

A Marriage of Hate and Terror: The Inevitable Rise of The Order

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Introduction

In the early 1980s acts of terrorism were often understood to be the exclusive behavior of the left. Whether it was extremist groups inspired by Marxism and desperation, anarchist groups following in the tradition of propaganda by the deed, or nationalist groups fighting what they believed to be wars of liberation, the terrorist groups of the sixties and seventies had almost exclusive control over the tactic of terror. This inspired much debate among politicians, pundits, and academics over the nature of terrorism (Crenshaw, 1981; O'Brien, 1977; Walter, 1959). However, under the surface of mainstream American discontent there simmered a new form of terrorism which would rise to become the main domestic threat to security. This threat was not from a left-wing splinter group or minority nationalist organization, but from a group that would claim to represent the white majority—the neo-Nazi, American right¹.

Racist terror has been a part of American history since the days of mass slavery. Free blacks often faced the threat of terror by organized (and often disorganized) groups of whites who resented the competition that a group of people who were seen as racially inferior (Ignatiev, 1996). The post-Civil War era brought with it the rise of the Ku Klux Klan and the act of lynching as a means of establishing white order in the Reconstruction era South which continued through the first half of the 20th century until the Civil Rights era (Winant, 2001). What made

¹The terms, neo-Nazi, white supremacist, white separatist, and others synonymous with the white racist movement, may be used interchangeably in this paper. Historically, the neo-Nazi movement has been only a wing of the larger white supremacist movement often condemned by other white supremacist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan because of its ideological ties to Adolph Hitler's Germany which many old guard Klan members fought against in World War II. In recent years, calls for unity among white supremacist groups and change in the leadership of many Klan groups has led to a general acceptance of Nazi ideology among American white supremacists. Groups that were once antagonistic to Nazi imagery and ideology now openly praise Hitler and give Nazi salutes while chanting Sieg Heil. Therefore, it is safe to refer to all white supremacist groups as neo-Nazi. The history of The Order will also reflect the coordination of activities between such groups.

these acts of racist terror unique is that they were generally mob actions, often orchestrated by organized groups, which sought to maintain a dominant racial order. The racist terrorism of the 1980s would be a radical departure from these acts because it was oriented at reestablishing a racist social order. This change in strategy is the result not only of the changing social norms of American society after the Civil Rights movement, but of a change in the politics of the racist right. American racism has been traditionally nationalist in its orientation and has often rejected outright associations with the politics of Nazism. However, beginning just after World War II, Nazi parties would begin to exert a growing influence on the American racist right. Out of this climate of growing neo-nazism among American racists would come the first significant right-wing domestic terrorist group, The Order or Bruder Schweigen (Silent Brotherhood)².

The rise of The Order is directly linked to the active organization of racists under the political philosophy of the National Alliance and the religious doctrine of Christian Identity, particularly the belief of the Aryan Nations. The fascist belief systems of these two organizations would build the groundwork for the development of the actions taken by members of The Order. The organized campaign of illegal activities—bank robberies, assassination attempts, and mass killings—planned and/or carried out by members of The Order qualified them as the foremost right-wing terrorist group in American society. While there has been much debate over whether the actions of left-wing and nationalist organizations could qualify as terrorism because they may reflect the actions of a people who fight for justice, it could be argued that acts of right-wing groups are exclusively acts of terror because their sole purpose is to instill fear within a population as a means of authoritarian control.

²The three names: The Order, Bruder Schweigen, and the Silent Brotherhood will be used interchangeably throughout this paper as they reflect their use in both white supremacist and mainstream discourse involving the organization.

The rise of terrorist organizations of the far-right such as The Order are therefore inevitable. The political ideology of nazism combined with the apocalyptic religious belief of Christian Identity ultimately result in the formation of terrorist organizations. Furthermore, the terrorist activities of The Order reflect their position outside of the political opportunity structure of American society. As racists on the fringes of the culture, the members of the National Alliance, Aryan Nations, and Klan groups which made up the core of the Silent Brotherhood could not actively participate in the political process and would ultimately turn to illegal activities to fund their movement and affect the political process.

