griffin's seminal essay grew out of his Ph.D. dissertation study on the

Anti-Masonic movement.³ Based on this work Griffin concluded that research could be enhanced through the use of a specific analytic framework.

Griffin defines movements as having three major elements⁴: (1) a historical movement is something that has occurred "at sometime in the past"; (2) movements are linear, meaning that men/women become dissatisfied, then they try to change their environment-- their efforts result in some degree of success or failure; and (3) movements have a historical component and a rhetorical component. As Griffin states in his article: "For as the historical movement looked upon as a sustained process of social inference is dynamic, and has its inception, its development, and its consummation."⁵

Griffin describes the parameters of social movement study in qualitative and quantitative terms. Qualitatively, Griffin believes any movement-- social, political, economic, religious, or intellectual-- regardless whether present opinion considers it to have been successful or not, is worthy of study. Griffin suggests that the rhetorical scholar examine not the "biggest" but the briefest historical movement

the scholar can find. The assumption is that a survey of this type can be undertaken by the single scholar, who "is more likely to achieve the synoptic view essential to the effective isolation, analysis, and evaluation of the rhetorical pattern of the movement."⁶ Griffin feels the data produced from smaller studies would help identify the rhetorical pattern peculiar to social movements. This data could then be applied to "massive movements" more efficiently.

Griffin defines two broad categories of rhetorical movements; "pro movements" and "anti movements". The former is defined as "the rhetorical attempt to arouse public opinion to the creation or acceptance of an institution or idea."⁷ The anti movement is described as the rhetorical attempt to "arouse public opinion to the destruction or rejection of an existing institution or idea."⁸

Griffin subdivides speakers in these two categories of movements into two classes: "aggressor orators" and "defendant rhetoricians," which serve different functions for each of the two groups. In the pro movement, aggressor orators attempt to create

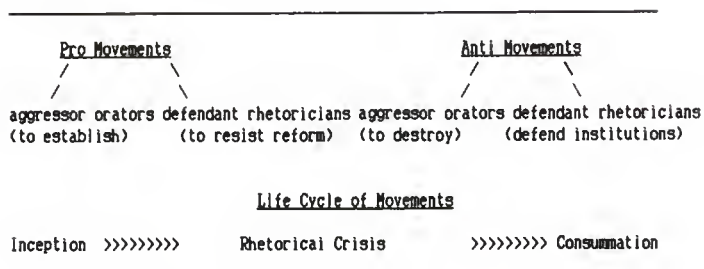
acceptance of an idea and "defendant rhetoricians" attempt to resist reform. In "anti movements," aggressor orators try to resist reform and defendant rhetoricians try to defend the status-quo.

Griffin's framework includes a life-cycle that each movement experiences. This life-cycle has three phases: "inception;" "rhetorical crisis;" and "consummation." The period of inception is defined as the time where pre-existing sentiment, with the help of rhetoricians, rises to public prominence. The period of rhetorical crisis is described as the time when the opposing groups of rhetoricians succeed in "irrevocably disturbing that balance between the groups which had existed in the mind of the collective audience."⁹ The period of "consummation" is defined as the time where the majority of "aggressor rhetoricians" abandon their efforts because their goals have been achieved or because they become convinced that they are unachievable.

Figure 1 illustrates Griffin's typology.

Figure 1

Griffin's Framework to Isolate the Rhetorical
Component in Historical Movements



Rhetorical Criteria

Griffin proposed two major standards for the evaluation of rhetoric in a historical movement. The first standard would judge the effectiveness of the rhetoric as compared to the goals projected by the speakers. The second standard would have the rhetorical critic "judge the discourse in terms of the theories of rhetoric and public opinion indigenous to the times."¹⁰ This principle, means that the rhetorical scholar would evaluate discourse in terms of the conventions and practices available to the

speakers or speech writers of that time. Although Griffin does not elaborate the point further, the implication is that the application of modern rhetorical theory to historical movements would produce anachronistic findings. Judging success or failure of rhetoric on techniques unavailable to rhetoricians of the time might prove to be an overly harsh standard. Griffin acknowledges that the application of this standard points to the need for further background studies in the development of techniques of rhetoric and public opinion in a regional-period context.

Griffin believes that researchers should take the perspective of a "literary historian" rather than that of the statistician. He argues that movements are a dynamic process that cannot be overly segmented. Thus, the study should be conducted chronologically with ample quotations from the actual discourse: "[s]he will make full use of memoirs, letters and other contemporary documents to give the study flesh and blood."¹¹ The primary objective in a movement study is to discover the rhetorical pattern inherent in a movement: "rhetoric has had and does have a vital

function as a shaping agent in human affairs."¹² The final goal of research is to arrive at generalizations in terms of historical movements.

Reaction to Griffin

Griffin's 1952 article provides a rudimentary "rhetorical" framework for movement studies and a workable approach to the criticism of social movements.¹³ The twenty years following Griffin's study witnessed an increased interest in social movements by rhetorical scholars.¹⁴

Simon's "Requirements, Problems, and Strategies: A Theory of Persuasion for Social Movements," published in 1970, was the first methodological statement since Griffin's 1952 article.¹⁵ Simons advocates a leader-centered approach to social movements. Simons does not explicitly refute Griffin, but seeks to expand on his work, Simons states: "the analyst could probably fulfill and even go beyond Griffin's definition of his task if only he could draw more heavily on theory."¹⁶ Simons criticizes Griffin on the grounds that his "skeletal typology of stages" does not specify the requirements that rhetoric must fulfill in social movements. Through the

identification of "rhetorical requirements" Simons sought to provide a better means for evaluating rhetorical strategies and tactics "by suggesting parameters and directions to the rhetorical critic, theory places him in a better position to bring his own sensitivity and imagination to bear on analyses of particular movements."¹⁷

Simons believes that the leaders of a movement must fulfill rhetorical requirements to lead an effective movement. Simon identifies three functions a leader's rhetoric must serve: (1) attract, maintain, and mold followers into an efficiently organized unit; (2) secure adoption of their product by the larger structure; (3) and must react to resistance generated by the larger structure.

In 1971, Bowers and Ochs wrote The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control. This was the first book about persuasion and social movements that was not primarily a collection of speeches and is the first to focus on the methods used by institutions to counter the persuasive effects of social movements.¹⁸ Bowers and Ochs implicitly criticize Griffin on the lack of attention to the movement-establishment interaction.

In 1972, Cathcart in his article, "New Approaches to the Study of Movements: Defining Movements Rhetorically," explicitly criticizes Griffin in several areas. Cathcart finds Griffin's parameters of study too limiting: "We are not only limited to past human interactions, but we should wait for a complete cycle of the interaction to take place before it can be recognized as the act in question."¹⁹ Thus, any study of contemporary movements would be prohibited. Griffin's linear model of social movements is criticized as not being sufficiently distinct in quality or degree to permit identification of the movement from other human interactions occurring at the same time. Cathcart believes Griffin's framework places an unfair burden on the rhetorical critic to distinguish between that part of the movement which is historical and that part which is rhetorical when a dichotomy may not actually exist.

Cathcart proposes to abandon all historical and sociological definitions and focus on a rhetorical definition of movements, "because movements are essentially rhetorical in nature."²⁰ Cathcart defines movements as a "dramatic situation where moral

strivings for salvation bring human agencies into conflict."²¹

Griffin has acknowledged much of the criticism of his earlier work. In response to Simon, Hahn and Gonchar, Griffin states:

I have no quarrel at all with a sociological orientation to the criticism of movements. Any perspective that enables a critic to achieve insight into the rhetorical workings of a movement is to the benefit of us all and experimentation with a variety of approaches is certainly to be desired.²²

Griffin also acknowledges the concerns of Cathcart:

I have no reservation concerning the search for a specifically rhetorical definition of movements. Indeed I had thought to move toward such a definition in observing that man [sic] moves through the moments of his [sic] drama, which are also the moments of his [sic] movements."²³

The Evolution of Griffin's Theory of Movements

Even before the major criticisms of the 1970's, Griffin was distancing himself from certain aspects of his 1952 article. Specifically Griffin began to view social movements from a "dramatic" perspective. Early in 1962, Griffin was invited to read a paper at Wayne Minnick's program, "The Rhetoric of Contemporary Politics" at the SCA convention in Cleveland.²⁴ The paper Griffin developed was titled: "New Left Rhetoric and the Last Sophistic." During this time Griffin became increasingly interested in the writings of Kenneth Burke. As Griffin stated: "I was curious to see if dramatism, given its somewhat leftist origins, might not be particularly appropriate for the analysis of leftist rhetoric."²⁵

In 1964 Griffin published the "The Rhetorical Structure of the 'New Left' Movement: Part One." This study was basically a descriptive analysis of the 'New Left' movement that made references to Burke's work.²⁶ Part two was an attempt to use the Burkian pentad to forecast the rhetorical course the movement might take.²⁷ After two years of effort, Griffin abandoned the project and started to develop a theoretical and

methodological essay that would amplify, in dramatic terms, his 1952 article, "The Rhetoric of Historical Movements."²⁸ As Griffin noted, "I hoped that the resulting abstraction of a movement's rhetoric might provide, incidentally, some checkpoints for gauging the progress of the ongoing New Left movement."²⁹

In 1966 Griffin completed the essay "A Dramatic Theory of the Rhetoric of Movements." This essay was later published in the book, Critical Responses to Kenneth Burke: 1924-1966.³⁰ The book was published in 1969, and Griffin acknowledges that the essay was originally intended to be the second part of his 1964 article.

Griffin begins his essay by acknowledging the dominant role language has on human behavior. "Man [sic] is a being who lives by language; who moves and is moved by words, who rises and is redeemed, or falls and falls through words."³¹ Griffin views this relationship of language as providing the dramatic structure of collective action. This structure (once again) is linear and develops from "order, guilt and

the negative through victimage and manifestation, to catharsis and redemption."³²

Griffin believes that because humans desire order, they build cooperative systems, or "orders". These orders are hierarchical in nature. In order to maintain hierarchy there must be communication. Since different kinds of beings are in communication, the process is defined as "mystery." In a functional system men strive to preserve the hierarchy, in this sense mystery creates the hierarchy. Thus, "the relations between classes are harmonious, cooperative, symmetrical: and the communication between classes is beneficent and benign."³³ The resulting rhetoric represents the yearning to conform to "one's natural condition" which Griffin identifies as "piety."

The condition of "piety" involves the need for obedience or self control. But as Griffin points out; "out of this obligation comes the possibility of disobedience: For men are by nature ambitious, Faustian, 'rotten with perfection'."³⁴ As the communication process breaks down between classes, men cease to conform with the hierarchy. This distance creates "guilt" which Griffin defines as "a function

of impiety-error, or the yearning to err in the use of symbols."³⁵ In Griffin's view humans are by nature charged with symbols and by nature they cannot bear guilt, "and hence, inevitably, they will dream of salvation, the transformation of their condition, a state of redemption"³⁶ or a vision of a new order.

According to Griffin's Burkean dramatic model, people are motivated by order and hierarchy. They become inspired with a new purpose and leaders (described by Griffin as "inventors of the negative") defy the existing order. Thus, a new movement has begun. In dramatic terms the life-cycle of a social movement is akin to a "drama", "it is to study the scenes that bracket the act, for any movement is a sequence of movements between the limits of before and after."³⁷

The inception period of a movement is characterized by indecision and alienation. The movement starts with "enactment of the negative" which is a statement of rejection of the existing order. This will provoke conflict from the existing order. In Griffin's view: "the development of the counter-movement is vital, for it is the bad side that

produces the movement which makes history, by providing a struggle."³⁸ The movement in order to survive must prevail over the counter-movement: "negation of the counter-negation" or "the rhetorical killing of the kill."³⁹ The symbolic rejection of the existing order is the affirmation of the followers of the movement to create a new order.

The crisis period coincides with mass decision and the resolution of public tensions. This time potentially witnesses the death of the old order and the birth of a new. The decision to establish a new order brings the movement to a period of "consummation." Griffin describes the period of consummation as the time of "redemption." Injustice has been purged and reason and justice prevail. This period brings a new order of self-control, self-restraint, and self-moderation. Finally, a movement ends in "stasis" or the new order of "redemption". Table 1. helps illustrate this "dramatistic" life cycle.

Table 1.

Griffin's Dramatistic Life Cycle of Social Movements

<u>Stage</u>	<u>Prevailing Symbols</u>	<u>Events</u>
Inception	Indecision Alienation Tension	Enactment of the Negative Provoke Conflict Development of Counter-movement Rejection of existing order
Crisis	Resolution Catharsis	Old Order Dies Birth of New Order
Consummation	Reason Justice	Time of decision Redemption Transcendence
Stasis	Love Peace Control Order	"Pendulum at rest"

Griffin's new methodology of dramatism was fairly well received. Rueckert, commenting on Griffin's essay, stated that "[Griffin's] essay [is] one of the finest syntheses and application of Burke I know of...Burke is fortunate in having been received in this way in this field by such a person as Professor Griffin."⁴⁰ Smith felt that Griffin's interpretation of dramatism helps critics in two areas. First, it helps rhetoricians account for statements of movement participants: "If the cycle of guilt, rejection and elation which Griffin specifies does not reflect the

untidy sequence of events, it may describe a more neatly structured interior world of expectations."⁴¹ Second, rhetorical analysts may find dramatism a guide for interpreting the controlling assumptions of historians. Cathcart believes that Griffin established the "ground" for movements as well as a movement's rhetorical "raison d'être."⁴²

Recent Applications

In 1984 Griffin published "When Dreams Collide: Rhetorical Trajectories in the Assassination of President Kennedy." In this essay Griffin applies his dramatisitic framework to the assassination of President Kennedy. Griffin extends his earlier theory with the concept of a "one man movement." Griffin argues that Lee Harvey Oswald saw himself as the leader of a movement and the Burkian perspective explains his subsequent acts.⁴³ Oswald, believing himself as a leader of a communist movement and wishing to create a "new order," shot President Kennedy as his symbolic rejection of the existing order.

