

**From the *Dukes of Hazzard* to the *X-Files*: How Is Government Authority  
Portrayed on Television?<sup>1</sup>**

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Critics of the mass media spend significant time attacking it for what the critics consider to be frequently inaccurate portrayals of African-Americans, Asians, Hispanics, women, big business, and almost every other identifiable group. Yet one “group” that is oft-maligned yet undefended is government. In particular, we see a growth in the number of television programs, books, and motion pictures that provide inaccurate and often hyper-critical portrayals of government and government authority.

This paper is part of a larger study examining the portrayal of government authority figures in mass media. The study examines both television and motion picture presentations of government authority figures over the past thirty years. The presentation of government authority can be divided into five distinct categories that form the structural underpinnings of the project.

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The first category is the portrayal of government authority as a force for good. In this category, the government authority figures are heroes. This category is the most frequent of the five, which is not a surprise, considering the large number of television shows focusing on law enforcement. While these heroes are generally local authorities (police, fire fighters), they do occasionally include national authorities, such as Secret Service agents. Beginning in the seventies with *Kojak*, these shows began to lose some of the idealistic tendencies displayed earlier (e.g. *Dragnet*, *Adam-12*). Law enforcement officials in particular were shown as more realistic, three-dimensional characters, yet they were still primarily portrayed as heroes working for the public good.

The second category is the depiction of specific local government officials as corrupt, incompetent, or both. In this category, the government authority figure is a local official who meddles in the affairs of the hero--the evil sheriff in the *Dukes of Hazzard*, for example. While a threat to the hero, the influence of the official is limited in scope. In addition, most other government authority figures are presented in a generally positive light--the evil local official is an exception to the general rule.

In the third category, we have authority figures who are following the law in pursuit of the protagonist, but the protagonist is a victim of circumstance. The authority is pursuing the wrong person but for the right reasons. These authority figures are doing what is legally right, yet they are mistakenly pursuing the hero. One example is the series *The Fugitive*. These figures of authority are not villains in the traditional sense--they are not evil, they are trying to enforce the law, albeit mistakenly.

In these first three categories, the government authority figures are either benign, a local problem, or simply mistaken. Government authority is not seen as negative *per se*, but it can be the primary antagonist if needed. These categories

include most television and movies portraying government authority. In the last two categories, the government authority figures take on new, and often unpleasant, roles.

The fourth category opens up the possibility of the government committing illegal acts, even if they are in the best interests of the people. While not directly involved in the acts, the government acts as an unseen co-conspirator helping the protagonists in carrying out these illegal acts. The government itself cannot conduct these acts, so it allows others to do them without fear of repercussion. The most famous example of this category is the *Mission:Impossible* series, although several others have reached millions of people as well<sup>2</sup>. In all of the depictions in this category, it is always made evident the actions of the government, although technically illegal, are clearly benefit society as a whole. There is little or no ambiguity about the motives of either the government or their un-official associates.

In the final, and arguably most disturbing category, government, either as a whole or at least a large portion of it, is the primary antagonist in the series. Through national or international agents, the government conspires to thwart the heroes at every opportunity. Unlike the local menace in the second category, these officials have near unlimited power. Two examples from television are the British television series *The Prisoner* from the 1960s and the 1990s cult hit *The X-Files*. Many of Robert Ludlum's novels (and their movie adaptations) present these international shadow governments or cabals as well, often connecting them to the rise of a new Nazi movement.

A portion of this final category is the focus of this paper. Through analysis of the current television show *The X-Files*, we will explore this world-wide phenomenon

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Others in this category include the television series *Knight Rider* as well as the James Bond movies.

that has captured millions of viewers and propagated the notion of world-wide government conspiracies to new audiences. We begin with a brief discussion of the theory behind the project as a whole, focusing on the socio-historical context of the show and the ability of the media to propagate and perhaps even create cultural and political phenomena. After a brief methodological discussion and background on the characters of the show, we will take an in-depth look at the conspiracy theories presented in *The X-Files*. For those unfamiliar with the show, brief episode summaries are in Appendix A.

## **Introduction.**

A common topic of social discourse is what was seen on television by the conversational participants the previous evening. Such conversations provide cultural commonality, and as such, represent a significant factor in considering culture and ideology. Several scholars stress that forms of mass media such as television need to move from the periphery of sociological discussion of culture and take a prominent place in the examination of popular culture and its ideologies (Thompson, 1988). By utilizing a tripartite analysis, Thompson demonstrates how mass media can be analyzed to reveal ideology and its role in the maintenance or disruption of cultural perceptions. The components of Thompson's analysis are production, content, and reception of media messages. This approach also involves the specific socio-historical contexts, institutional arrangements, and artists involved in the creation of the media message.

This paper will examine how *The X-Files* has ushered in a new ideology of active conspiracy. Looking at the socio-historical contexts and production of thematic content of this television show will demonstrate the impact the conspiracy thriller genre has on culture and policy.

## **Socio-Historical Context**

It is possible to use Thompson's outline of cultural and ideological analysis to examine the rise of a new genre in television programming: the conspiracy thriller. Conspiracy theories about shadow governments and the questionable integrity of the visible government have existed in mass media in some form since Machiavelli's *The Prince* was first published. More recent examples include the conspiracy thrillers written by Robert Ludlum, the 1968 television show *The Prisoner*, as well as such pivotal films as *All the President's Men*, which focused on the Watergate trial, and *JFK*, which brought the conspiracy of John F. Kennedy's assassination directly inside the White House. Although popular, these forms of mass media did not capture the imagination of the public to the extent the conspiracy-based television show *The X-Files* has, nor have they been recreated in the public consciousness in a way that creates a new cultural perception of the environment.

In an interview leading into the videotape episode "The Erlenmeyer Flask," the series creator, Chris Carter, summarizes his own motivation for creating a conspiracy thriller: "I grew up during the era of Watergate...I distrust any institution that exercises power. Government is an all-purpose bad guy...the government may indeed not be working in our best interests." Just as we now have the first "baby-boomer" as president, the people who grew up during the ideological fracturing of American culture during Viet Nam, Watergate, and Iran-Contra are creating the images of mass entertainment.

Today's political environment is substantially different than when these events actually took place. At the time, the scandal surrounding Watergate was restricted to our own government. But in the 1990s, the international movement toward greater global unity feeds long-festering conspiracy theories. Unlike previous theories, it's not merely the actions of the national government that we need to worry about; we need to worry about what our government may or may not

be doing with other governments. The formations of organizations such as the European Economic Union (EEU) and the European Parliament (EP), both of which can override national policy, feed the fear of the potential for a new class of power elite that will have global control. Global trade policies such as the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) are also seen as omens of a “New World Order.” The myth of individuality is at risk in a unified global community (Schiller, 1974).

These political developments combined with perceived economic hardships have created an atmosphere of unease and distrust. Americans no longer feel the government is looking out for their own best interests. Caryn James says that such shows voice “an utterly contemporary fear...Where is the truth? And if the government won’t tell us, who will?” (James, 1996). The distrust of government is evident also in the two catch phrases from *The X-Files* that have gained almost mantra-like status: “The Truth Is Out There” and “Trust No One.” Cynthia Littleton proclaims that “*The X-Files* graduated from a cult hit to a cultural phenomenon in its second season when the show’s growing fan base began translating into regular Friday night wins for Fox” (Littleton, 1996). Thus the cultural link to ideology is established as conspiracy theory becomes a trendy and accepted way of viewing our culture.

David Pirie argues few things in art are as satisfying as observing the turning point of a major genre. “They allow the audience to become a creative force: the film-maker invents, the audience responds, subsequent film-makers reinvent” (Pirie, 1996). Pirie states that genres on television evolve more slowly than film, but in the same give and take manner and the “process of audience reinforcement remains the same” (Pirie, 1996). Once such a shift in genre has occurred, everyone is aware of it, and Pirie credits Chris Carter and *The X-Files* with being the pivotal point in the creation of a new genre. The popularity of *The X-Files* has produced a

prodigious number of copycat conspiracy shows, including *Nowhere Man* (James, 1996), *Dark Skies*, *Pretender*, and *Psi Factor: Chronicles of the Paranormal* (Littleton, 1996). The conspiracy theory has become, in the words of a television insider, as much a staple of the weekly lineup as the traditional medical drama or family sitcom (Littleton, 1996).