Fascism and Nazism

Extreme right-wing politics in the United States often includes a disparate amalgamation of groups with vast ideological differences. This group includes everyone from extremist economic libertarians who wish to see little or no government intervention in their economic affairs (groups such as tax resistance groups that believe their money should not be spent on welfare and social programs) to fascist groups who believe that the United States must follow the model of Nazi Germany in building a nation based on white supremacy. It is through this sea of extremist organizations that The Order's founder, Robert J. Matthews swam as he made his way through right wing politics in America. Matthews began his political career as a conservative libertarian working for the John Birch Society. He soon found himself involved with more extremist tax protesting groups, but these did not satisfy his growing political militancy. He would ultimately find his home in the furthest extreme of the right by becoming a fascist (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1989; Martinez & Guinther, 1988; Singular, 1989). It is this fascist ideology that helped solidify the formation of The Order.

Fascism is based on traditional understandings of social relationships between races, sexes, and classes. It looks to political and moral traditions to justify its visions of society (it is no wonder that the fascists who actually took power in Italy, Germany, and Spain often had the support of high ranking government, military, and church officials). Rather than pointing to the actual causes of social problems and strife, fascism finds the easy scapegoat in the form of minorities or leftist groups to target for its campaigns of terror and control. Fascism seeks to unite the nation, irrespective of tangible differences in class and status, against its most vulnerable populations in order to bring a small elite to power. The goal is to have a one nation, standing in line behind a single leader, serving the interests of those who give orders for the benefit of the few under the guise of benefitting the many. This philosophy naturally leads to the development of an elite who must control through the imposition of their will upon the masses (Lyons, 1995).

Fascist movements are essentially revolutionary movements. They seek to make social change through a radical change in the political system. Fascism is based on the idea of elite leadership and often looks to one man as the source of its philosophy and organization. The whole of society comes under the control of the leader and his duly appointed staff and bureaucrats, everything is to serve those who are in control. This presents a tautological argument for authority: the elite are in control because they know what is best, the elite know what is best because they are in control. This opens the space for the development of charismatic leaders in fascist movements that can lead followers to actions of mass violence (Lyons, 1995).

Yet, as a revolutionary movement, fascists seek to overthrow the dominant power. They present themselves as populists against the tyranny of the current elite. Their program is one that speaks to what they claim are the needs of the people. Traditional fascism has fought against

reforms and revolutions by appealing to the tradition of free markets and capitalist enterprise.

This idea is meant to appeal to the traditional elements of the working class, the precarious middle class; and most importantly, the upper class because it ensures their control of the society.

Fascist economic policy seeks to replace the chaos of the free market with the order of elite rule.

It will provide for the majority of the people by controlling the economy for the benefit of a racial or national majority at the expense of minorities. It will end social strife by restoring traditional forms of authority and morality. The ultimate goal of any fascist movement would be to replace the dominant political system with fascist social domination (Lyons, 1995).

The aforementioned revolutionary philosophy of fascism is based on a notion of conflict. This conflict is based on a struggle for the supremacy of one nation or race over others. Fascism appeals highly to nationalist and racist sentiments. It places the nation or race as the important criteria for establishing an individual's self-worth and status. The philosophy of conflict within fascism looks to the victory of the powerful over the weak for its justification. It sees power as the ultimate goal in and of itself. Power can only be achieved through violence for the fascist and the ultimate form of power is control of the state. Once the fascist has taken control of the nation, he turns outward to impose his vision on the world. The fascist method of violence as a means of control becomes the justification for war. Fascists must engage in war for domination to prove their philosophy. They must create living room for their people in neighboring lands or build empires to serve the needs of their population. Their national and racial vision must be spread to the rest of the world. The fascist does not stop until the whole world falls under his control. In this respect, the fascist vision of the world is one of total war until total control has been achieved (Lyons, 1995).

Nazism can be broadly characterized as an off-shoot of fascism. It shares with fascism the desire for traditional orders, authoritarianism, a cult of personality for the leader, and the belief in war as a means for attaining and maintaining power. However, nazism branches off from traditional fascism in regards to questions of national and racial identity. Fascism is not specific in its definitions of the racial or national identity. Realistically, a fascist movement may develop in any nation around the globe. Nazism is specifically focused upon the white race and its national and racial dominance over other non-white groups. For the Nazi, the race that is to be feared more than any other is the Jew because it is this race that has secretly controlled the world since the beginning of recorded history. All of the failures of white society are the direct result of Jewish conspiracy. Other races are seen as simply inferior and unable to achieve that which the Aryan race has achieved; but Jews, with their superior intelligence, are a true threat to white people everywhere (Hitler, 1925). It is this specific focus on white national and racial identity and concern over the threat posed by Jews and other inferior races that distinguishes the Nazi philosophy from that of fascism

