Al-QAEDA AND THE ARYAN NATIONS

A FOUCAULDIAN PERSPECTIVE

by

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For my parents, Charles and Virginia Dell, without whose patience and loving support, I would not be who or where I am today.

ABSTRACT

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Using Foucauldian qualitative research methods, this study will compare al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations for similarities while attempting to uncover new insights from preexisting information. Little or no research had been conducted comparing these two organizations. The underlying theory is that these two organizations share similar rhetoric, enemies and goals and that these similarities will have implications in the fields of politics, law enforcement, education, research and United States national security.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"The enemy of my enemy is my friend."

-Anonymous Arabic Proverb-

Criminologists may not be on the front lines of the war against terror firing bullets and using handcuffs but they have their part to play. It could be said that by necessity, United States' local and federal agencies work from documented standard operating proceturdes that are developed from past experiances. For their part in the War on Terror, Criminologists should add to that documentation until there is a comprehensive list of all things that can do the United States or their own countries harm. They must look outside of the box for weaknesses and vulnerabilities as well as establish ways to cement those holes before our enemies exploit them.

It could be argued that the United States stands out as the only remaining world superpower, placing them not only in a position of respect but also in a position to be coveted, resented and even hated. Similarities in any group that has set their sights on the United States gives them grounds for cooperation against it. Like grade school friends they would be drawn together by their similar characteristics and solidified by their similar goals.

The purpose of this study is to examine al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations for similarities and differences while relying on Foucauldian methodology. This research will be used to uncover new insights from preexisting information present within the organization's histories, rhetoric and stated beliefs.

This paper will be written and all comparisons will be done using Michele Foucault's methodology presented in his book the Archeology of knowledge. The possible significance of the similarities, irregularities and shared goals between the two entities will be addressed. Using the Marxist theories of Criminology, a comparison will be made of their projected images and other possible implications on their realities. Karl Marx's theory of criminology relies on the idea that people are manipulators (Vold, Bernard & Snipes, 2002). People in power make and or shape the laws and morality of a society in order to make their actions acceptable and their definition not criminal. Is it possible that extremist groups use this concept for their own ends? Could al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations present one image to further their ends while living a different reality? This study intends to investigate that possibility.

For the purpose of this study it is important to note initially that more than one fundamentalist organization exists in this world and some of those organizations are so similar to one another in beliefs and construct that parallels can be easily seen. Certain aspects of the Aryan Nations (including values, goals, and religious beliefs) can be seen in other Right-Wing White Supremacist organizations; al-Qaeda and other Radical Islamic groups show similar tendencies (including values, goals, and religious beliefs) as well. For the purpose of this study, when similarities in one group's beliefs, actions

or doctrines are found information about them will be considered in conjunction with our primary units of study, the Aryan Nations and al-Qaeda.

As with any research, this project has limitations. The limitation of the most concern is the lack of contemporary academic sources with a direct relevance to this topic.

It could be argued that there are copious amounts of research dealing with their backgrounds, histories and beliefs. The sources for the most current, contemporary acts and rhetoric of these organizations are limited to modern media outlets, such as newspapers and network news channels. When possible, academic sources will be scoured continuously with the hopes of finding and adding academic credibility to information first provided by world news sources.

There are numerous current sources in the world written and translated in many languages creating several aliases and spellings for one organization. One prime example is al-Qaeda, which has several spellings and other names such as The Base, al Qadr, al Qaida and the Islamic Army for the Liberation of Holy Places (Terrorism Research Center, 2003). In addition and for the same reasons, Osama bin Laden's name has several spellings but the aforementioned one will be used when referencing bin Laden through the course of this study.

It could be argued that when dealing with the rhetoric and beliefs of modern and changing organizations academic sources are not always the most accurate. For the purpose of this research, information about organizations will be preferably obtained directly from those organizations through their own statements, propaganda and stated

beliefs and goals. The major downfall of this approach is that the modern channels for the dissemination of political and religious rhetoric are through the use of pamphlets and the Internet. Both of these sources are not academic in nature and neither one is regulated for accuracy.

With this in mind, internet sources dealing with organizational beliefs and rhetoric will be limited to those sites and pamphlets that are undisputedly affiliated with the said organizations. For example, the Aryan Nations home website and material published through their own means will be used as opposed to any and all sources claiming to be members of one organization or another.

The histories of each organization (al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations) will be studied in depth with particular attention paid to similarities in ideologies and comparable events in their backgrounds as a basis for their attitudes and values. Goals of the organizations will also be examined and compared to stated ideologies as implications to the self-imposed images of their organizations.

Chapter two of this study will be a comprehensive review of literature covering the varied histories of Islam with a specific focus on what is now considered Radical Islam and the Identity Christian Movement (the Christian sect of the Aryan Nations and other White Supremacist organizations). Observations regarding the similarities of each group and the evolution of each religion will be made.

In 2001 White wrote that religious extremist groups all have three things in common: the first is a perceived threat to their values and attitudes; the second is their dogma needs materialism, racism or other ethnocentric beliefs; and finally to be true

believers they must embrace violence as a means to preserve their faith. This being the case, literature referencing the histories of the subject organizations will be studied to learn about their values and attitudes. Their religious doctrines and general beliefs will be examined for signs of racism or other ethnocentric beliefs. Finally the subject organization's goals and operating procedures will be studied for their willingness to commit violence.

Chapter three will be a detailed description of the methodology used for this research. The timely and fluid nature of the subjects of study will require a careful examination of all statements, propaganda and ideas presented from viable sources that can be confirmed as an actual representation of each organization and their ideals.

Chapter four will be a presentation of the findings from the research. In essence, this will be a second review of literature with a focus on the most current ideologies, goals and beliefs of each organization. Other timely actions taken by each of the subject groups will also be presented for comparison, which will facilitate an analysis between their stated goals or presented images to that of their actions.

Chapter five will include implications of any findings obtained through the research process. A discussion of possible meanings will be presented as well as suggestions for future research will be offered.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The purpose of this study is to examine al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations for similarities and differences while relying on Foucauldian methodology. This research will be used to uncover new insights from preexisting information present within the organization's histories, rhetoric and stated beliefs. Having established the goals of this study, this auther will begin with reviewing relevant literature. A brief History of terrorism will be discussed followed by introductions to al-Qaeda and The Aryan Nations as organizations followed by a more in depth look at the organizations religious backgrounds presented in a primarily historical light. The Formation of al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations as organizations will be reviewed with a brief synopsis of each's history followed by a description of their methods of operation. Finally their contemporry rhetoric and events that could lead to their cooperation against the United States and its' allies will be presented.

Definition of Terms

More than one definition exists for the concept of terrorism and some scholars have stated the belief that terrorism can not be defined (Balson, 2004). One of the major differences in the definitions of terrorism is whether or not to limit governments

to the role of victims of to admit the possibility that they could also be perpetrators (Balson, 2004).

One example of this includes the definition in use by the Department of Defense, "The calculated use of violence or the threat of violence to induce fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate government or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious or ideological" as cited by Balson (2004). Gordon (1997) believes that this exclusions of governments is done in order to confuse the American Public as to the true nature of terrorism.

With this in mind for the purposes for this research the definition employed by the Federal Bureau of Investigations will be applied: "The Unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives" (U.S. Department of Justice, 1999). This definition was chosen for this research because of its encompassing nature and because this research involves an entity that is primarily thought of as a domestic terrorist organization that falls under the jurisdiction of the FBI.

History of Terrorism

A brief history of Terrorism will be examined before any information concerning the specific subjects of study will be presented. First the historical and recognized beginnings of terrorism will be discussed followed by a focus on literature dealing with suicide terrorists and their psychology will be reviewed.

Terrorism is a tool of the weak to fight the strong or the minority to fight the majority (Pape, 2003). Governments can use it to keep their citizens under control or repressed. Citizens can use it to fight or change their government (Pape, 2003). Or in a more contemporary context people can use terrorism to fight ways of life or ideas.

"The revolutionary thought that inspired the revolts and political violence in the early twentieth century had its roots in the middle 1800's (Davis, 2003, p.16)." This political violence was inspired by the anarchist writings of Blanqui and the revolutions of 1848. The call for revolution from Marx also inspired terrorist activities (Davis, 2003) throughout the world continuing to this day. Blanqui (1866/2006, p. 7) states, "In times of tyranny, to write is fine, to fight is better." With these words, taken literally, he is urging those who want change to take it through violence. According to the definition in use by this study one can not have terrorism without violence.

Some scholars believe that terrorism can be traced back much farther than eighteenth century France (Balson, 2004). Some even believe that terrorism can be found as far back in history as thirteenth century Persia and Palestine (Shafritz et al.; 1991).

Davis (2003) lists several instances of terror including Russian political terror used to fight the Czars. Others include the strong-arm squads formed by Hitler and the Nazi party to gain power and Lenin and Stalin held the Russian peoples in an iron grip from 1917 through 1945 (Davis, 2003). The concept of total war, introduced during the Second World War, can even be considered terrorism (Jenkins, 1986). Total war means

that every aspect of human production and civilians become a legitimate target in pursuit of victory (Balson, 2004).

"Notable revolutionary movements began or continued in India, the Middle East and Africa. Terrorism, with the single exception of Gandhi's movement in India, again became the tactic of choice for the weak battling the strong" (Davis, 2003, p. 19). The most notable situation of terrorism in the Middle East is still taking place in Israel. After Israel defeated its Arab neighbors in 1948 and 1956 the Palestinian interests were all but forgotten by their Arab supporters. This situation has moved the Palestinians to violence (Davis, 2003).

It could be stated that some if not all terrorists have claimed and even believe that they are revolutionaries or freedom-fighters. Carlos Marighella (1969) in his *Minimanual of the Urban Guerilla* even stylizes the idea of terrorism as noble and honorable;

> The accusation of 'violence' or 'terrorism' no longer has the negative meaning it used to have. It has acquired new clothing; a new color. It does not divide, it does not discredit; on the contrary, it represents a center of attraction. Today, to be violent' or a 'terrorist' is a quality that ennobles any honorable person, because it is an act worthy of a revolutionary engaged in armed struggle against the shameful military dictatorship and its atrocities (p4).

In the 1980's the stereotypical picture of a terrorist was the airplane hijacker (Holden, 1986). Men and occasionally women would take hostages with the intent to trade them for demands (Holden, 1986). While few would argue that these terrorists were not willing to die, their primary goals were to accomplish their missions and live to fight another day (Holden, 1986).

"The Last three years have seen more suicide attacks that the last quarter century" (Atran, 2004, p. 67). Though suicide terrorism is far from a new idea it could be stated that the events of September 11, 2001 has brought it into a new light. In the past when hostages were taken their safety was of primary concern to governments and law enforcement agencies (Holden, 1986). It could be surmised that due to the events of 9/11 the safety of the hostages is now secondary to the safety of everyone else. Governments realized that terrorists may not want hostages as bargaining chips but as human shields for a more nefarious end.

Arguments could be made that whether the suicide terrorist is a Palestinian in an Israeli market, an al-Qaeda operative in an airplane or a White Supremacist in an abortion clinic their devotion is the same. It is a different kind of person that can willingly end their own life for a cause that they believe in (Burns, 2001).

It could be stated that one of the defining attributes of fundamentalist terrorist organizations is their willingness and even desire to commit suicide, or martyr themselves, in the accomplishment of their goals. "There, sheik Ahmed Yassin, spiritual leader of Hamas,… told a visitor…that the future lay with suicide bombers…ready to mingle their blood with that of the Jews" (Burns, 2001). This willingness, as expressed above, does not stop at the members of Hamas. Members of al-Qaeda have demonstrate a willingness to die for their cause on September 11th and in battles that have followed. Members of the Aryan Nations organization have expressed their willingness to run suicide attacks and are now even being encouraged to do so by Agust Kreis their leader (Schuster, 2005).

Suicide terrorism is a strategic type of attack (Pape, 2003). It is designed to coax modern democracies to make significant changes for and concessions to the terrorist organization (Pape, 2003). Sadly suicide terrorism is on the rise for one reason only, it works (Pape, 2003).

To the Westerner the first reaction to the thought of a suicide attack is that the perpetrator must be a lunatic (Post, 2002). "By no means were they [suicide terrorists] psychologically disturbed. Indeed terrorists groups expel emotionally disturbed individuals- they are a security risk" (Post, 2002, p. 17).

According to Young (2001) Palestine suicide bombers are by no means mad. In fact most are willing to attack the United States and Briton as well as have the support of over seventy percent of Palestinians (Young, 2001).

Suicide terrorism is a tool and like any tool it works best when used for a specific purpose (Pape, 2003). It is much more likely to be successful when used against a democracy as apposed to an authoritarian government according to Pape (2003). Suicide terrorism works because it affects the hearts and minds of citizens. The idea of premeditated martyrdom is a powerful and emotional thing (Burns, 2001) for the average Westerner to contemplate. In authoritarian states the government has no reason to care what the people think (Pape, 2003). It is also normally a tool of the weak in power not of mind (Pape, 2003). After all if an organization has the strength to fight toe to toe why would they kill themselves?

Traditional Islamic scholars say that suicide attacks do not constitute martyrdom (Burns, 2001). Suicide will not get you, as a Muslim, to the promised paradise (Burns,

2001). Christianity sees suicide as an unforgivable sin. Extremist organizations bend these ideas believing that if they kill themselves in the name of God that they will be forgiven for their transgression of suicide (Pape, 2003).

Who are al-Qaeda and The Aryan Nations

"Experts disputed both the size and the appeal of al-Qaeda, making it unclear whether it is a small fringe movement or a cohesive network" (Byman, 2002, p. 140). The Aryan Nations is currently a non profit organization who supports the betterment and protection of the White Race (www.aryannations.org).

Al-Qaeda and The Aryan Nations are both fundamentalist organizations who believe primarily in the destruction of the Jews and the state of Israel (Sharp, 2000 & Byman, 2003). By extension they see the United States, who has extensive political ties with Israel, as an enemy and a popular target. According to Osama bin Laden (the leader of al-Qaeda) in his Letter to America that despite all of our religious and moral differences his real problem with the United States is our support of Israel.

Pastor Jay Faber, leader, of the Brotherhood of Phinehas Priest (the religious/terrorist arm of The Aryan Nations) agrees with bin Laden and takes it one step further. He claims that the United States Government is actually a puppet of Israel in what is known in the White Supremacist world as the Zionist Occupied Government (ZOG) (Faber, *The Desk of Faber*, N.D.).

It could be stated that both organizations are religious in nature and use their fundamentalist faith to justify murder and terror. Like all other terrorist organizations

they are both weak in ability or support but not in mental and religious strength or conviction. Meaning, if they had the ability to fight for their cause toe to toe they would; but lacking that ability they have turned to terrorism.

Religious Background

Al-Qaeda

Having established a cursory knowledge of whom al-Qaeda and the Aryan nations are, the religious backgrounds of both will be studied to establish their general beliefs, attitudes and any possible racisms. It could be argued that al-Qaeda is a relatively young organization compared to the Aryan Nations but their religious beliefs and foundations are much older. Radical Islam can be traced back 800 years or more where the Christian Identity movement is only about 100. With 800 years of information and history only the instances relating to this study will be mentioned.