What began as one man's personal distrust has grown into an economic opportunity for television network executives across the board. Plurality and quantity are mistaken for diversity, when in fact, everyone simply wants a piece of the money pie (Schiller, 1974). Scholars and members of the mass media agree there is great power in the hands of the media artists to create cultural phenomenon and ideology. In one example, Lincoln Steffens created the perception of a crime wave simply by increasing the number of crime reports he published (Steffens, 1931). Eventually all the newspaper reporters in New York City created the illusion that crime was increasing. In fact, the reverse was true; it was only the coverage of the events that increased. The work of these reporters resulted in a shift of public opinion and behavior where no factual reason existed (Steffens, 1931). As portrayals of government conspiracies grow in number, so does the public belief in such conspiracies, which, in turn, begins to redefine their ideological perspective on politics and government.

It is also clear that such changes are possible when the audience is receptive to the message. No matter how many television shows are aired portraying lawyers as saints, the preconceptions held by the audience will make this a difficult if not impossible sell. Distrust of the motives of government officials, on the other hand, is already at extremely high levels throughout the United States (Peterson & Wrighton, 1997). This willingness of the audience to believe the government is involved in various international conspiracies was made clear to the creator of *The X-Files* Chris Carter during the focus group testing of the show. As Carter notes, "...the thing that

was amazing to me in that test marketing was that, to a man, everyone believed the government was conspiring to cover things up” (Lowry, 1995, p. 27).

When an audience is receptive to the message presented, it becomes possible to substantially bias their opinions, even in the face of apparently contradicting factual information. Whether it is establishing the latest fashion trend, the cool slogan of the week, or the political opinion of the month, the members of the mass media can, under the right circumstances, create new cultural phenomenon that can dominate societal discourse. *The X-Files* is such a phenomenon, and further analysis of the show is the next logical step in understanding this process.

### **Research Design and Data Collection.**

Television program analysis has become a substantial and influential part of qualitative analysis, particularly in the fields of mass communications and psychology. In order to properly analyze the available data, it is important to follow a carefully constructed design. If the design is grounded in theoretical expectations, the validity of the analysis is substantially enhanced (Spector, 1989).

Previous research has developed a number of methods by which to collect and describe the data present in a visual media such as television programming (Ball & Smith, 1992). In any project such as this one, there are several steps to collecting the data before analysis can begin. The first issue is the size and nature of the sample. Since much work on television attempts to examine all programming over a long period, time limitation factors must be taken into account. Since the data in question involve only one television program, the sheer volume of the data is not a major concern. Despite this, the need for some form of sampling procedure exists. While many of *The X-Files* episodes focus on some aspect of the conspiracy mythology (hereafter referred to as the mythology arc), many of them are self-contained episodes that have no mention of the mythology arc. As a matter of resource

conservation, it was necessary to determine which episodes to analyze and which to ignore without watching all ninety-three.

To produce a sample of mythology arc episodes, several independent sources were consulted to discover which episodes contained references to the arc. These sources were primarily self-described *X-Files* experts who were contacted through the World Wide Web at a variety of locations. Of the eleven individuals consulted, there was near-unanimous agreement on the mythology episodes for all four seasons<sup>3</sup>. With this sample, a pool of twenty-eight episodes remained for the analysis.

The next stage of the analysis was the creation of a detailed coding method to gauge the nature and frequency of the mythology references as well as the content of these references. The selection of the coding targets was determined through consultation with the *X-Files* experts used to determine the sample pool as well as references found in *Entertainment Weekly* (Flaherty, 1996) and *The Truth Is Out There: The Official Guide to The X-Files* (Lowry, 1995).

### **A Brief Summary of Plot and Characters.**

The main plot of the mythology arc centers on the illegal actions of the governments of the United States and other major powers to suppress on-going research. Although it is unclear exactly what the government is trying to hide, there are two primary explanations for the cover-up. The first theory of the conspiracy is that the government is involved in a wide-ranging cover-up of encounters with extra-terrestrials and the possible attempts to genetically create half-human, half-alien beings. The second explanation is that the government is

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There was one expert who disagreed on the categorization of two episodes, “Jose Chung’s ‘From Outer Space’” and “Pilot.” Given the other experts and sources agreed on these as part of the mythology arc, they were included in the sample.

using the UFO stories as covers for tests being carried out on humans based on the research of German and Japanese scientists from World War Two. The evidence to support both theories is reasonably strong, and it is entirely possible that both theories are correct. It is the slow exposure of the cover-up and the eventual unraveling of the conspiracy that provides the driving force behind the mythology arc.

The primary characters involved in the mythology arc in *The X-Files* can be divided into three categories: the Investigators, the Consortium, and the Informants. Each group of characters serves a specific set of functions within the arc, and the interactions between the groups provides both the momentum and the conflict within much of the series,

The Investigators are agents Mulder and Scully, two members of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in charge of examining “X-Files,” those cases dealing with UFOs, alien abductions, and other paranormal activity. Through their investigations, they stumble across hints of a large scale cover-up that operates within and without the government system to fulfill the goals of an unidentifiable, possibly global, power elite. While it is unclear what the conspiracy involves, it is clear the actions of the conspirators are both illegal and unethical. The fact that Mulder and Scully are “agents who seek the truth from inside the Government (sic), that doesn’t make the conspiracy any less insidious” (James, 1996).

The Consortium is the group responsible for the government cover-up slowly being uncovered by the Investigators. Although all of the members of the Consortium are nameless, they clearly wield enormous power both within and outside of the government. The three primary characters within the Consortium are the Cigarette-Smoking Man, the men in Black Suits, and the Well-Manicured Man. The Well-Manicured Man is the titular head of the Consortium. He is responsible for the continuation of the conspiracy (referred to on the show as The Project), and he has

the power to manipulate the head of the FBI (Carter, 1994b) and Senate committee hearings (Carter & Spotnitz, 1996a; Carter & Spotnitz, 1996b). The Cigarette-Smoking Man is the primary field agent of the Consortium--his appearance in an *X-Files* episode clearly marks the entrance of the extra-governmental force that drives the mythology arc. As the primary field agent of this group, his presence and actions are strong indicators of the desires and plans of the Consortium, although it is also clear that he considers the Well-Manicured Man to be his superior (Carter, 1995b). The Men in Black Suits are the anonymous agents of the Consortium that act as the footmen for the Cigarette-Smoking Man. Their presence indicates both the willingness of the conspiracy to act and their desire to avoid direct intervention on behalf of their cause.

The Informants are a diverse group of characters that provide information to the Investigators, although their motives for providing the information are often suspect. Within this category there are six characters, Assistant Director Skinner, The Lone Gunmen, Senator Matheson, Deep Throat, "X", and Marita Covarrubias. Assistant Director Skinner is the direct supervisor for agents Mulder and Scully, the Investigators. As their boss, AD Skinner is frequently forced to choose between allowing Mulder and Scully to continue their investigations and his job. AD Skinner considers the Cigarette-Smoking Man to be one of his superiors, and has been forced by the Consortium (through the Cigarette-Smoking Man) to remove Mulder and Scully from investigations that might reveal the true purpose of the Consortium's actions (Carter, 1994b; Morgan & Wong, 1994b).

The Lone Gunmen are the voice of the conspiracy theorists in *The X-Files*. These three individuals are the only members of an extreme government watchdog group. They are convinced the government is hiding information about UFOs, conducting tests with weather-controlling devices, and covering up who shot President Kennedy. As a group they represent the motley collection of conspiracy

theorists throughout the nation, representing the militia, academics, and UFO abductees. Although loyal to the Investigators to a fault, their intense paranoia occasionally leads them to provide biased information to the Investigators that lead them astray.

Senator Matheson is the Investigators' contact within government. A supporter of their activities to uncover the government conspiracy, he provides them with occasional information to further their objectives. As a member of the Senate Intelligence committee, he is privy to information that the Investigators are normally unable to acquire. His position on the committee also means that his contacts with the Investigators must be covert and rare, otherwise he risks exposure and probable criminal charges.

