

# The Enemy Within

## From Evil Others to Evil Elites

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The idea and expression of “the enemy within” is briefly explored in its multiple uses. Arising parallel with the emergence of individualism, this notion was first tied to the religious ideals of purifying the self, later secularized and revived with the development of the idea of the unconscious. It is especially close to the notion of conspiracy. In folklore, the description of Others, through tales, is mostly ethnocentric and negative. A tentative classification of tales, with respect to visibility and origin, is suggested, and the detours and ambiguities that characterize folklore discussed. The contemporary orientation of conspiracy theories – present in the three realms of folklore, popular fiction, and social protest movements – to denounce “evil elites” is briefly commented on: these theories were widespread in explaining the September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S. However, the story of “the compassionate terrorist,” one that reflects the detours and ambiguities of folklore, is the most representative of the spontaneous lore linked to terrorist attacks.

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### The Notion of “the Enemy Within”

This expression is very widely used. An August 2002 Google search for “the enemy within” returned links to 31,700 pages – and more than 1,300,000 if the quotes were omitted<sup>1</sup> – many of which were connected to activists and extremists of all kinds, from Lyndon La Rouche to anti-Islam fanatics. The expression is widely used in the self-help literature, advising readers to fight the internal enemy with special diets or spiritual exercises. It is a catch phrase for science fiction and strategy computer games. L. Ron Hubbard wrote a novel entitled *The Enemy Within* (1986)<sup>2</sup> that is still promoted by the Church of Scientology, and references to this book account for many of the above-mentioned websites. Computer security experts often use the expression in their promotional literature, and medical specialists, in promoting their conferences, often use “the enemy within” as a metaphor for cancer.

While this list accounts for the most com-

monplace usages, this expression demarcates a discourse and domain in academic political science as well. This is reflected not only in book-length studies and in the special issues of journals such as *Cultures et Conflits* (2001), but also in dedicated databases and coordinated research programs<sup>3</sup> that study the various uses of this expression. Historically, the state apparatus in non-democratic regimes, including the Nazi, Communist, and various dictatorships, has labeled elements dangerous to the regime as “the enemy within” and used it as a call to arms and tool for political mobilization. Examples range from the designation of entire categories as “enemies of the people” (e.g., the “Kulaks” in Russia during the late 1920s), to having dictators demonize growing opposition groups as “unnatural” or “enemies of the nation,” particularly when such leaders are losing power. The expression has also been widely used by politicians and leaders of factions in democratic contexts, from Senator Joseph McCarthy de-

nouncing suspected Communists and the “Red Menace” during the 1950s in the U.S. to the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher attacking trade unions, especially those that represented coalminers in the 1980s.

### *Conceptions of the Individual*

The notion of “the enemy within” is also linked to the emergence of individualism in European thought since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. That tradition of self-examination, as taught in both Catholic and Protestant denominations, was aimed at purifying the sinner haunted by the menacing presence of evil in the human soul. In that era the temptations of sex, as well as odors and the sense of smell, were demonized whereas the sense of vision – linked to light – was advocated, as the eye was considered the gateway to the soul (Muchembled 2000: 119–147).

After the rediscovery of the unconscious, first through the promotion of hypnosis (in the era of Charcot and the Salpêtrière School in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century) and later with the founding of psychoanalysis, the psychoanalytical notions of the id and of repression renewed and secularized the concept of the interior Other. The emergence during the 1980s in the U.S. of the controversial hypothesis that there was a psychiatric condition called “multiple personality disorder” (Mulhern 1991), as well as the attention at the time paid to Satanism, increased this tendency to perceive “the enemy within.”

### *“Sleepers” Unknowingly Harboring Violence*

Historians who have studied the behavior within the Nazi elite, especially the SS, have used the notion of “sleepers.” John Steiner (1980), who conducted research on the psychological profiles of SS members who voluntarily entered the force, first applied the notion to the violent tendencies some individuals harbored, tendencies which remained latent until they could flourish under conditions that cultivated and encouraged such behavioral tendencies, such as the exceptional circumstance of being an active member of a professional corps that encouraged the use of violence. In the wider scope of the study of genocide and group violence, Ervin Staub (1989) further elaborated Steiner’s hypothesis, stressing that sleepers who harbored

violent tendencies were very common in the general population.