Alternative Views to Griffin

Several other leading communication scholars have contributed theories on social movement research. Cathcart defines social movement operationally as a kind of ritual conflict which is composed of or uses confrontational rhetoric. Cathcart establishes the establishment-conflict distinction which defines social movements as existing outside the establishment.⁴⁴

Hahn and Gonchar favors a traditional Aristotelian approach in the study of a social movement. Their social movement methodology is the application of Aristotelian principles that help social movements adjust their rhetoric to the needs of the times. The authors conclude that social movement study has been hindered over the preoccupation toward theory-building.⁴⁵

Heath argues that social transformation is a dialectical process between the the movement and the establishment. A dialectic approach views the strategy of confrontation as a necessary element to force major changes in ideologies, definitions and value priorities. Heath supports his hypothesis with the

example of the Black radicals of the 1960s. Heath concludes that the strategy of dialectical confrontation has worked for the Black radicals. Heath points to a 1971 poll that stated that 64% of Black youths felt that the Black Panther movement gave them a sense of unity and pride. Dialectical confrontation polarizes and purifies the social movement struggling for control of the prioritization of values.⁴⁶

Gregg proposes that "self persuasion" is analogous to persuasion of others. Gregg suggests that rhetorical discourse can be pictured on a continuum having as its extremes the directing of appeals and arguments towards others, and the directing of appeals and arguments to one's self. The application of this hypothesis in social movement study focuses on this "self-addressed" discourse which Gregg defines as the "ego-function" of rhetoric.⁴⁷

McGee argues that through the analysis of rhetorical documents it should be possible to speak meaningfully of "the people's" repertory of convictions. McGee describes an alternative means of defining "the people" based on organic conceptions of human society, thus avoiding the subjective bias of

communication researchers and their prejudices about the role of reason in human affairs. If any objective reality of "the people" exists, it is more "process" than "phenomenon." McGee's conception implies that movement studies should focus on outward functions of rhetoric rather than internal persuasive, manipulative techniques. This should orient the researcher to problems of social/rhetorical theory as opposed to causation analysis.⁴⁸

Smith and Windes warns that the over-reliance on theoretical constructs could lead to a bias in social movement research. The authors assert that scholars may give inordinate attention to the establishment-conflict pattern. Smith and Windes define the "innovational" movement as distinct from the establishment-conflict movement in that the latter calls for a reconstruction of society's values; whereas the former acts with the expectation that the changes it demands will not disturb the symbols and constraints of existing values or modify the social hierarchy. As support the authors look at the evangelical "Sunday School" movement of the early 19th century.⁴⁹ The authors found that it was possible to

have a social movement with the absence of a establishment/movement conflict characteristics.

Stewart proposes a method of studying social movements that may explain the nature of social movement rhetoric and help construct generalizations that apply to different movements in different time periods. Stewart criticizes past social movement studies for their failure to identify rhetorical patterns and their inability to make generalizations from such studies. The "functional" approach, as conceptualized by Stewart, views rhetoric as the primary agency through which social movements perform their necessary functions. Thus, a functional approach views rhetoric as the means by which movements sustain themselves.⁵⁰ This approach differs in the sense that it does not prescribe a comprehensive theory to explain movements. Rather it advocates the production of uniform data that would help in the future construction of theory.

Zarefsky challenges the idea that social movements are always insurgent or "out groups" separate from the establishment. Zarefsky attempts to refute this assumption through a counter-example.

Zarefsky claims that the rhetorical "career" of the "War on Poverty" is indistinguishable from previous definitions of social movements. Thus, insurgency is not always relevant to rhetorical strategy. Based on Zarefsky's conclusions, critics should re-examine assumptions of social movement theory.⁵¹

Life Cycle Hypothesis Remains Unchallenged

Central to both Griffin's "historical" and "dramatistic" theory of movements is the life cycle model. The model implies that social movements go through specific rhetorical stages over time. As noted earlier, Cathcart criticizes the linear model on the grounds that scholars were limited to studying past human interactions. Simon criticizes Griffin's historical life-cycle model because the defined stages did not identify the rhetorical requirements that must be fulfilled in social movements. However, the life cycle premise itself has remained largely unquestioned. Existing theory require that a social movement undergo an inevitable life-cycle that leads to non-existence through co-optation or failure.

However, the life-cycle model is incomplete. Social movements do not neatly evolve into clearly

defined stages over time. I contend that some movements do not evolve at all. Such movements can be described as a "steady state" movement.

One such movement is the Nation of Islam. The key issue is the presence or absence of evolution, adaptation or co-option of this social movement. The Nation of Islam's rhetorical goal of the establishment of an Afro-American state somewhere on the continental United States is the ultimate "fantasy." However, this concept can be traced back to John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry (his goal was to create a separate Black republic through force of arms).

In sum, a central assumption of previous literature is the life-cycle model. The principle objective of this study is to establish that the concept of a "steady state" movement is valid and important. A social movement based on the long-term premise a separate Black homeland in North America represents an anomaly not explained by the life-cycle model. This issue gives rise to deeper questions of why such ideas can provide such long term viability for a social movement.

Notes

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⁸ Griffin, "Rhetoric of Social Movements," 185.

⁹ Griffin, "Rhetoric of Social Movements," 186.

¹⁰ Griffin, "Rhetoric of Social Movements," 187.

¹¹ Griffin, "Rhetoric of Social Movements," 188.

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¹³ Stewart, Smith, & Denton, 10.

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CHAPTER 2

LOUIS FARRAKHAN AND THE NATION OF ISLAM

The Nation of Islam as a Social Movement

One possible explanation of the Nation of Islam not being accounted for by current social movement theory would be that the Nation of Islam does not qualify as a "social movement." In order to establish the Nation of Islam as a "movement" a comprehensive definition of what actually constitutes a social movement is applied to demonstrate that the Nation of Islam qualifies as a "social movement."

Several scholars have attempted to define the term "social movement." These attempts can be grouped in areas.¹ One group of scholars defines social movements in very broad terms. Sillars defines social movements as "collective actions which are perceived by the critic."² Such a definition would allow scholars to self-define his/her area of research.

Other scholars define social movement in more sociological terms. Wilson describes a social movement as "a conscious, collective, organized attempt to

bring about or to resist large-scale change in the social order by noninstitutionalized means."³

A third group of scholars has attempted to define social movement in rhetorical terms. Wilkinson defines social movements as "linguaging strategies by which a significantly vocal part of an established society, experiencing together a sustained dialectical tension growing out of moral conflict, agitate to induce cooperation in others, either directly or indirectly, and thereby affecting the status quo."⁴ Cathcart describes social movements as emerging "when the linguaging strategies of a change-seeking collective clash with the linguaging strategies of the establishment and thereby produce the perception of a movement operating outside the established social hierarchy."⁵

Seeking to incorporate the best elements of all three perspectives Stewart, Smith and Denton, define a social movement as "an organized, uninstitutionalized, and significantly large collectivity that is created to bring about or to resist a program for change in societal norms and values, operates primarily through persuasive strategies, and it is countered by an

established order."⁶ It will be shown that the Nation of Islam meets these requirements, and thus qualifies as a social movement.

An Organized Collectivity

Based on the sociological perspective, a social movement has to possess minimal organization. The Nation of Islam possesses a national headquarters based in Chicago, and Nation of Islam temples are scattered across the nation.⁷ The movement has a nationally known leader in Louis Farrakhan.

Stewart, et. al., define social movements as an "uninstitutionalized collectivity." This means that a social movement is not part of an established order that governs and changes social, political, religious, or economic norms and values.⁸ The key distinction is that a movement is not part of the established order, although it can make appeals to that order. Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam do not represent a part of the "established order." Indeed, the movement maintains the basic philosophy of remaining separate from the establishment.

Social movements propose or oppose a program of change in societal norms, values, or both.⁹ Stewart,

et. al., identify three general types of social movements by the nature of the change they advocate: innovative, revivalistic and resistant. Using this framework the Nation of Islam falls under the "revivalistic" category based on it's advocacy of returning to a Black nation state.

Social movements are countered by an established order.¹⁰ Cathcart believes that social movements produce "a dialectical tension growing out of moral conflict."¹¹ The Nation of Islam has generated opposition from various elements of the established order. California Governor George Deukmejian after a recent Farrakhan speech called Farrakhan a "messenger of hate and bigotry."¹² In Baltimore preceding a Farrakhan appearance Catholic leaders promised to "do all in our power to discourage"¹³ Blacks from attending Farrakhan's speech. National politicians ranging from George Bush, Mario Cuomo and Ed Koch have denounced Farrakhan.

Stewart, et. al., believe a social movement must be significantly large in scope. Though the word "significantly" is relative, the Nation of Islam is large enough to generate large-scale attention and

maintain minimal organizational structure. In terms of full-fledged membership the Nation of Islam has about 10,000 members.¹⁴ However, larger numbers are receptive to his message. During a 1984-85 speaking tour Farrakhan routinely sold out large venues: Washington 10,000, Los Angeles 18,000, and Madison Square Garden 25,000.

Stewart, et. al., describe a social movement as relying on persuasion to remain a viable entity, "In social movements, persuasion is pervasive while violence is incidental and often employed for symbolic purposes. In civil wars and revolutions, violence is pervasive while persuasion is incidental."¹⁵ The Nation of Islam, despite its extremist rhetoric, has not engaged in any violent activities. It relies on rhetoric to maintain its viability as a social movement.

Based on a comprehensive definition of a social movement, the Nation of Islam fulfills the qualities necessary for it to qualify as a social movement with one important exception---it does not adhere the life-cycle model.

History of Black Separatism

From colonial times until the last decade of the nineteenth century, the dominant mode of Black separatism may be characterized as emigrationism or the "back to Africa tendency."¹⁶ The nation-within-a-nation concept later espoused by Farrakhan can be traced back to Benjamin "Pap" Singleton's 1879 efforts to create a free and independent Black nation in the United States. In late 1879 Singleton led a contingent of about seventy-five hundred Blacks from Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Texas to Kansas in order to create a new Black nation state.¹⁷ This exodus was only temporary; about 75 percent of the emigrees returned to the South after a short time.¹⁸ Although Singleton did not realize his goal, the concept of a separate Black nation became a dormant seed.¹⁹

The most important precursor to the Nation of Islam movement was Marcus Garvey. In the 1920's Garvey gained the attention of Blacks through his belief that Africa was the true homeland for Blacks in North America. Garvey promoted Black economic independence and organized the Negro Factories Corporation to help

organize Black enterprise. The 'White establishment' reaction was fairly quick, Garvey was convicted of "defrauding through the mails" and sentenced to the federal penitentiary in Atlanta.²⁰ With the demise of Garvey, the Black separatist movement fragmented into several small sects. One of these sects was the Nation of Islam.

Louis Farrakhan/Nation of Islam

The origins of Nation of Islam are somewhat mysterious. In 1930 a peddler who later was known as W. D. Fard appeared in a Detroit ghetto.²¹ Fard, using a mix of Christian and Islamic teachings, promoted Black separatism. Within three years Fard was able to establish an organization of temples and schools so effective that it enabled him to retire from active leadership.²²

One of Fard's earliest followers was Elijah Poole, who upon his joining the Nation of Islam changed his name to Elijah Muhammad. Eventually Muhammad became Fard's most trusted lieutenant.²³ Fard mysteriously disappeared in June 1934. Following his disappearance the group splintered with Elijah moving

his headquarters to Chicago. Under his leadership the movement became more militant. Members of the Nation of Islam believed that their organization was a Black nation within the United States and that Muslims were citizens of Mecca who saluted the Islamic flag.²⁴

Elijah Muhammad explained his position as follows:

We want to establish a separate state or territory to ourselves in this country or elsewhere. Our former slave masters are obligated to maintain, to supply our needs in this zone or territory for the next twenty-five years, until we are able to produce and supply our own needs.²⁵

In the 1950's the Nation of Islam began to establish temples throughout the country. During this time the Nation of Islam recruited a man later known as Malcolm X. By 1959 Malcolm X was a leading figure in the movement and was appointed as the National Spokesman for the Nation of Islam. In the early 1960's Malcolm X began to alter Nation of Islam doctrine and started to espouse the virtues of Orthodox Islam.²⁶ Malcolm X stressed the universal precepts of Islam with less emphasis on the Black Muslim.

Louis Farrakhan was a follower of Malcolm X. Farrakhan recently remarked; "Malcolm was my mentor...In all honesty he was a surrogate father to me." ²⁷ In 1964 Malcolm X announced he was leaving the Nation of Islam to establish his own organization based on Orthodox Islamic principles. Malcolm renounced the concept of Black supremacy and an independent Black state that Farrakhan favored.²⁸ In 1964 Farrakhan preached: "Only those who wish to be led to hell, or to their doom, will follow Malcolm...Such a man is worthy of death."²⁹ Three months later Malcolm X was assassinated. Although it has never been proved conclusively, it has long been suspected that the Nation of Islam was behind the murder.

In 1975, the founder of the Nation of Islam, Elijah Muhammad, died. Elijah's son Wallace D. Muhammad succeeded his father and initiated many of the changes Malcolm X had advocated, and ordered an end to his father's racist/separatist policies.³⁰ Wallace eventually changed the movement's name from "Nation of Islam" to "The World Community of Al-Islam In The West".³¹ Under Wallace the movement ceased

being a Black separatist movement; and its members did not identify themselves as Black Muslims but as followers of a religious organization based on Islam.

Farrakhan disagreed with many of the changes initiated by Wallace and continued to follow the original doctrine established by Elijah Muhammad. In December 1977, Farrakhan quit the organization and formed another organization (The Nation of Islam) based upon the doctrine of Elijah Muhammad.

Since 1977, Farrakhan has been traveling the country spreading the message that the old Nation of Islam is back. His split with Wallace Muhammad is likely to prove irreconcilable. In 1983 Farrakhan called Wallace Muhammad "the hypocrite" which is considered a high curse in the Moslem world.³²

The formation of Farrakhan's Nation of Islam represents the continuation of the Nation of Islam ideology as defined by Elijah Muhammad. As such, the Nation of Islam is a legitimate continuation of Muhammad's ideology, whereas Wallace Muhammad's movement represents an departure from that ideology.

Farrakhan rose to national prominence in part through his association with Jesse Jackson during his

1984 presidential campaign. Eventually Farrakhan became a liability to Jackson's campaign. This was partly due to the perceived extremism in Farrakhan's rhetoric-- praise for Adolph Hitler, warnings to Jewish militants, and threats to Black reporters covering the Jackson campaign.³³

Over the next year Farrakhan embarked on a world-wide speaking tour, including the U.S., the Caribbean, South America, Africa, the Pacific Islands, and Asia. Through his speaking tour, Farrakhan received considerable press coverage and large crowds.

