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**The Leaderless Resistance: George Lincoln Rockwell
and the White Separatist Movement**

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Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Politics

School of Social and Political Sciences

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Abstract

The scope of the thesis encapsulates the wider post-war White Separatist Movement from the origins of American Nazism under George Lincoln Rockwell to the later developments of leaderless resistance and the political and cultural changes to the movement. The specific focus will be upon the relationship between George Lincoln Rockwell and the leaderless resistance concepts, in particular through its development and utilisation. Due to the complexity of the issues and the variety of influencing factors it is necessary in the first instance to assess it in terms of a historiography to allow themes to develop. As a result of this historical analysis themes have become evident to allow a conceptual analysis. In particular the thesis will utilise the following thematic contexts for assessing the various developments within White Separatism: including, state building; political marketing; the role of the media; and the propensity for terror and hate activities.

In assessing the basis upon which the conceptual analysis is developed the research has utilised extensive use of texts, radio broadcasts, and pamphlets from the movement. The study has also been able to consider, government reports, law enforcement updates and communications from Civil Rights groups and other agencies. In the conceptual analysis of this information and themes, the thesis utilises new concepts as a means of creating an understanding of a rapidly changing area of politics; including 'organic politic' and 'political firms', when assessing political marketing trends; and assessing terrorist motivation.

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To my parents for their constant help and encouragement, without whom this work would not have been completed.

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that the dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other postgraduate degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature _____

Printed name _____

List of Abbreviations

AB – Aryan Brotherhood
ACLU – American Civil Liberties Union
ADL – Anti-Defamation League
ANP – American Nazi Party
BNP – British National Party
DFID – Department for International Development
FBI – Federal Bureau of Investigation
KKK – Ku Klux Klan
NA – National Alliance
NAACP – National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NF – National Front
NGO – Non-Government Organisation
NOI – Nation of Islam
NSDAP – National Socialist German Workers Party
NSWPP – National Socialist White Peoples Party
OAAU – Organization of African American Unity
SPLC – Southern Poverty Law Centre
UDI – Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UK – United Kingdom
US – United States
USA – United States of America
WAR – White Aryan Resistance
WKKK – Women’s Ku Klux Klan
WCOTC – World Church of the Creator
WUNS – World Union of National Socialists
ZOG – Zionist Occupied Government

Chapter One

Introduction

Background to the research

The thesis is principally driven by one core philosophy of intent, which is to examine the contribution of American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell, in the subsequent utilisation of leaderless resistance concepts and the resulting cultural impact upon the White Separatist Movement and popular culture in America. It is the supposition of this research, as a starting point, that Rockwell provided American Nazism and the Separatist Community with its first charismatic and high profile leader in the post war period, where the theory of the leader was endorsed, in the same manner as in its Fascist and Nazi counterparts in Europe. However, Rockwell was atypical and a political anomaly, with no equivalent contemporaries to his mantle of a charismatic leadership and publicity machine, for the Radical Right. After Rockwell's assassination in 1967, the movement was no longer able to function in the same fashion and lacked an organisational structure.¹ In the subsequent years, contemporaries such as William Pierce, began to endorse the anti-insurgency strategy developed by the United States Army as a counter measure for a Communist invasion of leaderless resistance, categorised by some commentators as a 'negative' philosophy. It no longer depended on the need for a leader, and relied instead on mass actions by individuals working towards a common goal, either in cells or within the context of individual action as, a lone wolf.

It is the prognosis of this thesis research that the development of leaderless resistance and the subsequent cultural changes are attributable to Rockwell's assassination and role within the wider periphery of the right. The change to a cell type structure and abandonment of traditional politics and party activities, combined with the social changes, led directly to a de-ideologisation of politics. The separation between individuals and the traditional party structure and impetus to party political

¹ US Nazi Leader is Shot Dead (The Guardian, Manchester, August 26th 1967).
US Nazi Leader is Shot Dead (The Times, August 26th 1967).

change has led to the development of a more defined White culture on the right, principally through religious and social means. They have not only created a potential White underclass in America who have become disenfranchised from the mainstream elements of culture and wider society, but also potentially created an American subculture. These changes in the culture and politics, allied with developments in terms of communications and marketing, now allow supporters to immerse themselves in the new culture domain. Within this domain, they have choice over which elements to endorse, whether from an Identity theological perspective; Norse mythology; esoteric Nazism; or other religious and cultural variants. In addition to this theological and cultural choice, supporters can also utilise specific White power music, classical and modern literature and movement texts, clothing and house furnishings to an unparalleled degree, with additional choices of survivalist training, combat manuals, and military tactics. There has traditionally been a separation between church and state in terms of modern government in western democracy. However, with these on-going developments, in theoretical terms at least, it could result in changes to the social contract between the individuals and that state apparatus or even see a severing of the bonds that bind the social contract. The consequence of this could be to create an environment, which is susceptible to terror activities and actions.