Post 9/11 westerners have called for a reformation in Islam as an antidote to terrorism and al-Qaeda (Henzel, 2005). These calls show the ignorance the west has for Islam as a religion (Henzel, 2005). Islam like Christianity is always evolving or changing. More drastically it has been in a state of reform for more than 100 years, and these reforms are to the detriment of the west (Henzel, 2005).

Colonial reforms and western influence have taken hold in some Islamic countries (al-Ahsan, 1997). These new ideas have had an impact on their society's beliefs and in turn an impact on their Islamic doctrines. It has caused resentment and a reversion to their own religious doctrines.

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This reversion has caused a more strict interpretation of scripture and for those stricter interpretations to take a more prominent role than tradition and doctrines (Butterworth,1992). A reversion to scriptures because of unwanted influence implies anger or an unwillingness to accept that influence (Mazzar, 2004). These ideas have been apparent in the Salafist movement for over 100 years (Mazzar, 2004).

This idea of a reformation of Islam also makes the assumption that the traditional Sunni clerical elite is the basis for the extremist ideology and the religious base for al-Qaeda (Henzel, 2005). In fact, because of their strong ties to scripture and their anti western position al-Qaeda has adopted the Salafist's beliefs as their version of Islam (Henzel, 2005). The Salafists are in the minority in the Islamic world and are therefore considered the radicals. Any change to the traditional Sunni Islam would only make these radicals stronger (Henzel, 2005).

Though its roots run back 1200 years the Salafist movement found it's beginnings in late 19th century Egypt where it gained strength out of the reaction of Muslims to the Ottoman Empire (Butterworth,1992). The original spark of Salafism can be attributed to Napoleon's occupation of Egypt, the French colonization of Northern Africa and the British domination of Muslims in India (Butterworth,1992).

The first point of discussion for this research in the history of Islam is the invasion of the Mongols from 1294 to 1303. Jihad, by the definition of the time, could not be called against other Muslims. A few years previously the Mongol empire and it's leaders had converted to Islam (Mazzar, 2004). A medieval Sunni scholar by the name of Taqi ad-Din Ahmed ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328) came up with a solution to this

problem. The Mongols did not forsake all of their tribal laws in favor of the Islamic sharia code (God's Law). This made the Mongols apostates to Islam and valid targets for Jihad (Henzel, 2005).

The second major point with relevance to this study comes from an Islamic scholar Jamal ad-Din Al-Afghani (1839-1897). He saw the material strength of the west as a great advantage that had lead to their victories over Muslims (Henzel, 2005). He taught that if people practiced an unmodified "true" Islam then the revival of the Muslim spirit would be the advantage they needed to counter the West's technology and resources (Henzel, 2005). This was in contrast to most reformers of the time who believed that the West's ideas and technologies should be embraced (Henzel, 2005).

Al-Afghani also taught that under the proper circumstances political struggle could be justified (Henzel, 2005). He spoke openly about political revolt and his ideas about rejecting the west and its influences. His teachings ended with his expulsion from Egypt by a pro-British regime (Henzel, 2005).

Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905) was Al-Afghani's leading student (Henzel, 2005). Like his teacher he believed that, "Islam, properly understood, was compatible with the rationalism of modern Europe. This proper understanding could be found in the supposedly pure religion practiced during the first few generations of Islam" (Henzel, 2005 p 72). This idea of a pure Islam was carried after his death down the path that most likely leads to the more contemporary al-Qaeda beliefs (Henzel, 2005).

It is also important to note that Abduh became the Grand Mufti of Egypt which makes him the only Salafist to have reached a position within the Islamic clerical elite

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(Henzel, 2005). This was the first time Salafist ideals were given any legitimacy. Abduh's idea of a true Islam prospering in the world was an attractive promise to Muslims living under European occupations (Henzel, 2005).

In 1928 Hassan Al-Banna(1906-1949) started an organization, in Egypt, called the Muslim Brotherhood (Butterworth, 1992). This happened to be the first modern Islamic political movement (Butterworth, 1992). The goal of the Brotherhood was to unite Muslims against the West and its influences (Henzel, 2005). Then in 1952 Gamal Abdel Nasser overthrew the Egyptian monarchy. His new nationalist regime suppressed the Brotherhood because of an alleged assassination plot (Henzel, 2005).

They are the prominent extremists in Islamic history, but they are not the only ones to share the ideas of a "true" pure Islam (Henzel, 2005). Wahabism, is a puritanical sect of the Sunni (Henzel, 2005). Their main base was destroyed by the Ottoman Sultan in 1816 but this did not stop their ideas from gaining strength throughout the 1960's and 1970's as the Saudis gained power and wealth from oil(Henzel, 2005).

Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966) was a member of the Muslim Brotherhood (Butterworth, 1992). He was a major proponent against westernizing influences that were seeping into the Muslim world during the 1950's (Mazzar, 2004). Qutb had no formal religious training but he believed deeply that the ordinary believer must seek out Islam at its purest (Henzel, 2005).

Qutb took teachings from the great Salafists and made them fit into the modern day (Mazzar, 2004). He believed strongly in the idea of a pure Islam spoken of by Al-

Banna and his teacher Abduh (Mazzar, 2004). Qutb believed that the goal of jihad is to free people from enslavement to other men (Rubin and Rubin, 2002). Radical Muslims see westernization as a kind of enslavement (Rubin & Rubin, 2002).

Qutb looked to the teachings or Ibn Taymiyya about the nature of Jihad. "Qutb argued for struggle against the secular regimes of the Muslim world, even if this meant killing other Muslims" (Henzel, 2005 pg 75). Though some Islamic Scholars argued that Jihad was purely meant as a reactionary, defensive option, Qutb argued that defense is the defense of man. To defend man it is necessary to attack those that enslave men, who were in his view those from west (Appleby, 2002). He also believed that true Muslims should exclude all Western influences from their lives (Appleby, 2002).

After the 6 day war Qutb was arrested by Nasser for inflammatory and traitorous speech (Appleby, 2002). While in prison he penned a treatise that became his manifesto to Islamic extremists to follow (Appleby, 2002). In his treatise he spoke of most Muslims suffering from a state of juhiliyya. Juhiliyya is a pre Islamic condition of ignorance of Gods guidance (Appleby, 2002). He was hung by Nasser in 1967 (Henzel, 2005).

Qutb was viewed as a visionary martyr by men of the Salafist movement. Thousands of his followers were imprisoned after his death (Henzel, 2005). Things became a bit easier on the Salafist followers of Qutb when Anwar al-Sadat took power after Nasser's death in 1970 (Henzel, 2005). After Sadat did not keep his promise to implement *sharia* (religious Law) the Salafists turned on him (Butterworth, 1992). Qutb's longest lasting idea was that of the near and the far enemy (Henzel, 2005). He

believed that the near enemy, apostate Muslims, should be fought and dealt with before the far enemy, Israel, the U.S. and other western powers (Henzel, 2005).

Henzel (2005) states that after the assassination of Sadat, Salafists were put under a great deal of pressure. Various Salafists gravitated towards a man named Shukri Mustafa (Henzel, 2005). Mustafa built on the teachings of Qutb and denounced almost all of Muslim society as unbelievers (Henzel, 2005). He was hung in 1977 for the kidnapping and murder of a senior cleric who was also a radical outside of the Sunni norm (Henzel, 2005).

Salafists gravitated towards the Afghanistan conflict of 1979-1989. This was a perfect place for the development of a new Salafist doctrine (Henzel, 2005). A majority of the followers came under the sway of a prolific writer, Ayman al-Zawahiri (Henzel, 2005).

Al-Zawahiri, had been condemned by the traditional clerical establishment like almost all revolutionary Salafists, (Henzel, 2005). This only seemed to strengthen his teachings and fortify his position among other Salafists. Al-Zawahiri was to meet Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan and would eventually become the spokesman for al-Qaeda (Henzel, 2005).

It could be stated that Islam, by the words of their prophet Muhammad, is a religion of interpretation of scripture. Some see Islam as a warrior religion of violence while others see Islam as a religion of peace and even passivity. It could be argued that cases like these are not matters of who are correct and who are incorrect, but cases of how you choose to believe. All of the points that both sides make (for or against

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violence) are of course, matters of interpretation. Those skilled in rhetoric can interpret anything to mean, say or imply nearly whatever else they wish.

Those who see Islam as a peaceful religion hold to several points in the Koran (Henzel, 2005). The first is that the idea of Jihad is only meant for defense. This point is interpreted differently by those that follow the teachings of ibn Taymiyya (Henzel, 2005) as stated above. Secondly they say that the word Jihad has only recently come to take the meaning Holy War. The literal translation of Jihad means struggle (Rubin & Rubin, 2002). Some would contend that the idea of struggle against ones enemies is a more passive and reactive idea than to declare a religious war.

The idea of killing, in the Islamic faith, is strictly a horrible crime according to al-Ahsan (1997). He makes the statement that Ala (God) does not differentiate the killing of one man from the killing of all of mankind (al-Ahsan, 1997). He also states that it is just as bad to take one life as it is 1,000 or more. Traditional Sunni interpretations of Islamic law strictly prohibit the destruction of property under any circumstances, even in war (Mottahedeh, 2001).

Mainstream Muslim clerics do not condone terrorism in any way (Mottahedeh, 2001). They condemn it as contrary to Islamic law (Mottahedeh, 2001). They also take a different stance on suicide attacks than do the terrorists (Mottahedeh, 2001). Though both sides of the fence agree on the rewards and ideas behind being a martyr for God the Mainstream Muslims differentiate martyrdom and suicide attacks (Mottahedeh, 2001). Those that kill themselves are not martyrs even when they kill themselves in the name of God (Mottahedeh, 2001).

Sheik Dr. Mohammed Gemeaha, as quoted by Niebuhr (2001, pg A1) puts it well for those who see Islam as a truly peaceful religion,

> There is a time for peace and a time for war. Nowhere is it written that there is a time for terrorism. Besides if we go back to the glorious sources of the religion of Islam we will discover that peace is one of the most noble teachings of Islam. The roots of that teaching have been so deeply planted in the souls of Muslims that it has become an integral part of their religion.

Even though the mainstream, "authentic" Islam abhors violence and terrorism some children are being taught differently (Steinfels, 2001). The views of the vast majority of American Muslims as well as those of others around the world agree that Islam is a religion of peace and they do not condone terrorism (Steinfels, 2001). But some places teach that killing, hate and terrorism are alright (Steinfels, 2001).

Some Muslim scholars outside of the United States are not promoting democracy, equality of sex and race and the idea of individual freedom (Steinfels, 2001). According to Ice (2003) non fundamentalist Muslims are the ones who have changed historically. They have moved away from historic Islam which is a religion of warriors and conquest (Ice, 2003). Evidence that radical Islam is not just an underground movement, but is being taught in schools across the world is apparent on the battlefields of Afghanistan (Miller *Killing for God*, 2001).

Numerous prisoners and wounded Afghanis admit that they were sent to fight by their religious academies (Miller *Killing for God*, 2001). These academies go so far as to have scheduled breaks during the summer so students may join in the summer battle season (Miller *Killing for God*, 2001).

Muhammad Khaled Mihraban is one such student from Pakistan (Miller *Killing for God*, 2001). While studying Islamic law he felt a calling to join the fighting in Kashmir and then Afghanistan. Though he is only 26 he claims to have killed over 100 men including Americans (Miller *Killing for God*, 2001). He fights for the cause of a country that can practice true Islam without the influences of the west. He also freely admits that he would kill women and children in New York City or London without hesitation, even in a suicide attack (Miller *Killing for God*, 2001).

According to Weiser (2001), Post (2002) and the al-Qaeda Training Manual (n.d., n.p.), "If a Muslim is in a combat or godless area, he is not obligated to have a different appearance from those around him… [in these cases] necessity permits the forbidden." It could be argued that this one statement seems to make all laws breakable. Also according to Weiser (2001), Post (2002) and the al-Qaeda Training Manual (n.d.) a Muslim may torture non Muslims and even execute those who hold out information (al-Qaeda Training Manual, n.d.). They can also execute prisoners who could be any danger if released (Weiser, 2001; Post, 2002& al-Qaeda Training Manual).

Muhammad, Islam's greatest prophet, was know to torture and kill prisoners when it was necessary (Ice, 2003). Historically he also sold the wives of his prisoners into slavery (Ice, 2003). Would the followers of a peaceful man fight wars over his territory after his death? Peaceful or not those wars were fought (Ice, 2003).

There are various passages in the Koran that depict violence (Ice, 2003). The two examples to follow relate to what is to be done to those who do not follow Islam or the teaching of Muhammad; "And if any believe not in Allah and his messenger, we

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have prepared for those who reject Allah, a blazing fire" (Koran 48:13). Secondly 5:33 of the Koran states,

> The punishment of those who wage war against Allah and his messenger and strive with might and main for mischief through the land is: execution or crucifixion or the cutting off of hands and feet from opposite sides or exile from the land; that is their disgrace in this world and a heavy punishment is theirs in the hereafter.

These statements seem straightforward and clear. Death, dismemberment, and exile are the reward for those that do not follow the Islamic faith.

One last look at the words of al-Ahsan (1997), who was cited above as having said killing one man is the same as killing all of mankind. If this is true what moral obligation or motivation does an extremist Islamic practitioner have to stop killing once he or she has taken her first life? Whether it is in accordance or not with modern traditionalist Islam there is not much question that Muhammad founded Islam by the sword (Ice, 2003).

Religious Background

The Aryan Nations

The story of the Aryan Nations organization begins with the Identity Christian movement which has its origins after the end of World War Two in the late 1940's (Sharpe, 2000). The sentiments of the time held a great deal of anger from the Great War that had encompassed the earth (Sharpe, 2000). This anger was focused towards different scapegoats as well as created suspicions and fears (Sharpe, 2000).

The Identity Christian movement was founded on five major components (Sharpe, 2000). The first is the basic theory of British Israelism (Sharpe, 2000). The second is an anti government sentiment and conspiracy mentality that feared for the preservation and continued existence of the white race (Sharpe, 2000). The third component is a polygenist view of the origins of humanity and the fourth is simply the superiority of the white/Norman/Caucasian race (Sharpe, 2000). The fifth and final component is the actual religion of the Identity Christian movement itself (Sharpe, 2000).

This form of Identity Christianity is a perversion of fundamentalist Christianity (Sharpe, 2000). It takes the fundamentals of Christianity and bends them in such a way that they fit the other four components of the Identity Christian beliefs (Walters, 1999). Some instances are limited to simply non standard interpretations of the Bible while other are more liberal interpretations brought about by new or nonstandard definitions for the meaning of words (Walters, 1999).

The Idea of British Israelism originally comes from the mention of an Israelitish ancestry of the British in *Rights of the Kingdom* by John Sadler (1649). This idea was based mainly on a comparison between the customs and laws of the Israelites and the English Culture of the 17th century (Need, 1995). While comparisons of laws are hardly a basis to prove ancestry the idea of being the chosen people of God is an appealing one (Kossy, 2005). The more extreme English Puritans of that Time Believed they were the chosen people of God described in the old Testament as the Hebrews (Kossy, 2005).