The combination of the cult of personality within a single leader, a traditional approach to morality and social organization, racism, and a belief in war are the critical ingredients in the formation of a groups such as The Order. Matthews vision of achieving a fascist society was critically based on the political influence of a number of neo-Nazi organizations. The authoritarian racialism of the National Alliance and the Christian Identity theology of the Aryan Nations would drive Matthews to follow through on the fascist ideology of war. Because the white people of America would not accept racist ideology in the post-Civil Rights era, Matthews and his followers would achieve their goal through force and ultimately, terrorism (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1989; Martinez & Guinther, 1988; Ridgeway, 1995; Singular, 1989).

The National Alliance

The foremost neo-nazi organization in the United States today is the National Alliance. Originally founded as an off-shoot of the ultra-conservative Liberty Lobby called the National Youth Alliance, the group changed its name after its leadership was taken by William Pierce (Martinez & Guinther, 1988; Ridgeway, 1995). Pierce would be the critical element in organizing the group into one of the premier white supremacist groups in the United States.

William Pierce began his political association with white supremacy through the John Birch Society. He soon moved on to the overtly racist National Socialist White People's Party founded by George Lincoln Rockwell (Martinez & Guinther, 1988). Rockwell's party was based on replicating the National Socialist Party founded by Adolf Hitler. His goal was to apply the politics of Nazism to American society; and as luck would have it, racial strife had reached an all-time high during the conflicts that ensued over the Civil Rights movement. In a television interview, Rockwell bragged that he was "the Lenin to Hitler's Marx" insofar as his goal was to spread the ideology of Nazism and apply it to new contexts outside of its German origins. He would be mildly successful in the racially charged atmosphere that defined the 1950s and 60s; however, his party would only achieve a total membership of about 2000 (Ridgeway, 1995). Rockwell was assassinated in 1967 in a dispute with another member of his party, but his death would provide the possibility for new leaders to emerge in the racist right (Martinez & Guinther, 1988).

Initially, Pierce had taken a leadership position in Rockwell's American Nazi Party as editor of its magazine, but soon had a falling out with the nominal head and left. He found himself gravitating toward other far-right organizations and took the leadership position in the

National Youth Alliance, an organization that began as a group to organize college students to vote for racist presidential candidate George Wallace. Initially, the group recruited exclusively on college campuses, but under Pierce's leadership, it moved to a broader recruitment strategy and changed its name to the National Alliance (Martinez & Guinther, 1988).

The National Alliance soon became one of the most prominent organizations in the United States. Through its *National Vanguard* magazine, it spread its message of hate to college students and working class whites (Martinez & Guinther, 1988). In addition to publishing the magazine and a variety of racist pamphlets, the National Alliance has also produced several novels written by Pierce under the pseudonym, Andrew McDonald. The most famous of these is *The Turner Diaries* which would serve as the inspiration for Bob Matthews in forming The Order (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1989; Martinez & Guinther, 1988; Ridgeway, 1995; Singular, 1989).

The organization itself is based on the philosophical principles of nazism. Its organizational form is based around the sole leader who serves as the core of the organization with a cult of personality developed around him (almost a year after his death, Pierce is still represented on the group's website as its leader). The primary target of the National Alliance's policy of hate are Jews, particularly American Jews because they believe that the government of the United States, and subsequently American society, is run by a conspiracy of Jews. This is often referred to in white supremacist rhetoric as the Zionist Occupied Government (ZOG). However, what is most troubling about the National Alliance is its commitment to war and struggle. The commitment to violence is part and parcel of the political philosophy of the National Alliance. As noted in their propaganda, "We know how to deal with people who breed fast and carry switchblades. We know how to deal with violent Blacks, no matter how many of them there are. Cleaning up America might be a bit messy, but there's absolutely no question

about our ability to do it, if we had the will to do it (Pierce in ADL, 2003a). Furthermore, *The Turner Diaries* serves as both inspiration to violence and a virtual manual for conducting a race war in the United States. The novel is written, as the title suggests in the format of a diary of a white revolutionary engaging in racist guerrilla warfare against the U.S. government. Its first person accounts often reflect the beliefs of the Nazis portrayed in the book such the following:

We are in a war to the death with the Jew, who now feels himself so close to his final victory that he can safely drop his mask and treat his enemies as the "cattle" his religion tells him they are. Our retribution against the sheriff here should serve as a warning to the Jew s Gentile henchmen, at least, that if they adopt the Jew s attitude toward our women and children, then they cannot expect their own families to be safe. (McDonald, 1996: 130)

The book presents not only the ideals of the white supremacists, but also incredibly detailed accounts of bomb making, assassinations, and other crimes. By detailing the steps necessary for committing such crimes, white supremacists such as Matthews were able to quickly form a cadre organization that could act on its beliefs in a manner already prescribed by the organization through the novel.

As a work of fiction, *The Turner Diaries* presents frighteningly detailed accounts of the tactics of white supremacists in fighting their race war. As such, it was the primary inspiration for the activities of The Order. The book details the actions of a small group of white men and women who engage in a war against the U.S. government that inspires others to join them in an eventual race war. Its shocking detail often provides not so subtle instructions on how to carry out the manufacture of bombs, assassinations, bank robberies, and other criminal activities (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1989; Martinez & Guinther, 1988; Ridgeway, 1995). The members of The Order played out many of these scenarios in their own actions. It even goes so far as to prescribe a course of action for the repatriation of non-whites out of the United States.

July 19, 1993. For the past five days I've been witnessing what surely must be one of the biggest mass migrations in history: the evacuation of the Blacks and mestizos and "boat people" from southern California. We've been marching them to the east at a rate of better than a million a day, and there still seems to be no end to them.....I learned at our unit meeting this evening, however, that tomorrow is expected to be the last full day of evacuation. After that, it'll just be a matter of sending them across the lines in batches of a few thousand at a time, as we round up strays and finish separating some areas which are still racially mixed. (McDonald, 1996)

This was the goal shared by many, if not all of the members of The Order, an all white America achieved through the forcible repatriation or elimination of all minorities.

The final impetus for the formation of the Silent Brotherhood by the National Alliance was the role the group played in allowing racists to come together and share their beliefs with one another. Many of the future members of The Order had initially met at National Alliance meetings. They grew to know and respect one another through their interactions within the organization. Matthews' choice of potential recruits for his operations were often based on their level of commitment to the group - only the most dedicated neo-Nazis would find themselves part of the clandestine activities of The Order. By creating a setting where individual racists could gather and meet which reinforced their ideological constructions of reality through publications and speeches, the National Alliance helped to serve as a foundation for the membership base of the terrorist group (Ezekiel, 1995; Flynn & Gerhardt, 1989; Martinez & Guinther, 1988; Ridgeway, 1995; Singular, 1989).

Christian Identity/Aryan Nations

If the National Alliance provided the political justification and model for the terrorist activities of The Order, the religion of Christian Identity gave members the faith to act on their beliefs. The Christian Identity belief has its origins in the late 18th century in a minor cult that

prophesied the second coming of Christ at the turn of the century. As the belief system progressed, it took on a new, racial character its basic truth became that Jews could not be the remnants of the Biblical nation of Israel. Rather, the Western Europeans (or in some versions, the Anglo-Saxons alone...) held that singular honor (Martinez & Guinther, 1988: 32). The religion would become completely obscure until it is resurrected in the early 20th century. At this point, it begins to become tied to the larger white supremacist movement (Martinez & Guinther, 1988). There are several strands of Christian Identity yet Barkun (1997) points to three specific elements of its belief system: (1) white Aryans are the offspring of the tribes of Israel according to the Bible; (2) Jews are the children of the devil, a relationship that is traced back to the sexual relationship between Satan and Eve in the Garden of Eden; and (3) the world is rapidly approaching a final apocalyptic struggle between good and evil with Aryans battling a Jewish conspiracy to try to save the world (quoted in Dobratz, 2000: 289). These critical elements, coupled with the traditional patriarchal demands of its members and the facilitation of criminal activities with the isolated nature of the Aryan Nations compound would be the second formative element of The Order