Deep Throat was an agent of the Consortium, but he suffered from great moral and ethical qualms about the actions of his colleagues. As such, he felt the need to provide the Investigators Mulder and Scully with information about the activities of the Consortium as a method of assuaging his guilt. Although his information to the Investigators was occasionally misleading and contradictory, he generally acted as the conscience of the conspiracy. Deep Throat's treachery was discovered by the Consortium at the end of the first season of *The X-Files*, resulting in his death. Deep Throat was replaced by a man known only as "X" to the Investigators. Although continuing in the tradition of Deep Throat, X's motive for helping the Investigators was not one of guilt but of payback--he owed something to Deep Throat and was forced to provide information to the Investigators out of loyalty to his deceased comrade. X's deceit was also discovered by the Consortium, ending in his death at the beginning of the fourth season (Carter, 1996; Spotnitz & Carter, 1996b). X's replacement was Marita Covarrubias, a special assistant to the Secretary General of the United Nations. Her motives for helping the investigators are also unclear, nor is it clear why X chose her to act as his successor.

## **Resonance with the Public--A Brief Aside.**

Despite this complicated collection of characters and plots, *The X-Files* has steadily gained a greater and greater share of the viewing audience. At the end of its first season, *The X-Files* was ranked 116th out of 152 shows. At the end of the second season, it was ranked 73rd out of 148 shows. By the third season, its overall rank was 44th, although several episodes landed in the Nielsen ratings weekly top twenty. The fourth season, which is currently airing, has continued this remarkable rise, with every new episode ranking no lower than 30th and all but two episodes ranking in the top 20. This increasing popularity has spawned a variety of cottage industries, not the least of which are attempts to explain its popularity.

The show's allure rests in three factors. First, the "detective" has been split into a male and female. Mulder as the masculine believer and Scully as the feminine scientific skeptic. Together, they form a whole person, successfully creating images to which both male and female viewers can relate. In addition, as individuals, they create two of three corners of a triangle, the third corner occupied by the villain, in this case the government (Pirie, 1996). However, it is worth noting that the government is guilty of a case of the right hand not knowing what the left is doing, as not all of the administrators in the FBI are involved with the conspiracy (such as Assistant Director Skinner), and those few that operate within the FBI also maintain autonomous power outside governmental jurisdiction (such as the Cigarette-Smoking Man).

The second factor that explains the particular resonance of *The X-Files* is its archetypal nature. As in many fairy tales, Mulder and Scully represent the innocents whose quest for the truth is thwarted by villains whose interests are to keep the truth hidden. The paranormal activities and monstrosities investigated by the two agents are all the more sinister because their "identity and very existences

being manipulated by the far more monstrous yet credible forces” of the government (Pirie, 1996).

The third factor is the clear willingness of the viewing public to accept the notion of a wide-ranging government conspiracy as plausible. These viewers are willing to accept this idea despite the fact that a conspiracy of such breadth would be virtually impossible to keep quiet. As one critic of the mythology arc noted, “In the course of the series we have seen thousands if not tens of thousands of government personnel viewing, categorizing, and retrieving alien technology and alien corpses. How it is possible that not one of them has leaked this information to the press or public? This is the most improbable part of the mythology arc” (Heydricksjen, 1997). Despite this incongruity, *The X-Files* continues to grow in popularity.

### **Content Analysis**

In order to determine whether *The X-Files* is an appropriate fit for the category of government as antagonist, it is necessary to examine the main timeline of the mythology arc and examine how and why the government conspiracy acts to thwart the protagonists. In order to analyze the episodes in which government is an active and conspiring opponent of the heroes, a single-event coding method was adopted (Spector, 1989). In this method, each appearance of the target characters is coded as separate and unrelated events. The target characters for *The X-Files* are The Cigarette-Smoking Man, The Well-Manicured Man, Deep Throat, “X”, and Marita Covarrubias. When any of these characters appear, it was coded as the presence of the mythology arc in the episode. Each appearance was also coded based on dialogue, the other characters involved, location, and a time index for reference purposes. To test the reliability of the coding method used, each episode was coded by two independent raters and the results were cross-referenced only after all of the episodes had been coded by each individual. The inter-rater reliability was extremely high, with only one discrepancy across the twenty-eight episodes in the

sample pool. In order to maintain chronological consistency, the mythology arc episodes of each season will be considered as a group. For the sake of brevity, information about the actual episode plots will be minimal. For those readers unfamiliar with *The X-Files*, please consult Appendix A for plot summaries.

### **Season One (1993-1994)**

The mythology arc of the first season centers around the question of whether or not the government is covering up visits to Earth by extra-terrestrial life forms and the character of Deep Throat. First introduced in the second episode of the season (Carter, 1993), Deep Throat provides The Investigators (agents Mulder and Scully) with information to lead them to various potential encounters with extra-terrestrial life forms. In each case, the official government is acting to prevent the agents from discovering the truth. In “Deep Throat,” Mulder apparently discovers a craft made of a hybrid of human and alien technology on a military base, but military doctors destroy part of his frontal lobe to erase the memory of seeing it (Carter, 1993). The episode “Ice” has the United States military and the Centers for Disease Control destroying an Arctic research base with primitive alien worms living in it (Morgan & Wong, 1993). A form of alien life that has apparently visited Earth several times is hunted down by Army Special Forces troops in “Fallen Angel” while claiming the operation is to clean up a toxic waste spill (Gansa & Gordon, 1993). This cover-up is exacerbated further, when the Investigators are told that the toxic waste clean-up is in fact a lie to cover up the downing of a Libyan jet carrying a nuclear bomb; the government uses lies to cover up lies to hide the truth. In each of these episodes, the military (acting at the behest of the executive branch), systematically hides or destroys evidence of alien visits to Earth in order to prevent the Investigators from discovering the truth.

Towards the end of the first season, the actions of the government conspirators become more insidious and direct. Agent Scully discovers someone is

monitoring her movements through an electronic device in her pen and even Deep Throat begins to mislead the agents in order to prevent their discovery of critical information (Morgan & Wong, 1994a). By the season cliffhanger, the government conspirators, now identified as the Consortium, are taking the extreme measures of destroying their own research to prevent its discovery (Carter, 1994b). Agent Mulder is taken prisoner by the Consortium to be exchanged for an alien fetus discovered by agent Scully, and the Consortium kills Deep Throat when they discover how he helped the Investigators in their pursuit of the truth (Carter, 1994b). As a final act of manipulation, the Cigarette-Smoking Man arranges to have *The X-Files* project terminated entirely, reassigning the Investigators to mundane tasks.

### **Season Two (1994-1995)**

The second season of *The X-Files* marks the maturation of the mythology arc. At the start of the second season, the Investigators have been relieved of their assignments and moved to mundane tasks. Agent Scully is teaching at the FBI Academy, while agent Mulder has been assigned to a Mafia surveillance detail (Morgan & Wong, 1994b). Agent Mulder is contacted by his informant in the government, Senator Matheson, who tells him of potential extra-terrestrial life form contact in Puerto Rico, also informing him that a unit of Blue Beret Special Forces has been dispatched to eliminate the alien and destroy all evidence of its existence (Morgan & Wong, 1994b). Although contact is made with the alien, the evidence is destroyed. Upon the Investigators' return, the Consortium (acting through the Cigarette-Smoking Man) attempts to have both agents removed from active duty (Morgan & Wong, 1994b). In the first demonstration of the Consortium's occasional inability to directly influence government actions, Assistant Director Skinner overrides the orders of the Cigarette-Smoking Man (Morgan & Wong, 1994b).

The direction of the mythology arc takes a dramatic turn as the second season continues. Although the Consortium is still tracking the Investigators using illegal

wiretaps and surveillance (Morgan & Wong, 1994b), the focus of the mythology switches from the existence of extra-terrestrial life forms to the apparent abduction of one of the Investigators, agent Scully. In a three-part episode, agent Scully is abducted, run through a series of medical tests, and returned to a hospital with no memory of what occurred (Brown, 1994; Carter, 1994a; Morgan & Wong, 1994c). It is at this point in the series that the second primary conspiracy theory comes into play. While some of the evidence points to Scully's abduction by aliens, there is similar evidence to indicate she was abducted by top-secret researchers working for the United States government (Brown, 1994; Carter, 1994a; Morgan & Wong, 1994c). The question of what or who abducted agent Scully and why it was done will eventually become the central focus of the mythology arc for the next two seasons.