In the early to mid 1800's Reverend John Wilson's preaching began the formal British-Israel or Anglo-Israelism. His professed theory stated that the British are the literal descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel (Barkun, 1997; McLemee, 1994). He published a series of lectures entitled *Lectures on Our Israelitish Origin* in 1840 (Barkun, 1997). These included his theories that were mainly based on certain commonalities between words in English and Hebrew as well as other social commonalities between the British and historical Hebrews (Barkun, 1997).

Wilson was the first to make a distinction in the historical tribes of Israel. They were divided up into northern and Southern tribes (Barkun, 1997). People of the Northern tribes would eventually migrate west and whose descendants would become the Scythians (Kossy, 2005). The people of the Scythian tribes are considered the ancestors of the modern Europeans with specific emphasis on the Anglo-Saxons (Davis, 2003).

According to Wilson these ancestors to the "Modern Europeans" still benefited from the covenant God had made with Abraham (Barkun, 1997). This is where the major religious disputes between the Jews and the followers of Islam take place (Balson, 1997). The sons of Abraham split his lineage in two distinct directions. Issac, son of Sarah is considered the blessed son to the Jews and Christians where Muslims believe that the blessed son was Ishmael son of Hagar (Genesis 25; Koran, Sura XIV). Issac is considered the Ancestor to Jews while Ishmael was considered the ancestor to the Arabs (Balson, 1997 & Barkun 1997).

The idea that the sons of Issac from the tribe of Ephraim were the Aryan Settlers of the British Isles was an exciting concept for the British Aristocracy of the time (Barkun, 1997). This gave academic credibility to their divine right to rule. It also gave credence to their idea of the White Man's burden which was their religious and moral excuse to Imperialism (Davis, 2003). This popularity inspired more academics into publishing books and lectures supporting the idea of an Anglo-Israeli reality (Davis, 2003).

The 1920's began the compilation and research into other genealogies dealing with this Anglo-Israeli connection (Davis, 2003). The research done by Davidson, M'Causland, Winchell, and Bristowe used techniques including Scriptural studies, comparison of ancient Hebrew to modern languages, secular history, archeology and pyramidtology (Davis, 2003). The work of these authors would eventually become, with modifications, the most basic doctrinal beliefs of the Christian Identity movement (Barkun, 1997) to be discussed later. It is also important to note that all of these "researchers" were of the opinion that the King James Bible was translated poorly and therefore other Christian Churches were not wrong, they were simply mistaken due to the wrong translations (Davis, 2003).

Though anti-Semitism has been a common occurrence since the medieval ages the idea of a great Jewish conspiracy did not come about until the time of Napoleon Bonaparte (Barkun, 1997). Despite the sentiment of anti-Semitic conspiracy theory having been around for nearly 120 years there was no anti-Semitic ideas dealing with Anglo-Israelism until the late 1930's(Davis, 2003). In 1937 Howard Rand, a wealthy

New England Lawyer, and William Cameron, an executive in the Henry Ford company, began to adapt the idea of Anglo-Israelism into a more American idea. These adaptations contained certain doctrinal points that focused on anti-Semitic beliefs (Davis, 2003) including the idea that Jews are descended from Cain the son of Eve and Satan or one of his demons (McLemee, 1994).

With Rand and Cameron's writings some protestant preachers took to their cause (Davis, 2003). The American version of Anglo-Israelism took hold in the Los Angeles area of California thanks to the diverse peoples with diverse beliefs that lived there at the time (Davis, 2003). Eventually these anti-Semitic ideas were cultivated, by Wesley Swift a traveling Methodist preacher and second generation Anglo-Israelism follower, through fear and anger that was the byproduct of the Cold War (Barkun, 1997) and the proximity to the major fallout of McCarthyism.

These racist tendencies were the beginning of the Identity Christian Church that is known today (Davis, 2003). At this pointing their history, the doctrinal points made by the Anglo-Israelite movement are modified and changed to fit the new anti-Semitic ideals of the Identity Christian Church (Davis, 2003).

One last point on Anglo-Israelism in America is the importance of personal relationships in recruitment (Barkun, 1997). All leaders in this movement gained close personal ties to one another and these ties were responsible for the cultivation of other leaders (Barkun, 1997). This will have more significance later when discussing The Aryan Nations as an organization.

The second point of discussion over the Identity Christian church is their hatred of the U.S. Government. They believe that there is a world wide conspiracy with the goal of the eventual subjugation and extermination of the white race (Sharpe, 2000). The leaders of this conspiracy are considered to be the United States Government who are under the control of the Jewish people (Sharpe, 2000). They are aided in their conspiracy by Hispanics, Blacks, Catholics, gays, liberals and essentially any white that does not follow their Christian Identity beliefs (Sharpe, 2000).

The U.S. Federal government is considered pro Israel and therefore not trustworthy (Sharpe, 2000). Most even go so far as to say that the U.S. Federal Government is a foreign occupying force which rules the country illegally (Sharpe, 2000). This Federal Government is run behind the scenes by Jews and is referred to as the ZOG or Zionist Occupying Government (Davis, 2003).

This ZOG with all of its allies are considered the "New World Order." More contemporarily this "New World Order" is run by the United Nations and takes the paranoia of white racial extermination to the global level (Durham, 2003). Because of their belief that the whole world is against them they see any violent actions that they take towards the government or anyone outside of their beliefs systems as acts of self defense against valid military targets (Sharpe, 2000).

Identity Christian followers believe that Armageddon (the biblical end of all times) is approaching and that a *racial holy war* is inevitable (Davis, 2003). Using the first two letters of those words creates the Identity Christian's battle cry "RAHOWA" which is used in speeches, rallies and salutations (Sharpe, 2000). The impending racial

holy war has created an aura of fear, alienation and has increased their already existent

feelings of paranoia (Sharpe, 2000).

The third point of their beliefs is their own interpretation of the creation of

mankind. This is greatly borrowed from the Anglo-Israeli doctrines with slight

modifications to instill feelings of anti-Semitism and white racial superiority (Davis,

2003). Some of these doctrinal points come from quasi academically valid sources

dealing with the translations of specific words (Davis, 2003). For example Adam in

some dialects of Hebrew means: ruddy, to show blood in the face, to be able to blush, or

to be fair (Walters, 1999).

It could be argued that to begin to understand the Identity Christian beliefs of the

origin of man one must start with the Bible. According to the Christian Identity

doctrine as stated in Kingdom-Identity Ministries (1999, n.p.)

> We believe that the Man Adam (a Hebrew word meaning:
> ruddy, to show blood, flush, turn rosy) is the father of the White race only. As a
> son of God (Luke 3:38), made in His likeness (Gen. 5:1), Adam and his
> escendants, who are also the children of God (Psalm 82:6; Hos. 1:10; Rom.
> 8:16; Gal. 4:6; I John 3:1-2), can know YHVH God as their creator. Adamic
> man is made trichotomous, that is not only of body and soul, but having an
> implanted spirit (Gen. 2:7; I Thes. 5:23; Heb. 4:12) giving him a higher form of
> consciousness and distinguishing him from all the other
> races as the earth (Deut. 7:6, 10:15; Amos 3:2).

In essence according to their cited verses Adam was created by God in his own

image and when he "breathed life unto him" he implanted him with not only life but a

divine spirit that set him apart from other men. These other men, depending on the

version you read, are not men at all (Walters, 1999). Blacks, Hispanics, Asians and all

other races besides the whites and the Jews are not descendants of Adam. They were

created as lesser men with the beasts of the fields before the creation of Adam (Walters, 1999).

When Eve was created from Adams rib, she was one with him and had all of the benefits of God's breath insider her (Sharpe, 2000). When she was tempted in the Garden by the serpent it was not a snake. It was a serpent man that was one of the minions/daemons of Satan and some believe it was Satan himself (Sharpe, 2000). The "forbidden fruit" was the seduction of Eve. This union produced the child Cain who was half Adamic and half demon/Satan who would become the father of the Jews. Cain would go and breed with the lesser men (Walters, 1999) instilling them all with the evil he had inside of him.

This union of the Devil and Eve leads to a dualistic view of women in the eyes of God and their role on this earth (Sharpe, 2000). "The white woman is considered the most beautiful creature in the universe, desired and sought after by males of all races. However, femininity carries with it the legacy of Eve and her indiscretion with Lucifer. Women are portrayed as weak and virtue less and above all corruptible, desperately needing White masculine leadership and strength" (Sharpe, p611).

It is also important to note that the idea of interbreeding between races is highly prohibited. It is considered diluting the Aryan blood instead of strengthening the blood of peoples that they see as lesser (Sharpe, 2000). This feeling is so strong in some groups that the idea of polygamy is promoted to help increase the white population (Sharpe, 2000).

Finally, the Fifth major component of the Identity Christian movement is a perverted fundamentalist form of Christianity. It encapsulates all of the other four above mentioned "academic" beliefs into a religion that breeds anti-Semitism of the "Satanic Jew" and ideas of superiority over all other men (Sharpe, 2005). It could be stated that this fifth point also gives the White Supremacist ideas of a war for survival against the government and the rest of the world a religious sanction.

Organization History

Al Qaeda

Having discussed the religious beliefs and religious histories of our subject organizations the inceptions and histories of the organizations of study will be studied to provide more insight to their values, attitudes and goals for later comparison. George Will, as quoted by Rich (2001) on page A23 makes the statement about the Islamic extremists, "This may be a war pitting the world's mightiest industrial nation against a cave dweller, but the cave dweller, we keep being rudely reminded is no caveman." This point can be extended back to the Aryan Nations as a reference to all extremist groups. It could be argued that just because they are not a military force does not mean they are not dangerous; that their beliefs and dedication to their cause, no matter the motivation, makes them dangerous.

Al-Qaeda finds its beginnings in the Soviet Afghan conflict (Davis, 2003). Beginning with the invasion of the soviets the Afghan people began to resist (Davis, 2003). It was uncoordinated and divided even in goals. This would change with the

emergence of strong leaders, one of whom was the Sheikh Abdullah Azzam (Davis, 2003).

Azzam spent his time moving between tribes and groups of resistance fighters trying to establish coordination between the groups (Benjamin & Simon, 2002). He eventually founded an organization known as the Bait-ul-Ansar or Mujahideen Service Bureau (Fighel, 2001). This organization recruited, supported and solicited funding to the Afghan fighters from around the world. The organization went so far as to transport and lodge recruits until they were shipped to training camps (Fighel, 2001).

In 1984 Osama bin Laden partnered with Azzam in the Mujahideen Service Bureau and provided funds to Azzam so he could continue his preaching, recruiting and fundraising (Fighel, 2001). Azzam's teachings cannot be understated when referencing their affect on bin Laden and his ideologies (Fighel, 2001).

In 1989 the Soviets began their withdrawal from Afghanistan. Seeing the approaching conclusion to the conflict forty trained men swore allegiance to The Base (more commonly known as al-Qaeda). They signed papers under bin Laden's supervision formalizing their oaths (Miller et al., 2002).

Azzam and bin Laden disagreed how best to utilize their force after their victory over the Soviets (Benjamin & Simon, 2002). Azzam wished to take the fight to Israel while bin Laden wished to focus their efforts against other secular regimes (Benjamin & Simon, 2002).

In November of 1986 three bombs were placed on a route known to be used by Azzam while traveling to a mosque (Fighel, 2001). He and two of his sons were killed.

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Though no one has ever claimed responsibility or been accused of the assassination some of their followers believe that it was bin Laden (Fighel, 2001). This left bin Laden as the sole leader of the fledgling al-Qaeda (Fighel, 2001).

It could be stated that to understand al-Qaeda as an organization one should take a close look at their leader. Bin Laden presents himself with the image of a humble man of the people (Miller *bin Laden*, 2001). Though this image may or may not have some basis in reality the fact is that bin Laden came from a very different background than the person he styles himself after (Miller *bin Laden*, 2001). He was born into a very wealthy family and was at one point worth over 300 million dollars (Miller *bin Laden*, 2001). He also made a great deal of money on his own in a capitalist construction venture (Miller *bin Laden*, 2001).

To help illicit support from other extremists in the Islamic faith bin Laden has to present himself as a hardliner (Blanchard, 2005). Though he was very skillful in his presentation the fact is his actions, time and time again, have proven that he will bend and even contradict his previous statements and messages to fit specific circumstances and issues (Blanchard, 2005). It is also important to note that, though bin Laden has studied in Islamic religious schools, he has no actual academic or religious credentials when it comes to Islam or any other religion (Blanchard, 2005).

Bin Laden found his motivation to fight during the Russian conflict in Afghanistan (Post, 2002). When the conflict was all but won he began to realize that Russia, one of the worlds two superpowers, was nothing more than a paper tiger (Post, 2002). He made this same assumption about the other world superpower the United

States (Post, 2002). Miller (*bin Laden,* 2001) quotes bin Laden as saying, "America is weak." (p. A4) This is when he set his sights on carrying his holy war beyond Afghanistan (al-Qaeda, Afghanistan, & Islamists, 2003). He created al-Qaeda in 1988 as "the base" to take his holy war global and to fight the United States as well as other Western nations that influence Islam in any way (al-Qaeda, Afghanistan, & Islamists, 2003).

According to Miller (2001) Osama bin Laden is galvanized in his beliefs by three events in history. The first is the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. This is where he first found his spirit and desire to fight (Miller *bin Laden*, 2001). He saw this invasion not as a conflict of countries but as a conflict of religions (Miller *bin Laden*, 2001). The second thing was the overthrow of the Shaw in Iran. This was a second move where he saw the West directly attacking Islam (Miller *bin Laden*, 2001). Third and finally the Camp David peace accords between Israel and Egypt was seen as an insult to Islam. But despite his apparent hatred for the Jews, fitting with his character of, practicality at best and hypocrisy at worst, bin Laden's anti-Israeli rhetoric has changed depending on his needs for support (Blanchard, 2005).

Bin Laden, in his rhetoric, ties the United States to Israel for the purpose of turning peoples feelings of anti-Semitism against the United States (Appleby, 2003). Bin Laden as quoted by Appleby (2002) states,

> Muslim lives and lively hoods are routinely sacrificed to support luxurious American life-styles. The United States is a great hypocrite, espousing democracy and freedom in its rhetoric while providing critical financial and military support to Israel, the Zionist interloper n the Middle East, and to antidemocratic and repressive regimes such as those of Egypt, Algeria and Saudi Arabia, where the voice of the Muslim people is Silenced (p. 15).

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With these words he condemns, the Jews and the United States as well as the Middle Eastern Countries that have most embraced the West and allied themselves (as much as any country in the Middle East) with the United States.

Osama bin Laden also uses carefully chosen words that put the United States between a rock and a hard place. In his *Letter to America* (bin Laden, 2004) says, "…You have not yet tired of repeating your fabricated lies that the Jews have a historical right to Palestine, as it was promised to them in the torah. Anyone who disputes with you or them on this alleged fact is accused of anti-Semitism (p. 2)." It is true that most any conflict against the Jews is considered as anti-Semitism. It could be argued that this statement makes any remarks about anti-Semitism appear to be fruitless lies. It could be said that the irony in this is the Islamic extremists have the same ideas about Islamic nations. In fact it is the whole premise of Jihad. A conflict with a country of Muslims is a conflict with all Muslims.