The Christian Identity belief system is based on creating a superior notion of the white male in regard to other races. With whites positioned as the true children of Israel, the biblical promise of the chosen people having dominion over the whole of the earth as given in the Garden of Eden can be fulfilled. Other races are denied this promise because they are not to be considered true descendants of Adam. People of color are pre-Adamic suggesting a lower form of species. Adam, or Aw-Dam, means to show blood in the face, flush or turn rosy.... According to the Identity belief system, only Aryans can blush so they must be the descendants of Adam (Dobratz, 2000: 290). Similarly, since Jews are the descendants of a union between

Eve and Satan, they are considered to be not only evil, but Satanic in nature (Dobratz, 2000). This belief system therefore justifies any level of violence against non-whites as they are not considered worthy of the respect many white supremacists would afford people.

The apocalyptic belief system of the Christian Identity movement is based partially on a millennialist vision of the second coming of Christ to redeem the true Christian whites from the evils of the modern world. This belief is rooted in the idea that the second coming of Christ will be signaled by a race war between the true children of Israel (whites) and the children of Satan (Jews). Success in the race war will be guaranteed as the redemption of the chosen people from the world of sin constructed by Jews and inhabited by non-human subspecies of mud people (Hamm, 2002; Lamy, 1996). This understanding of war as the ultimate form of redemption for whites is crucial in the formation of Christian Identity groups. Many Christian Identity groups have taken this theological proscription as justification for creating quasi-military compounds and engaging in military training (Ezekiel, 1995; Flynn & Gerhardt, 1989; Hamm, 2002; Lamy, 1996; Martinez & Guinther, 1988; Ridgeway, 1995; Singular, 1989). They are preparing for the race war that they believe to be inevitable and they must be certain that they will win in order to achieve redemption. It is this belief in creating a race war that would ultimately lead to the violence perpetrated by The Order.

Religious edict, however, was only one of the justifications given by the Christian Identity belief system for the campaign of terror orchestrated by The Order. The final requisite for the level of violence and lawlessness exhibited by members of the Silent Brotherhood was an essential element of white supremacist, particularly Christian Identity discourse, that focuses on the role of the white man in society. The role of men in the white supremacist movement is predictably patriarchal. Movement propaganda consistently stresses that white men are hard

workers, warriors, and protectors of white women's sexual purity (Arena & Arrigo, 2000; Daniels, 1997; Dobratz & Shanks-Meile, 2000; Ferber, 1998; Kimmel & Ferber, 2000).

Analogous to the soldier/males depicted in the imagery of the *friekorps* of interwar Germany, the image of white men as racial warriors is a prevalent one in contemporary white supremacist publications (Daniels, 1997: 36). White men are encouraged to be warriors for their race because the movement ideology is structured around the idea of racial conflict (Berbrier, 1998a; Berbrier, 1998b; Daniels, 1997; Dobratz & Shanks-Meile, 1995; Ezekiel, 1995). This increases male members' willingness to participate in a movement which counters what they perceive as threats to their social status (Arena & Arrigo, 2000; Daniels, 1997; Ezekiel, 1995; Levin, 2002). In order to justify the white man's role as a white warrior, he must be given an enemy. In the case of white supremacist propaganda, the enemy becomes a social system which is pitted against the white male. White men depict themselves as victims of racial discrimination, of class oppression, and as the special victims of race, gender, and class oppression at the hands of the racial state (Daniels, 1997: 37). The image of the white man as wholesome Christian soldier resonates throughout the propaganda of Christian Identity infusing its members with a sense of duty to their race and their church which pushes them toward acts of violence. This final justification for the violent actions of white supremacist militants may be the crucial impetus for the formation of groups such as The Order.

The aforementioned apocalyptic theology of Christian Identity also contributes to the militarism of the white supremacist movement. By moving away from mainstream society and setting up compounds in remote, wooded locations, the Christian Identity belief system facilitates the formation of violent cells of racist activists who would act on their belief system and perpetuate a race war upon Jews and other minorities. The Aryan Nations organization which is