## Conspiracies

The idea of the expression “the enemy within” refers to the wider notion of a conspiracy and it denounces a group that threatens the very existence of the society that it has infiltrated. Americans have a long history of conspiracy fears, having been agitated at one time or another by the imagined dangers posed by Catholics, Jews, Freemasons, Communists and fellow travelers, capitalists, trade unions agitators and workers, witches, slaves, blacks, carpetbaggers, the Ku Klux Klan, white slavers, and racketeers. The list can readily be expanded, and this tendency has been very ably captured in the classic essay “The Paranoid Style in American Politics” (Hofstadter 1966). Yet Fenster (1999) has attacked Hofstadter’s approach as having labeled dominant groups as normal while erroneously designating all those outside it and all political protesters as pathological (20); the forms of symbolic expression in protest are not analyzed, nor is “the political and cultural role of conspiracy theory in popular conceptions of power” recognized (62). Conspiracy theories are wrong, but they have legitimacy, as they address structural inequities and respond to the weakening of civil society and the corresponding concentration of power in oligarchies (67).

The development of alternative media has permitted a kind of conspiracy community to emerge, one that apes the academic community of scholars at its “assassination conferences,” and these are occasions at which individual researchers intermingle briefly and discuss theories of conspiracies (182). Rather than identifying “with the lives of those who interpret and enter into the narratives of apocalypse and conspiracy,” their approach often mixes fascination with irony. “Recognizing and conceptualizing the excitement and laughter of ‘finding’ and ‘following’ conspiracy is a crucial step in understanding the contemporary cultural fascination with conspiracy theory,” Fenster notes (1999:201), and the Bible for such conspiracy ‘theorists’ is the trilogy *Illuminatus!*

(Wilson & Shea 1975), which itself has been expanded into fictional sequels and “prequels”, essays and aphorisms, role-playing and board games (Fenster 1999: 202–203). Such transformations parody the fear of conspiracy and subvert conspiracy theory through humor. In addition, today’s conspiracies are often asserted to have come from organized crime, which is depicted “as a confederation of Mafia families” whose power extends beyond the sphere of organized crime into the control of government and legitimate businesses<sup>4</sup> (Best 1999: 82).

What is more surprising for Europeans in this context, given the American belief in conspiracies, are their denunciation. Satanism, for example, is depicted as a blood-cult with numerous followers, whose hidden and unsuspected members sacrifice several thousand babies on a regular basis in their efforts to conquer and retain power (Richardson, Best, Bromley 1991). Similarly, the idea exists that evil extraterrestrials (in conspiracy with government insiders to whom they grant extraordinary powers through advanced military technology) are engaged in a takeover of society, though it is mostly pursued as “entertaining” fiction, as in the successful *Men In Black* movies, and in a darker vein, the increasingly fantastic *X-Files* television series. In popular fiction, one should also note, the image of the benevolent extraterrestrial warning us against the madness of our civilization – along the lines of Steven Spielberg’s *E.T.* – competes with this negative, evil alien aspect.

Since popular fiction in Europe is thoroughly dominated by American entertainment, such themes also exist, but they evoke little social emotion. In the U.K., France and Belgium, however, there is a strong public belief in a conspiracy that unites a huge network of pedophiles (who are considered a powerful segment of society and capable of coordinated action) with elites. This conspiracy is largely imaginary, but belief in its existence is correlated with the existence of a general resentment against incompetent (or indifferent) official responses to sex crimes perpetrated against children.

## The Many, and Mostly Evil, Aspects of “Others”

There are various “others,” mostly evil, in the universe of folklore and particularly in contemporary legend, and it is to these that I next turn. We are no longer in the realm of the strident denunciation of the social activist who denounces conspiracies, but rather in the biased realm of folklore. In today’s multicultural societies, the tales told about immigrants and minorities are mostly ethnocentric and negative, and in the performance of such tales one sees the delineation and definition of the limits of ethnic boundaries. It seems that the positive portrait of “us” emerges discreetly, and as an indirect result of the positive halo the negative image of tales about “them” casts.