Bin Laden looks to the Koran for answers to his problems with America and Israel (Rich, 2003). In his *Letter to America* he states that, "Allah, the almighty, legislated the permission and the option to take revenge." For most revenge would be motive enough but bin Laden is a man with goals and his program goes way beyond simple revenge and the opposition to Israel (Rich, 2003). He also wants the removal of the United States from Saudi Arabia. Without stopping there he wishes for the overthrow of the Pakistani government for the aid the provided to the United States (Rich, 2003).

Bin Laden also follows the teachings of radical Islam with his other stated goals (Blanchard, 2005). He believes that Democracies, constitutional governments and insufficiently Islamic societies are unacceptable forms of government for Islamic peoples. For bin Laden it must be Gods laws not the laws of men (Blanchard, 2005). His, "…message amounts to a radical Islamic grand strategy seeking both to unify Muslims internationally and to wage global war against Western and especially American interests" (Rich, 2003).

When referring to his past terrorist actions against the United States Appleby (2002) quotes bin Laden as saying, "What America is tasting now is only a copy of that we have tasted. Our Islamic nation has been tasting the same for more than 80 years of humiliation and disgrace, its sons killed and their blood spilled, it's sanctity desecrated (p. 19)." Regardless of his words, "bin Laden's grievances are focused on Power-who possesses it, why it is used and (in his judgment) how it is abused" (Byman, 2003, p. 4).

It has already been established that Osama bin Laden ambitions grew while he was fighting in Afghanistan. Once the Russians were beaten, practically if not yet literally, he set his sights on the only other world Superpower, the United States (Miller *bin Laden*, 2001). He knew that to take his cause global he would need help which he found in Egypt and al-Zawahiri (Miller *bin Laden*, 2001).

In Peshawar Pakistan al-Zawahiri met Osama bin Laden during the guerilla campaign against the Soviets (Henzel, 2005). They became friends and realized that they worked well together. Al-Zawahiri worked as their ideologist and spokesman while bin Laden organized talent and their resources (Henzel, 2005). In 1998 al-

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Zawahiri joined his small Jihadist cell within al-Qaeda, "completing al-Qaeda's development into the group that challenges the United States Today" (Henzel, 2005, p. 75).

"They [al-Qaeda] uncritically accepted the direction the distinctive charismatic leader of the organization, Osama bin Laden, and to them what he declares moral is moral, indeed it is a sacred obligation" (Post, 2002, p. 19). It could be believed that this unquestioning loyalty is devotion at its highest level.

Al-Qaeda as an organization is similar to any other radical Islamic terrorist group (Byman, 2003). It has members willing to die for their cause and their beliefs are strictly fundamentalist (Byman, 2003). This is where the similarities end. Al-Qaeda, as an organization has done things right in their recruitment. Byman (2003) makes reference to the diverse nationalities of al-Qaeda members. They speak numerous languages and are familiar with many cultures that reflect their own diverse backgrounds and experiences (Byman, 2003). This gives them the uncanny ability to blend into any society that is required of them (Byman, 2003). Ideally they could even come from the communities and cultures in which they need to work (Byman, 2003).

Some members of al-Qaeda set themselves even farther from typical terrorist organizations by being educated and sophisticated (Byman, 2003). This gives them the ability to not only blend in with other cultures but also any social class. It also shows their dedication when men with wives, children and graduate degrees are still willing to Martyr themselves for their cause (Byman, 2003).

Though bin Laden is instrumental in the running of al-Qaeda their cells are perfectly capable of continuing on mission without direction or guidance (al-Qaeda, Afghanistan, & Islamists, 2003). It could be inferred that the above mentioned educations and devotion could also aid them in total autonomy even down to mission selection without direction.

The three principal goals of al-Qaeda, according to their primary spokesmen Ayman al-Zawahiri (2005), are the freeing of their homelands, the freeing of humanity and the rule by the Koran. He also states that they do not believe that any of these goals are possible without the act of martyrdom through Jihad. These goals go hand in hand with their definition of Jihad (al-Aawahiri, 2005). The state of Jihad is to accomplish three things. The first is the establishment of rule by God's divine laws. The second is to attain martyrdom for God's cause and the third is to purify Islam from all depravity foreign or otherwise (al-Qaeda, Afghanistan, & Islamists, 2003).

Al-Qaeda like all other Islamic extremist groups believe that shaheed or martyrdom will bring them to paradise with God (Burns, 2001). Whether or not this is the stereotypical paradise with 72 Virgins with skin like silk has not been documented (Post, 2002). They do agree with most cultures and the traditional Islamic adherents that suicide is selfish and it is wrong (Post, 2002). They do not however believe that suicide attacks are simply suicide. They are premeditated martyrdom (Post, 2002).

Al-Qaeda's ideologies are attractive to others and they are quickly spreading (Byman, 2003). The idea that their, "main mission is… the overthrow of the godless regimes and their replacement with an Islamic regime" (Weiser, 2001, p. B8) is

attractive to Muslims in countries where their views of the west have always been biased. They will stop at nothing less than the total and unconditional surrender of all of the United States assets and influences in the Middle East (Byman, 2003).

Their al-Qaeda Training Manual (n.d.) has instances where it emphasizes cooperation. It tells the recruits,

> The interests of all Adam's children would not be realized in the present life nor in the next, except through cooperation and mutual assistance. Cooperation is for achieving their interests and mutual assistance is for overcoming adversity.

After it tells the recruits that cooperation is necessary it explains to what ends they should cooperate,

> Islamic governments have never and will never be established through peaceful solutions and cooperative councils. They are established as the [always] have been by pen and gun, by word and bullet, by tongue and teeth.
> (al-Qaeda Training Manual, n.d.)

This implies that they understand the need for talk and treaty but only when it is accompanied by violence.

To defeat the West they understand that they need to stand together as one. "Victory for the Islamic movements…cannot be attained unless these movements possess an Islamic base in the heart of the Arab region" (al-Zawahiri, 2005). With this united front they could have the strength, they believe, to stand up to the West and the United States (al-Zawahiri, 2005).

Al-Qaeda's problems with the West are very similar to the problems Osama bin Laden has as well as the problems other Islamic extremists have (Young, 2001). They see a great hypocrisy in the fact that the United States prides itself in being democratic but it backs non democratic countries (Young, 2001). The other major problem deals

with the United States friendship with Israel. Al-Qaeda increasingly came to blame the United States for all Muslim's woes including the oppression they feel from Israel (Miller *Killing for the Glory of God*, 2001).

Israel is considered a stepping stone for the West's crusader war into the Middle East (al-Zawahiri, 2005). For this reason the conflict cannot be considered regional (al-Zawahiri, 2005). If the United States is using Israel to maneuver into the Middle East then it is necessary for al-Qaeda to strike outside of the Middle East (al-Zawahiri, 2005). "No reform can take place, whilst we are impotent, naked in front of Israel's nuclear arsenal" (al-Zawahiri, 2005).

Following the teachings of Qutb and using their own ideas about cooperation al-Qaeda is fighting with allies against the near enemy (certain Muslim Governments that do not uphold Islam like they believe they should) and the far enemy (the United States Government and all of its allies) (Gunaratna, *New Face,* 2003). With this strategy they are able to draw more members to their cause (Gunaratna, *New Face,* 2003). These mujahidin supporters are historically recruited through major history-making events. Thanks to the proximity of the near fight, people are more able to witness these events and more supporters are drawn to the cause (Gunaratna, *New Face,* 2003).

Thanks to Islamic Extremist Propaganda the United States is perceived as evil by many Islamic countries and their citizens (Byman, 2003).   The United States is seen with an a skeptical eye by these people and according to Byman (2003) even acts of humanitarianism are seen as evil, believing the United States to have unknown ulterior motivations for doing good deeds.

Organization History

The Aryan Nations

One of the most well known individuals in the History of the Aryan Nations is Reverend Richard Butler. He was a major proponent and preacher of the Identity Christian Movement in Los Angeles (Sharpe, 2000).

In 1974 the late reverend Butler moved from Los Angeles with a group from his church to Idaho (*In About Aryan Nations*, 2005). There they formed two organization: the Church of Jesus Christ-Christian (a Christian Identity Church) and the Aryan Nations, an organization to be the political wing of the church (About Aryan Nations, 2005). The Church of Jesus Christ Christian teaches all of the most anti-Semitic and racist teachings of the Identity Christian movement such as the Jews being the children of Satan and non whites being created with the animals (Thomas, 1999).

> On a twenty- acre compound in Hayden Lake, deep in the forests of Northern Idaho, Pastor Butler began laying the foundations for an organization that would go on to become a major source of inspiration for thousands of National Socialists, Identity believers, survivalists and all White men and women who held pride in their genetic legacy as Aryans and who held within themselves the fanatical desire to strive for the territorial imperative of a future homeland for White Aryans on the North American continent
> (About Aryan Nations, 2005, p. 1).

The Aryan Nations holds their World Congress every summer as a sort of revival and social gathering for others that share their beliefs (*In About Aryan Nations*, 2005). These congresses can be interesting meeting grounds for all sorts of activities and networking between individuals (White, 2001). Considering most extremists practice a form of dualism, or being members of 2 or more like minded organizations, many

Aryan Nations members are also members of other White Supremacy or anti government organizations such as the Klu Klux Klan, militias and or Neo-Nazi organizations (White, 2001). Though some of the Aryan Nations beliefs have roots in Nazi doctrines and many members of the Aryan Nations are Fascists the organization itself does not profess to be a Neo-Nazi organization (White, 2001).

The creed of the Aryan Nations as quoted by McLemee (1994, p. BR30) states, "We believe that there is a battle being fought this day between the children of darkness (today known as the Jews) and the children of light (God), the Aryan Race, the true Israel of the bible." And in this instance the members of the Aryan Nations see the battle as a literal thing, a shooting war (McLemee, 1994). This idea is also popular with most Right-Wing terrorist organizations (Foxell, 2002).

Several high profile cases have taken place dealing with the Aryan Nations and its members. One was the Siege at Ruby Ridge where organization members believe "brothers and sisters" in their organization were murdered by the federal government (About Aryan Nations, 2005). It has been and will be a, "flashpoint for Aryan activists for many years to come" (About Aryan Nations, 2005).

A group of former Aryan Nations members formed a Group called the Order. The Order gained a great deal of notoriety in the 1980's with their attempted acts of terrorism. The Order hoped to create their own Aryan State in the Pacific Northwest by making war on the Federal Government which they believed had been taken over by the Jews (King *Assassins*, 1985).

The leader of the Order, Robert Mathis, realized that money would be needed to fund their war. He planned bank robberies, bombings and arson for ransom and numerous other illegal and violent means for funding his war (King, 1986). He also spoke of a dream of a Zionist Occupied Government Inquisition where Jews and their sympathizers could be rooted out and killed (King, 1986). He went so far as to state that it is the responsibility of all whites to kill Jews especially when they are in high places and even if suicide attacks are required (King *Assassins*, 1985).

When the members of the Order were eventually caught they admitted to their plans for war (King *Assassins*, 1985). They were prepared to accept to the idea of using suicide bombers as assassins and to sow terror in the Jewish people (King *Assassins*, 1985). They also admitted to plans of assassinating 3 network TV heads. They also had to abort a spur of the moment assassination attempt on Secretary of State Henry A Kissinger because the bombs to be used took to long to make (King *Assassins*, 1985).

After a time the Aryan Nations leaders realized that politically and legally repercussions could happen if acts of terrorism are traced back to their organization (Thomas, 1999). So in cases after the incidents with the Order terrorist type activities were typically perpetrated by people with ties to the Aryan Nations but not with specific membership. "Hate groups avoid leaving prints on their disciples triggers" (Thomas, 1999, p. 16). And at this time, as well as others, numerous Right-Wing terrorist groups emerged from the Aryan Nations (Seger, 2001).

Some examples of this are two separate thwarted attacks on the Federal government and its' facilities. Former members of the Aryan Nations were planning on

destroying the Federal Bureau of Investigations National Fingerprint Records Center but were arrested before the attack could happen (Thomas, 1999). There was also an attack planned on killing civilians and soldiers at a 4th of July pick nick at Fort Hood (Thomas, 1999). Arthur Kirk and Gordon Kahl both associated with the Aryan Nations, in separate incidents, were killed in gunfights with Federal Agents (King *Farmers*, 1985). They were both in position of an arsenal of weapons and died while screaming slurs and profanity directed at the Jews (King *Farmers*, 1985). Thomas Lavy, also a member of the Aryan Nations, was caught in 1993 with a large home made batch of ricin poison (Ridgeway, 2001).

In 2000, there were several lawsuits dealing with the assault of non members outside the gates of the Aryan Nations Hayden Lake compound. These lawsuits resulted in the Aryan Nations loosing their compound at Hayden Lake and their world headquarters being moved to another compound in Potter county, Pennsylvania (About Aryan Nations, 2005). The Aryan Nations holds that they were defending themselves from would be trespassers. This was one more reason for the Aryan Nations to hate the U.S. Government and the Jews that they belief run it (Young, 2001).

In the next few years the leadership of the organization has changed hands several times and the organization itself has taken on a new role. The current leader of the Aryan Nations organization is Agust Kreis (Schuster, 2005). He as well as the majority of the organization was recently run out of Pennsylvania and has relocated to Florida (Schuster, 2005). Even there in his new home he is meeting so much resistance that he asked to meet a CNN crew for their scheduled interview to meet him at a park

instead of at his home, "because he didn't want trouble from his neighbors" (Schuster, 2005, p 1).

The Aryan Nations organization has also decentralized its power in recent years to protect itself from lawsuit (About Aryan Nations, 2006). They have also taken a new more realistic turn in their ideals. Their website states (www.aryan-nations.org)

> Through diverse peregrinations and the wisdom that comes with age, the Aryan Nations has both taken a harder stance in regards to the means and methods by which out goals can reach fruition and have developed certain strategies whichare more in tune with realism, as opposed to idealism (n.p).

The Aryan Nation is no longer a religious organization based on Biblical law. Most of its members still accept the Aryan Messianic Identity but considering the ways of this world they have decided not to turn away members with their same political beliefs just because they do not follow the same religion (Faber *From the Desk*, 2005). With this in mind the Aryan Nation Split and spun off yet another organization. This new organization is known as The Brotherhood of the Phinehas Priests and would become known as the religious wing of the Aryan Nations (Faber *From the Desk*, 2005). Without a religious affiliation anyone sharing their hatred of Jews and the US government were welcome to join the Aryan Nations regardless of their religious beliefs. Proctor (2004, p. 2) states that, "Christian Identity is a bit passé in the hate movement. It is contradictory. Many people find it easier to accept pre-Christian warrior religions" such as Norse religions and even Islam (2004).

The Phinehas priesthood, like the reorganized Aryan Nations, is decentralized and only loosely affiliated with one another to help protect other members of the order (Thomas, 1999). It is know for committing independent acts of terror (Thomas, 1999)

in localized areas with little to no outside support. They take their name from the biblical Phinehas (Numbers books 25 & 31) who was an assistant to Moses (Thomas, 1999). He slew an Israelite and his wife who was of another race and was blessed by God with an eternal priesthood (Thomas, 1999).