the public face of most Christian Identity groups maintained a compound in Idaho which served multiple purposes related to the formation of terrorist organizations. First, the compound hosted an annual gathering of white racialists known as Aryan Fest which consists of a number of activities including Christian Identity religious ceremonies, political speeches by members, and weapons training (Ezekiel, 1995). The first two activities helped to build relationships between individual members of the movement that would facilitate the formation of a cell of committed, militant activists who would be willing to move beyond talk and into the sphere of violence. It was just these sorts of relationships that allowed Bob Matthews to recruit men into The Order. In fact, it is on the grounds of the Aryan Nations compound that the initial plans to form the terrorist cell that would become the Silent Brotherhood were made (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1989; Martinez & Guinther, 1989; Ridgeway, 1995; Singular, 1989). The importance of weapons training cannot be overlooked as it is the key element toward the formation of a terrorist group. By allowing visitors to its compound to engage in training with weapons and testing explosives, the leaders of Aryan Nations provided the skills necessary for their membership to engage in acts of mass violence (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1989; Martinez & Guinther, 1989, Ridgeway, 1995; Singular, 1989). Another element of illegal activity that the Aryan Nations compound would serve for the Order is as a base of operations. An initial attempt at counterfeiting to fund the movement would be made by using the compound's printing presses to make forgeries of hundred dollar bills (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1989; Martinez & Guinther, 1989, Ridgeway, 1995; Singular, 1989). The compound would also serve as a base of operations for the Silent Brotherhood as they carried out their activities in the Northwest. Members would stay on the compound as necessary before engaging in criminal activities and others would seek refuge at the compound after committing crimes (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1989; Martinez & Guinther, 1989,

Ridgeway, 1995; Singular, 1989). In this sense, the Aryan Nations branch of Christian Identity provided both the philosophical and practical support necessary for The Order to function as a terrorist organization.

Making the Race War: The Activities of The Order

Based on the ideology of the Nazism espoused by the National Alliance and the faith of Christian Identity, Bob Matthews would move from being just another ordinary member of the white supremacist groups into becoming both a leader and a hero to many of its members. In the fall of 1983, Matthews and eight other men would swear an oath to fight for their ideals and against the Zionist Occupied Government of the United States. This group would form the core of what would be known as The Order. Modeled after the group of revolutionaries featured in William Pierce's *The Turner Diaries*, The Order would engage in acts of violence that would help fuel the coming race war that its members believed was inevitable (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1989; Martinez & Guinther, 1989, Ridgeway, 1995; Singular, 1989).

In order to fund their activities, the members of the Silent Brotherhood would begin by committing forgery and small acts of robbery. These initial acts did not garner the kinds of funds necessary to engage in a military campaign a pornography store robbery in Spokane Washington netted the group a pathetic \$369 and the forged money that was produced was often of poor quality and could not be passed safely (Ridgeway, 1995). However, soon the group would turn to larger crimes to fund itself. Bank and armored car robbery became the standard modus operandi of The Order. Matthews committed the initial robbery himself which resulted in a take of \$25,900. The group would soon engage in a string of robberies which would culminate

in the theft of nearly \$3.6 million from an armored car in Northern California (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1989; Martinez & Guinther, 1989, Ridgeway, 1995; Singular, 1989).

These fund-raising efforts serve two key purposes for The Order as a terrorist organization: raising money for itself and for the movement in general. While its initial goal was to create a situation which would lead to race war, the Bruder Schweigen was a politically marginal organization which did not have a mass base. Many white supremacist groups have access to some financial resources, but these are generally expended on maintaining the movement itself through the purchase of property for compounds, movement literature, and other propaganda purposes (Ridgeway, 1995). What remains may pay the salaries of key members and cover other basic expenses, but is clearly not enough money to fund a large scale terrorist campaign. Although the racist right often has ties to more wealthy and prominent conservatives, it is often politically and personally risky for such members and sympathizers to directly contribute to any violent activities (Ridgeway, 1995). Under such circumstances, it is not wonder that The Order would turn to illegal activities to maintain its ability to engage in acts of violence and terror.

As part of a larger racist movement, the Silent Brotherhood also understood its role once the ability to fund-raise for its campaigns had become significantly successful. After the armored car robbery that netted the group over \$3.6 million, funds were distributed to various groups and individuals involved in the movement. For their inspiration and support, the National Alliance and Aryan Nations each received several hundred thousand dollars from the heist which was immediately laundered through the movement via the purchase of extra property and other similar investments (Ridgeway, 1995). Individual members of The Order also received proceeds

in order to secure their own homes and property (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1989; Martinez & Guinther, 1988; Singular, 1989). In many instances, this redistribution was standard practice for Matthews who believed in supporting not only his criminal activities, but his own comrades and would be consistent with the ideals of National Socialism that call for the active support of white people by the state, if necessary (Lyons, 1995; Martinez & Guinther, 1988). The Order's criminal activities would create the financial base from which many white supremacists would function well into the present.