Contribution to Knowledge and Research

The thesis contributes to knowledge and research through four main strands of investigation:

Firstly, the thesis examines the contribution of American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell to the development of the concept of leaderless resistance and the resulting cultural impact upon the White Separatist Movement and American society.

Secondly, the research proceeds from the starting point that Rockwell provided American Nazism and the Separatist Community with its' first charismatic and high profile leader of the post-war period. This led to the theory of the leader being endorsed in the same manner as its' Fascist and Nazi counterparts in Europe.

Thirdly, the research will seek to establish for the first time, how Rockwell's leadership and subsequent assassination affected the endorsement of leaderless resistance in political and cultural terms. Rockwell shaped the development of American White racist politics, by indelibly linking segregationist policies with that of a pseudo Nazism endorsing holocaust denial, rather than as a radical conservatism.

Fourthly, the research will place Rockwell's historical context, in the light of American political developments in the post 9/11 era, and the development of the White Separatist Movement and the new White culture. Thus, Rockwell's assassination was a crucial historical event, which shaped the organisation's development politically and ideologically and also precipitated a change of emphasis, which has allowed the de-ideologisation of politics. The assassination was imperative to changing the reliance on a central figure of leadership for America's Nazis.

Research Aims:

The research has three substantive aims:

Firstly, to offer a critical evaluation of the role and influence of George Lincoln Rockwell in the development of cultural change in the White Separatist Movement;

Secondly, to examine the effectiveness of American Nazism and White Separatism as a political movement in Post-War American society in terms of state building and state vision;

Thirdly, to assess how the assassination of George Lincoln Rockwell is linked, with the endorsement of 'leaderless resistance' in the 'White separatist movement' and the subsequent relationship, with terrorism.

New research contributions on Rockwell

Much of the established research relating to Rockwell has focussed almost exclusively on the American Nazi Party (ANP) and the machinations of Rockwell's political life, through party literature, public records and interviews. Thus much of Rockwell's political life has been well documented in terms of factual elements and the conduct of the party. Some of the existing research will be utilised when providing a historical overview of American Nazism through Rockwell's party and his behaviours. However, many aspects are new findings, both in terms of analysis of new information not previously discussed and assessing those established factors in a new way. Rather than look at Rockwell in a traditional approach simply to party policy and political action, the thesis will analyse Rockwell's politics in the context of the post war period, assessing his motivation and desire in political terms with his Nazi predecessors and political contemporaries on the far right. In addition, the complex relationship with the development of leaderless resistance is evaluated along with the subsequent causal chain of action linking the philosophical development of the movement. The role of the media portrayal of Rockwell at the time through a variety of mediums is also assessed including the importance of the post Rockwell representations. The research has utilised a number of primary sources, which were never widely available before for use in research on Rockwell including radio broadcasts, speeches from his lecture tours and other documentary sources.

Composition of extreme right in the USA

The range and composition of what could be arguably regarded by as the extreme right in the USA is complicated by a host of factors including the rapidly changing ideological affiliations and societal perceptions of what it embodies. Several Non-Government Organisations' (NGO) monitor the rapidly changing dimensions of those within the remit of the extreme right and share this information with Law Enforcement and Educational bodies to ensure the ongoing changes are monitored. The range of groups, which could arguably be included in such a process, is daunting, with those groups being numbered in the hundreds having constantly

changing affiliations and ideological precursors, depending upon present incumbents. Traditionally, the process of describing those included within the extreme right was more straightforward. In the 1950's and 1960's, where there was less choice of political alternatives on the extreme right and the journey could arguably be from the mainstream right to the John Birch Society and then to a small periphery of groups. The exception to this has been the various Klan groups, which despite not having membership at previous levels have continued to accord support.