### *Visibility and Origins*

We can distinguish among outsiders based on their visibility and origin: are they visible or do they, purposely, make themselves invisible? Do they come from without or from within the society where they are located in which the relevant tale is told?

visibility:	visible:	invisible
		origin:
from with- out	ethnic minorities (color language or religion)	jews
from with- in	deviants (offensive life- styles, drug addicts, punks, drunks)	deviants (acting normal, secret cults, pedophiles)

Ethnic minorities have become more visible as they refuse to forget or refuse to sacrifice their heritage in the name, or on the altar, of acculturation. Once common goals weaken, and the ideal of what is ‘good’ in terms of manners, speech, and clothing becomes less agreed upon. Deviants are also visible, because though they originate in our society, they do not behave or belong with the normal “us,” as their lifestyle is offensive. They were yesterday’s heretics, witches, lepers, and sodomites; today they belong

to dangerous cults, are HIV carriers, or lesbians or gays who parade proudly each year through cities. In a development that parallels the growing visibility of ethnic minorities, these deviants have also become more visible.

As for invisible outsiders, we think we can spot these dangerous ethnic minorities that seem assimilated but remain hidden outsiders, with their agenda of aggression and their determination to take control over their host society. The denunciation of such dangerous outsiders belongs more to the universe of social activists and the realm of popular fiction than it does to the universe of folklore, where humor often provides a counterweight to denunciation. The basic subtext of anti-Semitism was that the Jew was all the more dangerous precisely because he seemed to be one of "us." Those deviants who seem normal, but have hidden aspects, are especially feared, as was the case when "secret" cults started to be denounced in the 1970s. The criminal pedophile, leading a seemingly normal life that is only discovered to be deviant after he's done his worst, is the best example of this today.

These depictions of visible and invisible outsiders are especially interesting not at the level of social protest movements, since those who denounce outsiders appeal mostly to the extremist fringes of society, but at the level of popular fiction and of folklore, both of which have a wider audience. These three realms are complementary. It is striking, for example, that the worst offenders to today's sensitivities, such as pedophiles, are branded by activists and terrifyingly portrayed in popular fiction but by and large ignored in folklore and contemporary legend.

#### *The Detours and Ambiguities of Folklore*

In Denmark, Tangherlini (1995) has shown that many contemporary legends featuring immigrants or minorities have close parallels with earlier legends that featured supernatural creatures. Stories of young Danish girls narrowly escaping kidnapping in Arab shops in Paris, their fate to be forced into prostitution, are echoed in traditional legends of supernatural forest creatures stealing young girls (41–43). The food scare that swept Western Europe in

1977, when a Palestinian organization in Holland claimed to have injected mercury into Israeli oranges,<sup>5</sup> has parallels in the legend told by a man poisoned as a young boy when he ate a tempting fruit he found on the road, a fruit that was placed there by an unknown evil hand (49–50). Horror stories are told about the theft, by immigrants, of household pets to be used for food. The owner chases the immigrant and rescues the pet just as it is about to be sacrificed in the immigrants' kitchen, or alternately, the police arrive at the thieves' house too late: "dinner was just finished. The entire family of Turks sat around the table and only the gnawed bones were left" (51). These echo stories about the *ellefolk* (elves) of yesterday who stole bread from shepherds and cats from village houses (52). Deviants (rather than immigrants) are targeted in the story of the severed fingers: a nurse traveling back home at night narrowly escapes attackers (often described as a motorcycle gang), by slamming her car door and driving away at full speed, only to find severed fingers in the car's door when she returns to her garage. This story parallels traditional tales of "failed attacks," especially when the traveling horseman cuts the hand of one of the robbers (52–57). The Danish legends of both yesterday and today center on instances of interacting with the Other who is far closer than we think, pretending to be one of "us" and operating in the inner circles of our society.

In the realm of contemporary legend, which draws its persuasive strength from the detour of the narrative – the quaint, funny, or scary incident said to have "truly happened" – seems to "naturally" lead to a conclusion denouncing a hidden evil Other. Thus, the story of the snake in the store, still told in the 1980s though noted already in the late 1960s describes the death of a (generally female) customer after she's been bitten by a creature hiding in an exotic item (a blanket, a rug, even a garment) for sale at a discount store.

It denounces the foreigner, here metaphorically designated through his products, in a manner similar to the 1970s story of the rat bone. Here the bone in question is discovered when a dentist removes it from a client's throat after a good lunch in an ethnic restaurant<sup>6</sup> – not

merely a denunciation of poor restaurant health standards but pointing to voluntary pollution on the part of the miserly foreigner.