Problems with the Life Cycle Hypothesis

Stewart, Smith and Denton have pointed out that other social movements such as woman's rights and social movement organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan disappear and then reappear with altered purposes, ideologies, leaders, structures, and persuasive strategies.³⁴ However, the Nation of Islam represent an anomaly not explained by the life-cycle hypothesis.

This anomaly can be seen in several areas. First, the rhetoric of the Nation of Islam has remained largely unchanged since its inception in the

1930's. Existing theory requires that social movements, in order to exist over time, adjust their persuasive strategies, yet the Nation of Islam separatist rhetoric has not been adapted over time. Second, the split between Wallace Muhammad and Malcolm X with Louis Farrakhan and Farrakhan's success in maintaining the movement despite an attempt to change Nation of Islam rhetoric indicates the need for a theory that explains the non-evolution of rhetoric. Third, the unfulfilled agenda of creating a separate Black nation state would, according to current theory, result in disbandment of the movement or a revision of goals, however neither has occurred. A theory which explains how a movement that sustains itself through an unchanging persuasive strategy is described here as a "steady state theory of social movements".

A life cycle conception of social movements views social movements as terminating over time. Some social movements successfully enact their agenda and disband. Some movements evolve into pressure groups or political parties. Other movements are absorbed or co-opted by the establishment. A majority of social movements merely fade away. The Nation of Islam has

existed for over 50 years and its essential ideology, the call for separatism, was conceived many years before that. The Nation of Islam, through its unchanging rhetoric, defies the life cycle theory.

As noted earlier, Griffin believes that social movements face a "life cycle" of inception, crisis, consummation, and stasis. The rhetorical study of social movements would study the functions and characteristics of rhetoric in each phase of development. This conception places rhetoric second to the environment of the communicative event. Therefore, languaging strategies are dictated by the stage of development of the social movement. However, a steady state conception of rhetoric in social movements views rhetoric as means to maintain the current state. The rhetoric creates the environment or stage of the movement and not vice versa, and the rhetorical content would remain constant over time. The next chapter will discuss how such a premise could sustain a social movement over time.

Notes

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- 34 Stewart, Smith & Denton, 37.

CHAPTER 3

A SOCIAL MOVEMENT AS A RHETORICAL TRANSACTION

To explain the rhetorical anomaly posed by the Nation of Islam it is useful to view rhetoric as a transaction between movement leaders and its followers. In this sense the producers and consumers of rhetoric follow the laws of supply and demand. If rhetorical demand is present the producers of rhetoric will move to fulfill that demand. If specific demands remain constant so will the resulting rhetoric. Conversely, if demands change the rhetorical content needs to be adjusted to reflect that change or a rhetorical crisis could result.

It is my contention that the leaders and followers of the Nation of Islam are involved in such a transaction. Thus, an explanation for the lack of rhetorical change is apparent. The rhetoric has not changed because the rhetorical demand has not changed. In the case of the Nation of Islam the rhetorical demands are primarily psychological; self-esteem, the need for an identity and self-improvement. The

prejudicial rhetoric of the Nation of Islam serves to fulfill several of these demands.

Another question is why Nation of Islam rhetoric has not been co-opted by other rhetorical entities. It is my belief that elements Nation of Islam rhetoric is unique in the sense that rhetoric perceived as extremist by outside rhetorical entities is securely anchored to the Nation of Islam belief structure. Thus, partial rhetorical co-option is not possible due to internal resistance of Nation of Islam followers. Total co-option is not possible because the perceived extremist rhetoric is not consistent with the belief structure of the rhetorical entities that seek to co-opt the movement. This phenomena is defined as the "poison pill" effect.

Thus, to understand the unchanging nature of the Nation of Islam rhetoric both internal and external dynamics must be examined. Internal dynamics are defined as the psychological functions rhetoric fulfills for the members of the movement. External dynamics are defined as the effects of the rhetoric projected from the movement upon outside forces seeking to destroy or co-opt the movement. An

examination of external elements accounts for how the internal/external rhetorical exchange is linked to the internal belief system of Nation of Islam members. A distinctive quality of the Nation of Islam is its racist and anti-semitic rhetoric. The impact of this genre of rhetoric will illustrate the "self-contained" functions of rhetoric and the effects this rhetoric has on the outside world. Both the internal and external dynamics contribute to the long term viability of the Nation of Islam movement.

It will be illustrated that the rhetoric of the Nation of Islam fulfill both internal and external functions. On a internal level it provides psychological satisfaction to the followers of the movement. In this sense the Nation of Islam is fulfilling a psychological need of its followers---specifically self-esteem. Self-esteem is raised through the use of prejudicial or racist rhetoric, self-help, emphasis on Black pride, and the identification of perceived enemies. The use of extremist rhetoric also serves an external function of encouraging distance from potential adversaries. On this level Nation of Islam rhetoric serves as a

"poison pill" that prevents the co-option of the movement from establishment forces.

Description of the Internal Dynamic

The internal dynamics of Nation of Islam rhetoric will be described on three different levels. First the construct of symbolic interactionism explains how rhetoric serves functions which are separate from its literal content. Second, the rhetorical transaction of self-esteem and prejudicial rhetoric will be established in the context of symbolic interactionism. Lastly, I will describe the specific "ego-functions" that Nation of Islam rhetoric fulfill.

Rhetorical Movements as "Symbolic Interaction"

Humans spend much of their time engaged in or exposed to rhetoric. Much of rhetoric is manipulative,¹ in the sense that the speaker is attempting to cause or influence the listener to alter behavior or beliefs.² The instrumentality of such rhetoric can usually be assessed in terms of the outward behavior or actions of the receiver. However, rhetoric can also serve a purely internal function. Benis commented on one of these internal functions:

The basic unit of interaction that concerns us is a very simple one. One person acts and in doing so intentionally or unintentionally exposes a part of himself--something of what he is, thinks he is, or hopes he is. A second person responds to the first person's act and to his exposed self. Very frequently his reactions convey approval, or disapproval, acceptance or rejection. In this simple unit of social interaction lies one of the keys to the process of self evaluation.³

Mead saw the "self" as a social phenomenon made possible through communication of language.⁴ The use of language allows people to reflect upon themselves as objects. People look upon themselves as objects much as they look upon other objects. The theory of "symbolic interaction" provides a theoretical basis of linking Nation of Islam's prejudicial rhetoric to the psychological demand of self-esteem.

Symbolic interactionism is a theoretical framework that was derived as an alternative to traditional psychological views of social reality. Larsen and

Wright point out that symbolic interactionism interprets the process of interaction itself,⁵ rather than constructing realities that are located either within individual consciousness or within sociocultural environments. This approach looks to the discourse and cognitive phenomena for information about the internal function whose overt behavior is being observed. Some of the assumptions of the interactionist perspective have direct bearing on the understanding of the rhetorical transaction involved in a social movement. First, the features of human behavior which distinguish it from the behavior of other animals are all derived from the fact that humans manipulate symbols.⁶ Second, humans live in a symbolic environment where all social objects, including the self as a social object, are interpreted by the individual. As Larsen and Wright state: "in order to understand human behavior...researchers must take into account the meaning of things to the covert self whose overt behavior they are observing."⁷ Finally, symbolic interactionism assumes that individuals cannot be totally controlled by the internalized attitudes of other people. Thus, the

individual "far from being the victim of internal and external circumstances, is fully capable of acting upon, influencing, and modifying the social process."⁸

Most symbolic interactionists have a good deal to say about the rhetorical transaction between the listener and the speaker as a distinctive form of human symbolic interaction.⁹ One area of study looks at rhetoric as expressing ego-centricity.¹⁰ Lyons, who adopts this assumption quite explicitly, explains it as follows:

The speaker, by virtue of being the speaker, casts himself [sic] in the role of ego and relates everything to his [sic] viewpoint...Egocentricity is temporal as well as spatial, since the role of the speaker is being transferred from one participant to the other as the conversation proceeds, and the participants may move around as they are conversing.¹¹

Accordingly, symbolic interactionism theory can relate personal identity to linguistic expression. Such a perspective also makes possible the location of individual and social identities as objects of, as

well as participants in, a rhetorical transaction.¹² Symbolic interaction theory can account for realities neither literally represented in the text of discourse, nor in the reactions of others to the verbal symbols. In the context of self-esteem and prejudicial rhetoric, a symbolic interactionist model would view the Nation of Islam's prejudicial rhetoric as a process of manipulative self-disclosure with the goal of raising or affirming one's self-esteem through the affirmation of others. Thus, Nation of Islam rhetoric itself is only "symbolic" in the sense that it serves as a vehicle towards the affirmation of self-worth through the affirmation of others.

The rhetorical exchange between Farrakhan and Nation of Islam followers can fit clearly into the development of self-esteem.¹³ Thus, rhetoric can serve more than one function. On one level it can serve internal functions which are fulfilled on the intrapersonal level. One of these internal functions is the development of self esteem. On another level it serves an external function of affecting the behavior or attitudes of the receiver.

Intuitively the external functions are explicit in nature. The goal of the discourse can be identified from a verbatim examination of the text. For example, if one states "shut the door", the external function/goal would seem obvious (one wants the door shut). However, the identification of the internal function of rhetorical discourse poses a greater challenge to the communication researcher. In this case, the content of the actual text is less important than its symbolic representation of an internal discourse. Identification of the internal functions of social movement rhetoric is a problem for detailed research.

From this perspective, a clear explanation for the internal functions of the Nation of Islam can be provided. In this case the internal function of self-esteem and the genre of prejudicial rhetoric are linked. Psychological research has indicated that people with poor self-esteem are likely to be prejudiced, as a means of enhancing their self-esteem.¹⁴ In the case of the Nation of Islam, the lack of self-esteem results in prejudicial rhetoric.

Link between self-esteem and prejudicial rhetoric

Related research supports the linking of these two constructs. Research in psychology supports the premise that human beings have a need to maintain self-esteem. However, in the context of self-esteem and prejudicial attitudes, traditional psychologists tend to view humans as passive participants. According to traditionalists, low self esteem is the result of prejudicial attitudes inflicted by the majority group. However, some psychologists view humans as active participants in the process based on "self-congruity" principles.

Gergen views the development of the self-structure as occurring through learning and weighting of "concepts".¹⁵ Erickson defines the concept of a "learned need" and described the variety of methods used to develop a set of concepts of self. Gergen points out that "although a variety of ways to view self exist, certain methods are more imbedded than others".¹⁶ One method identified by Gergen is the "evaluative weighting of a concept". As Gergen states: "the person thus learns the evaluative significance of concepts from experience with the surrounding

culture."¹⁷ Evaluative weighting thus learned "forms an integral part of the person's self-esteem".¹⁸

Gergen felt that "self-esteem can be thought of as the evaluative component of self concept...which is a person's perception of his worth which derives from self-other comparisons."¹⁹ Wylie refers to this idea as "positive self regard."²⁰ Wylie states "self-esteem congruence between self and ideal self is being proud of one's attributes highly".²¹ Rosenberg, in a concurring view, contended that self-other appraisal is very important to the specific nature of social influences upon self-esteem.²²

Gergen contended that if one is viewed in negative ways by the society one may come to accept these concept learnings and to view one's self in terms of negative evaluative weightings.²³ Some researchers have also advanced the hypothesis that if groups of persons are differently esteemed by the broader culture, the individual group members who internalize this value system may judge themselves accordingly.²⁴ Rosenberg contended "that different social groups are likely to be exposed to characteristic reactions from others which may be

decisive in the formulation of self-esteem".²⁵

Cartwright expressed the position:

The groups to which a person belongs serve as primary determiners of his self-esteem. To a considerable extent, personal feelings of worth depend on the social evaluation of the groups with which a person is identified. Self-hatred and feelings of worthlessness tend to arise from membership in underprivileged or outcast groups.²⁶

One's immediate collective generalization from these observations is that individuals are likely to be passive and are likely to hold views about ethnic groups which are sanctioned by the majority. Traditional psychology does not make any general predictions about the relationship between self-esteem and prejudice. Ehrlich in his review of the social psychology literature stated: "Very little research has dealt directly with self-attitudes and ethnic attitudes".²⁷

Based on the principle of "self-congruity", Nation of Islam rhetoric links self-esteem to prejudicial rhetoric. In this context, the concept of

self-congruity means that an individuals's attitudes to others will bear a systematic relationship to the attitudes that he has to himself.²⁸ In this context, it would be supposed that individuals who have a poor opinion of themselves are likely to be receptive to prejudicial rhetoric. The function of the prejudice would tend to enhance the ego, or self by assuming that there are groups of people who are clearly inferior to the individuals themselves.²⁹ Conversely, individuals with high self-esteem will tend to be resistant to this form of rhetoric.

Ego Function of Social Movements

In a 1970 article, Gregg described several "ego functions" of rhetoric.³⁰ Gregg argued that an analysis of the rhetoric of protest revealed how rhetoric fulfilled psychological needs of both leaders and followers of protest movements. This process was identified as an "ego-function" of rhetoric. Gregg states:

But when the search for identity of ego takes place on the public stage, when large numbers of individuals are engaged in a struggle to achieve affirmation, and when

the drama of the struggle is intensified by media coverage, the social scene becomes streaked with exacerbating tensions. In such a scene, the rhetorical act exhibits a number of peculiar characteristics relating to ego function.³¹

A clear implication is that the identification and study of the ego functions would facilitate a deeper understanding of the function of rhetoric in a social movement. Gregg defined the "rhetorical transaction" of group discourse as the symbiotic relationship between a speaker and his audience. In this process the speaker is successful if the listener assents to the point of view, claims, or actions proposed by the speaker. Conversely, the speaker's intended audience, having upheld their side of the "transaction" through their assent, expects positive effects in return.

On this level the rhetoric of a social movement is basically self-contained and concerns the "establishment" only indirectly. Thus, the rhetorical agenda becomes incidental to more personal functions.³² From this perspective the rhetoric of a

social movement is fulfilling an ego-function. The transaction is fulfilled when the primary appeal of the rhetoric serves the individuals who constitute the social movement itself, who feel the need for psychological reinforcement. This phenomenon occurs on several levels in the transactional process.