According to Faber (n.d.) the leader of the Phinehas Priesthood they are a biblically based religious order tied to the Aryan Nations. But now anyone from any religion that adheres to strict moral codes, especially Islam, will be accepted into their ranks (Faber, n.d.).

It could be argued that the Phinehas Priesthood and the Aryan Nations organization share the same goal. They wish to establish a White Aryan homeland somewhere in North America. They believe that before this can occur the New World Order must be disrupted and broken down (Aryan Nations, 2005). The only way they see possible to break down the New World Order is through a constant, perpetual state of revolution. They also realize that they need help in this because the New World Order (as the name implies) has a global reach and oppresses people of all religions and races that are at odds with the Jews (Aryan Nations, 2005).

> And it shall be in the smoldering ashes of the downfall of the current System where in shall be born the seeds for a new global society in which an Aryan homeland shall be reality; that is, if we have the tenacity, dedication and intelligence necessary to make it a reality (Aryan Nations, 2005, n.p.).

The Aryan Nations has also made it clear in the more recent days that they are willing to do whatever it takes to accomplish their goals even if it is to change their doctrines to fit their situations. Their website Aryan Nations (2005, n.p.) states,

> In line with the facts of the geopolitical situation today, the Aryan Nations has come to the conclusion that the stereotypical 'race hate' line of thought that has been so cherisher (and so useless) within the 'movement' is no longer viable- and as such, it is a line of thought that will no longer be perpetuated within this organization.

Their ideas about race war are gradually fading for the present according to the words of Faber (2005). They have taken a more realistic than idealistic approach to accomplishing their goals in more recent years. Agust Kreis as quoted by Schuster (2005, p. 2) says, "That's old –school racism, white supremacy, this is something new. We have to be realists and realize what didn't work isn't going to work in the future." *From the Desk of Pastor Jay Faber* (2005) hints that the Aryan nations are now setting aside their racial hatred to all races but the Jew to help illicit support from as wide a group as possible. It could be said that these new ideas are only temporary. It could be argued that it is implied that as soon as their goal of a homeland of their own is accomplished old hatreds will most likely resurface.

Though there is less spoken hatred towards other races, the hard line stance of anti-Semitism still stands fast. The Aryan Nation, through the guidance of the Brotherhood of the Phinehas priests has declared their own Jihad against the Jews. Jay Faber in *From the Desk of Pastor Jay* Faber (n.d.) makes the point about Islamic Jihad. According to the Islamic definition of Jihad it is over when their lands are cleansed from the infidel. For the Aryan people the whole world is their land and the Aryan Jihad will not cease until all Jews are dead (Faber *From the Desk*, n.d.).

It could be stated that when one thinks of domestic terrorism the PLO, Shin Fain or the Red Brigade comes to mind. But it is important to remember that domestic

terrorism has been a reality in the United States since the Revolutionary War (Sims, 1996). The current domestic terrorist threat within the United States almost exclusively comes from the Right-Wing extremist and White Supremacist extremists (Seger, 2001). For now it is important to remember that these men and women are not just outside of religious norms. They are considered associates of Right-Wing Terrorist groups and of an increasing concern to the Federal Bureau of Investigations (Seger, 2001).

Members of White Supremacist groups would like to end racial, religious and gender equality in the United States (Foxell, 2002). They are not above terrorist actions to get the things that they want. The attacks that they make are not isolated and are part of an underground movement (Thomas, 1999) even though they do their best to isolate themselves from each other. Their rhetoric of hate and racial superiority (though currently downplayed for recruitment) can easily be turned into a wonderful weapon for a terrorist (Thomas, 1999). After all when you have erased someone's humanity it makes them much easier to shoot (Thomas, 1999).

Structure and Methods of Operation

Al Qaeda

Having studied the organizational histories of the subject organizations their structures and preferred operation methods will be considered in the hope that it will provide more insight into their goals and their propensity towards violence for later comparison. Al-Qaeda is, "…fluid and dynamic…liable to change its structure according to circumstances" (Gunaratna, *Inside,* 2003, p. 79). Some characterize al-

Qaeda as using a cellular structure but Simon and Benjamin (2000) describe it as having a hub and spoke structure. A bicycle wheel with its center, the hub, represents the main al-Qaeda leadership (Simon & Benjamin, 2000). At the end of each spoke rests a terrorist cell. The leadership can communicate with the cells but the cells are only connected to a few other cells by the wheel (Simon & Benjamin, 2000).

The looseness of this network style allows good communication from the leadership and offers protection from penetration by outside intelligence agencies (Balson, 2004). Gunaratna (2003, *Inside al-Qaeda*) agrees by saying that al-Qaeda, being an Islamist organization, is very difficult for western intelligence entities to penetrate.

Their network is very compartmentalized (Gunaratna, 2003, *Inside al-Qaeda*). If one section is captured they only have limited to no information about other members and other cells. All information is also kept need to know and there is a strictness about curiosity (Gunaratna, 2003, *Inside al-Qaeda*).

Because of al-Qaeda's structure it is hard to get an accurate picture when it comes to size (Byman, 2003). They draw on the support of over 6 million radicals worldwide and estimates show that 10,000 to 110,000 fighters have trained in their camps (Byman, 2003). Because of the desired quality of recruits only about 3,000 men would have been selected to join their ranks and only a few hundred would be selected to run actual terrorist operations (Byman, 2003).

When circumstances dictate al-Qaeda's flexibility even allows them to take on a more rigid structure of command (Conetta, 2002). When in Afghanistan and other

countries while supporting the Taliban or other Islamic fighters in conventional conflicts they are able to take on a more militaristic style of organization (Conetta, 2002). Even with those stringent limitations on command their fighters are able to decentralize their structures when leaving those zones of conflict (Conetta, 2002).

Al-Qaeda is an organization not consisting of a single group or even a coalition of groups (Gunaratna *Inside al-Qaeda,* 2003).

> It comprised a core base or bases in Afghanistan, satellite terrorist cells worldwide, a conglomerate of Islamist political parties and other largely independent terrorist groups that it draws on for offensive actions and other responsibilities (p. 73).

The terrorist groups form loose coalitions each with their own command structures and specialty (Gunaratna *Inside al-Qaeda,* 2003). They are perfectly capable and even expected to merge or pool their financial, ideological and technical resources (2003).

In 1998 Al Qaeda split into four interlinked branches. The first was a militaristic Higher Archie for the facilitation of tactical direction; an organization for guerilla operations inside of Afghanistan; a coalition of transnational guerilla/terrorist groups; and a global terrorist network (Gunaratna, 2003). These sections are all overseen by shura majilis, a consulting counsel, consisting of very experienced or veteran members (Gunaratna, 2003).

"Immediately below the Shura majilis and reporting directly to it are four operational committees: military; finance and business; fatwa and Islamic study; and media and publicity…each being headed by an emir" Gunarantna, p. 77, 2003). The committee members share responsibilities and it is usually these committee members that are hand picked for special assignments (Gunarantna, 2003).

Each committee has its place and is necessary for the operation and cooperation of al-Qaeda but the two committees of most concern to the outside world are the military and the finance (Gunaratna *Inside al-Qaeda,* 2003). The fatwa and media are vital mainly to recruitment of new members. It seems simple enough to hold back media publicity but due to their nature it would be best to arrest or neutralize their members (Gunaratna *Inside al-Qaeda,* 2003). It could be argued that it is hard to take the high road while criticizing the religious beliefs of others and squashing a propaganda entity is surely good propaganda for that entity.

The Military committee is responsible for the recruiting and training of new members. They are also responsible for the procurement of their equipment and for the actual launching of operations (Gunaratna *Inside al-Qaeda,* 2003). They also have the directive to acquire and develop specialized equipment as well as to develop new and innovative tactics (Gunaratna *Inside al-Qaeda,* 2003).

The Military committee oversees the distribution of aid, in the form of manpower and weapons, to all of the other terrorist organizations that operate under it's umbrella. These organizations operate in countries including but not limited to:

> Egypt, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Somalia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bosnia, Croatia, Albania, Algeria, Tunisia, Lebanon, The Philippines, Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and the Kashmir and Chechnya regions of India and Russia respectively.

> (Balson, p. 41, 2004)

There were also complexes Kabul, Khost, Mahavia, Jalalabad, Kunar and Kandahar but they were all but destroyed by the US air campaign beginning in October of 2001 (Gunaratna *Inside al-Qaeda,* 2003).

Military committee operational cells have also been located and eliminated in Italy, Germany, Britain, Canada, the US, South Africa, Tanzania, Kenya, Yemen and Albania (Gunaratna *Inside al-Qaeda,* 2003, p.77). This combined with the U.S. victory in Afghanistan in 2002 and other continuing counter terrorist operations around the world, "…most of al-Qaeda's camps have been closed" (Davis, p. 54, 2003). Despite being crippled by the past several years of combat and law enforcement operations al-Qaeda is still on of the most deadly Islamic fundamentalist groups (Davis, 2003).

The financial network is evident wherever Muslims live and work (Gunaratna *Inside al-Qaeda,* 2003). "It has been estimated that maintaining its core strength of 3000 members in Afghanistan and clandestine agents overseas costs al-Qaeda at least $36 million a year" (Gunaratna *Inside al-Qaeda,* 2003, p. 82).

To generate this sum of money it is necessary to rely on a range of sources as state sponsorship of terror has drastically declined since the end of the Cold War (Davis, 2003). They still have wealthy Arab benefactors and are able to use various Middle Eastern banks and companies as fronts to raise money or launder it (Gunaratna *Inside al-Qaeda,* 2003). The CIA also estimated that in the mid 1990's there were at least 50 Islamic charity organizations that were giving funds to international terrorists including al-Qaeda (Gunaratna *Inside al-Qaeda,* 2003).

Besides donations from wealthy organizations and people al-Qaeda also has designated support cells that make and distribute money to the operational cells. They spend a great deal of money and do not compromise operational effectiveness by "penny pinching" (Gunarantna *Inside al-Qaeda*, 2003, p.86). According to the FBI the

so called twentieth hijacker, Moussaoui, was given $35,000 to get himself started and $2,500 a month as a stipend when he moved into the United States (Gunaratna *Inside al-Qaeda,* 2003). In the 9/11 attacks they spent $4,500 per ticket for the hijackers so they would be as close to the cockpit as possible (Gunaratna *Inside al-Qaeda,* 2003).

After 9/11 the United States and its allies froze the assets of over 2,500 people and companies with al-Qaeda. Nonetheless they have acquired new accounts and have found new means of earning money and funneling money (Gunaratna *Inside al-Qaeda,* 2003).

Al-Qaeda prefers to implement their attacks using three distinct phases. The first of which is the gathering of intelligence and planning. The second stage is preparation. They hold rehearsals, train in new skills and infiltrate the area from where the attack is to be staged. The final step is the actual completion of the mission (Gunaratna *Inside al-Qaeda,* 2003).

Al-Qaeda prefers to attack spectacular large targets (embassies, a naval destroyer, the Pentagon and the World Trade Center) and one can safely predict that they will continue to hit large symbolic targets (Gunaratna *Inside al-Qaeda,* 2003). The high profile of these targets makes proper and safe exfiltration hard to impossible for

the attacking cells. This means that , "…suicide is likely to remain al-Qaeda's preferred tactic for the foreseeable future" (Gunarantna, 2003, p. 104).

Structure and Methods of Operation

The Aryan Nations

It could be argued that the Aryan Nations is no longer the same organization it once was. From the 1970's until September 2000 the Aryan Nations had their headquarters in Hayden Lake Idaho (Aryan Nations, n.d.) Until the early 1990's they openly supported and encouraged violence for the furtherance of their cause.

In September they lost a $6.3 million lawsuit over a beating that took place at the gate to their compound (Faber, *From the Desk of Faber,* n.d.). This bankrupted the organization and they were required to transfer their compound and intellectual property including the name "Aryan Nations" and "Church of Jesus Christ Christian" to the winners of the lawsuit (Faber, *From the Desk of Faber,* n.d.).

Their new headquarters is now located in Lincoln Alabama. According to their website (www.AryanNations.org) the Aryan Nations does not support any violence other than self defense. It is important to remember, as stated previously, that Aryan Nations and other White Supremacist organizations no longer openly support violence. They have realized that that could and has caused legal repercussions for themselves and other in the past (Thomas, 1999).

They, as well as other White Supremacist organizations have adopted "a mass action strategy" (Kaplan, p.260, 2001). With this new approach they avoid outright

illegal actions and focus more on legal protests and the preaching and publishing of their beliefs through books, fliers and pamphlets (Davis, 2003). So now the Aryan Nations and other White Supremacists have looked to another form of terrorism (Davis, 2003).

In 1992 Louis Beam spoke of a concept of leaderless resistance. This is a form of fighting and resisting pioneered by Col. Ulius Louis Amoss in the 1960's because of the possibility of an eventual communist invasion of the United States (Beam, 1992).

Using this concept leads to a disorganized and un unified resistance but also the ultimate cellular structure (Beam, 1992). With no leader and no collusion, in the event of capture or infiltration, one group knows nothing of the actions of the others. In all likelihood they do not even know of the existence of any others (Beam, 1992).

It could be argued that with such a splintered style of organization there is nothing approaching the sophistication and internationalization of al-Qaeda. Though there are White Supremacist in other countries around the world including Great Britain, Germany and Russia there is little to no documentation concerning the international cooperation of White Supremacist terrorist cells (Davis, 2003).

Even though, by design, these White Supremacist are unorganized they are related and connected though like values, beliefs and attitudes (Davis, 2003). They see themselves as the chosen of God given the duty of upholding the Lord's Laws (Davis, 2003). Byron de la Beckwith was tried three times for the murder of Medgar Evars, the leader of the NAACP in 1963. Finally in the third trial he was convicted and thanks to

FBI testimony was connected to an organization called the Brotherhood of the Phinehas Priests (Davis, 2003).

As established above the Phinehas Priests are the terrorist arm of the Aryan Nations. The Phinehas Priests have taken to using a five step program first implemented by the Order (Davis). The Order is a group of White Supremacists with strong and direct ties to the Aryan Nations that were caught or killed during the Summer of 1984 (King, *Assassins,* 1985). According to the opinion of one FBI agent the Order was the most organized group of terrorists to have ever operated inside the United States (King, *Assassins,* 1985).

According to their five step program The Order believed that for successful operations that first the cell must be formed (Davis, 2003). Then priorities must be established. A war chest should then be established by robbing the unjust (Davis, 2003). Fourthly one should recruit new members and finally the fight to execute judgment against the unworthy and unlawful should begin (Davis, 2003).

Following those steps a group of four Phinehas Priests met and formed a cell in Spokane Washington (ADL, 1996). Their priorities had been established through the common beliefs of the Phinehas Priests and using some ingenuity they combined steps 3 and five using the fight as a distraction to their thefts (ADL, 1996). They placed bombs and pamphlets with their rhetoric inside abortion clinics timed to go off a few minutes before they robbed several banks (ADL, 1996).