The three-part abduction series brings in two other elements that become central to the mythology arc. The first is the growing bond between Assistant Director Skinner and the Investigators. At risk of his own life, Skinner informs agent Mulder of the home address of the Cigarette-Smoking Man, whom Mulder believes is behind the abduction of agent Scully (Morgan & Wong, 1994b). Skinner's actions provide a stark contrast for the mythology arc--those in the government who assist the heroes against those who oppose them. The second element is the introduction of Deep Throat's successor, X. For the next two seasons, X will provide a variety of information to the Investigators as well as saving agent Mulder's life on more than one occasion (Carter & Duchovny, 1995b; Carter, Gordon & Spotnitz, 1995; Spotnitz, 1995a).

More evidence of the Consortium's attempts to combine alien and human DNA sequences is found later in the second season. Evidence is found of experiments conducted on the children in a town in Wisconsin in which they were apparently injected with synthetic alien DNA to judge its impact on growth and behavior (Carter, 1994c). Further evidence of hybridization is found when someone begins killing

doctors across the country, all of whom look exactly alike due to apparent cloning (Carter & Duchovny, 1995b; Spotnitz, 1995b). During the cliff-hanger for the second season, the Investigators gain access (through the Lone Gunmen) to top secret Defense Department documents detailing the government's concealment of encounters with extra-terrestrial life forms and the assimilation of alien technology (Carter & Duchovny, 1995a).

During the same episode, the limitations as well as the power of the Consortium both become clearer. Although unable to have the agents removed through official channels, a complex combination of tainting agent Mulder's water with LSD, wiretaps on his phone, and surveillance are employed in an attempt to discredit him within the FBI (Carter & Duchovny, 1995a). When unable to accomplish their goals through the proper chain of command, the Consortium resorts to unofficial and clearly illegal methods to continue the cover-up.

### **Season Three (1995-1996)**

If the second season marked the maturation of the mythology arc from a series of unconnected events into an interconnected web of deceit and lies, the third season becomes the testing ground for the two competing theories about these events. As the Investigators dig more deeply into the Consortium's conspiracy they begin to find evidence to support either explanation of events. This theoretical tension combined with a renewed focus on agent Scully's abduction provides the momentum for the mythology arc in the third season.

The opening episode of the third season is a major turning point for the mythology arc in several ways. Agent Scully finds a computer chip implanted at the base of her neck (Carter, 1995a). Scully has no memory of how the chip got there, and further analysis shows the chip to be a highly sophisticated technology with unknown capabilities to which only government scientists would have access. Agent Scully also discovers several other women who had similar implants removed from

their necks, and finds that some of them are suffering from a rare form of untreatable cancer that appears to be caused by the experimentation procedures. This discovery raises more questions about who or what abducted her during the second season.

In addition, the Investigators finally discover the Consortium exists and, perhaps even more importantly, that the members of the Consortium disagree on policy (Carter, 1995a). Agent Scully is approached by the Well-Manicured Man who warns her that others in the Consortium consider her a threat and plan to kill her. His actions demonstrate the non-monolithic nature of the Consortium--each member has his or her own agenda and they are willing to act to further their individual causes even to the detriment of the Consortium as a whole.

Finally, the second theory (the Nazi research agenda theory) is given substantial credence when the Investigators discover several former Nazi scientists were involved in a long-term government research project that gathered data on everyone who had received a smallpox vaccination since 1950 (Carter, 1995b). This research, which was apparently used for the space race, involved convincing people they had been abducted by aliens when they were actually being tested by the former Nazi scientists.

The third season also expands the international nature of the conspiracy. Japanese scientists who were involved in experimental human testing during World War Two are apparently involved in research on US citizens, although it is unclear if they have the approval of the US government to carry out their research (Carter et al., 1995; Spotnitz, 1995a). Agent Scully recognizes one of the Japanese scientists as having been present during her abduction, indicating the tests she underwent were performed by humans, not aliens (Spotnitz, 1995a). Other evidence found by the Investigators appears to support either conspiracy theory, and it is also clear that the

international conspiracy is not as unified as originally implied (Carter et al., 1995; Spotnitz, 1995a).

Further evidence of possible alien visitation is presented later in the third season, and the direct relationship between the Consortium and the government is made more explicit when The Cigarette-Smoking Man is shown leading a contingent of Special Forces soldiers in the disposal of an alien spacecraft (Spotnitz & Carter, 1996a; Spotnitz & Carter, 1996b). Evidence is also presented to indicate that both conspiracy theories are correct: aliens are abducting humans as test subjects and the government is using the alien abduction story as a cover for testing human subjects (Morgan, 1996)<sup>4</sup>.

The cliff-hanger for the third season introduces another element into the conspiracy--concrete evidence that extra-terrestrial life forms are in the process of colonizing Earth (Carter & Duchovny, 1996). As if the conspiracy were not already complicated enough, there is also evidence that factions have developed with the colonizers: some want to wipe out the human population and replace it, while others want peaceful co-existence. The level of cooperation and assistance the extra-terrestrials receive from the Consortium is uncertain, but it is clear that the Consortium is aware of these plans and chooses to keep such information for their own use (Carter & Duchovny, 1996).

#### **Season Four (1996-1997)**

Up to this point, the fourth season of *The X-Files* is essentially a continuation of the mythology arc in the third season. The Investigators are introduced to the

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This episode is one of the most intriguing of the series. It presents a scenario in which Air Force officers, pretending to be aliens to abduct innocent bystanders, are themselves abducted by “real” aliens for the purposes of further research.

aliens who wish for peaceful co-existence on Earth and find an underground civil war in which the pro-destruction aliens are systematically hunting down and killing those aliens in favor of co-existence (Carter, 1996). The international conflict over control of alien technology and DNA is highlighted in a two-part episode in which scientists of the former Soviet Union use prisoners in a forced-labor camp as test subjects for an unknown and possibly alien virus (Carter & Spotnitz, 1996a; Carter & Spotnitz, 1996b). This same episode also demonstrates the ability of the Consortium to manipulate the national government at its highest levels by instigating and controlling the Senate Intelligence committee.

In addition to furthering the international alien/Nazi mythology, the fourth season dedicated an entire episode to examining the central figure in the Consortium, The Cigarette-Smoking Man (Morgan & Wong, 1996). The Lone Gunmen find evidence to implicate The Cigarette-Smoking Man in the assassinations of John Kennedy and Martin Luther King, the Anita Hill accusations against Clarence Thomas, the outcome of the Academy Awards, and the complete inability of the Buffalo Bills to win a Superbowl. He claims credit for drugging the goalie of the Soviet hockey team in 1980, allowing the United States to win Olympic gold, as well as giving orders to the late FBI director J. Edgar Hoover. The clear purpose of this episode is to make clear the wide-ranging powers of the Consortium and its ability to alter events far outside the political realm<sup>5</sup>.

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One question that has been raised repeatedly by those who watch *The X-Files* is why, if the Consortium is so powerful, it does not simply kill the Investigators? Although the answer is still unclear, there are several indications that The Cigarette-Smoking Man is somehow related to agent Mulder or that he thinks he is even if he is not. This particular episode even indicates The Cigarette Smoking Man believes agent

## Conclusions

The results of the analysis clearly verify the categorization of *The X-Files* as a depiction of governmental authority as conspiratorial and antagonistic. Throughout the show, agents of the government act in concert with those outside of it to obscure the truth and destroy any evidence that can lead to it. While not all of government is involved in the conspiracy, the power of the Consortium knows few bounds. The portrayal of the government as an agent of evil has never been so blatantly expressed on television before.

By operating through official and unofficial channels, The Consortium maintains relations of domination by controlling and withholding information. They act, not in the best interests of the public, but to further their own unknown goals. Analysis of the mythology arc confirms the role of government as self-serving entity, actively pursuing its own needs and goals. The Consortium interferes with the Investigators to protect the status quo and prevent any shifts of power that might arise if the information regarding The Consortium was made known. In this way, government functions as the primary antagonist against the Investigators.