One aspect of this self-addressed discourse is the internal persuasion that must precede any persuasion of outsiders. The act of communication occurs where the leader basically serves as his/her own primary audience and the group identifies with the rhetoric insofar as they share similar ego-concerns.³³ Leaders of social movements thus become surrogates for others who share his/her psychological needs. One prominent function is constituting self-hood through expression, meaning that the rhetoric must be verbalized in order for one's self-hood to be realized.³⁴

In this context the use of Gregg's framework can identify the particular ego-functions being served. Gregg identifies several ego needs that rhetoric can fulfill.

- 1) Need to recognize and proclaim that one's ego is ignored.
- 2) Need to extol the virtues of the ego sought after.
- 3) Need to attack the malicious qualities of the enemy.
- 4) Need to identify against other persons.
- 5) Need for an identifiable "style".

Another example of the ego-function of rhetoric involves attacking constructs such as "the system," "the establishment" or attacking other "scapegoats".³⁵ Such rhetoric often takes the form of locating that which one perceives as the "culprits" who contribute to the feelings of inadequacy, then taking a positive stand against them.³⁶ In social movements the ego-function is facilitated by the establishment of targets for scorn, ridicule and condemnation. Gregg states:

By painting the enemy in dark-hued imagery of vice, corruption, evil, and weakness, one may more easily convince himself of his own superior virtue and thereby gain a symbolic victory of ego-enhancement.³⁷

The rhetoric of attack becomes a rhetoric of ego-building and concurrently becomes self-persuasive

and confirmatory.³⁸ A result of attacking "enemies" is that individuals in a social movement can experience feelings of ego-enhancement, ego-affirmation and ego-superiority.

A final important component of the ego-function of rhetoric concerns "style". Style is all inclusive. It refers to style of behaving, style of dress, style of speaking, style of total identification.³⁹ Style is an important component of a movement's rhetoric because it relates directly to the establishment of "self-hood".

The concept of a "rhetorical transaction" suggests that a speaker and his audience (in this case, Farrakhan and his followers), are engaged in a mutual, working relationship of considerable intellectual and psychological interdependence. E.U. Essien-Udom in his book Black Nationalism, surveyed members of the Nation of Islam and found most members joined the organization based on psychological need.⁴⁰ The ego-functions being served in this rhetorical transaction are the need for identity and the desire for self-improvement. These two psychological needs

are two principal ego needs which lead individuals to join and to remain in the Nation of Islam.⁴¹

The founder of the Nation of Islam, Elijah Muhammad reflected the psychological trauma of Blacks in America: "No people strives to lose themselves among other people except the so-called Negroes. This they do because of their lack of knowledge of self...⁴² Black history in America has been characterized by the dominant white society defining "blackness" as an inferior attribute.⁴³ In this context the rhetoric of the Nation of Islam illustrates the Blacks' desire to free themselves from the self rejection and cultural alienation which have been their traditional lot in American society. Louis Farrakhan, commenting on the 1984 presidential candidacy of Jesse Jackson observed the limited aspirations of Blacks;

Those (Black) leaders who have rejected the candidacy of Jesse Jackson on the basis that it is a lost cause or that he cannot win are really manifesting a lack of growth....This "lost cause" argument is used to hide that old slave mentality that still lurks in the recesses of the minds of most of our Black

so-called leadership. They cannot see a Black person exercising any power.⁴⁴

The clear implication of this statement is that Blacks lack self-esteem. Farrakhan's reference to the "old slave mentality" illustrates his contempt of this lack of self-esteem and its roots in American history.

The second aspect of the ego-function is the advocacy of the virtues of the sought-after ego. The rhetorical function serves to replace negative perceptions with positive strength and self-love. Examples of this ego-function being served include the belief that the White race was "grafted" from the Black Nation; that God is a Black man and that Blacks are God's chosen people.⁴⁵ Louis Farrakhan tries to fulfill the function of self-help and pride by urging Blacks to help themselves economically: "We all have to realize that this country isn't going to give us anything...We're just going to do it the old-fashioned way; we're going to have to earn it."⁴⁶

Another ego-function rhetoric can serve is the need to attack the malicious qualities of the enemy. As Gregg points out, "if one feels oppressed someone is responsible for the oppression."⁴⁷ Not

surprisingly, Farrakhan identifies Whites as the guilty party. The "White man is the devil" theme is a central belief of the Nation of Islam.⁴⁸ This belief manifests itself in rhetoric that belittles Whites as a whole. A minister of the Nation of Islam stated:

The White man has discovered that he is weaker than the Black man. His mental power is less than that of the Black man-he has only six ounces of brain and the original (Black) man has seven-and-a-half ounces...The White man's physical power is one-third less than that of the Black man.⁴⁹

More specific "personalized" enemies serve as a better target for rhetoric because of the ambiguities that can arise from an overly broad target.⁵⁰ It is within this area that Farrakhan expends a great deal of his rhetoric. Farrakhan's personalized target is the Jews: "The Jews came at the turn of the century..into the Black community...and they became strong nursing from the breast of the Black community, growing up to disrespect the very breast that had nursed them to strength..."⁵¹

Farrakhan cites a litany of crimes committed by Jews against Blacks:

[They] don't apologize for seducing a nineteen-year-old girl and making her take off her clothes [in reference to Vanessa Williams], [they] don't apologize for sucking the blood of our poor people that [they] might live well, [they] didn't apologize for putting my brothers and sisters to live in homes or apartments and charging them the highest rents.⁵²

Farrakhan's rhetoric fits the Gregg typology in terms of locating the persons, behaviors, actions, or conditions which cause or contribute to the group's feelings of inadequacy, then urging a stand against them.⁵³ For example, during a 1985 speech in Madison Square Garden, Farrakhan and his audience engaged in the following exchange: "Are the Jews that are angry with me righteous?" asked Farrakhan. "No," yelled the crowd. Dissatisfied with the intensity of the response, Farrakhan shouted back, "What?" "No!" "I can't hear you." "No!" boomed the crowd again.⁵⁴ The images of the enemy portrayed in the rhetoric of The

Nation of Islam are clearly drawn in a way which enhances the self-image of the social movement's members.

Gregg identifies style as an important element in ego affirmation. Through style an individual in a social movement can define his/her own independent identity as a part of a larger group. The Nation of Islam espouses a extremely well-defined "style" for its members. The need for an identity is a principal motive of individuals who join and remain in the Nation of Islam.⁵⁵ The incentives offered by the Nation also point to and illuminate the style of life which the Muslims seek as a group.⁵⁶ A visitor to a Nation of Islam meeting once remarked: "I was impressed by the well-barbered, neat and healthful appearance of Muslim men at their meetings...In spite of their long robes, the neatness and bearing of the Muslim women is equally impressive."⁵⁷ In this sense the Nation of Islam serves an ego-function for its followers.

Stylistic characteristics of The Nation of Islam include a specific dress code and rules governing personal practices. For young women this can include:

- 1) Do not use lipstick or make-up.
- 2) Do not wear hair up unless wearing long dress.
- 3) Do not smoke or drink alcohol.
- 4) Do not commit adultery.
- 5) Wear long dresses with head covered by scarves.
- 6) Do not wear heels over 1.5 inches.⁵⁸

The members as a whole must not expend their income on alcoholic beverages, narcotics, tobacco, gambling, dancing, dating, or sports. Family values are emphasized with respect to women particularly being stressed. Elijah Mohammad declared in a 1960 address:

You must stop imitating the slavemaster.
Because your slave master wears thirty
dollar shoes or a two-hundred dollar suit,
you go and spend your money on these things.
You have no room in which to sleep, but you
go into debt for a Cadillac.⁵⁹

For many Blacks the search for an identity is enabled by the stylistic qualities of the Nation of Islam. In the survey conducted by Essien-Udom the motive which led individuals to join the Nation was that of improving one's self or community.

In summary, "symbolic interactionism" provides a meta-theoretical basis that explains the rhetorical transaction of self-esteem and prejudicial rhetoric. The rhetorical content is secondary to the psychological function that the rhetoric fulfills. Psychological research supports the relationship between self-esteem and prejudicial attitudes. Gregg describes several of the psychological or "ego" functions that social movement rhetoric can fulfill. Udom-Essien's research indicates that the followers of the Nation of Islam join the organization based on psychological need. These needs are fulfilled on several levels including the use of prejudicial rhetoric.

Description and Definition of External Dynamic

The ego-function rhetoric of Louis Farrakhan also offers several additional advantages to his followers. It encourages the maintenance of distance from adversaries. In this respect Farrakhan's anti-Semitism serves as a "poison pill" which prevents the movement from being co-opted by the establishment. The use of

extremist rhetoric also serves as an "anchor" to enhance internal resistance to counter-persuasion.

The external dynamic of social movement rhetoric can be compared to the corporate merger of the "hostile" take over. Since target management is not a willing party to a hostile takeover, they may design strategies to deter external attempts to takeover the corporations they run. These strategies have collectively been known as a "poison pill" effect.

As discussed earlier, current theory implies social movements face an inevitable life-cycle that leads to non-existence through absorption or failure. A poison pill would exist to prevent absorption of the movement by establishment forces. Hahn and Gonchar noted: "When society absorbs a movement, it typically adopts part of its program and all of its rhetoric. With substantive demands still unachieved, the movement is robbed of its voice. It must either die or evolve a more extreme rhetoric."⁶⁰

This process provides the basis for a couple of claims. First, extremist rhetoric serves to discourage external attempts at co-opting a social movement. Second, extremist rhetoric strengthens the internal

resistance to counter-persuasion. It will be shown how extremist rhetoric follows many of resistance to persuasion strategies described by past theory. In addition, extremist rhetoric creates a new dynamic not accounted for in the "resistance" literature, the "poison pill" argument.

Resistance to Persuasion

"Innoculation"

In 1964 William J. McGuire published the findings of a landmark series of research experiments collectively referred to as the "theory of inoculation".⁶¹ McGuire's use of the term "innoculation" makes an analogy to the biological immunization process against certain types of diseases; "In the biological situation, the person is typically made resistant to some attacking virus by pre-exposure to a weakened dose of the virus. This mild dose stimulates his defenses so that he will be better able overcome any massive viral attack to which he is later exposed, but is not so strong that his pre-exposure will itself cause the disease."⁶²

In the context of resisting persuasion, the "innoculation" would be to threaten the belief

structure with a mild form of attack argument. McGuire's work has spurred further research in communication to identify what types of counter-persuasion forms would be most effective in the process of inoculating the individual.⁶³ This research has tended to support McGuire's inoculation hypothesis.⁶⁴

It has been shown that the potential persuadee's active participation in the defense-building process makes inoculation more successful.⁶⁵ Identification of a specific threat to the belief structure of the subject enhances resistance.⁶⁶ Roberts and Macoby's 1973 study indicated that the most successful counter-arguments are internally generated. When the counter-arguments are the persuadee's own, makes the inoculation more successful.⁶⁷

Farrakhan has provided his listeners with a variety of "inoculation" arguments. He inoculates his "ethos" through his description of himself as the most openly censured and repudiated Black man in the history of this country. He identifies the source of these attacks as the Jewish conspiracy seeking to destroy the Black power.

Researchers have described successful inoculation as providing "mild" attack arguments and identifying the weaknesses in those arguments. Identification or forewarning of an attack on the subject's belief system will enhance resistance to persuasion, and the subjects' active participation in the defense-building process will make inoculation more successful. Farrakhan, through his identification of "enemies" and their arguments, has given his followers the means to recognize and resist persuasive counterattacks.

"Vitamins"

McGuire identified bolstering the belief structure as a major category of resistance to persuasion. This can be described as a supportive defense which is analogically similar to bolstering a subject with vitamins in order to help the individual withstand illness.⁶⁸ The distinctive aspect to this defense is that no information is given the subject as to what kinds of arguments the "enemy" might invoke.⁶⁹ Vitamins to provide resistance to persuasion include, commitment, strengthening, and anchoring of beliefs.

One form of the belief commitment is the private decision. Private decisions are considered to be one of the weaker forms of defense, although the private decision provides more resistance than making no decision at all.⁷⁰

Research by Fisher, Rubenstein and Freeman suggests that a public announcement of one's belief tends to induce a firmer commitment than a private decision.⁷¹ In addition, research by Miller and Burgoon also showed that forcing a person to make a public declaration can induce resistance to future persuasive appeals.⁷²

McGuire hypothesized that a belief could be anchored by linkage to accepted values that are important to the individual.⁷³ Thus, the individual would be resistant to persuasion. A 1968 study by C.E. Nelson indicated that the amount, activity and difficulty of anchoring beliefs to values was a significant variable in resisting persuasion.⁷⁴

Based on balance theory research, McGuire suggested that if individual beliefs are logically and inextricably tied to other important beliefs, any changes would create imbalance with linking beliefs.

Thus, to prevent imbalance, the subject would reject any attack argument. As McGuire notes: "Merely asking the person to rehearse the related beliefs which he already possesses makes more salient these linkages to the given belief and thereby confers enhanced resistance to subsequent attacks."⁷⁵

A belief structure can also be linked to a highly valued group or source. This convinces the persuadee that individuals and group members whom the subject values hold same belief, thereby increasing resistance.⁷⁶ Thus, changing the belief structure would place the subject at odds with valued individuals and would create psychological discomfort.

The Nation of Islam provides a comprehensive belief structure that is anchored to religious doctrine. The plight of Blacks in North America is interpreted through the Bible and the Koran. The Blacks of North America are described as the true Israel. This interpretation explains much of the perceived anti-semitic rhetoric.

Raising subject's self esteem can increase resistance to counter-persuasion. Miller and Burgoon in their 1973 study concluded that raising the

subject's self-esteem does indeed increase resistance.⁷⁷ The authors also noted that resistance can be increased if the persuadee witnesses the source of the subsequent message having an unsuccessful experience.⁷⁸

Nation of Islam rhetoric, as previously discussed, serves to enhance participant self-esteem. Farrakhan's identification of blacks as "God's chosen people" serves to raise self-esteem. In addition, the degregation of opponents, i.e. Jews and whites, serves to raise self-esteem.