Had The Order restricted its activities solely to robberies as a means of funding a political movement, it would not have qualified as either a terrorist organization nor acted fully on its ideological base. Terrorism could most broadly be defined as the use, or threat of use, of violence, by an individual or a group...when such an action is designed to create extreme anxiety and/or fear inducing effects in a target group larger than the immediate victim with the purpose of coercing that group into acceding to the political demands of the perpetrators (Wardlaw quoted in Vetter & Perlstein, 1991). Clearly, robberies do not send much of a message of fear to the general population. White supremacists have held the crimes in high esteem nonetheless because of their belief that they instilled fear within the Jewish owners of the banks and the controllers of government (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1989; Martinez & Guinther, 1989, Ridgeway, 1995; Singular, 1989). However, The Order would not restrict its acts of terror to larceny.

Members of the Silent Brotherhood began to establish a hit list of prominent public and government figures as part of their actual campaign of terror. At the top of the list were Denver talk radio host, Alan Berg, and prominent civil rights attorney and head of the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), Morris Dees. Berg, a liberal Jewish talk show host, delighted in arguing with and taunting Matthews when he would call into the radio show. For his actions, he was

targeted as a prominent voice of both the Jewish media and Zionist hegemony over American society. It is also safe to say that much of the animosity given to Berg was personal based on his ability to effectively challenge Matthews racist rhetoric on the air. On the evening of June 18, 1984, several members of The Order followed Berg home and executed him as he got out of his car in his driveway (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1989; Martinez & Guinther, 1989, Ridgeway, 1995; Singular, 1989). Dees' position on the list may have been much more political in nature. As the head of the SPLC, Dees was a crucial figure in the fight against racism. He had successfully fought the Klan in the South through civil suits which often bankrupted the struggling groups. In addition to his legal work, Dees spoke out against white racism in national forums which made him one of the more prominent anti-racist activists in the United States. Finally, the symbolic nature of Dees' activism could not be lost on members of the Order. The blond haired, blue eyed, Southern, heterosexual man embodied the Aryan ideal, but was a tireless crusader against the kind of racism that would afford him power in the eyes of the members of The Order. Many of the dark haired, dark eyed, socially unsuccessful terrorists saw his activism as a personal affront to their political ideology and immediately targeted him for death as a race traitor (Martinez & Guinther, 1989; Stanton, 1992). Even members of the group were not immune to acts of retribution for being traitors to the cause.

When Walter West, one of the men on the fringes of the Order, was thought to be talking too much, the others grew nervous that they would be found out. West was lured into a car and driven to a spot a couple of hours outside Boise, where a group from the Order were waiting. When West got out of the car, someone hit him on the head with a sledgehammer; when the hammer blow didn't kill him, another member shot him through the forehead with a Mini-14 semi-automatic rifle. (Ridgeway, 1995: 111)

This was a clear signal to others within the group who would think of talking about its activities or leaving that neither was an option.

The race war, however, would not be won by assassinations alone. Although acts of political murder do serve as a symbol of intimidation for others involved in similar activities, one assassination, a number of planned others, and internal murder did not send many Americans cowering in fear of the coming race war. The Order had planned to engage in acts of mass violence by bombing synagogues and destroying American infrastructure. Clearly attacks on synagogues are to be expected from a neo-Nazi organization as Jews are the primary targets for their wrath. However, the United States government and society are just as important a target. Since both are seen as being controlled by Jews, facilities such as dams, water supplies, [and] utilities and communications lines (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1989: 7) are critical targets for anyone wishing to conduct a war against the U.S. government. The goal of The Order was to subvert the ability of the government to govern. In the social chaos that ensued, they would begin their race war and effect what they believed to be substantial social change on American society (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1989; Martinez, 1988; Ridgeway, 1995; Singular, 1989).

The Order began as an organization designed to further the cause of the racist right in America. In its initial stages, the group essentially turned to illegal activities to fund its activities and those of the groups which it belonged to. However, not content with playing Robin Hood for the white supremacist movement, members of The Order would soon turn to more high stakes activities. It is these acts of violence that ultimately characterize the group as a terrorist cell of the white racialist movement.