As represented in *The X-Files*, The Consortium operates under the same disguise of neutrality that Schiller ascribes to government in his book *The Mind Managers*. This neutrality presupposes the generally benevolent and non-partisan role of government regarding areas of social conflict. Neutrality and objectivity are used to shore up and support the prevailing structures of power, ensuring the status quo in relation to control of power. The Consortium uses its privileged and protected status within government structure to carry out its own agenda, marking it as a primary adversary of the protagonists. The myth of neutrality works in conjunction

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Mulder is his illegitimate child by Mulder's mother.

with the myth of absence of social conflict. This myth, as described by Schiller, helps to reduce social conflict to the arena of the individual, thus absolving institutions from responsibility. The control of the elite, in this case, The Consortium, requires the “omission or distortion of social reality” (p. 16-17). From this position of control, the Consortium continually acts to manipulate perceptions of reality by controlling access to information, and decides whether the content of the information is complete or misleading, according to its own best interests. This functions much like Thompson’s discussion of how institutional arrangements engage in legitimation and reification to sustain their vested interests in the status quo of relations of domination (Thompson, 1988).

If Fiske’s argument that popular culture is simultaneously the site of domination and resistance is applied to television, we return to Pirie’s statement that television undergoes the same circular development that depends both on the producers and the consumers to create cultural forms (Fiske, 1989; Pirie, 1996). The commercial success of conspiracy thrillers such as *The X-Files* will ensure that networks will continue to produce them. In turn, the audience will decide which of the new genre will survive, and when the genre as a whole will be replaced by a new trend in entertainment. Thematic analysis of *The X-Files* and popular support of the show and those like it, support the contemporary ideology that believes in a power elite functioning within and above the government to keep the American public ignorant and themselves in control.

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## APPENDIX A--EPISODE SUMMARIES

### 1.2 "Deep Throat"

US Airdate: September 17, 1993

Writer: Chris Carter

Six top notch Air Force test pilots have disappeared after flying ultra secret experimental aircraft at Ellens AFB. When the wife of the latest victim files a missing person's report with the FBI, Mulder jumps at the chance to confirm his theory that the government is building aircraft with captured UFO technology. A mysterious informant, known only as "Deep Throat", appears and warns Mulder not to get involved in the case, but Mulder plunges in anyway. He and Scully witness an aerial display that defies knowledge of current technology, and find two unlikely allies in a pair of zoned-out teens who show Mulder a way onto the base. But when Mulder is captured and drugged to erase his memory, Scully must break more than one rule to get him back.

### 1.8 "Ice"

US Airdate: November 5, 1993

Writers: Glen Morgan & James Wong

When all five members of an Arctic research team are found dead, Mulder, Scully and a team of scientists seek the answer at a remote Arctic station. There they discover ice samples drilled from the center of an ancient impact crater, holding evidence of a bizarre alien life form over 200,000 years old. Trapped by an ice storm in the tiny station, the team members turn on one another as they are killed one by one. As the increasing fear isolates each member of the party, even Mulder and Scully eye one another with doubt and fear in a tense, angry standoff that tests their relationship. Only a dog and a worm can provide the answer to the riddle and release them from a tightening web of paranoia and suspicion.

### 1.10 "Fallen Angel"

US Airdate: November 19, 1993

Writers: Alex Gansa & Howard Gordon

Whatever fell to earth in a fiery explosion in the woods is the focus for two searches: Mulder's one-man expedition, and a highly secret UFO retrieval team. The government team quickly sets up a cover story, a base camp and a trap for the fugitive alien. But the only thing they trap is Mulder, to the chagrin of both the military and the Bureau. Scully is sent to bring him home to a tribunal. But Mulder discovers an unlikely ally in Max Fenig, a UFO true believer whose enthusiasm contrasts with Scully's insistence that the cover story is genuine. She changes her mind, however, when she sees firsthand the radiation burns suffered by soldiers when the being attacks them. Angry at the lies and the cover-up, she aids Mulder when he discovers that Max is more than a simple UFO fan, with secrets even he does not know he holds. When a mysterious force takes over Max's body, Mulder is sole witness to a remarkable abduction. But only the intervention of his patron, Deep Throat, can save Mulder's career when charges are brought against him.

### 1.17 "E.B.E."

US Airdate: February 18, 1994

Writers: Glen Morgan & James Wong

Betrayal lurks on every hand as Mulder and Scully pursue a truck with a strange cargo from Virginia to Washington state, in a chase marked by UFO sightings. Does the truck carry the injured pilot of a UFO shot down over Iraq only days before? Or is it an elaborate hoax, a ruse to mislead and confuse the X-Files team? Scully discovers that she and Mulder are under electronic surveillance, and Mulder learns a painful lesson when his most trusted ally deliberately lies to him. We meet a new set of unconventional allies, however -- the editorial collective of The Lone Gunman conspiracy magazine. Byers, Langly and the sleazy Frohike aid the X-Files team in infiltrating a secret holding facility -- where Mulder discovers a dirty international secret more threatening than a downed UFO.

#### 1.24 "The Erlenmeyer Flask"

US Airdate: May 13, 1994

Writer: Chris Carter

A fugitive running from police is shot trying to escape but jumps into a bay, leaving traces of green blood behind. Deep Throat, Mulder's mysterious government informant, eggs him on to investigate a case even though there seems nothing to go on. They visit a researcher connected with the fugitive and find him conducting DNA experiments; later the researcher is killed and Mulder asks Scully to analyze the contents of some of the laboratory flasks. When the fugitive resurfaces and Scully's research turns up some highly unusual viruses, Mulder and Scully begin to close in on the biggest secret they have ever uncovered. Mulder risks death to protect the fugitive, whose very blood may prove the existence of extraterrestrial life. Scully confronts evidence that shakes her fundamental beliefs, and Deep Throat puts his life on the line to save Mulder.

#### 2.1 "Little Green Men"

US Airdate: September 16, 1994

Writers: Glen Morgan & James Wong

Reassigned to separate jobs after the closing of The X-Files, Mulder and Scully meet clandestinely to keep in touch and try to resurrect the Files. Mulder is so shaken by Deep Throat's death and the loss of The X-Files that he begins to doubt even the foundation of his quest: the abduction of his sister, Samantha. Mulder is called in by his congressional patron to investigate the possibility of alien contact in Puerto Rico. Mulder journeys to an abandoned listening post in Arecibo, PR, while Scully strives to find him before a hostile UFO retrieval team does. Mulder must face fears stemming from his sister's abduction as a remarkable experience in the jungle tests his faith both in his quest and in himself.

#### 2.5 "Duane Barry"

US Airdate: October 14, 1994

Writer: Chris Carter

In this first of a three-part story arc, a mental patient who claims voices in his head are the result of alien abduction escapes from a psychiatric institution, taking hostages, including his doctor. Mulder is called in to negotiate in the resulting standoff, where he discovers that the mental patient, Duane Barry, is a former FBI agent whose UFO abduction stories ring eerily true. Mulder exchanges himself for one of the hostages, but Scully discovers evidence in Barry's medical records that all is not as it seems. Resolution of the hostage crisis poses even more questions, as medical evidence may bear out Barry's claims. But before Mulder can investigate further, Duane Barry kidnaps Scully.

#### 2.6 "Ascension"

US Airdate: October 21, 1994

Writer: Paul Brown

Searching for Dana Scully, Mulder must struggle against opposition within the Bureau as he races against time. Mulder tracks her kidnapper, Duane Barry, to the site of his earlier abduction; a death-defying race on a tramway leads Mulder to Barry's car and to Scully's bloodstained necklace. But though he nabs Duane Barry, there is no trace of Scully. While he interrogates the half-crazed Duane Barry as to her whereabouts, shadowy forces within the Bureau itself --including Mulder's new partner, Alex Krycek -- are maneuvering to thwart his efforts. In the end, Mulder is left only with questions, with no clue to Scully's whereabouts. Second part of three-part series that ends with "One Breath".

#### 2.8 "One Breath"

US Airdate: November 11, 1994

Writers: Glen Morgan & James Wong

Mulder is shocked when Dana Scully finally reappears -- comatose -- in a Georgetown intensive care unit with no trace of where she has been or how she got there. She lingers on the brink of death, kept alive by machines, as Mulder frantically searches for her kidnappers, for an explanation and for a cure. Evidence points to an exotic and dangerous DNA experiment whose by-products are poisoning Scully, but no one can cure her. All his efforts fail him, leaving Fox Mulder at the end of his resources, his strength and his hope. Finally, he faces a stark choice between bloody revenge and a re-affirmation of his faith in his partner.