In conclusion, research in resistance strategies has concentrated on the internal processes of the subject, either through inoculation, boosting the belief structure or anchoring beliefs to other persons, groups or values. Research has been lacking regarding the internal/external dynamic process between belief systems and potential sources of counter-persuasion. Internal systems do not operate in a vacuum. Indeed, the internal process/strategies as observed by external forces create a dynamic not accounted for in the resistance literature.

The Poison Pill

In defining where the poison pill belongs in the taxonomy of resistance strategies, it is important to identify the external function of a resistance strategy. In terms of adoption (premeditated or incidental) of an internal strategy designed to provide resistance to persuasion, the adoption cannot be divorced from the actual content of the communicative process. Thus, the public record of the communicative content can be a significant variable in regards to other parties wishing to engage in counter-persuasion.

For instance, if the establishment wants to absorb/co-opt an insurgent social movement, it has to consider its own followers in terms of what rhetoric/positions it can adopt or internal imbalance could occur. In turn, if counter-arguments are too far removed from the belief system of the target group, counter-persuasion will not be successful. If such a gulf exists most likely the target group's rhetoric would be defined as extremist in content. Thus, a poison-pill would take the characteristic of an internal belief system that was perceived by the

establishment as too extreme to be adopted or co-opted.

However, a poison pill needs to serve internal and external functions. The external function would seem obvious, the adoption of unpalatable positions would prevent the co-option of the movement by external forces. However, this process is linked to the internal functions of a poison pill. Poison pill is only effective to the extent that these beliefs are logically and inextricably tied to other important beliefs and if one belief is changed, it would create imbalance with the linking beliefs. Thus, internal function of the poison pill is to prevent followers from defecting to another position or movement, the only way co-option could occur. Therefore the poison-pill is effective on two levels. It discourages external attempts at co-option of the movement and it induces resistance in the audience/followers to any message at variance with the stated belief structure.

Hence, a poison pill strategy can serve multiple functions: An external function which can keep the opposition from attempting to absorb one's position, and an internal function which gives one's audience

(or social movement) the tools to resist counter-arguments. As such, the internal functions can be explained by the existing resistance literature. However, the challenge facing an effective poison pill is to adopt rhetoric deemed desirable by one's own audience, yet perceived undesirable by possible enemies.

The Poison Pill in Action

The Nation of Islam over time has confronted two major sources that have tried to absorb or co-opt the rhetoric of the movement: a rival Muslim organization and the establishment. The latter's representatives have ranged from Jesse Jackson to Ronald Reagan.

As discussed earlier Farrakhan disagreed with many of the changes initiated by Wallace Muhammad after the death Elijah Muhammad. In December 1977, Farrakhan quit the organization and formed another organization (The Nation of Islam) based upon the doctrine of Elijah Muhammad. While Wallace Muhammad formed a rival Muslim organization "The World Community of Al-Islam".

The Poison Pill vs The World Community of Al-Islam

The importance of the ideological differences between Farrakhan and Wallace cannot be overstated. These differences are the key to Farrakhan's poison pill effect. Until 1975 the Nation of Islam stood alone, religiously and politically. With Wallace's assuming control, the movement faced integration into the mainstream Islamic movement, hence the need for Farrakhan and the reborn Nation of Islam. The following chart can serve to illustrate the content of the poison pill.

Table 2.
Difference in Rhetorical Content between Wallace and Farrakhan

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Farrakhan</u>
1) Whites	Not inherently evil	Devils
2) Blacks	No special distinction	Chosen people
3) Membership	No restrictions	Blacks only
4) Status	U.S. citizen	Disenfranchised people
5) Policies	Vote	Do not vote*
	Serve in military	Do not serve
6) Identification	Religious	Racial
7) Goals	Change through religion	Change through separation

(*exception made for the candidacy of Jesse Jackson)

The perceived extremist position of reverse-racism by the Nation of Islam has served to retain the distinctive identity of the movement.

Operationally "racist rhetoric" will be defined as the use of explicit racial appeals in the rhetoric. This position fulfills both the internal and external functions of a poison pill strategy. The external function is served through the inability of mainstream Islamic tenets to adopt a racist philosophy.⁷⁹ The poison pill contributes to the internal process of resistance to counter-persuasion through raising self-esteem and through the promotion of a distinctive self-identity.

The Poison Pill vs 'The Establishment'

Having successfully emerged from the schism within the Black Muslim movement, the Nation of Islam movement faces potential co-option of important portions of their rhetoric by establishment forces. In this case, the establishment can be represented by forces who choose to work within the existing political infrastructure as opposed to remaining outside. An examination of the positions taken by Ronald Reagan, Jesse Jackson and Louis Farrakhan (Table 3) illustrate the poison pill in sharper relief.

Table 3.

Rhetorical Positions of Reagan, Jackson and Farrakhan⁸⁰

<u>Topic</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Jackson</u>	<u>Farrakhan</u>
Race	non-racist	non-racist	racist
Jews	non-prejudicial	non-judicial	prejudicial
Welfare	self-help	self/state help	self/state help
Zionism	favor	oppose	oppose
Drugs	oppose	oppose	oppose

*= Jackson's public statements have been somewhat contradictory on this point. This conclusion is based on Jackson's latest qualification of his earlier remarks

This table reflects the actual public utterances of the three individuals. No doubt some of these conclusions are open to debate, however the actual rhetorical artifacts are the key issue in identifying the poison pill. The key distinction is the explicit interpretation of the actual rhetorical content. Somewhat surprisingly, Farrakhan shares positions in common with both Reagan and Jackson. The key differences are Farrakhan's anti-semitism his perceived racist viewpoints. Otherwise, his rhetoric can be accounted for by establishment viewpoints.

Both Farrakhan and Reagan espouse self-help and free enterprise by urging blacks helping themselves economically. Recently Farrakhan has launched a line

of "Clean-n-Fresh" personal-health-and-beauty products to promote this economic independence.

The greatest threat to the rhetorical independence of the Nation of Islam (based on comparison of views) comes from the Black establishment. A comparison of views of Jesse Jackson and Louis Farrakhan shows a great degree of similarity. This convergence of viewpoints led to a tacit political alliance that might have led to the integration of the Nation of Islam into the political establishment had it lasted. Illustrating this point was the fact that in 1984 Farrakhan encouraged his followers to take part in the political process in order to support Jackson. This action represented a departure from traditional Nation of Islam rhetoric. However, outcries over Farrakhan's anti-Semitism forced Jackson to end his association with Farrakhan.⁸¹

Farrakhan's publicly perceived anti-semitism is a key component of the poison pill. As related earlier, it is within this area that Farrakhan expends a great deal of his rhetoric. Thus, the poison pill of anti-semitism encourages the maintenance of distance

from adversaries which serves to discourage co-optation by the establishment. This is illustrated by responses to the rhetoric of Farrakhan. Mario Cuomo stated: "While Farrakhan says many things we can agree to...he speaks a language of divisiveness and polarization, and that I deplore."⁸² Archbishop of New York City, John O'Connor remarked: "I cannot remain silent about such statements, lest it be assumed that such statements are acceptable to Catholic teaching, which categorically abhors anti-Semitism and racism in any form, under any pretext."⁸³

The importance of the poison pill is illustrated by the response of traditional Black politicians to Farrakhan's rhetoric. Andrew Young stated: "I agree with about 90 percent of what Farrakhan says."⁸⁴ The remaining 10 percent represents the effectiveness of the poison pill. Coretta Scott King commenting on Farrakhan, stated:

Weil, I would say that Louis Farrakhan has hurt in many ways, but I can say that as far as the philosophy of self-help and all of that, and self-improvement, I think that part of it is something we can all agree

on...I think that part of it is certainly good--Black people teaching their own people how to live better, clean lives, that kind of thing, and also to be self sufficient. But I think when it comes to intergroup relations and the kind of statements and philosophy that has been perpetrated, it has been extremely harmful, and I regret very much that this is the case...⁸⁵

Farrakhan's adoption of extremist rhetoric involves the risk of alienating his own followers. Any extremist rhetoric needs to be integrated/anchored into the overall belief system and any rhetorical discomfort is offset by perceived advantages. A 28-year old word-processor operator from Harlem remarked after hearing Farrakhan: "I agree with about 65 percent of what Farrakhan says, and maybe 35 percent I don't know about...But (that) 65 percent and what it means for Blacks makes it worthwhile going along with everything else."⁸⁶ The individual ambivalence about some of Farrakhan's rhetoric illustrates the delicate balance of retaining

followers and discouraging adversaries involved in poison pill rhetoric.

Conclusions

Ego related rhetoric within a social movement yields several advantages.⁸⁷ First, through "poison pill" rhetoric it can generate attention and fear from adversaries which helps prevent the possibility of the social movement being co-opted by the establishment. Through the rhetorical transaction it enhances self-identity, gives the social movement definitional control in terms of perceived enemies and the environment. Finally, it promotes self-esteem through the use of prejudicial rhetoric.

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CHAPTER 4
ANALYSIS OF NATION OF ISLAM RHETORIC

An examination of Nation of Islam rhetoric will isolate the rhetorical patterns that have enabled the Nation of Islam to defy the life-cycle model. An examination of a single Farrakhan speech is appropriate to analyze these rhetorical patterns. The identification of "ideomemes" in Farrakhan's rhetoric and a content analysis of his speech will illustrate the goals of Farrakhan's rhetoric and the functions it serves.

Analysis of a Single Text

To create an understanding of the symbolic action of the Nation of Islam, an analysis of its rhetoric would be illustrative. However, an analysis of fifty plus years of rhetoric would be beyond the capabilities of most scholars. Addressing this concern, Smith and Windes suggest the analysis of a single text.¹ This approach is useful when a speech can be categorized as representative of a particular era, issue, or style. Then it can be used to illustrate a genre or construct for analyzing

persuasion, or a specific pattern of organization or style.

A 1984 Farrakhan speech to the Washington Press Club falls in this category. One of the theoretical premises of "steady state" rhetoric is that message content remains basically unchanged over time. Thus any chosen speech would be "representative" of the movement as a whole. The analysis of this speech will illustrate the symbolic "ego function" of rhetoric and the incorporation of perceived "extremist" rhetoric that would discourage co-optation from rival or establishment forces.

Smith and Windes developed the concept of "ideomemes," which they define as the "minimal units of verbalization functionally significant in strategic expression of an ideology espoused by a movement."² In this sense the "ideomeme" would denote texts which represent a collective belief system of a movement in a way consistent with a movement's rhetorical situation.³

A 1984 speech by Louis Farrakhan to the National Press Club can be categorized as an ideomeme of the Nation of Islam movement. In this speech Farrakhan

provides a "strategic expression of ideology" that incorporates many of the elements that have enabled the Nation of Islam to defy the life-cycle of social movements. The analysis of this text is ideal because of the multiple audiences Farrakhan is addressing: Nation of Islam followers, the white establishment and the Black establishment. The effects of Nation of Islam rhetoric on these multiple audiences provide an example of how the Nation of Islam transcends the life-cycle of social movements. Farrakhan adopts multiple strategies to fit his diverse audience. Based upon an analysis of the text Farrakhan's rhetorical goals can be summarized as follows:

1) The White Establishment:

- A - Discourage attempts at co-option of Nation of Islam rhetoric.
- B - Gain support for Nation of Islam agenda.

2) The Black Establishment:

- A - Discourage "establishment" Blacks from co-opting Nation of Islam rhetoric.
- B - Encourage "establishment" Blacks to join movement.

3) Nation of Islam Followers:

- A - Satisfy the psychological needs of Nation of

Islam members.

- B - Inoculate members from outside attacks.
- C - Build his "ethos" as the leader of the Nation of Islam.
- D - Provide a rallying point for Nation of Islam members.
- E - Discourage defections from the movement.
- F - Anchor divergent beliefs into a cohesive belief system.

1984 Washington D.C. National Press Club Address

In August 1984 the National Press Club invited Louis Farrakhan to speak. During the prior six months Farrakhan had become newsworthy by his association with Jesse Jackson and his comments during the year's presidential primaries on Adolph Hitler: ("wickedly great"), American Jews: ("gutter religion"), and Washington Post reporter, Milton Coleman: ("deserves death"). The speech was broadcast over 281 national public radio stations and was televised over 1300 cable systems affiliated with the Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network (C-Span).

Textual Analysis

The 1984 address has several themes. It should be noted that speech organization follows a

non-traditional structure and several sub-themes are apparent throughout the speech. Each theme, it will be shown, follows a specific rhetorical strategy which contributes to the long term viability of the Nation of Islam movement. There are four major themes in the speech:

- 1) The introduction and definition of the issue.
- 2) Plight of Black people in America.
- 3) Failure of political system to address Black concerns.
- 4) Identification of Jews as the enemy of Black people.

The opening section starts with Farrakhan describing himself as the most censured and repudiated Black man in the history of our country. This statement is significant because it illustrates Robert Cathcart's view of social movements as a drama set in motion by dialectical tension growing out of moral conflict. The tension is created through Farrakhan's advocacy of justice through changes in the existing order. Such proposed changes are strongly opposed by the established order, who in turn condemn Farrakhan. Farrakhan, through his self-identification as a leader

opposed by the establishment, contributes to his own identity and that of his followers. Farrakhan describes himself as a personal representative of Elijah Mohammad and as a messenger from God. The message as defined by Farrakhan is: "neither justice nor peace shall come to the nations of the earth until the 400 year old problem of Black people in America has been solved with justice."⁴ This linkage of religion and self-identity with the issues identified by Farrakhan is a key component of Farrakhan's rhetorical strategy. This linkage appears consistently throughout the text. This approach enables Farrakhan to anchor several beliefs into a larger rhetorical superstructure.

Another example of Farrakhan's "rhetorical linkage" is his description of the plight of Blacks in America. He does this in both historical and religious terms. Farrakhan believes that the enslavement of Blacks in North America is documented in the writings of the Koran and the Bible. This linking of religious ideology and historical interpretation is a key element in the establishment of a comprehensive belief system that anchors apparently divergent beliefs into

a consistent set of beliefs for the followers of the Nation of Islam.