Though this cell was operating totally on its own and without any organizational support they showed a great deal of intelligence and professionalism (Davis, 2003).

"The training, planning, reconnaissance, and synchronization required for such an operation, points to dedication and certainly military style training" (Davis, p. 105, 2003).

White Supremacist Terrorists are also not shy about the use of chemical and biological weapons. In 1995 Thomas Lewis Lavy, a known White Supremacist, tried to smuggle enough ricin, a deadly poison made from castor beans, across the Canadian boarder to kill thousands of people (Sopko, 1996). Larry Wayne Harris, a member of the Aryan Nations, paid $240 for 3 vials of pure strain bubonic plague through mail order (Sopko, 1996).

These small groups and "Lone Wolves" (Thomas, p. A16, 1999) are admittedly harder to catch according to the FBI (Thomas, 1999). Several federal agencies have infiltrated and arrested groups numbering three through twelve members on charges of conspiracy, attempts to destroy federal buildings and other nefarious attacks (Thomas, 1999).

This insight came after the bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal Building (Thomas, 1999) which causes our government to realize that domestic terrorism is real and can be a threat (Sharp, 2000). Other incidents of domestic terror include violence against minorities, Jewish synagogues federal judges and the leaders of the NAACP (2000) which are all targets of the Phinehas Priests.

Contemporary Rhetoric and Events Leading to Possible Cooperation

It could be argued that due to outward appearances al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations are drastically different organizations. If during the course of this study al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations are found to have anything in common then this could be grounds for cooperation. Some could contend that if al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations are currently communicating with one another and sharing rhetoric that that in and of itself shows signs of similarities that they have discovered even if those similarities are not apparent to others.

According to White (2001) there are 3 points that all fundamentalists must have. The first is a perceived threat to their morals and values. The second is a dogma of nationalism, racism or other ethnocentric ideologies. The third is they must be true believers in their faith and they must see violence as a way of preserving that faith. Members of al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations both fit these criterions.

What is an extremist? What pushes someone to a path not just outside the norms of society but to an extreme set of beliefs? According to Mazarr (2004) when someone is affronted by perceived immorality, liberalism and/or modernization they strive to recapture and idealized past for an imaginary future. When someone is dissatisfied materially and spiritually they tend to turn to ideology (Mazarr, 2004).

They return to the fundamentals of their religion and the idea of a "fundamentalist" implies that they are true believers and righteous defenders of their faiths (Appleby, 2002). Fundamentalist terrorist in most cases are anti-modernists and

take their religions beyond the simple fundamentals (Mazarr, 2004). It could be argued that al-Qaeda and The Aryan Nations both fit this description.

The acquiring extreme mindset of a fundamentalist is a gradual process. Though it can enrapture a single person in a matter of hours it will not infect a whole population at once (Mazarr, 2004). Initially it appears in a few, who tend to be those in distress looking for an identity (Mazarr, 2004). Accordingly, and luckily this means that these mindsets spread slowly but they do spread. For those that are distressed,

> It is human nature to make more of our contribution to the world than will be acknowledged by the world. Most understand if for what it is but some are those who kill because God- or their neighbor's dog- told them to.

(Harris, 2002, p. 5)

It is possible for whole groups to get caught up in the "fantasy world" where they matter more than reality lets them. These people see others merely as props to be used for their own means and this is all that the United States is to al-Qaeda (Harris, 2002).

It could be said that the histories of al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations converge nearly 70 years ago even before their inceptions. Some their motivations and doctrines can actually be traced back to Hitler and the Nazi party (Schuster, 2005). During World War II Ammad Amin Mufti of Jerusalem traveled to Germany to meet with Adolph Hitler (www.alhusseini.com, 2005). They spoke of a grand alliance between Germany and the Muslims if and when the German Army could break through to the Middle East (www.alhusseini.com, 2005). They found common cause in their brotherhood as sons of Adam. Hitler was even given an Islamic name, Abu Ali (Trifkovic, 2002).

> The extreme Aryan Ideals also found similarity with radical Islam in the eyes of Heinrich Himmler. Himmler was the leader of the German SS which was as

much a religious order as it was a military unit. Himmler reportedly regretted that Germany had adopted Christianity as their national religion instead of warlike Islam which fit better with their ideas of superiority (Trifkovic, 2002). Ahmed Sukairi (the first leader of the PLO), Gamal Abdel Nasser and Anwar Sadat (both eventual Egyptian Presidents and founding members of the Bath Party) "were racists, admiring Nazism, reading their [the Nazi's] books and sources of their thought. 'We were the first who thought of translating Mein Kampf'"

(Trifkovic, 2002, p. 3).

Moving to a time post 1980 Donadio (2001, p. 2) quotes Mazin Qumsiyeh (a professor at Yale and the Al-Awda list serve moderator) as saying that, "We [Muslims] have always been courted by White Supremacists." With this courting taking place al-Qaeda has chosen to infiltrate the United States in states where there is a presence of White Supremacists such as Texas, Arizona and Oklahoma(Berger, 2004). Some of the people they are thought to be recruiting are white, Christians, the most infamous of which (allegedly) is Timothy McVeigh (Berger, 2004).

United States tinted anti-Semitism is being picked up by Muslims in the Arabic world according Abraham Foxman of the Anti Defamation League (Donadio, 2001). Pierce, the author of the infamous Turner Diaries, has been broadcasting his anti-Semitic/anti-United States Federal Government rhetoric on Islamic extremist radio (Donadio, 2001). He has been joined, in cross organizational hate rhetoric by a Mr. David Duke, a former K.K.K. Grand Wizard and United States Representative who has been published on Islamic extremist websites (Donadio, 2001).

With the battles being fought post September 11th, al-Qaeda has been diffused (Gunaratna, *New Face,* 2003). They have to rely more and more on cooperation and technology for communications (Gunaratna, *New Face,* 2003). With these new

circumstances al-Qaeda is coming to realize that they have much in common with the extremists in the United States (Mazarr, 2004).

Some in the United States Government fear that Right-Wing Terrorist groups might try and continue the mission that was begun by bin Laden through al-Qaeda (Foxell, 2002). This would take a certain amount of cooperation or at least communication between the Aryan Nations and Islamic extremists. Working with those of another race seems a bit out of character for White Supremacists but Agust Kreis wishes to change that (Schuster, 2005).

Pastor Jay Faber, of the Brotherhood of the Phinehas Priests, in his writings in *From the Desk of Pastor Jay Faber* (n.d., p.1) says,

> Further seeing the errors of the past, we have taken this approach with alliances to Islamic adherents, because we find their standards of morality to be nearly analogous to our own, and their resolve to uproot and destroy the fallen tree of the garden, the satanic 'jew' to also analogous to our own desires and devotions.

Faber is saying that Identity Christians and Islamic followers do not share the same religion but they share some of the same beliefs and the same strict moral conduct. Faber reiterates this point by saying, "Christians have been corrupted by the 'jew'. Islamic Jihadeen have safeguarded their purity from the jew… this is held in vociferous esteem. (p.1)"

Agust Kreis, current leader of the Aryan-Nations, speaks highly of al-Qaeda by saying, "You say they're terrorists, I say they're freedom fighters. And I want to instill the same jihadic feeling in our peoples' heart, in the Aryan race, that they have for their father, who they call Allah" as quoted by (Schuster, 2005, n.p.). With words of admiration coming from the heads of both the Aryan Nations and their religious

brothers the Phinehas Priests the logical next step would be cooperation. Some United

States Government officials are afraid that a full terrorist campaign can be possible if

Right-Wing terrorist organizations work together (Foxell, 2002) so what could be

possible if the Aryan Nations and al-Qaeda work together?

Jay Faber and Agust Kreis wish to instill the same feelings of Jihad into their

followers that radical Islamist feel. This Aryan Jihad will focus its energy against the

Jews.

> All the sons of Abraham, all descendents of his three wives, Sarah, Hagar and
> Ketourah, the parties of the Islamic and Aryan World, all need to understand their
> duty to enact holy Jihad, we need to live this Jihad; total war, death to our enemy,
> the insidious, poisonous and rabid satanic jew.
> (Faber *Jihad in the Bible*, 2005, p.1)

Faber (*Jihad in the Bible, 2005)* also claims that Jihad is as Biblical as it is

Islamic and he Aryan people have had the concept, if not the word, just as long as

Islam. He also links the Aryan Jihad to the Islamic Jihad with his words, "Let the

Islamic world know, Jihad is not just their ideal, it is not alone in this Holiest of causes,

we are here to join them in Holy worldwide Jihad. Death to the Infidels! Death to the

jEw! … May Yahweh bless the Holy Jihad…" (Faber *Jihad in the Bible*, 2005, p.1).

It seems that the unifying factor between our two organizations of study is

hatred: The hatred of the Jews and the hatred of the United States Federal Government.

According to Donadio (2001) radical Islam and Neo- Nazis are seen sharing hate and

Rhetoric. Donadio (2001) also believes that the growing similarity in the anti-Semitic

rhetoric between the Islamic and Right-Wing extremists since September 11th is

disturbing enough to suggest if not prove collusion.

"Agust Kreis wants to make common cause with al-Qaeda because, he says, they share the same enemies: Jews and the American government" (Schuster, 2005, n.p.). They also share some of the same domestic goals such as control of the government, the schools and religious law dictated by God and scripture (Appleby, 2002).

Some would sat that the Oklahoma City bombing has an air of mystery about it. Any connections between Timothy McVeigh or Terry Nichols to Islamic terrorists are at best speculative but none the less some points are included here because they seem to be a bit more than coincidental (Berger, 2004). It is a documented fact that both Terry Nichols and Ramzi Yousef were on the same college campus at the same time in the Philippines and two other al-Qaeda operatives stayed at the same place that Nichols was staying (Berger, 2004).

South East Asia is now a hotbed of activity for al-Qaeda (Berger, 2004). Nichols also left notes entitled "In case of my Death" when he flew home on a plane (with a stun gun in his position on the plain) that had been targeted by Yousef in a plan that was a direct precursor to the September 11th attacks (Berger, 2004). Finally Abdul Hakim Marad, while in prison, told the police and the FBI that he and Ramzi Yousef were behind the Oklahoma City bombings (Berger, 2004).

Officials in the Department of Defense have also made statements that Timothy McVeigh could have even been acting as an Iraqi agent (Ridgeway, 2001). McVeigh's defense attorney even traveled to several Middle Eastern Countries (Ridgeway, 2001).

Another instance of collusion was a Holocaust denial conference held several months before September 11th (Donadio, 2001). It was to be held in March in Beirut but was pushed to April in Jordan due to political pressure (Donadio, 2001). It was billed as a chance for Western extremists to meet their Islamic counterparts. Several of the scheduled speakers were Islamic Scholars (Donadio, 2001).

The mere presence of this conference, "means that there are relationships that already exist and that can deepen" Donadio (2001, p. 2) states quoting Rabbi Abraham Cooper (Dean of the Wiesenthal Center). Brady (2002) also believes that there is a superabundance of evidence pointing towards Neo-Nazi operatives in Europe and the United States and that there is a good chance that they are collaborating with Arab and other Middle Eastern terrorists.

It could be argued that the Aryan Nations and al-Qaeda have both taken to the use of propaganda to further their cause. Al-Qaeda and Islamic extremists have conducted a sophisticated public relations and media campaign for over ten years (Blanchard, 2005). They issue public statements, called fatwas, saying it is the duty of all Muslims to kill Americans (Post, 2002). These could be interpreted as orders, but it could also be said that public statements like those are meant to illicit an emotional response from all listeners, whether it be fear in Americans or righteous zeal in Muslims.

Osama bin Laden has referred to eighty years of Muslim humiliation as a main source of his grievances (Mazarr, 2004). In his *Letter to America* bin Laden also states that the United States has stolen the wealth of Muslim countries, that we occupy

Muslim countries. Both of which could be considered true from a certain point of view, but it could be argued that for the most part they are inflammatory statements made to present the American people in a negative light.

In his *Letter to America* bin Laden also states that the American people pay the taxes to the government that supports Israel and that American citizens are vile evil people because they consider acts of immorality pillars of freedom. These statements could have been intended to illicit an emotional responses and justify bin Laden's motives. When you make the enemy believe they are evil it could break their will to fight and it gives them a way to surrender in the end (Clausewitz, 1832).

Other Islamic extremists also show their hatred for America in public vows to God, "The Americans have chosen war with Islam. The al-Gama al-Islamiya announces its vow to God that it will respond blow for blow. American interests and people will be legitimate targets" Sheik Amar Abdel Rahman as quoted by Foxell (2001, p. 436). These messages from bin Laden and others are sent for the main purpose of instilling a psychological point in the people of the world (Blanchard, 2005).

The Aryan Nations has increased the intensity of their campaign of public statements and the use of the media since September 11th. Pastor Jay Faber (From the desk of Pastor Jay Faber, n.d.) states that the Jews are in control of the media. As such the Jews are making the noble Islamists appear as nothing more than animals. Other Aryan Nations members are producing motivational rhetoric saying that they must follow in al-Qaeda's lead and that the time to fight is now not later (Ridgeway, 2001).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to examine al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations for similarities and differences while relying on Foucauldian methodology. This research will be used to uncover new insights from preexisting information present within the organization's histories, rhetoric and stated beliefs. After an in depth analysis of the subject organizations a distinct possibility will be found that their stated ideologies are only a means to an end. There is an image they present that is not consistent with the reality of their beliefs and goals and this reality is not as favorable to their cause as the image that they portray.

Qualitative Research

This will be a qualitative study using a Foucauldian methodology. In 2001 White wrote that religious extremist groups all have three things in common: the first is a perceived threat to their values and attitudes; the second is their dogma needs materialism, racism or other ethnocentric beliefs; and finally to be true believers they must embrace violence as a means to preserve their faith. This being the case, literature referencing the histories of the subject organizations will be studied to learn about their values and attitudes. Their religious doctrines and general beliefs will be examined for

signs of racism or other ethnocentric beliefs. Finally the subject organization's goals and operating procedures will be studied for their willingness to commit violence.

Qualitative research develops theory and conjecture while describing meaning and discovery. In the field of social science qualitative research is usually considered a broad term used to discuss how individuals and groups understand the world and find meaning out of their experiences.

Qualitative research uses mainly three types of data gathering techniques. These include subject observation, interview and artifact (usually consisting of written documents). Throughout the duration of this study no interviews will be conducted by the researcher and no observations of subjects will be made although they can and will be used if found as primary or secondary sources. Artifacts/written documents will be used but will be limited to scholarly sources and sources attributable to the subject organizations.

Sources

There is scholarly information available dealing with the backgrounds, histories and beliefs of al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations. But the sources for the most current/contemporary acts and rhetoric of these organizations are limited to media outlets, such as newspapers and network news channels. While these sources are credible they are not held to the same standards as academically published works. However, academic sources will be scoured continuously with the hopes of adding academic credibility to information first provided by world news sources.

Each of our subject organizations also publish and pronounce their own rhetoric, ideologies and propaganda. They produce fliers, interviews, tapes and even run websites whose sole purpose is the spread of ideology and propaganda. When using these types of sources for academic research it is very important to verify the source of the information. It could be stated that the nature of the printing press and the internet is such that anyone can say nearly anything including falsifying their affiliation and the information that they provide in good faith.