Conclusion

The Order represent a radical departure from the terrorist organizations that many have studied. They were revolutionary, but inspired by fascism rather than Marxism. They were

nationalist, but not anti-colonialist or imperialist in any classical sense. They were not reflecting the collective conscience the way that Klan groups of 50 years prior had done. They were unique in that the Silent Brotherhood was the organic outgrowth of the political sentiments of its members and the racist organizations of which they were a part of.

The Order took much of its political ideology of racism from the National Alliance which took the mantle as the premier neo-Nazi organization in the United States by the late 1970s. This group, headed by William Pierce, would serve as the primary political inspiration for The Order. The Nazi politics which the group espoused were a critical element of The Order's formation. The National Alliance's war against the Zionist Occupied Government would be made more than metaphor with the formation of The Order. The group's plans to carry out assassinations and bombings were a direct reflection of their belief in a coming race war. This ideology of war would turn the ordinary racists who joined the group into true warriors fighting for their race, consistent with the fascist ideology of struggle and war as a means of attaining political power. The National Alliance would even provide the blueprint for The Order's actions (even suggesting its name) through *The Turner Diaries*, a novel that discusses a race war within the United States. Members were inspired by the novel and used it as a sort of instruction manual for their activities, hoping that it would spur a race war in the United States.

The second influence on the organization would be the racist theology of Christian Identity and the Aryan Nations organization which espoused it. The apocalyptic vision of the Christian Identity faith linked the redemption of the true, white Christian people with success in a race war. This gave many members of The Order the motivation to carry out their acts of violence in hopes of bringing the second coming of Christ. The Christian Identity ideal of the white male as warrior placed great pressure on the men in the group to move to acts of violence

to bring about the society they wish to see. Finally, Aryan Nations provided the space for the members of The Order to meet, train, and implement their plans. The compound in Idaho served as a base of operations for members to plan activities, gain training, produce weapons, and engage in illegal activities such as counterfeiting.

The Order's activities: robberies, assassinations, planned bombings, and other acts of violence are terrorist activities because they are intended to bring about political change through the imposition of fear. These acts are the natural outgrowth of the political ideology of the group's members. One can easily see how the combination of racist dogma, a belief in the necessity of combat as a means to achieving social change, and an apocalyptic vision of the future could blend themselves inevitably into the formation of a terrorist organization. The goal of the members of the Silent Brotherhood is to develop a racially pure society based on strict Christian values which will be maintained through strict legal codes with repressive, violent repercussions for offenders. Based on this vision for a future, it is almost predictable that the actions of a small group of people with such a vision would lead to a campaign of terror.

This ideological system ultimately led to a violent end for The Order as members were arrested or killed in confrontations with police and federal agents (Flynn & Gerhardt, 1989; Martinez, 1988; Ridgeway, 1995; Singular, 1989). However, The Order left a permanent mark upon the white supremacist movement. David Lane, a prominent member of The Order, produces neo-Nazi propaganda from his prison cell under the guise of his 14 Words Press (run by his wife). Much of the white racist movement extolls the actions of The Order and its members as heroes whose actions should be replicated by all decent neo-Nazis. This hero worship has been crucial in the formation of many a hate group since the mid-1980s. *The Turner Diaries* which served as a blueprint for The Order was credited as a major inspiration for Oklahoma City

bombing and Timothy McVeigh had spent some time at the compound organized by the Christian Identity and Aryan Nations affiliated group known as the Phineas Priesthood (Mozzochi, 1995). In 1998, federal authorities arrested a group of extremists who had called themselves The New Order and modeled their plans after that of the original Order (ADL, 2003b). Finally, Buford Furrow, a member of Aryan Nations who had been living with Bob Matthews ex-wife, went on a shooting spree in southern California attacking a Jewish day care center and killing a postal worker.

These ties to The Order are not a matter of coincidence. In each case, the offenders were part of the same white supremacist movement. They read the same literature, listened to the same speeches, and knew of the movement's history of violence. They took inspiration from the actions of The Order and the ideologies of the extreme right in planning their campaigns of violence. Ultimately, one can see the tie between the ideology of the racist right and the terrorist violence that many of its members perpetrate.

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