Farrakhan draws upon white authority figures to support his case of Black separatism. Farrakhan cites George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln:

- 1) "George Washington said... 'I fear that before too many years have passed the negro will become a most troublesome species of property.'"⁵
- 2) "Thomas Jefferson said: 'I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, that his justice cannot sleep forever.'"⁶
- 3) "Honest Abe said: 'In part you and we are different races. We have broader differences than exist between almost any other two races... In a word we suffer on each side... If this is admitted, it affords a reason at least why we should be separated' Abraham Lincoln wanted separation."'⁷

Farrakhan's choice of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln as authority sources is strategically sound considering his diverse audience. These historical figures would have a high degree of ethos with either a Black or white audience. However, through the use of

these sources Farrakhan is specifically attempting to build his credibility with whites. By linking his agenda with these highly regarded sources, Farrakhan puts himself in the position to be advocating the wishes of the Father of the nation, the author of the Declaration of Independence and the President who saved the Union. Thus, any rejection of his agenda would also entail a partial rejection of these authority figures.

Having defined the problem and developed the historical context, Farrakhan rejects the efforts of establishment liberals to redress the problem. Farrakhan dismisses the results of integration and affirmative action:

Social integration is not a serious attempt to solve the problem of the masses of Black people. In fact, at its root were insincere government officials and others who knew better. Now the Supreme Court in effect has rejected Affirmative Action. Busing is a failure and integration as solution is causing Blacks to be further and further behind whites.⁸

The presidential candidacy of Jesse Jackson is used as a case study of injustice to Blacks in the political system. Farrakhan describes the Jackson candidacy as a sincere attempt by Blacks to reform the system by peaceful means:

His (Jackson) was a call not to violence and extremism. His was a call not to hate and intolerance. His was a call to the unregistered Blacks to register to vote to make a difference. His was a call to use the ballot and not the bullet to bring about meaningful change in this society. His was a call to organize to gain power politically to change the conditions under which we live. 9

Farrakhan portrays Jackson as being rebuffed and mistreated by the political system. This rejection of Jackson is described in symbolic terms as representative of the rejection of all Blacks in the American political system. This rejection leaves Blacks with only Farrakhan's agenda:

Mr. Mondale slapped Jessie Jackson and all Black people in the face because he feels

that Black people beleaguered and withered under Mr. Reagan and Reaganomics have no other alternative but to go along with Mondale and the Democratic party. However, there is another way. God's way. And only through his way can all of us get out of this dilemma.¹⁰

Farrakhan's identification of the failure of the political system to address Black concerns is important in the maintenance of the movement. The greatest threat of external co-optation of the movement comes from establishment sources. Jesse Jackson as a charismatic Black leader working within the political system represents the greatest threat of co-optation to The Nation of Islam. This threat is based on the similarity of messages and the possible loss of followers to Jackson. Farrakhan's labelling of Jackson's candidacy as a failure without condemning Jackson's participation in the political system is Farrakhan at his rhetorical best. The cause of Jackson's failure is directed toward the white political system and not to Jackson personally. Previous Farrakhan rhetoric does not make this

distinction between the Black politician and political establishment. Any Black politician participating in the political system becomes symbolically the enemy, i.e. Andrew Young or Coretta Scott King. As Farrakhan once remarked: "I do not condemn the booing of Coretta Scott King or anyone...and if Black people feel that Coretta Scott King is on the wrong side of history and want to boo her to get her back on the right side, then let the booing take place."¹¹ However, considering the standing of Jackson in the Black community, Farrakhan would run the risk of alienating his own followers with a blanket condemnation of all Black leaders who participate in the political system. By making a distinction between Jackson and the establishment, Farrakhan solves a rhetorical problem that could potentially divide or divert his followers.

Farrakhan specifically identifies the Jews as the driving force within the establishment that denies justice for Blacks:

...powerful Jewish leaders met and out of that meeting...a threat was sent to the leaders of the Democratic party...that if they caved in to Jackson's demands,

particularly where Middle Eastern policy was concerned, the Jews would leave the Democratic party, take their money, join Reagan and the Republicans.¹²

Farrakhan identifies himself as a perceived enemy of Jews:

...tremendous pressure was exerted on Mr. Mondale, the leaders of the Democratic party, on the President and the Vice-President, on Jesse Jackson's staff, then on Jesse Jackson, members of the Congress, and pressure was put on certain Black religious civic and political leaders to repudiate Louis Farrakhan.¹³

The identification of enemies can serve as a focal point for a social movement. By taking a positive stand against this perceived enemy Farrakhan can convince himself and his followers of their own superior virtue and gain ego-enhancement.

The tension between Blacks and Jews is explained in religious terms. Nation of Islam doctrine interprets Blacks as "the chosen people." Farrakhan interprets the Biblical prophecy of the creation of

Israel in unique terms: the creation of Israel should be the Black separatist state advocated by the Nation of Islam. Thus, the Jewish state is an obstruction to divine prophecy:

We can prove Israel that is the creation of the Zionist's ..is not the fulfillment of divine prophecy...The Israel mentioned in the Bible and Holy Koran as the people of the book are chosen of God...and this people is the Black people of America. The real Israel and the true choice of God.¹⁴

This religious doctrine serves as the anchor for several of the beliefs of the Nation of Islam movement. The identification of Blacks as the chosen people serves as important "ego-function" for Farrakhan and his followers. The identification of Jews as the enemy of Blacks serves as a focal point for the Nation of Islam and also serves to discourage opponents to embrace Nation of Islam rhetoric--i.e. the "poison pill" effect.

Farrakhan explains that he, as the bearer of truth, must be opposed by this Zionist conspiracy. The

public criticism of Farrakhan can be explained by this conspiracy:

What crime have I committed that warrants the censure and repudiation of the entire government religious and civil leadership. I don't smoke, I don't drink, I don't use drugs, I've never been arrested, I don't chase women nor do I chase men. I have been a doer of good.¹⁵

Thus, Farrakhan is the innocent victim of establishment reaction to his message. It is interesting to note that any public criticism of Farrakhan is innocuated as far as his followers are concerned. Any possible rhetorical threat to the ethos of Farrakhan can be explained as the rhetoric of enemies directed by a Zionist conspiracy to suppress the truth.¹⁶

The political break between Farrakhan and Jackson is also explained by the Jewish lobby:

You (Jews) prevailed upon my brother (Jackson) to repudiate me on the basis of your lies...You threatened that you would not let him speak at the convention unless

he repudiated me..You want him to repudiate me personally...You desire to destroy our unity and our friendship completely.¹⁷

Since Jackson enjoys a high standing in the Black community, any perceived break between Jackson and Farrakhan could damage Farrakhan's ethos as the leader of the Nation of Islam. Once again Farrakhan's followers are inoculated against this possibility with the identification of the Jewish enemy. Farrakhan makes a personal appeal to Jackson to join him in the struggle for justice:

I say that Reverend Jackson and other Black leaders should pay no attention whatsoever to the attempts of the wicked to divide us. Reverend Jackson, come on with your brother and let us seek justice for our people in America. And if America refuses to give us justice since you have experience in negotiating the release of captured persons, then let us negotiate the release of this captured nation that we may go free to build a nation for ourselves.¹⁸

It is implicit in Farrakhan's statement that Jackson needs to rejoin the struggle in the direction described by Farrakhan. Jackson's participation in the political process ended in failure and was a mistake. Farrakhan uses Jackson symbolically to illustrate the futility of working in the political system.

Farrakhan cites numerous examples to illustrate the influence of the Jewish lobby on the American government: The continuation of American aid despite U.S. opposition to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon; America's increasing support of Israel which pays for more "illegal" Jewish settlement on the West Bank; and American financial support Israel's continued unlawful occupation of Lebanon. Farrakhan concludes that this support for the "false Israel" will lead this nation to its total destruction.

Evaluative Assertion Analysis

Evaluative assertion analysis has proved to be a valuable research tool in the identification of meaning of texts. A evaluative assertion analysis of Farrakhan's speech will provide further evidence of the rhetorical strategies that enable the movement to

defy the life-cycle model. Such an approach isolates key functions by eliminating semantic and syntactical "noise" which can obscure the rhetorical patterns of Farrakhan's rhetoric. One approach is an "evaluative assertion analysis" which was developed by Osgood, Saporta, and Nunnally.¹⁹ This approach breaks down text into one of two common thematic structures:

- 1) Attitude object/verbal connector/common meaning term.
- 2) Attitude object₁/verbal connector/attitude object₂.

Quantitative values are then assigned to the verbal connectors and common meaning terms based on their direction and intensity. However, assigning a quantitative value to a subjective assessment is subject to criticism based on the reliability of the interpretation of the data. Thus, I propose to modify Osgood, Saporta, and Nunnally's framework. Numerical values will be substituted with a discussion of the functions of the thematic structures.

To better illustrate the psychological evaluation of Blacks and Jews, a evaluative content analysis of the attitude objects of Blacks and Jews with the

common meaning term in Farrakhan's text will be isolated.

Table 4.

Modified Evaluative Analysis of Farrakhan Speech

Attitude object	Verbal Connector	common Meaning Term/Attitude object
1) Black people (problem of)	solve with	Justice
2) Black people	championed	(by) God
3) Black man's (problem of)	solve with	Justice
4) Black people	brought into	Shameful condition
5) Black people (problem of)	help solve/to escape	Chastisement
6) Black people	brought into	Slavery
7) Black people	help	Responsibility
8) We (Black people)	we freed	Duty to perform
9) We (Black people)	were robbed	Of knowledge
10) We (Black people)	need to be taught	Self-knowledge
11) We (Black people)	might be able	Independent existence
12) We (Black people)	were left in	Ignorance
13) We (Black people)	have been	Continual prey
14) Your race (Blacks)	suffer	Greatly
15) Black people (Problem of)	(to) solve	Not serious
16) Blacks	further/further	Behind whites
17) Blacks	have always wanted	To be included
18) Black people	remain	Disillusioned
19) Black people	remain	Unaffected
20) Black people	remain	Dissatisfied
21) Black people	remain	Distraught
22) Black people	remain	Angry
23) Black people	remain	Impatient
24) Token Blacks	in positions	Not answer
25) Our people (Blacks)	need	Solution
26) Black voters	seeking	Signal
27) Black people	(Mondale) will not	Honor (debt to)
28) Blacks	gave (Mondale)	Margin of Victory
29) Black people	slapped	In the face
30) Black people	are	Beleagured
31) Black people	are	Withered
32) Black people	(urged to) use vote	Wisely
33) Black people	(if we) use vote	carefully
34) Black people	(if we) use vote	cautiously
35) Black people	(if we) use vote	judicially
36) Blacks	must	Organize
37) Black people	(whites) refuse to share	Power (with)
38) Black people (to)	budding unity	Farrakhan/Jackson symbol (of)
39) Black leaders	pressure placed (upon) (to)	Repudiate Farrakhan
40) Blacks	bear burden	(called) Anti-semitic
41) Black leaders	(who) repudiated (Farrakhan)	Pawn of Jews
42) Black people (of America)	are	Real Israel
43) Black people	are	Choice of God
44) Black people	showing concern (to)	(will) Solve problem
45) Black people	are	Chosen by God
46) Black people	(America) does not	Care (about)

47) Black people	(Republican party) does not	Care (about)
48) Black people	(Democratic party) does not	Care (about)
49) Us (Blacks)	(America) does not	Want
50) Us (Blacks)	(America) will not give	Justice
51) Us (Blacks)	(America) must help (establish)	Separate territory (for)
52) Black people	live in	Fear (of tomorrow)
53) We (Blacks)	bear burden	(of) Casualties (in Vietnam)
54) We (Blacks)	(comprise) be	35% of armed forces
55) We (Blacks)	(America) refuses	(to) Create Jobs (for)
56) We (Blacks)	are	underrepresented
57) We (Blacks)	have	no part (making foreign policy)
58) We (Blacks)	must	fight and die
59) We (Blacks)	are	Victims of hatred/bigotry
60) Black leaders	(should) pay no attention	(in attempt to) divide (Blacks)
61) Black people	blessed	(by God)
62) Jews	involved	bringing Blacks (into slavery)
63) Jewish leaders	sent	threat
64) Jewish people	hold	power
65) Jewish leadership	demonstrate	(they control) political process
66) (Jewish) lobby	can force session	Gravely wrong
67) Jewish leaders	Blacks who repudiate	(Farrakhan) Pawns (of)
68) Jewish interests	cannot be	Interests of Blacks
69) Israel	is not fulfillment	(of) Divine prophecy
70) Jewish people	aid (to)	Contrary to God's will
71) Jews	want	No truth
72) Jews	(place truth below)	Selfish desires
73) Jews	comfortable (in)	Lies and deceit
74) Israel	used (weapons)	Majm/kill innocent people
75) Begin	defy	Wishes of the President
76) Jewish lobby	went to work	To increase aid
77) Israel's	(financed) by U.S.	(in) Unlawful occupation
78) Jewish leadership	is	Spiritually blind
79) they (Jewish lobby)	will guide nation	(to) Total destruction

An evaluative analysis brings into sharper relief several of the functions and strategies of Farrakhan's rhetoric. Farrakhan's agenda is linked symbolically to the construct of justice which serves to extol the virtue of individuals who seek to advance that agenda. Farrakhan's discussion of the mistreatment of Blacks serves an internal function of recognizing that one's ego is/has been ignored and attacks the malicious qualities of the enemy. The categorization of Jews as

enemies of Blacks serves a need to identify against other persons.

Discussion

A summary analysis illustrates that Farrakhan advances his agenda through an argumentative process of residues.²⁰ Farrakhan identifies several options that Blacks could pursue to improve their situation. Farrakhan proceeds to systematically eliminate each one to the point where only his separatist solution remains. The residues approach used by Farrakhan can be summarized as follows:

- 1) Past Policy Initiatives have not worked. (i.e. busing, integration and affirmative action).
- 2) Working within the establishment does not work. (i.e. the candidacy of Jesse Jackson).
- 3) The only alternative is separation.

Farrakhan's 1984 Washington Press Club Address provides a representative sample of the rhetoric that has enabled the Nation of Islam to defy the life-cycle of social movements. Through interpretation and use of religious doctrine, Farrakhan has successfully anchored several divergent themes together and has

enhanced the resistance of his followers to counter-persuasion. In the process he has provided his followers and himself "ego enhancement" i.e. his identification of North American Blacks as "the chosen people". Farrakhan has identified the enemies of the movement and has clearly rejected working through the establishment to improve the status of Blacks. This identification helps serve to clearly define the movement from the establishment and contributes to its long term viability. The identification of Jews as a powerful force working against the interests of Blacks serves as a rallying point for the movement and also serves to inoculate Farrakhan's followers from public criticism of Farrakhan himself. In addition, the perceived anti-semitism of Farrakhan's rhetoric serves as a "poison pill" that discourages outside forces from co-opting portions of Farrakhan's rhetoric.