A parallel can be drawn with the globally known 1980s story of the rat dog (the American variant is called the Mexican pet). An innocent and kindhearted, but a little oblivious, female tourist brings an animal back from an exotic holiday, thinking it's a cute dog that can make a nice pet. It turns out to be a – very sick – rat after it kills a local pet. It is tempting to see a metaphoric equivalence here between the rat dog and the immigrant who not only deceives those who naively welcomed him about his aggressiveness (hidden on arrival but revealed later), but also about his state of health (seemingly healthy but in fact sick). They make him a menace to those among whom he now lives.

These examples of animal contamination that contain different messages reflect the distinctive use of masking and detours that are characteristic of folklore. Folklore is a generally ambiguous device as well, as can be seen in the seemingly “nice” and “funny” anecdote of “the helpful Mafia neighbor.” In this story, soft-spoken and well-dressed newcomer neighbors advise a couple whose home has just been burglarized not to report it to the police until they “make a few phone calls and see what can be done.” Indeed, the next morning the victimized couple finds all their stolen possessions neatly piled on their front porch. This example is not devoid of anxieties, for the extraordinary powers the Mafia neighbors possess could well be employed for evil purposes (Brunvand 2001: 191).

Still, this ambiguity also permits folklore to sometimes redress the balance and ridicule the expression of ethnic prejudice, as in the anecdotes of *The Elevator Incident*, *Sharing by Error*, and *The Eaten Ticket* whose messages seem to be to preach tolerance.

- “The Elevator Incident tells the story of three provincial women lost in the city who are extremely frightened by the presence of a big black man and his dog with them in their elevator. They misunderstand the command ‘Sit!’, which was addressed to the dog, and sit down on the floor of the elevator, expecting to

be robbed. The black man, who usually is a renowned figure in sports or pop music, laughs; subsequently, he pays their hotel bill or sends them flowers. His good humor and generosity shows the foolishness of the women’s fright and that the menace was imaginary. The specificity of the situation is typically American, and probably explains why the story has not really become international. Non-American versions in New Zealand (Brunvand 1989: 71), Germany (Brednich 1991: No. 59: 81–2, media source) or South Africa (Goldstuck 1990: 178–181, Hind 1990), locate the incident in a large American city, the heroine an elderly and proper New Zealander or South African visiting U.S. relatives; the heroine of the German version is an American” (Campion-Vincent 1995: 22).

- In *Sharing by Error*, set in a train station snack shop or a department store cafeteria, a proper middle-aged woman shares a table with an immigrant, or deviant, and mistakenly helps herself to his packet of biscuits or his meal. The immigrant or deviant lets himself be wronged, and the punchline of the story is the discovery of her error by the confused woman. The story is a variation on the older *Theft by Error* theme, in which a protagonist imagines having been robbed and robs in revenge, only to discover later that his suspicions were unjustified and that he has now perpetrated a robbery and cannot redeem it since “the aggrieved party is unknown and out of reach.” This story has been widely diffused since its appearance in the 1970s, and has inspired at least five short films, one of which (the 1989 American film *The Lunch Date* by Adam Davidson) “received the Grand Prix du Court Métrage in Cannes (Palme d’Or) in 1990, and a Short Film Oscar in 1991” (Campion-Vincent 1995: 22).
- The story of *The Eaten Ticket* appeared in Denmark in the 1980s, and soon spread to neighboring countries. Located in a city bus or tram, it features a prejudiced lady who misbehaves by expressing – loudly or through disgusted gestures and expressions – the displeasure she feels at being seated near a conspicuous punk. The punk does not react,



but when the ticket controller arrives and the lady holds up her ticket he suddenly grabs, chews, and swallows her ticket. The controller does not accept the lady's accusation ("He ate it!"), and as no one in the bus supports her, she has to pay a heavy fine. When a publicity film promoting seasonal bus passes used the incident in Oslo in 1987 (the punk showed his season card to the controller), the anecdote received public exposure when the film was aired at the 1988 Cannes's Festival of TV and Film Commercials. Oral versions than started to circulate in Switzerland and France, but in these the punk had been replaced by an immigrant, the fact of whose blackness and threats were significant<sup>7</sup>. Two other short films with this theme were made in 1993: the Belgian *La dame dans le tram* and the German *Schwarzfahrer* (by Pepe Danquart; it received an Oscar in 1994).

These three stories "appear to comment on the typical conditions of modernity, and to exploit a set of problems very present in modern society – 'non-places', public behavior, and a world full of strangers. In these circumstances, the message of the three anecdotes is not unambiguous – it oscillates between tolerance and the justification of prejudice" (Campion-Vincent 1995: 28).