#### 2.10 "Red Museum"

US Airdate: December 9, 1994

Writer: Chris Carter

The disappearances of several teenagers in Wisconsin convince a local sheriff to call in Mulder and Scully to investigate possible UFO abductions. But once on the scene, it appears that a mysterious cult, a bioengineered hormone and even alien DNA may be involved in an ongoing experiment involving the children of the town. A series of murders warns Mulder that someone wants both the experiment and the investigation shut down. Scully is shocked to recognize the face of Deep Throat's killer, and a quiet landlord confesses to an evil secret. Mulder and Scully must discover the link between the abductions and the death of the local doctor, in order to save the lives of the town's children.

#### 2.16 "Colony"

US Airdate: February 10, 1995

Writer: Chris Carter

In this first part of a two-part story, Mulder and Scully are alerted to a strange coincidence: the recent murders of three abortion clinic doctors, who have nothing in common save their identical resemblance to one another. Tracing the murders, they are caught up in a web of deception, facing off against an alien assassin who has the ability to change his appearance to resemble anyone at all. A CIA agent who shares Mulder's agenda fills them in on an old Soviet cloning project, with devastating implications. Mulder's own family is dragged into the mystery, as his father calls him home to meet a stranger who claims to be his sister. Scully is confronted by the alien assassin, who enters her room and bears a perfect resemblance to Mulder.

#### 2.17 "End Game"

US Airdate: February 17, 1995

Writer: Frank Spotnitz

Mulder faces an excruciating choice when he is forced to ransom his partner by turning over the woman he believes is his sister to the alien assassin. Guilt-ridden, he must answer to his father for losing his sister yet again, bringing more grief upon his family. But his further search turns up a surprising secret about "Samantha," leading him on a quest that takes him literally to the ends of the earth. Scully must enlist the aid of Assistant Director Skinner to rescue him before the alien assassin kills him. In the frozen desert of the Arctic ice shield, Mulder finally gets an answer about his sister -- even though the asking price is his life.

#### 2.25 "Anasazi"

US Airdate: May 19, 1995

Writer: Chris Carter

When a computer hacker breaks into the most secret files of the Department of Defense, he uncovers a secret going back to the end of World War II. Mulder is drawn in as he is handed what may be the ultimate proof of extraterrestrial existence, government conspiracy and the fate of his sister. But his increasingly irrational behavior alarms Scully, who must save him from himself as his actions take him farther and farther from the tenuous hold the Bureau has on him, into the realms of the most extreme possibility. The conspirators Mulder has fought against emerge with a vengeance, threatening the lives not only of Mulder's family but also of Mulder himself in a season-finale cliffhanger, the first of a three-part series.

#### 3.1 "The Blessing Way"

US Airdate: September 22, 1995

Writer: Chris Carter

Dana Scully visits Albert Hosteen's family, and finds them badly beaten by the Cigarette-Smoking Man's thugs. She immediately goes in search of Mulder but finds only a charred ruin. Believing her partner is dead, she starts home to Washington, DC, but is stopped and searched by troops demanding the DAT tape Mulder received from his informant, The Thinker. Back at the FBI, she finds herself suspended and must surrender her badge and gun. She discovers a strange implant in her neck, and visits a hypnotist to try to access memories of her abduction. Meanwhile, Albert

Hosteen has found Mulder dying in the desert, and conducts a "Blessing Way" ceremony to let the Navaho Holy People heal his soul. While he hangs between worlds, Mulder experiences visions of Deep Throat and his father, urging him to complete his quest. Scully attends the funeral of Mulder's father, and there meets the Well-Manicured Man, a member of the Cigarette-Smoking Man's cabal, who warns her that she has been targeted for murder. Mulder returns to his father's house, where confronts his mother with old photographs showing his father, Deep Throat, and other familiar faces taken in 1972, the year his sister disappeared. The Cigarette Smoking Man, increasingly desperate for the missing tape, pressures Skinner to find it. Krycek and his minion, who mistake her for Dana Scully, gun down Scully's sister Melissa. Events race to an explosive standoff as Scully, convinced that Skinner is intent on killing her, holds him at gunpoint in Mulder's apartment...as they hear footsteps approach the door. Part 2 of 3.

### 3.2 "Paper Clip"

US Airdate: September 29, 1995

Writer: Chris Carter

Agent Scully and Assistant Director Walter Skinner, deadlocked in an armed stalemate, are equally shocked when Mulder, whom they thought dead, stumbles into their midst. Skinner reveals that he has the missing DAT tape given to Mulder by The Thinker, and offers to bargain for their return to the FBI. The Cigarette-Smoking Man reassures the Well-Manicured Man and his cronies that Mulder is dead, but the Well-Manicured Man demands the tape. The Lone Gunmen help Mulder and Scully find an ex-Nazi scientist who claims to have known Mulder's father. He directs them to an abandoned mine where they find a vast filing system containing detailed medical records on millions of people--including Dana Scully and Samantha Mulder. The Well-Manicured Man, alerted by the Nazi scientist to the fact that Mulder is alive, dispatches a hit squad. Before they arrive, Mulder witnesses the takeoff of a craft unlike any on earth, and Scully sees a crowd of what may be aliens rushing past her. They follow the aliens out a secret exit, escaping the Well-Manicured Man's trap. They agree to Skinner's offer to negotiate a deal for their safety, but when Skinner stops at the hospital where Melissa Scully is lying in a coma, Alex Krycek ambushes him and steals the tape. Deception piles on double-cross as events build to a tense confrontation between Skinner and the Cigarette-Smoking Man. The latter, knowing Skinner has no tape with which to barter sneers at his offer, until Skinner reveals the ingenious means by which the contents of the tape have been shared and secured. Finally, in a poignant moment at Melissa Scully's bedside, Mulder and Scully share a reaffirmation of their faith in one another and their quest for the truth. Part 3 of 3.

### 3.9 "Nisei"

US Airdate: November 24, 1995

Writers: Chris Carter & Howard Gordon & Frank Spotnitz

A mail-order tape purporting to show an actual alien body being dissected leads Mulder to a Pennsylvania murder site, where he apprehends a Japanese diplomat carrying secret spy satellite photographs. While he tracks down a salvage ship that may have brought an alien ship up from the deep, Scully looks up a woman whose name was in the diplomat's papers. She is astonished to discover a group of women who claim to have recognized her from her abduction. Deeply disturbed at this, she is even more troubled to learn that all of the women claim to have been abducted and to have had implants similar to her own removed. Mulder, meanwhile, uncovers evidence leading to a railroad car en route to Canada that may be carrying a living alien being. In a desperate attempt to board the train, he jumps from an overpass

onto the train even as Scully, alerted by X, is warning him not to board the train. Part 1 of 2.

### 3.10 "731"

US Airdate: December 1, 1995

Writer: Frank Spotnitz

At a remote leper colony in West Virginia, leprosy victims watch in hiding as other patients are rounded up by a death squad and systematically murdered. Aboard a speeding train, Mulder searches for the Japanese doctor in charge of the mysterious being he saw loaded on a quarantine car -- a doctor whom Scully identifies from photographs as having been present during her abduction. When Mulder finds the man garroted in a bathroom, he goes in search of the killer still on the train. Scully links the Japanese doctor to a West Virginia leper colony, and discovers a mysterious informant with a tale of human medical experimentation dating back to World War II. Mulder's belief in alien hybridization experiments is tested against Scully's conviction that the evidence points to extensive medical atrocities. Only Scully's memories and cryptic messages from X can save Mulder who is trapped in a sealed train car with a bomb, a cold-blooded killer, and an occupant who may or may not be a human/alien hybrid. Part 2 of 2.