Notes

¹ Ralph R. Smith and Russell Windes, "Collective Action and the Single Text", Southern Speech Communication Journal, 43 (1978): 110-128.

² Smith & Windes, 116.

³ Smith & Windes, 117.

⁴ Louis Farrakhan, "Speech to the National Press Club" (National Public Radio, 1984).

⁵ Farrakhan, "Speech".

⁶ Farrakhan, "Speech".

⁷ Farrakhan, "Speech".

⁸ Farrakhan, "Speech".

⁹ Farrakhan, "Speech".

¹⁰ Farrakhan, "Speech".

¹¹ Farrakhan, "Speech".

¹² Farrakhan, "Speech".

¹³ Farrakhan, "Speech".

¹⁴ Farrakhan, "Speech".

¹⁵ Farrakhan, "Speech".

¹⁶ G. Thomas Goodnight and John Poulakos, "Conspiracy Rhetoric: From Pragmatism to Fantasy in Public Discourse," Western Journal of Speech Communication 45 (1981): 299-316.

17 Farrakhan, "Speech".

18 Farrakhan, "Speech".

19 C.E. Osgood, S. Saporta & J.C. Nunally, "Evaluative Assertion Analysis", Litera, 3 (1956): 47-102.

20 Richard D. Rieke and Malcolm O. Sillars, Argumentation and the Decision Making Process, (Dallas TX: Scott Foresman, 1984)

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CHAPTER 5

A STEADY STATE THEORY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Definition

The case study of the Nation of Islam offers insight as to what characteristics make "steady state" social movements distinct from other social movements previously defined by communication scholars:

1) A steady-state movement persists over time.

For a movement to qualify as a "steady state" movement it needs to fulfill all of the functions of a social movement for a prolonged period of time. The threshold of when a movement exceeds its normal life-span would be a purely subjective determination of individual scholar. This determination would need to be justified in the context of the study. For example, certain types of movements with a narrow agenda would be expected to have a shorter natural life-span than a movement with a broader agenda.

2) A steady state social movement's rhetorical content does not evolve over time.

As noted by Stewart, Smith, and Denton social movements such as women's rights or the Ku Klux Klan

disappear and then reappear with altered purposes, ideologies, leaders, structures, and persuasive strategies.¹ The Nation of Islam's basic message of Black separatism and prejudicial rhetoric has not changed over time.²

Characteristics of a "Steady State" Movement

The rhetorical functions and strategies of the Nation of Islam provide an example of the characteristics that enable the Nation of Islam to defy the life-cycle hypothesis.

1) A social movement as psychological satisfaction.

The rhetoric of a social movement can serve purely psychological functions that are incidental to the actual rhetorical content of its discourse. In this case the rhetorical transaction between leaders and followers of a social movement fulfill an "ego-function", specifically self-esteem needs. The rhetoric does not change over time because the psychological needs of the participants have not changed.

2) A social movement with an anchored belief system.

The beliefs of the social movement are securely anchored to a larger value or belief superstructure.

In this case Nation of Islam rhetoric anchor divergent beliefs with religious doctrine. Thus, any attempt by opponents to engage in counter-persuasion or co-opt portions of Nation of Islam rhetoric would result in imbalance in the belief system of Nation of Islam followers. This potential imbalance would serve to enhance resistance to counter-persuasion or defection.

3) Social movement rhetoric that encourages distance from adversaries.

Many social movements disappear through absorption into the establishment. Typically when the establishment absorbs a movement it adopts part of its program and all of its rhetoric. However, use of perceived "extremist" rhetoric serves to discourage adoption of social movement rhetoric. This process can be labeled as "poison pill" effect of rhetoric because it discourages the takeover of a movement. In this case the perceived prejudicial and anti-semitic rhetoric discourages opponents from adopting Nation of Islam rhetoric.

Questions

The establishment of a "steady state" theory co-existing with a life-cycle model of social movements give rise to a couple of questions:

Is the Nation of Islam in a prolonged life-cycle stage? One possible reconciliation of current theory with the steady state hypothesis, is the possibility that the Nation of Islam is in a prolonged life-cycle stage. After reviewing three life-cycle models described by current literature (Griffin 1952, Griffin 1969, Stewart, Denton, & Smith 1984), none of the stages accurately describe the current condition of the Nation of Islam. However, even if the Nation of Islam is accounted for by one of stages in the life-cycle model, the existence of a movement that does not evolve to the later stages of the life-cycle model still represents a anomaly because much of the current literature states that social movements must adapt its rhetoric in order to survive. As Stewart et. al. states:

Neither the social movement nor society can sustain a harsh rhetoric for long. Fatigue and boredom inevitably set in...Changing

social situations, efforts by established orders to negate or to co-opt a movement's demands and solutions, and the necessity to address a variety of target audiences also will require alterations in explanations and content of demands and solutions ...If movement leaders are inept at adapting or changing persuasive strategies...they may provoke institutional and public outrage and eventual suppression of the movement...Alterations in ideology or persuasive strategies are necessary to keep the movement fresh, to counter specific resistance strategies, or meet changing circumstances.³

Do any other Steady State movements exist? If one applies the strict definition supplied by Stewart, Denton and Smith, I cannot currently identify any other steady state movements in existence. However, if a looser rhetorical definition (i.e. Cathcart or especially Sillars) is applied then a number of steady state movements currently exist. The major component in identifying the steady state movement is the

prolonged existence of the movement and its use of consistent rhetoric. On this level Christianity would qualify as a steady state movement, one key element is whether the movement retains its viability through the rhetorical transaction between movement rhetoric and its consumers/followers. In both cases (NOI & Christianity) it is primarily a "psychological movement", that is the followers receive some sort of psychological satisfaction through its participation in the movement.

Implications

A clear implication of "steady state" rhetoric is that rhetoric can be viewed as a means of maintaining a movement in its current state. In this case, the rhetoric dictates the stage of a movement. A traditional conception of social movement rhetoric views rhetoric as an artifact of a particular life-cycle stage of a movement, as opposed to rhetoric determining the stage itself. Griffin suggested the comparison and identification of rhetorical patterns of movements in each stage of development. However, rhetoric is not merely a reflective pattern of a movement during each stage of development. Indeed, the

rhetoric of a social movement plays an active part in the determination and definition of each stage of the life-cycle, or whether there is any life-cycle at all.

Notes

¹ Charles Stewart, Craig Smith and Robert E. Denton, Persuasion and Social Movements. (Prospect Heights, IL.: Waveland Press, 1984) : 37.

² C.E. Lincoln, The Black Muslims in America. (New York N.Y.: Beacon Press, 1973) 175-186.

³ Stewart, Smith and Denton, 43, 79, 42.

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APPENDIX

Farrakhan Address to the Washington D.C. Press Club

In the name of Allah, the magnificent, the merciful and in the name of his true servant, our beloved leader, teacher, and guide, the most honorable Elijah Mohammad, I greet you with the greeting words of peace in the Arabic language, Assalam. To Mr. Fogerty, to the members of the National Press Club, distinguished head table, members of the press, visitors, friends, brothers and sisters. I am highly honored and greatly privileged as a representative of the Honorable Elijah Mohammad and his great work of redeeming, reforming, and saving Black people in this country and throughout the world. To have been invited by this august body to address you even though I have the distinction of being the most openly censured and repudiated Black man in the history of this country.

I represent the Honorable Elijah Mohammad, a messenger and warner from all mighty God allow to Black people, to America, and the world. I do not speak to you from mere personal desire, but I speak in the Name of the God who raised up the Honorable Elijah

Mohammad and I am backed by them both. This statement that I just made should be given careful study and weight. Whenever warners or messengers appear, this represents God's intervention in the affairs of that nation because in God's sight, neither the people nor their affairs are in a right state.

The gravity of the situation and God's own integrity demands his intervention to warn us of the consequences of our deeds that we may take a better course. This course of action demonstrates God's great mercy and his desire to redeem over his right to punish and destroy. In the case of the United States of America, God's warning must be sounded regardless to how painful it is to the ears and no matter what the consequences may be to the warner. The spirit of the warner is not that of hate or malice. His spirit is the spirit of love which is divine love. The warning of the warner is given out of a deep concern and compassion for human life. He works that the life of his people and others may be saved or spared by his urging the people to act on the principles of truth and justice. However, if we mistreat the warner and discard the warning as a lie, sticking our fingers in

our ears as though we heard nothing, then the consequences of the rejection of good counsel is violence and bloodshed.

In this case, it will lead to the destruction and death of this republic and the tremendous loss of life which could have been spared if only the leaders had listened. The responsibility of the well-being of the people of this nation rests primarily on the shoulders of the leadership. The Honorable Elijah Mohammad said to us the neither justice nor peace shall come to the nations of the earth until the 400 year old problem of Black people in America has been solved with justice. The reason why no other nation can have justice or peace until the problem of the Black people in America is properly solved is because almighty God himself is championing our cause. No solution to this grave problem can be considered proper nor will any solution work unless that solution is in accord with the nature of the problem and in harmony with the demands of the time. That solution and the time is given by the prophets and is found written in the Bible and in the Holy Koran. I repeat, America can have no peace, no joy in liberty, and the deprived nations can have no

justice until the Black's man's problems is solved with justice as the nations are tied to America in such way that her problems make problems for them. So what truly helps America helps the nations of the earth.

Little did those who brought our fathers and mothers into slavery realize that they were creating a problem that it would take the Almighty God and his guidance to the nations to solve. And little did those who brought us into slavery realize that out of this wretched people, Almighty God would lift up a criterion to measure the worthiness of the nations to escape the fall and destruction of this world and qualify them to enter into his new world order. Arabs, Jews, Africans, Europeans, and Americans were involved in bringing the Black people in this country to this wretched and shameful condition and position at the foot of the nations of the earth. So it is not true that these people particularly are being offered the wonderful and merciful chance to escape the chastisement that each is justly due by their being asked to help in solving the problem of the Black people of America. That they brought Black people into

slavery or participated in the slave trade were not aware of the profit predictions. Nevertheless, their actions and our suffering are well documented in the writings of the Bible and Holy Koran and in the written history of the nations.

The history of our suffering and fall written in symbols, signs, and parables formed the basis of the secret societies in America, particularly the Masons and Shriners who are studying thirty-three degrees of the circle of the wisdom of Islam. However, these students of divine light are not permitted to make public what they know or what they are studying. The three million or more Moslem sons or Moslems Shriners in America are now charged with responsibility of helping America and the Black people of America out of this dilemma. Remember, it is written in the scriptures to whom much is given, much is required. America has never really addressed the problem of justice for Black people. America knew that when we were so-called freed by the Emancipation Proclamation, America had a duty to perform by us. since America robbed us of all knowledge of self, in freeing us, we needed to be taught self-knowledge. The arts and

sciences of civilized people that we might be able to make an independent existence for ourselves. This America did not do. Thus, we were left in a state of ignorance where we have been a continual prey in the hands of the people of America.

The First President of these United States, George Washington, said and I quote: "I fear that before too many years have passed overhead the Negro will become a most troublesome species of property." Thomas Jefferson said: "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, that his justice cannot sleep forever." Abraham Lincoln addressed a contingent of Black leaders in the first White House conference attended by Black leaders and that conference was the propriety of separation between White and Black. And Honest Abe said "in part you and we are different races. We have a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races." Whether it is right or wrong, I need not discuss. He continued, I think your race suffer very greatly. Many of them by living among us while ours suffer from your presence. In a word we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason at least why we should be

separated. Abraham Lincoln wanted separation. These Black intellectuals disagree. Mr. Lincoln regarded their rejection as extremely selfish. And so in recent years, government sponsored integration, busing, and affirmative action. They have all been advanced and tried half-heartedly as solutions. We must be honest. Social integration is not a serious attempt to solve the problem of the masses of Black people. In fact, as its root were insincere government officials and others who knew better. Now the Supreme Court in effect has rejected Affirmative Action. Busing is a failure and integration as a solution is causing Blacks to be further and further behind Whites.

These meager, improper and insincere attempts at a solution have failed miserably and at best they have only satisfied the longing of a certain class of Black people who have always wanted to be included in the mainstream of American life, but the masses of Black people remain unaffected, disillusioned, dissatisfied, distraught, angry, and impatient. The light of hope in America's ability and will to do justice by us is flickering and dying. So in 1984 the problem of giving justice to thirty or more million children of slaves

is still with us. The problem will not vanish. It will not go away. Genocide is not the answer. A few token Blacks in positions of responsibility is not yet the answer. We need a solution that considers the masses. We need a solution that considers the unborn generations. We need a solution that will allow all of our people to bring forth their genius and justify their existence on this earth. Jesse Jackson's bid for the presidency was not the solution but it gave hope to millions whose hope had died. It gave time to America to think and rethink her position. Almighty God used Jesse Jackson to create movement again in the masses of Black people.

His was a call not to violence and extremism. His was a call not to hate and intolerance. His was a call to the unregistered Blacks to register to vote to make a difference. His was a call to use the ballot and not the bullet to bring about meaningful change in this society. His was a call to organize to gain power politically to change the conditions under which we live. Jesse Jackson was rebuffed and mistreated at the convention. And all that he and others concerned for the suffering masses of the locked-out advanced in the

form of planks and the Democratic platform was rejected. Reverend Jackson is still seeking a signal from Mr. Mondale that will increase his enthusiasm and the enthusiasm of the masses of Black Democratic voters to work hard for Mr. Mondale's election in the fall.

In my judgment, Mr. Mondale has already sent his signal. We must not be oblivious to the signal that Mr. Mondale has already given and that is that he does not intend to honor his debt to Black people who helped him get the nomination and whom he needs to get elected to the Presidency of the United States. When Mr. Mondale's campaign was floundering and he was about to be written off as the nominee of his party on super tuesday, it was Blacks in Georgia, Alabama, and Florida that gave him the margin of victory to keep his campaign afloat. The unwritten law in politics is that those who give should get. How much more should we give before we get what we are justly due.