## Our Evil Elites

Compared with their past counterparts, today's conspiracy theories have loosened their links to religion: then, it was the devil who was the ultimate conspirator. Now conspiracy theories can be considered instead as a sort of folk social science or folk history, a "subculture of intellectual dissent" (Eliason 1996). They aim to provide meaningful and accurate explanations of the world's condition, which is seen as increasingly complex as the media become more and more omnipresent via TV and instant transmission.

Conspiracy theories have become a thriving industry, from which whole sectors of literature and the media draw their substance. They have recently evolved towards denouncing the pow-

erful in society, rather than branding outsiders such as foreign powers or cultures. This is clear when we consider, for example, the recent evolution of themes such as the Kennedy saga, Marilyn Monroe's sad fate<sup>8</sup>, Jack the Ripper's identity<sup>9</sup>, or the suggested conspiracy that links the government to evil extraterrestrials. This evolution accompanies the spread of such themes in the general public, which (beyond the small groups of the active conspiracy 'theorists') is increasingly receptive to suggestions that things are not what they seem, or that our own leaders are deceiving us even though we elected them.

The expression of denunciation of evil elites and their conspiracies are numerous in folklore. To stay with our previous examples of contamination, the designated villains today are less likely to be foreigners than to be greedy corporations who are a part of our society but behave like enemies and spread poisons in their unchecked pursuit of profit. Persistent rumors alleging that a fast food chain, or a clothing manufacturer, or a food company is affiliated or owned by a racist group (and that its founder or CEO has made racist or bigoted statements on TV) exemplify these folk denunciations of "corporate malfeasance." Allegations of government conspiracies to create or spread the HIV virus (so as to wipe out undesirables), or of plans to limit religious activity, or sell the country to the UN, etc. are also widespread and circulate in the most diverse strata of American society.

The theme of conspiracy by an evil elite is especially widespread in popular fiction, and for over a hundred years we have had depictions of mad scientists, today often placed in the group of evil elites as doctors in the thriving sub-genre of the "medical thriller." The conspiracy of the powerful (together with evil extraterrestrials) is the subtext that links the various episodes of *The X-Files* television series together. In the public protests that denounce globalization, national or cultural frontiers among protesters but also the objects of protest themselves seem to have disappeared. A brotherhood of dissenters protests the acts of the elites – dominated by the West but with cohorts in all nations – and those elites are consistently depicted as "enemies of the people" who are linked together in malevolent con-

spiracies that aim to throw the powerless into the clutches of “the market.”

## After 911

Have there been changes in these conceptions of enemies following the terrorist attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001? Reality is of course far removed from conspiracy theories, and without doubt, the attacks were perpetrated by a group of enemies who are complete outsiders. They hold values different from those of the materialistic Western World dominated by the U.S. However, the concept of “our” evil elites is so strongly embedded in contemporary culture that it has played a large part in trying to interpret what could have been behind these ominous attacks. This is reflected in apparently minor facts such as the popularity of Noam Chomsky’s book on 911 (2001)<sup>10</sup>, though it was by and large ignored by the media.

The disproportionate attention paid in the media to the many extremists who asserted the attacks were actually a U.S. conspiracy also seems relevant. The surprising success in France, but also among English speakers, of books stating that no plane crashed into the Pentagon and that the U.S. organized the attacks (Meyssan 2002a, 2002b), is based on tapping into a whole array of conspiracy theories (that one can find on the Internet, and mostly of American origin) that name the U.S. government as the real perpetrator (Dasquié & Guisnel 2002).

Rather than explaining the attacks, such conspiracy theories partly deny their existence, and instead of raising methodical doubt adopt a generalized doubt close to a form of instant revisionism. Facts are not simply re-evaluated or contested, but denied practically at the same time as they happen and are told. Rather than focusing on the conspiracies of obscure outsiders, they mostly accuse the media, who are considered the heralds of the authorities. In this interpretative system, the media obstruct the truth, transmitting official versions of it whose undisclosed aim is actually to hide the conspiracy: as accomplices of the authorities, they are participating in the conspiracy (Taïeb 2003: 12–14).