### 3.15 "Piper Maru"

US Airdate: February 9, 1996

Writers: Frank Spotnitz & Chris Carter

The French salvage ship "Piper Maru" finds the remains of a World War II squadron on the bottom of the Pacific ocean -- but not everything trapped inside is dead. The ship takes aboard a being of deadly force, which walks among them in the guise of a human. Mulder and Scully are called in when the Piper Maru's crew begin to die of radiation exposure. Back in Washington, Assistant Director Walter Skinner is warned by members of the "intelligence community" to shut down the investigation into Melissa Scully's murder, but refuses. Scully visits an old family friend and uncovers an old and shameful mystery from the Pacific war. Mulder tracks an enigmatic "salvage broker" to the Far East, where he finds Alex Krycek selling government secrets from the DAT tape he stole from Skinner. Even as Mulder prepares to bring Krycek back to the States, Walter Skinner is gunned down in a DC restaurant -- apparently as a means of closing Melissa Scully's case for good. Part 1 of 2

### 3.16 "Apocrypha"

US Airdate: February 16, 1996

Writers: Frank Spotnitz & Chris Carter

Assistant Director Walter Skinner warns Scully as he is wheeled into surgery that he recognized the man who shot him. Although the Bureau is ready to write the incident off as a random shooting, Scully presses the investigation and discovers that the man who shot Skinner, Luis Cardinal, is the same one who shot her sister. Mulder, meanwhile, is unknowingly escorting an alien life form into the United States, one which is "hiding" inside Alex Krycek. When agents of the Cigarette-Smoking Man run the pair off the road into a ditch, Mulder is too dazed to see Krycek kill their assailants by irradiation. Although Krycek flees, Mulder still has the key to Krycek's locker. With the aid of the Lone Gunmen, he recovers--an empty digital tape box. But he discovers a phone number on the package: the phone number of the Well-

Manicured Man. Scully meanwhile fears for Skinner's life; she foils an attempt on his life by Luis Cardinal. Mulder, meanwhile, has learned that the cargo salvaged from the sea floor by the "Piper Maru" is being stored in a missile silo in North Dakota; he and Scully arrive and find dead, irradiated soldiers. Knowing Krycek (and the alien inside him) is in the silo, they stalk him through the darkened halls, but are ambushed by the Cigarette-Smoking Man's agents and hustled away. As they are driven off, Krycek kneels on top of a UFO, the alien entity pouring from his eyes and mouth, re-entering its craft. Krycek, still alive, beats on the locked doors in terror, begging to be released.

### 3.20 "Jose Chung's 'From Outer Space'"

US Airdate: March 12, 1996

Writer: Darin Morgan

When writer Jose Chung interviews Dana Scully for a book about alien abductions, he asks her about a case involving two teenagers who claim to have been abducted while out on a date. Were they really abducted, or are they lying? If they were carried off, who took them: extraterrestrials or very human conspirators? The victims' and witnesses' stories grow increasingly confused, as even hypnosis reveals deeper and deeper layers of deceit and manipulation. Is the Air Force engaged in an ongoing cover-up of covert intelligence operations, using UFOs as camouflage? Or is that yet another elaborate lie told to discredit witnesses of real abductions? Who are the mysterious Men In Black who warn witnesses against spreading the word--and why do they look so familiar? One of the most bizarre X-Files of all twists and turns as witnesses contradict one another, Mulder discovers strange visitors in Scully's bedroom, and Scully dissects an alien body. In the end, it is up to writer Jose Chung to reveal it all in his book--unless he, too, is part of an elaborate conspiracy on the part of the military-industrial-entertainment complex...

### 3.24 "Talitha Cumi"

US Airdate: May 17, 1996

Teleplay by: Chris Carter

A deranged man goes berserk in a restaurant with a handgun, shooting several victims before he is himself shot by a SWAT team. But a serene and gentle man speaks soothingly to him, heals him and all the shooting victims with a touch of his hand, and then disappears from in front of a police detective while he is being questioned. Mulder starts a full-scale search for this elusive "Jeremiah Smith", racing the Cigarette-Smoking Man to find a wonder worker. The investigation is hampered by the re-appearance of the Alien Assassin we saw in "Colony " and "End Game", who is also looking for Jeremiah Smith. As Scully searches Social Security files and finds a myriad of Jeremiah Smiths, Mulder hastens to the bedside of his stricken mother, whose last conversation appears to have been with The Cigarette-Smoking Man. Alerted by his mother to a secret hidden in an old vacation home, Mulder finds evidence that she has known more than she is telling for a long, long time. A battle between Mulder and X, a metaphysical dialogue between The Cigarette-Smoking Man and the real Jeremiah Smith, and hints that some deadline fast approaches us leaves

Mulder facing a deadly warrior from another world, and Scully caught between two mysteries...

#### 4.1 "Herrenvolk"

US Airdate: October 4, 1996

Writer: Chris Carter

Mulder and Scully desperately try to protect the life of Jeremiah Smith. Not only is this mysterious man a link to the colonization plan-- his paranormal healing powers are Mulder's only hope of saving his mother's life. Close on their trail is the relentless alien bounty hunter: an assassin who is hard to escape. And harder to kill. With the assassin close behind, Smith leads Mulder to an eerie, isolated farm community. There, Mulder is stunned to see clones of his sister Samantha, who had been abducted by aliens as a child. Smith tells Mulder that these children have been bred as worker drones. Before Smith can reveal more about the "Colonization" conspiracy, they are set upon by the alien assassin. Mulder is helpless to save Smith or Samantha.

Back in Washington, Scully's investigations into Smith's background lead her to a disquieting conclusion. All five of the identical men named Jeremiah Smith were secretly cataloguing the entire human population. Meanwhile, the Cigarette-Smoking Man and the Elder have identified X as a traitor. He is ambushed and gunned down. As he dies, he leaves behind one last ambiguous clue: the letters "SRSG" scrawled in blood.

With his mother still in a coma, a despondent Mulder follows the last of his meager clues to the end of the line: the United Nations office of Special Representative to the Secretary General. An enigmatic official denies the Colony ever existed...as she hands him a folder containing photographs of the farm and of Samantha. And finally, because "the fiercest enemy is the man who has nothing left to lose," the Cigarette-Smoking Man directs the Alien Bounty Hunter to heal Mulder's mother.

#### 4.7 "Musings Of A Cigarette Smoking Man"

US Airdate: November 17, 1996

Writers: Glen Morgan and Jim Wong

In the Lone Gunmen's office, Scully and Mulder listen, as Frohike reveals what he suspects to be the chilling, secret past of the Cigarette-Smoking Man. Hiding in a nearby high rise, the Cigarette-Smoking Man eavesdrops on them with electronic listening devices, his sniper's rifle trained on the office's front door.

Frohike tells of how the Cigarette-Smoking Man was orphaned as a baby. His father, a Communist spy, was electrocuted. His mother died of lung cancer. In 1963, he was an Army Captain (whose only friend is the proud father of 1-year-old Fox Mulder). Recognizing his capabilities, the right-wing conspiracy that operates within the shadows of the official government recruits the young officer - his first assignment: the assassination of JFK. In its successful aftermath, he lights his first smoke...and becomes the Cigarette-Smoking Man.

By 1968, even J. Edgar Hoover takes orders from the Cigarette-Smoking Man, and no President has ever suspected he exists. The Cigarette-Smoking Man personally takes charge of the operation against Martin Luther King. Yet, even the Cigarette-Smoking

Man has a dream. He longs to be a published author, and writes political potboilers under a pen name. Despite a pile of scathing rejections, he keeps trying.

Christmas 1991. The Cigarette-Smoking Man is in charge of the men we think are in charge. He's covertly started wars, assassinated world leaders, rigged elections, the Oscars, the Olympics, and the Super Bowl and moved the Rodney King trial to Simi Valley. Despite his power, he's a lonely man leading an empty life. He still can't get his written works published. And with the Soviet Union gone, he doesn't even have any more enemies.

Then it happens. A survivor is discovered in the wreckage of an alien craft. His mysterious associate known to Mulder and Scully as Deep Throat executes the only alien which survived the crash. The Cigarette-Smoking Man has a new purpose, and new truths to conceal. He goes forth on this mission with a vengeance. Young FBI agents Fox "Spooky" Mulder and Dana Scully take on the "X-Files." Unknowingly they are part of the Cigarette-Smoking Man's plans.

This year. The Cigarette-Smoking Man is jubilant when a magazine finally accepts one of his stories. He prepares his resignation, and lights his last cigarette. Until he realizes the magazine is nothing but a cheap girlie rag -- whose editors even had the nerve to change the story's ending. With all his dreams destroyed, he sits on a park bench and muses about the similarity of life to a cheap, tasteless box of chocolates. Resuming his role, the Cigarette-Smoking Man lights up a smoke.