Mr. Mondale slapped Jesse Jackson and all Black people in the face because he feels that Black people beleaguered and withered under Mr. Reagan and Reaganomics have no other alternative but to go along

with Mondale and the Democratic party. However, there is another way. God's way. And only through his way can all of us get out of this dilemma. The Honorable Elijah Mohammad during the election of 1968, because of the critical internal condition of America and the external condition of the world asked Black people to use their vote wisely. My advice to Black people is the same today. Black people, if we vote at all must use our vote carefully, cautiously, and judicially. This election is so important. Because it is not just deciding who shall sit as President. For the next four years, whoever is President must have the vision, the wisdom, and the will to save this country from the wrath of God and the nations and in my humble judgment, after listening to the words of both Mr. Reagan and Mr. Mondale, at this time, neither of them have displayed the vision necessary to take America safely through these next four years. America does need a change of direction and that change of direction cannot come unless there is a change of vision. It is written in the scripture where there is no vision, the people perish. We are here today with

that vision from almighty God allow to the Honorable Elijah Mohammad which includes the welfare of America.

The government of America and the heads of both political parties who say they want Black people included in the mainstream of this society must realize that if Blacks are going to be successful within this society, Blacks must organize to achieve unity and power. Jesse Jackson's candidacy was a bid for unity to achieve power. This frightened those who have power and refuse to share power with Black people. So immediately, schemes were hatched by those in power to break the budding unity that Jesse Jackson and those whom he represents might not achieve power. Jesse Jackson and Louis Farrakhan stood as the symbol of this budding unity to Black people. In New York City in April according to a report which appeared first in the Boston Globe and a few days later in the Washington Post, powerful Jewish leaders met. and out of that meeting, according to The Glove, a threat was sent to the leaders of the Democratic party and to Mr. Mondale and Mr. Hart that if they caved in to Jackson's demands, particularly where Middle Eastern policy is concerned, the Jews would leave the

Democratic party enmass, take their money, join Reagan and the Republicans. This kind of threat was kept over the head of Mr. Mondale and the officials of the Democratic party. So when I made the statement that Israel had not had any peace in forty years and that she will never have any peace because there can be no peace structured on injustice lying, thievery and deceit using God's name to shield your dirty religion or dirty practices under his holy and righteous name. This was termed to be an attempt on my part to discredit Judaism as a religion.

Then tremendous pressure was exerted on Mr. Mondale, the leaders of the Democratic party, on the President and the Vice-President, on Jesse Jackson's staff, then on Jesse Jackson, members of the Congress, and pressure was put on certain Black religious civic and political leaders to repudiate Louis Farrakhan. There seems to be an unwritten law that Israel and Jews cannot be criticized particularly by Blacks for anyone who does so must bear the burden of being called an anti-semite but how could Reverend Jackson be considered a serious candidate for the presidency of the United States and not touch on the critical

issue of America's Middle East policy particularly since the scholars and scientists agreed that the Middle East is the flashpoint or the trigger of the war of Armageddon which will result in a clash between America and Russia.

What kind of power does this small minority of Jewish people hold over the government that the Senate would call an emergency session to denounce me. Ted Kennedy and the leaders of the Democratic party felt compelled to denounce me without ever hearing or reading my words completely despite the fact that they have access to all my words. Larry Speakes, the White House Press Secretary, was defensive in saying that the President was not timid or afraid to come out forthrightly against Farrakhan. This abnormal show of power of Jewish leadership demonstrates that the American people are losing or have lost a grip over their political process and over their elected officials. For whenever a powerful lobby can force an emergency session of the Senate just to repudiate me, something is gravely wrong. The American people must rise up---(much applause).

The American people must rise up and gain better control of their political process and their political leaders again. Black political, civic, and religious leaders who repudiate me on the basis of a lie without ever contacting me or getting my words to find out what I actually said, run the risk of being looked upon as pawns of Jewish leaders and Jewish interests and therefore cannot lead in the best interest of Black people. The religious scholars and scientists who advised Presidents and politicians have gravely misunderstood the scriptures where Israel is concerned and have misapplied these scriptures to justify taking of land from the Palestinians by force and they use these same scriptures to justify America's continued support of Israel with the taxpayer's money. But is this really justified?

We can prove that the Israel that is the creation of the Zionist's with the help of England and America, is not the fulfillment of divine prophecy. It has no divine power behind it and before too many days pass, it will prove to be the destruction of the power of the Western world. The Israel mentioned in the Bible and Holy Koran as the people of the book are the

chosen of God was to serve as a type to give us a picture of the people that God would choose for his glory in the last days of the rule of the wicked. The prototype Israel is pictured as a people of bondage, despised, rejected, and lost, yet God out of the abundance of his mercy would choose a people like this to make a nation out them for his glory but that people that God would choose would be hidden under the name Israel. And this people is the Black people of America. The real Israel and the true choice of God. Truth hurts, but it hurts only the guilty--(applause).

It hurts only the guilty who have practiced deceit. If America showed concern for the real Israel, Black people, and the solution to our problems, America could save herself for the fate that religious and political leaders believe will befall America if she abandons the false Israel is now befalling America because she has abandoned justice for the real Israel, the Black people of America, the chosen of Almighty God. America now faces divine judgment. According to the prophet's predictions, the people of God would be in bondage and affliction in a strange land for over 400 years. This is a prophetic, symbolic picture found

in the Bible and the Holy Koran of our sojourn and suffering in America. The word of the Honorable Elijah Mohammad and the Congressional library in Washington bears witness that the first slaves were brought to these shores on a ship named Jesus captained by an English slave trader, Sir John Hawkins in the year 1555.

It is written in the scriptures that the Exodus took place in the 430th year of Israel's sojourn. 1985 makes the 430th year of our sojourn and affliction in America and now Black people are making their Exodus, spiritually and mentally, out from the power of the slave masters children over our lives. It is time that Black people go free. We cannot ever again tolerate a master slave relationship. If this is not recognized, there will be constant and increasing clashing between the two people.

[America is saying to Black people, the Republican and the Democratic parties are saying to Black people that they don't care for us. You don't want us. You do not care that we who helped to build your country, who fought, bled, and died to keep it free for you get no justice within your social, economic and political

system. So if you will not give us justice, then you must let us go that we do something for ourselves in a state or territory of our own and you should help us maintain ourselves in a separate territory either here or elsewhere for the next 20 to 25 years. and as the Honorable Elijah Mohammad said, if we are unable to be self independent after 20 or 25 years of your help, then you can bring your armies and shoot us down.] You can take this advice if you will and God will have mercy upon you and save your country, but you say, how can we do this, this is impossible. However, you found a way to aid in taking land away from the Palestinians and giving it to the Jewish people contrary to God's will, you have found a way to subsidize Israel for nearly forty years and forty years later, Israel is not able to go for herself, nor does she even seem willing to become a self independent nation, but she is becoming an increasing burden on the taxpayer's of America (Applause).

If the American economy continues to falter, how can America continue to subsidize Israel at this rate? If Israel is trying as hard as she can to develop herself to the point where she is economically

independent and is yet unable, then this should cause you to see that God is against her. But here we are. The real Israel of your Bible. The real chosen people of the Almighty God suffering in your midst for 400 years, we have no land that we can call our own and the acreage that we have owned is quickly being taken away from us by fraudulent schemes and tax schemes and neglect due to our own ignorance of the value of the land.

At the rate we are losing land, by the year 2000 we will be completely landless. [You refuse to give us justice. You refuse to create jobs to ease the burden of unemployment.] Black people live in fear of tomorrow because we have no security today. It seems to me that America is in the valley of decision. God is now lashing America with the same ten plagues that Egypt was lashed with. The neighboring nations are turning against America because of her wicked policies in Central and South America even as was done against Babylon. The corruption and the legion of Rome's armies is now seen in the armed forces of America and the unwillingness of the real American citizens to fight for this country is evident for it is the

foreigners coming to these shores who see the benefits of this nation and who are the most willing to defend the values of America.

Why should we who only represent 12% of the population bear the burden of 35% of the casualties in Vietnam? Why should we today be 35% of the armed forces of America and America refuses to create jobs for our joblessness that will give us stability and security in this society? And now Black men and women are looking to the armed forces as our employer. Is this Justice that we who are under-represented and who have no part in the making of foreign policy must fight and die, not to make the world safe for democracy, but to make the world safer for the multi-national corporations, the greedy, the selfish, and the rich. And to think that the President and the Senate has said there is no room in this society for hate and no place for the haters. We the victims of America's hatred and bigotry and now being charged with her crime. What I represent is truth and America is saying to Farrakhan what is written that the Jews said to Jesus when they rejected him. And Jesus

responded you cannot understand my words because my words have no place in you.

The Jews in that day wanted no truth to be told if it conflicted with their selfish desires. They did not care for the truth. They wanted to hear that which made them comfortable in their web of lies and deceit. What crime have I committed that warrants the censure and repudiation of the entire government, religious and civil leadership. I don't smoke, I don't drink, I don't use drugs, I've never been arrested, I don't chase women nor do I chase men. I have been a doer of good (applause).

I have been a doer of good among Black people for three decades doing a duty of civilizing and reforming Black people--a duty which America failed to do for which of the good works that I do in the name of my father, the Honorable Elijah Mohammad, do you stone or repudiate me. Poor Jesse. Poor Jesse. You hated our love and friendship and our mutual desire to defend and protect one another. You prevailed upon my brother to repudiate me on the basis of your lies. You frightened the staff to urge this upon him. You threatened that you would not let him speak at the

convention unless he repudiated me. You forced him to apologize again to a people to whom he owes no apology so that he might have a place of honor and respect among (the) Democratic leadership, but did you give him such place--No--You mistreated him and now you have him and those whom he represents out in the cold waiting for a signal that they may enthusiastically work for the Democratic ticket.

You were not satisfied with his repudiation of my words. You want him to repudiate me personally. You don't want him to be seen with me in public or even shaking the hand of his own brother. You desire to destroy our unity and our friendship completely. But why? It is because you fear the unity of the children of slaves because you know that our unity will give us the power to throw off the yoke of slavery and you will have to relate to us as men and women. But America, how do you treat your friends which others dislike? You don't repudiate them. Look at the friendship you have with South Africa (applause).

We and many other nations do not like this. You admit that the government of South Africa deprives millions of Black people of life, liberty, and the

pursuit of happiness, but you have not repudiated them. Why has not the Senate which cannot tolerate hatred and bigotry not repudiate South Africa, but instead has rewarded South Africa with nearly 15 billion dollars in trade, huh? And America's involvement with her is steadily on the increase. The President hypocritically says there is no room in this society for haters, yet there is room in his heart to embrace South Africa. Two years ago, Mr. Menachem Begin and his government invaded Lebanon reportedly against the wishes of Mr. Reagan and his administration. American weapons which were given to Israel to be used defensively were used aggressively to maim and kill thousands of innocent people leaving many more thousands homeless. Did not this violation of the sovereignty of another nation merit the repudiation of the Begin government by the American government? Yet, there was not repudiation even though some argued that America must do something to bring the Begin government in line. Neither was there a threat to lessen America's commitment to Israel unless these acts were stopped.

America, instead of repudiating Israel, rewarded her by increasing her grants and aid from 2.46 billion to nearly 3 billion dollars. Mr. Begin could sit in Israel and defy the American President while the powerful Jewish lobby went to work on the Congress to increase America's aid to Israel. America's increasing support of Israel is paying for more Israeli settlements on the West Bank which America says she is against, again this American support finances Israel's continued unlawful occupation of Lebanon (applause).

What will it take for America to repudiate this expansionist allied friend? And who is brave, bold, and courageous enough in the Senate or in the Congress, or in the government to call for such repudiation? I respectfully say that the Jewish leadership is spiritually blind and if the American government and the Reagan administration is spiritually blind and if the American government and the Reagan administration allow such (a) lobby, which is spiritually blind to have the great power to influence the guidance of this nation, then they will guide this nation to its total destruction.

In my conclusion, I say that Reverend Jackson and other Black leaders should pay no attention whatsoever to the attempts of the wicked to divide us. Reverend Jackson, come on with your brother and let us seek Justice for our people in America. And if America refuses to give us justice, since you have experience in negotiation the release of captured persons, then let us negotiate the release of this captured nation that we may go free to build a nation for ourselves.

Abraham Lincoln was faced with the problem of saving this Union which was his paramount concern and at the root of that problem was the question of slavery and what to do with us. President Reagan or whoever will be elected President will have on his shoulders the awesome responsibility of saving this nation and again at the root of the problem is what to do with 30 million Black people. Reagan said within the covers of that single book, the Bible are all the answers to the problems that face us today if we'd only look there. If the President truly believes this, then we urge the President to look at this that has been offered by Almighty God through the Honorable Elijah Mohammad for it fulfills all that is written as

guidance in the book as the solution to this grave problem.

America should act or correct the wrong while she has time and do so before judgment is taken out of her hands and her ability to rectify the problem is taken away from her by the Supreme Judge. It is written all who bless Israel, God will bless. All who curse Israel, God will curse. We say to you all who work to bless this Black people in America, God will bless you and all who continue to curse the Black man are already cursed by God. Thank you for listening.
(applause---Question/Answer session follows)

TOWARD A "STEADY STATE" THEORY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Abstract

Over the last 40 years communication scholars have been developing theories to explain the functions and effects of rhetoric in social movements. As of this writing a multitude of perspectives exist to analyze social movements. However, current theories do not explain all social movement phenomena. Specifically, they do not explain movements that do not evolve over time. Central to current theories of social movements is the life cycle model. The model implies that social movements go through specific rhetorical stages over time. Specifically, it argues that social movements undergo an inevitable life-cycle that leads to non-existence through co-option or failure. This thesis contends that some movements do not evolve at all. Such movements can be defined as a "steady state" movements. One such movement is the Nation of Islam. It will be shown that the Nation of Islam defies the life-cycle hypothesis and that the Nation of Islam actually constitutes a "movement". Finally, the rhetorical strategies that has enabled the Nation of Islam to defy the life-cycle model will be examined. In the context of overall theory, a

"steady state" theory seeks to illustrate and explain a greater variety of social movements. As such, it does not supplant the life-cycle model which can serve to explain many movements. A "Steady State" theory provides communication scholars with another tool to explain the rhetorical processes and functions of social movement rhetoric that would otherwise remain unexplained.