While the internet and pamphlets will be used in this research it will be done deliberately and carefully. Only websites and pamphlets that can be traced back to the organization will be used despite stated affiliation. For example www.aryannations.org is the home website for the Aryan Nations and it will be trusted for accurate information as to the beliefs of said organization.

Foucauldian Analysis

Michele Foucault is best known for his studies of social institutions including psychiatry, the prison system, medicine and other works on Human sexuality. He was greatly influenced by the works of Nietzsche. Some of his works include (all titles translated from French into English) *Madness and Civilization, The Order of Things and the Archeology of Knowledge* (Michele Foucault, *2006*).

Foucault's book *The Order of Things* speaks of a concept of Episteme. Being loosely defined as an apparatus that is used to determine what may or may not be characterized as scientific (Episteme, 2006). Foucault's Episteme will be used in this

research to determine what may or may not constitute a valid source for research and citation..

Michele Foucault's book *The Archaeology of Knowledge* was in answer to critics ideas about his tool episteme. In large part it adds more explanation and extends his ideas. It is his methodology of analysis giving his own interpretation on how one should proceed in the study of history especially related to the document. This methodology will be implemented during the course of this study. It should be noted the Foucault makes the point that his Archeology of Knowledge is only one of the ways to analyze knowledge and that it is not the only correct way (Foucault, 1972).

Foucault believed that the statement is the most basic unit of discourse and therefore it is the unit of analysis he uses in his Archaeology of knowledge. The statement has no stable unit (it can come in the form of a phrase, a map, a diagram a chart, etc…) so it in and of itself is hard to describe. It falls between the ideas of content and material, made up of both but not entirely of either (Foucault, 1972).

Discourse, as described by Foucault, is the condition and relations of a group of statements. It is their transition into the active world. Discourse should never be taken for more than what is said and the analysis of discourse ignores anything outside of discourse itself. It should never be taken as a record of history itself or an expression of the psychology of a group or an individual (Foucault, 1972).

This leads to Foucault's idea of Archeology. This is the description of discourse in the condition of its emergence on the active world. It does not look to hidden or

logical meaning to the words contained in documents. It relies strictly on the idea that discourse describes like it was an actual thing or a moment (Foucault, 1972).

History, through the use of documents, should be looked at very carefully and deliberately. It is important to note what is said, not how it is said. It is also of the utmost importance to not make generalizations or to make logical interpretations or inferences about the documents at least while studying their archeology.

When constructing a Foucauldian Analysis one is to combine all of above points relating to the statement, discourse and Archeology to look for possible connections and relations not yet made. Foucault's system of analysis is used as a check to help the researcher from drawing false conclusions or false ties between two or more units of study.

The rhetoric of any organization or group can be misleading. It is designed to appeal to the logical abilities of the listeners and to lead them to certain conclusions. Using Foucault's methods will minimize the risk of following the organizations preplanned steps of logic and allow the researchers to eventually form their own ideas and find their own patterns to the stated beliefs and rhetoric of the subject organizations.

Timeline

This research will be done over a period of 5 months. The fist two will be spent on research, notes and formation of concepts. The Universities IRB board will also be consulted during this time. The last three months will be spent, part time, writing the report.

IRB

Due to the nature of this research an application for exempt status from the UTA IRB board was requested. The proper documentation was filled out and provided to the UTA IRB while this author was acquiring sources for the review of literature for this study. The methods of this research involve only previously gathered data so within the following three weeks exempt status was granted and a letter stating as such was provided and is retained by this author. Therefore all IRB requirements for the University have been met by this study.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

This section of the research this author will conduct a comparison of al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations organizations through the use of a Foucauldian analysis. Three analyses will be conducted: the pertinent similarities in the histories of each organization, the stated goals and enemies commonly shared between the organizations, and the shared rhetoric and verbal public support for one another. Finally, one specific case of possible cooperation between the organizations will be examined.

Shared History: The Nazis

It could be argued that the White Supremacist movement has its roots in Nazi Germany. White Supremacists claim their Nazi heritage with great pride on their updated website (http://twelvearyannations.com) and through their adoption of the swastika and the emblem of the SS. The following academic, historical, and contemporary sources show strong correlations between modern Radical Islam and the Nazis. Derfner (2006) goes to the extent as saying, "Iran, Hamas, al-Qaeda and the like are definitely proto-Nazi in their ideology…" If there is a correlation between modern Radical Islam and the Nazis, then that correlation would establish a direct genealogical link between al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations.

Hitler and other Nazi officials had diplomatic and friendly ties with Islamic leaders of the time (Black, 2006). They played host to the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, who at the time was the leader of the entire Islamic world, as well as the other religious leaders of that city who took interest in how the Nazi party ran Germany (Schuster, 2005). In turn, Iran played host to Nazi and Gestapo agents who used the country as a place to harass the British and the Jews of the region (Black, 2006).

The ties between the two governments became so strong that both sides began to share an admiration for one another. Hitler was given an Islamic name, Abu Ali by the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem (Black, 2006 & Trifkovic 2002). Heinrich Himmler, the chief of the Nazi religious warriors known as the SS, was quoted as wishing the Nazis had adopted a warlike Islam instead of a peaceful Christianity (Trifkovic, 2002).

Another show of recognition and admiration of the Nazis was made by the Shah of Persia (Black, 2006). In 1935 he identified with the Nazi's Third Reich so closely that he renamed his ancient country after their ideal race; the Aryan. In Farsi, Aryan translates to the word "Iran" (Black, 2006).

After World War II some of the Nazi war criminals found refuge with their friends in several Islamic countries including Syria and Egypt (Schuster, 2005). Captain Theodor Dannecker of the SS who was an aid to Adolf Eichmann, the mastermind of the Holocaust, and Karl Rademacher, who was involved with the mass murder of Jews in four countries were two such men (Medoff, 2005). Rademacher was even given a position in the Syrian Secret Service (Medoff, 2005). Another top aid to Adolf Eichmann, Alois Brunner, found refuge in Syria. He was convicted of the

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murder of over 100,000 Jews. In 2005 he lives a comfortable life as an adviser to the Syrian Intelligence Service (Medoff, 2005).

Jobs in the intelligence business and secret service were not the only forms of aid that Nazis and Islamic countries gave each other after the war (Medoff, 2005). In 1948 Nazis were found fighting alongside the Syrian forces against Israel as both soldiers and commanding officers (Medoff, 2005). Even though the Nazi party had collapsed and Germany had been defeated Gamal Abdel Nasser and Anwar Sadat, the founders of the Bath Party, as well as Ahmed Sukairi, the first leader of the PLO, admired Nazism and Hitler so much that they arranged and paid for the translation of Hitler's Book *Mein Kampf* (Trifkavic, 2002).

Hezbollah is a radical Islamic group that has ties and a kinship to al-Qaeda (Gunaratna *Inside Al-Qaeda*, 2003*)*. Hezbollah shows a very open and contemporary understanding of the Nazis and their Third Reich (Johnson, 2006). The shared Nazi-inspired fanatical dedication to the destruction of Israel and the Jews is what unites Hezbollah and other Islamic groups including Al-Qaeda (Johnson, 2006). Hezbollah has adopted Fascism (the Nazi form of government) and the charismatic style of their leaders (Johnson, 2006). Some Islamic countries and organizations including Hezbollah have even adopted the Nazi-style salute (Johnson, 2006).

It could be said, considering their close ties, similarities, and the cooperation between Radical Islamists and the Nazis, that few would dispute that those groups had at least some influences on one another. According to Johnson (2006) Islamic countries and Radical Islamic groups owe their anti-Semitic/ anti Jewish beliefs to the Nazis.

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Therefore, the Aryan Nations as well as al-Qaeda can both trace their hatred for the Jews back to the Nazis.

It could be argued that simply sharing a common ancestor is not enough to imply cooperation between the two organizations. As determined above, al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations share a common hatred for the Jews but they have other commonalities as well. Those commonalities include goals and enemies. The example with the most pertinence to this study involves their anti-Semitic beliefs.

According to the previously reviewed literature, the Aryan Nations and al-Qaeda are religious extremist groups. In 2001 White wrote that religious extremist groups all have three things in common: the first is a perceived threat to their values and attitudes; the second is their dogma needs materialism, racism or other ethnocentric beliefs; and finally to be true believers they must embrace violence as a means to preserve their faith. Al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations not only fit all three of these criterion but they both have the same answers to all three questions. The following three sections, A Common Enemy, Anti-Semitism and Embracing violence will be used to demonstrate how al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations meet these three requirements in very similar ways.

A Common Enemy

Both organizations of study perceive a threat to their values and attitudes in the United States Government. The Aryan Nations and other White Supremacist groups see the United States Government as infringing upon their rights (Davis, 2003). They

also see the United States as the head of a global conspiracy, called The New World Order, whose primary goal is the extermination of the white race and Christian morality (Durham, 2003 & Sharp, 2000). Both of these points are reiterated on the Aryan Nations website www.aryannations.org, which has recently been changed to www.twelvearyannations.com.

Al-Qaeda and other Islamic Extremist groups believe the United States to be hypocritical about democracy and morality (Young, 2001). They perceive the U.S. as maneuvering into the Middle East to do harm to Islamic countries according to al-Zawahiri (2005), a well known Islamic extremist. Islamic Extremists see the United States using Saudi Arabia as a gateway into the Middle East as well as corrupting and westernizing its people (Byman, 2003 & Rich, 2003). Osama bin Laden created al-Qaeda with the sole intent of fighting the United States and its influences (al-Qaeda, Afghanistan, & Islamists, 2003).

Anti-Semitism

In concordance with White's (2001) second point both al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations have a racist tendency in their beliefs, namely anti-Semitism as presented above. Not only do they share their anti-Semitic beliefs but those beliefs are also the reason they see the United States as an enemy.

The United States Government is perceived by the Aryan Nations and other White Supremacist organizations as not only the head of The New World Order but also as what they refer to as the ZOG or Zionist Occupied Government (Davis, 2003). They

see the US Government as a puppet nation to the Jews and their country of Israel (Davis, 2003 & Durham, 2003 & Sharpe, 2000). The Aryan Nations' beliefs about the Jews being of the devil combined with their beliefs about the ZOG, they perceive the United States Government as a puppet of the Devil whose goal is the extermination of the white race. According to the Aryan Nations Mission Statement located at their new website www.twelvearyannations.com

> "**WE BELIEVE** that the Cananite Jew is the natural enemy
> of our Aryan (White) Race. This is attested by scripture and all secular history.
> The Jew is like a destroying virus that attacks our racial body to destroy our
> Aryan culture and the purity of our Race" (n.p.).

The Aryan Nations see Jews as such a vile enemy that they believe it is the duty of all white people to kill Jews at every opportunity (King, *Assassins*, 1985).

Al-Qaeda hates the United States for the support it gives to Israel and holds it responsible for the oppression they feel from Israel (Miller *Killing for the Glory of God*, 2001). They believe that without the support of the United States, Israel would not be able to survive (al-Zawahiri, 2005). Al-Zarqawi, an al-Qaeda leader, believes that without Israel as a stepping stone in their so called Crusader War then the United States would no longer be a real threat (Musharabash, 2003).

Osama bin Laden also seeks revenge from Israel for their crimes against Muslims (Rich, 2003). In his letter to America Osama bin Laden says, "The creation and continuation of Israel is one of the greatest crimes (p.2)." Throughout the same letter, he also reiterates the crimes Israel commits against the Palestinians and all other Muslims.

Embracing Violence

White's (2001) third point, about embracing violence to preserve their faith, is embodied by the Aryan Nations and al-Qaeda. Al-Qaeda as an organization was formed as a fighting group of veteran soldiers who were conditioned to kill innocents as well as combatants (Miller et al., 2002). The entire seventh chapter of the al-Qaeda training manual is dedicated to the acquisition, transportation and storage/concealment of weapons (*al-Qaeda Training Manuel,* n.d.). The final statement on the opening page of the training manual states, "Islamic governments have never and will never be established through peaceful solutions and cooperative councils. They are established as they [always] have been, by pen and gun, by word and bullet, by tongue and teeth."

Pastor Jay Faber in his articles *From the Desk of Faber* and *Jihad in the Bible* continually refers to holy war against the Jews and their supporters, namely the U.S. Government. The Aryan Nations and other White Supremacist groups view this conflict with the United States Government and the Jews as not just war but open war (McLemee, 1994 & Foxell, 2002) and you can not have war without violence.

Shared Rhetoric: Noticing Their Own Similarities

Not only do the Aryan Nations and al-Qaeda share Anti-Semitic beliefs and those beliefs lead them to the same conclusion: the United States is a puppet of the Jews/Israel. Realizing that they share a common enemy, the two organizations have recently been seen openly supporting one another's beliefs (Donadio, 2001). Schuster

(2005) even believes that the Radical Islamist groups and White Supremacists are beyond the simple stage of realization and are actively looking to make their goals synonymous. They realize they may call the United States Government different names but they both hate it and they both hate the Jews (Schuster, 2005). Even if they are not currently working together their growing similarities post 9/11 are disturbing (Donadio, 2001).

A recent goal of the Aryan Nations is to downplay their negative view of some non-Aryans, mainly Arabs (Schuster, 2005). August Kreis, leader in the Aryan Nations was quoted by Schuster (2005, no p.g.) as saying, "We have to be realists and realize what didn't work [previously] isn't going to work in the future." In other words "The enemy of our enemy is, for now, our friend" (Donadio, 2001, n.p.).

The Aryan Nations has even modified its structure to accommodate the sharing of rhetoric with new found allies. According to Pastor Faber *From the Desk of Faber* (n.d) the Brotherhood of the Phinehas Priests was formed for that specific reason. By separating the religious aspects from their organization, the Aryan Nations is free to hold and recruit members from diverse backgrounds and religions as long as they hold the same moral standards and share their hatred for the Jews and the United States Government. In this way, they would not have to turn down anyone that wanted to take up their cause (Faber *From the Desk of Faber,* n.d.).

Faber *From the Desk of Faber* (n.d) specifically mentions Islamic adherents as possessing the same moral character as the Identity Christian followers as well as sharing their devotion to the destruction of the Jews. He continues by saying that

Christians have been corrupted by the Jews and their intrigues, but the Islamic Extremists who follow the path of Jihad have safeguarded their purity and should be held with vociferous esteem.

Some members of the Aryan Nations have even taken the cause of Jihad for themselves. The Brotherhood of the Phinehas Priest see Jihad as much a Christian Identity tool as an Islamic one. They even claim that it has historical and religious precedent in the Bible (Faber *Holy Order of the Phinehas Priesthood: Jihad, in the Bible,* 2005). On the Aryan Nations website, August Kreis was quoted as saying, "You say they're terrorists, I say they're freedom fighters. And I want to instill the same Jihadic feelings in our people's heart in the Aryan Race, that they have for their father, who they call Allah." (n.p.)