In terms of this study, despite the engagement with the wider ideological impetus of change, the main focus has been following the relationship between Rockwell and Pierce, and the endorsement of leaderless resistance through key actors. Therefore, in organisational terms rather than focus upon the post-Rockwell American Nazi Party variants, the analysis is directed towards the National Alliance, including the relationship of movement actors such as, Bob Matthews and Timothy McVeigh, with other groups such as the Aryan Nations.² The scope of consideration beyond those indelibly linked with leaderless resistance and lone wolf actions, is confined to political actors within the wider community including Tom Metzger, David Duke and Matt Hale.³ The complexity of affiliations and mobility between groups presents a challenge in itself along with the re-branding of groups and variants. Therefore, as the main research impetus falls on the development of leaderless resistance, as a post-Rockwell concept, the media and cultural influences of White Identity, and the use of violent and non-violent actions, the politicisation of the wider extreme is less beneficial for analysis. The relevance of the wider composition of the right is reflective of the overall themes of political and ideological changes within the movement, which may then become manifestations of representation.

Ridgeway (1995) discussed the relationships and time periods between those groups within the auspices of the American Right, many of which have a

² Dobratz, B.A. and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States "White Power, White Pride!"* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press). Barkun, M. (1997) *Religion and the Racist Right* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press).

³ Kuzenski, J.C., Bullock III, C.S. and Gaddie, R.K. (1995) *David Duke and the Politics of Race in the South* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press). Swain, C.M. and Nieli, R. (ed.) (2003) *Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America* (New York: Cambridge University Press). Kaplan, J. (ed.) (2000) *Encyclopedia of White Power: A Sourcebook on the Radical racist Right* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press).

complicated relationship and fluidity of membership. Due to this complexity and the parameters of this study many of the groups, which could arguably be accorded distinction as being within that sphere of politics, are outside the remit. There are political aspersions that when Timothy McVeigh attempted to spread the influence and awareness of the state resistance and White Revolution he sold copies of 'The Turner Diaries' at gun festivals, even resorting to giving away free copies. The question on the cover "What do you do when they come to take your guns?" aimed at striking a chord with those members of the gun community fearful of the Federal Government and future limitations on gun ownership.⁴ Thus many groups, including State Militias; Klansmen; Posse Comitatus; and the Aryan Brotherhood are largely beyond the scope of this research.

Distinction between extreme and mainstream right

There is no formalised distinction between how commentators⁵ decide on appropriate terminology towards those on the periphery of the right, whether in the use of extreme right or far right as a means of categorisation. The meaning of specific terminology depends both on the context in which it is used and those conducting the analysis. Any formalised relationship towards a consensus of terminology is problematic since some of those within what could be regarded as the political periphery of the far/extreme right do not consider themselves to be extreme in opinion, action or by their use of political ideas. The use of such terminology, immediately presumes that those groups and individuals are at one extreme of the political spectrum, and therefore in the minority. The distinction between the mainstream and far/extreme right begins when the propensity for mainstream

⁴ MacDonald, A. (1995) *The Turner Diaries* (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books).

⁵ Dobratz, B.A. and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States "White Power, White Pride!"* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press). Higham, C. (1995) *American Swastika* (New York: Doubleday). Kaplan, J. (ed.) (2000) *Encyclopedia of White Power: A Sourcebook on the Radical racist Right* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press). Swain, C.M. (2002) *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration* (New York: Cambridge University Press). Swain, C.M. and Nieli, R. (ed.) (2003) *Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America* (New York: Cambridge University Press). George, J. and Wilcox, L. (1996) *American Extremists: Militias, Supremacists, Klansmen, Communists and Others* (New York: Prometheus Books). Blee, K. M. (1998) White-Knuckle Research: Emotional Dynamics in Fieldwork with Racist Activists, *Qualitative Sociology*, 21:4, 381-399.

support lessens, and political influence is curtailed. Ridgeway (1995) has categorised the extent of the variations within the wider political dimensions of the far/extreme right in accordance with their time periods, composition and political overlap. In some respects, within the American political process, the division between these terminologies in terms of a distinction between right/far right/extreme right, could begin with policies, which were beyond the Republican Party, on the right of the political spectrum. However, this presents a veritable paradox since the substance of political ideas within many groups does not clearly identify an affiliation to the political right.