The present. The Cigarette-Smoking Man's finger is on the trigger of a sniper rifle, ready to repeat the act that started his shadowy career. He watches Frohike leave the office. Does he shoot? No. He can kill Frohike any time he chooses, and he revels in that power.

#### 4.9 "Tunguska"

US Airdate: November 24, 1996

Writers: Chris Carter & Frank Spotnitz

While performing a random search of a suitcase being carried by a man claiming to have diplomatic immunity, an airport customs agent is attacked by black oil that congeals into tiny worms that penetrate his skin. An anonymous tipster warns Mulder about a right-wing militia organization planning a bombing which could be the next Oklahoma City. The informant turns out to be Alex Krycek, the traitor Mulder blames for his father's murder. Left trapped in an abandoned missile silo by the Cigarette-Smoking Man, Krycek says he was freed by the militia group during a salvage operation. Claiming he wants revenge on the Cigarette-Smoking Man, Krycek promises Mulder that he can help expose the Cigarette-Smoking Man and the Shadowy Syndicate. Despite his hatred for Krycek, Mulder reluctantly believes him.

Krycek leads Mulder and Scully to intercept a Russian courier at the airport. The courier escapes, but the diplomatic pouch he is carrying is recovered. The pouch contains a four-billion-year-old rock of extraterrestrial origin. Dr. Sacks, a government exobiologist, drills into the rock. The same black worms that killed the customs agent emerge from the rock and attack him. Scully and Pendrell investigate this deadly enigma. Mulder's possession of the artifact alarms the Well-Manicured Man, who orders the Cigarette-Smoking Man to take care of the problem.

Mulder seeks out his UN contact, Marita Covarrubias, who finds out the origin of the Russian courier's flight. Mulder learns the flight originated near Tunguska, Siberia and instantly recognizes the significance. In 1908, a fireball crashed to earth in Tunguska, igniting a series of cataclysmic explosions. It was the most massive and most mysterious event of its kind in history. Until now, no one had been able to discover what really happened. Maybe someone has finally found out the truth...

#### 4.10 "Terma"

US Airdate: December 1, 1996

Writers: Chris Carter & Frank Spotnitz

In Tunguska, Mulder has survived his ordeal for now, but is still being held captive in a Siberian Gulag. The prisoner in the next cell explains that all the men in the camp are injected with "black cancer" until the toxin finally kills them. Escape is impossible. Resistance is futile. Mulder swears he will survive, long enough at least to kill Krycek. Impressed by Mulder's will to survive, the prisoner gives Mulder his own homemade knife. Back in Washington, Dr. Sacks is alive after being infected by the black worms from the rock that was recovered in the diplomatic pouch, although he is comatose. For Scully and Agent Pendrell, the medical mystery starts to unravel when tests reveal a black vermiform organism attached to his brain's pineal gland.

St. Petersburg. A former KGB assassin, Vassily Peskow, comes out of retirement when a messenger from "Comrade Arntzen" requests his help, and tells him the Cold War isn't over. Peskow makes his way to a horse farm that belongs to the Well-Manicured Man where he assassinates Dr. Bonita Chung-Sayre, a well-known authority on viruses and the Well-Manicured Man's personal physician.

Tunguska. The prisoners, including Mulder, are on the march. Nearby, Krycek is laughing it up with Mulder's tormentors. The sight spurs Mulder to action. Armed only with the knife, Mulder steals a battered truck and makes his escape, knocking Krycek into the back of the truck and taking him along for the ride. The chase ends when the truck's brakes give out. Krycek bails out before the crash, but Mulder is trapped inside. Krycek flees through the woods where he runs into a group of men - all of which are missing their left arm. Krycek tells them he is an escaped prisoner, and the men take him in. Meanwhile, Mulder has survived the accident and hides in the forest from his pursuing captors.

In Washington, Scully is jailed for contempt of Congress when she refuses to reveal Mulder's whereabouts at the Senate hearing. As she explains to Skinner, someone with a secret agenda is deliberately obfuscating the case: focusing on a missing FBI agent, rather than the existence of a toxic biohazard of extra-terrestrial origin and the deaths of those connected to it.

Peskow continues his mission, paying a visit to the comatose Dr. Sacks whom he injects with the same amber fluid that had been shot into Mulder at the Gulag. The worms emerge, and he kills Sacks. At the Senate hearing, Scully is just about to be charged with contempt again...when Mulder appears, arm intact. Mulder's presence puts the attention back on the rock and the biotoxin, but when Scully tries to bring up the subject of the biotoxin's extraterrestrial origin, her claims are not taken seriously. Mulder interrupts the hearing, challenging the skepticism of the Senators when the most conservative scientists and science journals have every reason to believe that life exists outside our terrestrial sphere. Taken aback by Mulder's statement, the chairman of the subcommittee abruptly adjourns the hearing, calling for a recess until the evidence can be properly evaluated.

Following the lead that Dr. Chung-Sayre was the supervising physician at a nursing home in Boca Raton, Mulder and Scully travel to Florida to investigate. She and Mulder arrive too late. Peskow has already poisoned all of the patients and black worms have emerged from their deceased bodies. Mulder realizes a similar experiment to the one being conducted in Russia had been conducted at this nursing home. Still bent on finding a trace of evidence left behind, Mulder and Scully travel to New York where they interview the head of the militia group Krycek was running with. The militia member tells them Krycek told them his name was Arntzen, and that Krycek approached them. Everything Krycek told him was a lie. They also learn that the US government covered up their knowledge that Soviet-developed "black cancer" was deployed by Saddam during the Gulf War. Mulder now believes the whole thing was a set up from the beginning by someone who doesn't want the rocks in American hands. Finally, he discovers where Krycek is hiding another rock: Terma, North Dakota, in the stolen truck carrying the Militia's fertilizer bomb.

Again, Peskow is one step ahead of Mulder and Scully. He drives the truck to a Canadian oil refinery, intending to destroy the remaining rock. Mulder and Scully arrive too late to prevent Peskow from igniting a fiery explosion that engulfs the last piece of evidence. Both barely escape with their lives. The final report on their investigation is turned over to the Senate subcommittee, but in vain. The Cigarette-Smoking Man controls the Senator who chairs the committee, and her evidence is destroyed.

The X-Files is an American science fiction drama television series created by Chris Carter. The original television series aired from September 10, 1993 to May 19, 2002 on Fox. The program spanned nine seasons, with 202 episodes. A short tenth season consisting of six episodes premiered on January 24, 2016, and concluded on February 22, 2016. Following the ratings success of this revival, The X-Files returned for an eleventh season of ten episodes, which premiered on January 3, 2018, and concluded on Lance Henriksen (who portrayed Frank Black on Millennium and The X-Files ) plays a born-again believer and ufologist. Just like in Castle's homage to Grey's Anatomy , wherein they played with creator Shonda Rhimes' name and changed it to Rhonda Chimes, here The X-Files creator Chris Carter is Ted Carter. In the opening sequence of the episode, there is a security guard roving the train yard using one of Mulder and Scully's signature, large-beamed flashlights. When the satellites are being hijacked by the aliens, angry people call to complain about their television shows being off. One man in the background can be heard saying, " Yes, ma'am, I love The X-Files too. I hope you get to see it. " The Hollywood Reporter reported that James Best, who portrayed Rosco P. Coltrane in the original series, filed suit in late July 2011 over royalties he was contracted to receive over spinoffs that "used his identity".[7] Ben Jones, who played Cooter Davenport in the original series, criticized the film for its emphasis on sexual content, suggesting that the original series was more. A prequel to the film, titled The Dukes of Hazzard: The Beginning, was released to television on March 4, 2007, and released to DVD on March 13, 2007.

References. The Dukes of Hazzard. Die Cousins Bo und Luke Duke befinden sich in ständigen Auseinandersetzungen mit Boss Hogg, dem Bürgermeister und Patriarchen ihrer Heimatstadt Hazzard County, eines kleinen staatennestes in unmittelbarer Nähe der Millionenmetropole Atlanta. Gegen die charmant-spitzbischen Outlaws ziehen Hogg und seine Untergebenen, der trottelig verschrobene Sheriff Rosco P. Coltrane und die ebenfalls minderbemittelten Deputys Enos Strate und Cletus Hogg, allerdings stets den Kürzeren.