The White Supremacists are not the only ones showing support for the other organization; al-Qaeda has shown support as well. Relentless hunting by the United States and its allies has caused al-Qaeda members to diffuse and rely heavily on cooperation and technology (Gunaratna *The New Face of Al-Qaeda,* 2003). This reliance on technology and cooperation has opened their eyes to other anti-Semitic rhetoric, which mainly comes from White Supremacists, usually in the form of radio talk shows and literature (Donadio, 2001).

White Supremacist authors and leaders have been broadcasted on Islamic Extremist radio including Pierce (writer of the *Turner Diaries* a manifesto-like fictional story revered by the White Supremacist movement) and David Duke a former U.S. Congressman and Grand Wizard of the KKK (Donadio, 2001). Support for David

Duke's anti-Semitic beliefs about an Israeli lobby have been written and published by professors from Harvard University and the University of Chicago (Ponte, 2006). This support has been printed and distributed by the Washington Mission of the PLO and has found praise and support by senior members of the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt (Lake, 2006).

The two groups have now advanced further than simply trading ideas and are now delving into the realms of discussion. These discussions have lead then to the evolution of their shared beliefs and goals adopted in conferences (Donadio, 2001). These conferences are mainly being held by Radical Islamists, but White Supremacist speakers have attended and participated in them at the request of their Islamic hosts (Donadio, 2001).

Possible Past Operational Cooperation

Things beyond rhetoric are now being intermingled between Islamic Extremists and White Supremacists. Thomas (1999) established the tactic of the Lone Wolf as being favored by the White Supremacist. Now al-Qaeda is seeing this as a viable tactic and it is also being used by other Radical Muslims that do not have a support group (Stern, 2003).

Though there is no definitively documented instances of direct cooperation between Radical Islamic Groups and White Supremacists there is one historical instance that has possible ties to both organizations. The Oklahoma City Bombing was a terrible tragedy whose first suspects were Islamic Terrorists. Eventually two white Christian

Americans, Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols, were caught and convicted of the crime (Berger, 2004). They both had ties to White Supremacist groups (Berger, 2004).

New information has come to light about both of these domestic terrorists. Though the documentation tying McVeigh and Nichols with Islamic terrorists is circumstantial it does exist and is pursued by some United States Congressmen (Strom, 2006). For example a statement by Abdul Hakim Murad, friend and aid to Ramzi Yousef, claiming responsibility for the Oklahoma City Bombing for himself and Ramzi Yousef after his arrest (Berger, 2004).

Further documentation that could tie the Oklahoma city bombing to Ramzi Yousef was Terry Nichols presence on a college campus in the Philippines at the same time as Ramzi Yousef (Berger, 2004). There is also documentation of suspicious actions by Nichols on his return to the United States from this trip, including an unofficial will and letter saying goodbye to his family as well as having position of a stun-gun and pepper-spray onto his flight home (Berger, 2004). This information by itself might not be perceived as incriminating, but when provided with the documentation that this flight was on a list of planned but canceled hijackings by Yousef, it is enough to make some pay attention (Berger, 2004). Finally there have been documents and memos found in Iraq and Afghanistan that imply Ramzi Yousef was responsible for the OKC bombing including questions that were intended for a video interview with Osama bin Laden (Mansfield, 2006).

However, hard evidence of operational cooperation between al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations has yet to surface. Berger (2004) believes that al-Qaeda has infiltrated

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the United States in Texas, Arizona, and Oklahoma with the help and support of White Supremacists. Donadio (2001) quotes the Yale Professor Mazin Qumsiyeh as saying that Islamic Extremists have always been courted by White Supremacists. In addition, Foxell (2001) claims that if these organizations work together a full terrorist campaign could be easily possible.

Even if there has been no previous operational cooperation between al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations there are correlations between the two organizations. They share a common ancestry. They find the same enemy in the United States Government for the same anti-Semitic reasons. They have realized their similarities and have been documented as discussing these ideas amongst themselves. The next logical step would be cooperation against their common enemies, toward achieving their common goals. Schuster (2005) quotes August Kreis, "The message is, the cells are out here and they are already in place. They might not be cells of Islamic people, but they are here and they are ready to fight" (n.p.).

CHAPTER 5

IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this study is to examine al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations for similarities and differences while relying on Foucauldian methodology. This research will be used to uncover new insights from preexisting information existing within the organization's histories, rhetoric and stated beliefs. The implications of this research's findings have pertinence in professional circumstances and fields of research. The similarities between the Aryan Nations and al-Qaeda are a means to understanding the organizations themselves. These findings have recourses in the field of law enforcement, educational institutions, research, politics and United States national security.

Law Enforcement

The field of criminology has numerous areas of focus but the most obvious is the field of law enforcement. The implications these findings have on law enforcement vary from new forms of training, new outlooks on old information and even new ways for officers to approach their jobs.

The modern law enforcement officer is required to be a well rounded individual. Federal and local law enforcement officers must train in large skill sets including but

not limited to physical fitness, physical combat, tactics, the use of weapons, area knowledge, law, history, background on criminal organizations and a very long list of people skills. Anything that can be done to lessen the burden of training can give officers more time to train in their other required skills which may one day save lives.

If an officer understands the similarities of both the Aryan Nations and al-Qaeda and knows one of the subject organizations well, then they can apply their observations and insight on that organization to the other. For example, understanding the lone wolf tactics of the Aryan Nations can give insight to the lone wolf tactics used by al-Qaeda without having studied them previously. Though this process is a helpful tool officers should be careful to make educated conclusions instead of assumptions.

When training to investigate terrorist incidents, applying the concept that al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations are similar entities will improve officer's abilities to accept the unusual and look outside the box for answers. Actions of al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations are published and available to the general public through media sources and books. It stands to reason that with the availability of this information they have the capability to adapt their strategies, learning from the mistakes and experiences of others. What did not work for al-Qaeda will most likely not work for the Aryan Nations and vice a versa.

Beyond training, during real investigations, this concept becomes even more relevant. Investigators need to look beyond the usual suspects. Al-Qaeda style attacks can just as easily be committed by White Supremacist as was evident in the Oklahoma City Bombing. As stated by Stern (2003) al-Qaeda has begun to adopt the lone wolf

tactics favored by White Supremacists. If in the future a lone wolf style terrorist begins operations from rural mountainous America, it must be realized that the perpetrator may not be a White Supremacist as would have been the case in the past. If a suicide bomber kills himself in a crowded mall in downtown L.A. investigators may find a cross necklace and a copy of the Turner Diaries instead of white linen and a Koran.

It is also imperative that law enforcement officials know these similarities because of the common ground the organizations of study are finding with each other. In the open the organizations are only cooperating with rhetoric and propaganda, but the next steps could easily be friendship and cooperation in attacks. Understanding that there is a possibility of collusion could make certain connections visible in an investigation that might not have been apparent without that insight. Being pre warned of those connections could one day avert an attack or catastrophe.

After September 11th 2001 local and federal law enforcement agencies have been encouraged more than ever to cooperate and share information with one another. The findings of this research should encourage cooperation even more strongly. Units that are tasked with domestic terror, who's focus is usually on White Supremacists, and units tasked with international terror, who's focus is usually on Radical Islamists, should work closely together. Studying a domestic terrorist organization as if one was studying an international terrorist organization could give new and valuable insight into their operations. Studying an international terrorist organization as if it were a domestic organizations could also reveal new and pertinent insights into the organization. This

would be another way to seriously study the possibility of connections or correlations between the two organizations.

One thing that hampers information sharing in cases dealing with terrorism is that much of the data gathered by intelligence services and federal agencies is classified. In the case of large cities at higher levels of terrorist threat such as Seattle, New York and Los Angeles certain law enforcement officials should be granted top secret clearances to better do their jobs. It is important to state these clearances should only be provided through normal channels with the typical scrutiny and possibly special restrictions placed on those clearances.

Local law enforcement agents that work closely with federal agencies on terrorist matters such as Chiefs, SWAT team members and antiterrorism task force members of the high risk cities should be candidates for these top secret clearances. Cooperation between two entities, such as the FBI and LAPD, will only be hampered and progress slowed when officers working a case do not have access to all pertinent information.

<center>Educational Institutions</center>

The findings of this research can also be applied to educational institutions in a somewhat unorthodox way. It could be stated that at least a cursory look at terrorism should be included in the curriculum of law enforcement officers and criminologists, but what about those in other fields of study? This researcher believes that a course in

terrorism focusing on al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations could be invaluable to any student.

The ability to obtain new knowledge from preexisting data is a valuable skill for anyone, especially students and researchers to have. Sometimes it is impossible or impractical to obtain new information due to time, monetary or resource constraints. Sometimes it is simply necessary to find existing patterns or similarities where they were once not know to be. The ability to see those existing similarities can present new solutions to questions or problems that might not have been apparent before.

Another possible boon for students is the ability to connect what is known to what is not known. Using preexisting knowledge to not just pose new questions but to pose the best or correct new questions for any given problem or situation can be an asset and in some cases cut back on work and wasting resources. Sometimes it is not the ability to question that is important but the insight to ask the right questions.

It is a lesson in human nature and a learning experience about one's self. People have core beliefs and values. The Aryan Nations believes in white supremacy and a radical version of Christianity. Despite this, they hate the Jews so much they look into aligning and working with non whites who are of another religion. They change their core beliefs or at the very least put them aside to fulfill their greater hatred.

As implied by Karl Marx's theory of criminology people are manipulators (Vold, Bernard & Snipes, 2002). In the case of the Aryan Nations the question becomes; are their core beliefs an image presented to conceal their hatred or is their hatred so great that it has manipulated their core beliefs? What do each of us believe?

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What would it take to make us believe otherwise? What would it take to make us ignore or contradict those beliefs even for a second? Knowing those limitations of oneself can be a valuable tool for guiding yourself through life.

Research

The findings of this research and the concepts implied by those findings can be used by others in the field of research. Whether doing pure or applied research about criminal or terrorist organizations, connections and correlations between multiple organizations should be studied.

This same process, for example, could be applied to mafia organizations. How are the Russian and Korean mobs similar? Do they share common goals or political agendas? How does the Chechen Rebels compare to the Columbian FARC? Any of these comparisons as well as countless others could provide new insights into already established information.

A second interpretation of the same concept could prove equally as valuable. How does the British's doctrines in fighting the IRA and Shin Fain compare to the Russians doctrines for fighting the Chechens? How could one's success benefit another? It stands to reason that what worked or did not work for one government will do likewise for the other if the circumstances are similar or the same. If the circumstances are radically different the comparisons can still be of use. What worked against one organization will probably need to be modified or may not work at all

against a drastically different organization. Knowing and understanding differences can be as valuable as understanding their similarities.

The use of already obtained knowledge in new, different ways can help the researcher save time and resources when working with a new organization. It is important to remember that when making inferences and comparisons between organizations those newly drawn conclusions or correlations are not considered definitive. For Example, al-Qaeda is a similar entity to the Aryan Nations. If a researcher has information about one but lacks that same type of information on the other the possibility that they could be similar if not the same should be studied.

Politics

It could be said that like most professions, in Politics, the first step in making the correct decision is having all of the right information. Politicians have a great deal of power in the United States and it would be prudent for them to understand the implications of information presented to them. At the national level politicians dealing with terrorism need to understand the similarities between al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations. Both are a threat to this country and both need to be watched and dealt with appropriately.

When designing budgets, making policies and fighting the War on Terror politicians should be informed of these similarities and should understand that other similarities may and probably exist between other organizations. The people in power need to be informed that al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations are taking the first steps

toward cooperation and that together cooperation between those two organizations would create a new kind of enemy never before faced by the United States. A militant group of men and women who have lived their entire lives in the United States with all of the connections and established cover that could entail would be actively working towards the demise of the United States government. With the help of al-Qaeda they could have access to new and more deadly weapons including dirty and nuclear bombs that they could employ anywhere in the United States.

The Aryan Nations is established in the United States and their leadership says that cells are in place. If al-Qaeda decides to supply and utilize these new possible allies it would save them the time and trouble of establishing their own cells inside this country. Politicians need this information to better help and prepare our law enforcement agencies to fight this new threat.

Things to consider are the extension of the Patriot act or at the very least adding checks and balances to it as opposed to repealing it. Creation of new laws to better help federal and local agencies protect the United States from attack. Perhaps implementation of laws making association with a suspected terrorist enough for warrants for wire taping or even searches.

Politicians should even consider public awareness information campaigns with this new information and threat of terrorism. The 9/11 commission was formed to asses what happened in the past and inform the public of how/why the government was unable to stop the attacks. The public at large should be informed of the similarities of al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations. This would promote and could even encourage

citizens to be responsible and not turn a blind eye when they see something suspicious taking place.

Understanding relationships between separate entities, organizations and even programs outside of the realm of terrorism can also be as valuable an asset to politicians as it is to students. Depending on the circumstances this ability can help the design and implementation of programs and point towards which programs would be ideal and should receive funding. What worked once in one city stands a better chance of working in a similar city than a program that has already failed. These ideas can also be applied to politics at the local level. Where the federal government could use these skills in reference to terrorism local governments could apply them to gangs and other issues of importance to their cities.

Giving politicians the ability to combine what is know with that is unknown will give them a greater problem solving capability. Knowing what questions to ask during over cite committees or reviewing budgets or planning new programs can improve their efficiency and lower time wasted during the political process.

National Security

Al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations share a common ancestry. They find the same enemy in the United States Government for the same anti-Semitic reasons. The two organizations have realized their similarities and have been documented as discussing these ideas amongst themselves. The next logical step would be cooperation against their common enemies, toward achieving their common goals.

If one day this cooperation does happen the United States will be facing a new threat that it has yet to openly prepare for. This new possible alliance could lead to new and unexpected threats to the national security of the United States. Are it's Federal and local agencies prepared to stop domestic terrorists supplied with munitions from outside of the United States Boarders? What if al-Qaeda could supply the Aryan Nations with nuclear, biological or chemical weapons? Is the United States boarder security tight enough to catch their own citizens smuggling in arms and munitions through checkpoints used by tourists, to al-Qaeda operatives already across the boarder? How much easier would it be for al-Qaeda operatives to hide and move throughout the United States while living in and traveling between safe houses run by members of the Aryan Nations?

These are only three of many possible scenarios that could create a threat to the United States due to the cooperation of these two organizations. Though this threat, as of the current date, is only supposition it is real and should not be taken lightly. United States government agencies tasked with national security should understand this new possible threat and react accordingly and under their standard operating procedures for such an event. War gaming should take place, even if only theoretical, paper exercises and contingency plans should be established.

Final Thoughts

The concept that al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations, two seemingly different organizations, can be so similar is a small but real addition to the body of knowledge.

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It, like many other answers, poses new questions. What other organizations compare to al-Qaeda and the Aryan Nations? Who else shares their common cause? Is the possible cooperation between these two terrorist organizations a current threat to the United States or its allies? What if despite their similarities and joint goals these two organizations fight a gang war style conflict between themselves on U.S. soil?

It is the hope of this author that these and other questions produced by this research can one day be followed up by this researcher or other researchers. This new insight to preexisting knowledge should be used to modify and evolve tactics for antiterrorism and law enforcement. After all sometimes all you have to work with is what you already know.

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