## The Compassionate Terrorist

The threads of folklore are more consoling than those of the conspiracy theories that today seem the real promoters of “the enemy within” approach. Many are familiar with the story of the compassionate terrorist, which, in the version I received (in mid-October, 2001), goes as follows:<sup>11</sup> “In London, a young girl sees a wallet falling from the pocket of the male character, a man of Middle Eastern appearance, strolling in front of her. She picks it up, runs after the man and gives it to him. He thanks her and says: ‘Stay out of London tomorrow (the 18th of October) for there will be an attack’. The girl thanks him, but finds this strange and goes to the police to report the advice. The police show her pictures of terrorists and in one of them, she recognizes her benevolent adviser.”

The story points to a conspiracy: everything is planned, and it is to be carried out by Middle Eastern foreigners. But the story is also in the realm of folklore, given how ambiguous its message is. It is racist to the extent that an Arab or an Afghan knows what others like him are doing (they are all accomplices, all in on the conspiracy) and anti-racist at the same time, because the sensitivity of the enemy means he can act as a friend – and yet we don’t think of that because our prejudices hamper our judgment (Taïeb 2003: 7). We have difficulty in perceiving the Other, or perceiving the nature of the Other’s identity. In French versions, the story often is located in the subway, a place where we meet unknown characters who are difficult to identify, especially in troubled times like these. What are we to make of this man who is a deeply suspect enemy in the know about forthcoming attacks, yet also a “friendly enemy capable of feeling gratitude and sensitivity” (Taïeb 2003:8).

The trouble of identity is maximal: the man is an enemy, but a friendly enemy, who does not correspond to the image of an enemy since he shows gratitude and sensibility. The story could be closed on this conflicting image but the closure would not be satisfactory; the Other has to be identified clearly. And it is the police, a body of law and order that is going to decide, by showing pictures of known terrorists from which

she identifies him. The man is clearly identified, and as an enemy.

The story seeks to comprehend the motives of terrorists, imputing empathy of a sort characteristic of the lifeworld of the narrator him- or herself. Personal relations are, to this fictional terrorist, more important than politics and thus he responds to a gesture of solidarity with a life-saving warning (Fine and Khawaja 2003). The legend belongs to the larger thematic complex of “the friendly enemy” which psychologically serves to exorcise the narrators’ fear of the aggressor. Marie Bonaparte collected anecdotes about the victorious yet compassionate enemy who provided crucial warnings saving the narrators during the Second World War (1947). In the present story, the exchange with the terrorist begins over a lost wallet, invoking the motif *immunity from disaster as reward*<sup>12</sup> in which a supernatural being amply rewards a small favor received from a human (Campion-Vincent & Renard 2002:246–247). The legend has reappeared in France at the end of 2002, with warnings mostly concerning shopping malls in large cities like Marseille, Lyon, Grenoble and Strasbourg. It may express the belief or at least wish that the enemy from within or without, who is so difficult to spot, can be tamed.

## Notes

1. In September 2003, the same search returned links to 66,700 pages, and more than 2,180,000 without the quotes.
2. It was the third tome of his multivolume *Missing Earth*.
3. In particular, the research project conducted by the Slavics Department of the University of Zurich that examines Socialist propaganda, and that is supported by the Swiss National Foundation.
4. Let’s recall that in 1960, Robert Francis Kennedy published *The Enemy Within* reporting the McClellan committees’ activities against corrupt labor unions.
5. It was echoed in Italy by another announcement concerning cyanide injected into Israeli grapefruit.
6. The restaurant was said to be Greek when the story was told in Sweden, North African or Yugoslav when told in Germany, and Chinese when told in France or the UK.
7. In a Lausanne newspaper, a reader’s letter narrating the incident was entitled: “The Lady

and the Cannibal”. In oral versions circulating in Grenoble, the black told the lady: “Next time, it’s you I’ll eat.”

8. She is supposed to have been murdered by Bobby Kennedy (Anthony Summers: *Goddess: The Secret Lives of Marilyn Monroe*, 1986).
9. He is said to have seen a high placed member of the Royal Family, protected by an elite conspiracy.
10. Chomsky’s publishers in New York describe 9–11 as “the most influential counter-narrative of dissent” and specify it sold “over 300,000 copies” and was “#1 paperback in Canada throughout 2002”, while his French publisher calls it “a best-seller that sold millions of copies all over the world, the bedside book of all the anti-war” [le livre de chevet de tous les anti-guerre].
11. In the U.S. variant, the girl is warned not by a chance acquaintance but by her Arab or Afghan boyfriend; that version barely circulated in Europe.
12. Motif Q150 (Thompson 1969).

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