Research framework for analysis and terminology of Separatism

In terms of a guide to the research, as a framework for analysis, various studies were considered as a starting point for analysis and approach to the movement and discourses. A number of studies had focused upon specific aspects of the movement, either in terms of the American Nazi Party, Simonelli (1995), the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), Chalmers (1987), or specialised aspects of the Klan such as the focus on women, Blee (1992). The scope of the study encompassed wider aspects of the community and a range of political and movement actors, particular approaches were considered for initial approach to analysis, including, Bell (1973), Ezekiel (1996), Durham (2007) and Swain (2002). Based on the intended subject analysis, the most appropriate framework appeared to be that of Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (2000), whose approach and structure followed the following framework: Historical Overview; Ideology; Protest and Violence; Mainstream alternatives to protest and violence; and lastly Political Economy. These broad themes provided the guidance for the initial approach to the study from a historical perspective, followed by analysis of ideology and the foundations of National Socialist thought in the USA. The assessment of violent and non-violent action by political actors and others dovetailed with the adoption of leaderless resistance and lone wolf actions, offset against those focussed through the media, marketing and web based responses. Rather than assess the movement from the perspective of the political economy influence upon political action and responses, the natural progression was one of the proclivity towards terrorist action.

Arguably, White Separatism has become a widely recognised and accepted term amongst commentators and many of those groups, which it inevitably includes. In part, this has been due to the traditional use of White Supremacist, having negative implications, due to the inference of racial superiority, just as White Nationalism could provoke particular sentiments. However, when the term was first used it had a specific meaning aimed at one particular strand of ideology, which divided opinion between the wider political communities it represented. The Separatist term specifically referred to those who desired all the followers to relocate to a specified state in the USA and then effectively separate from the rest of the USA, creating a new White State. Those within the communities that provided an alternative vision sought revolution and prophesised they would overthrow the Federal government. Since the relocation did not materialise as a realistic alternative and those who adopted an approach of violent revolution failed to achieve their desired outcome, the term has been more widely applied to those within the auspices of the movement. Commentators widely use both Separatist and Nationalist as interchangeable terms, with the terminology of Supremacist largely abandoned. During the conduct of the research, terminology was discussed firstly as those involved found terminology such as ‘extreme right’ or use of right wing labels to be offensive. Those within the parameters of the study were most comfortable with the terminology of ‘White Separatist’ as an identifiable movement description. Given that the study was already following the framing according to analysis by Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (2000), which had utilised the term White Separatist Movement, then this was most appropriate for advancement of the study. However, within the analysis by Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (2000), when discussing political economy, they revert in terminology to White Supremacy, within their discussion.

Issues of Race and Racism for the American Far Right

The issues surrounding race and racism are both divisive and contentious. Within the context of American society this can arguably depend upon both the time period and societal changes. In the context of the American Right and Far Right the ideology of race has presented a pivotal rallying point in both attracting supporters and alienating recognition from mainstream voting representation. Recently, there

has been movement from the traditional approach of antagonism based on race, with Tom Metzger advocating a ‘third way’, where there is opposition to both Communism and Capitalism, encouraging co-operation with Black groups.⁶ Albeit still fuelled by racial arguments, the private relationships between the leadership of those on the Right and representatives of Black Americans have existed in co-operation for some time, whether in the form of George Lincoln Rockwell advising Malcolm X, or various Klan groups co-operating with Black groups since the 1960’s. Despite the remarkably good relationship between the leadership across the racial divide, for the grass-roots supporters, racial antagonism and hatred is still an underlying sentiment throughout the movement. The only hatred, which goes beyond that directed towards Blacks, is the ever-present hatred and suspicion towards Jews, which provides a constant outlet for anti-Semitism.

In the American context, race, albeit emotive is not a straightforward issue and has been moulded through social and class changes.⁷ Arguably, within the time period of the leadership of Rockwell, to the role of Pierce and the writing of ‘The Turner Diaries’, it has been a period of tension and strife. Yet, perhaps ironically, its’ basis in American history is not as certain, as a divisive factor. The modern fabric of Black identity in America is arguably one tinged with negativity towards history and either the role of slavery or the treatment of Blacks in the South during the 1960’s with the Civil Rights unrest. In the context of early America before race became a major issue, there was more of a propensity for class to represent a divisive factor.⁸ Slavery did not always result in a negative outcome, with some Blacks in early America arriving as slaves, having the opportunity for manumission and eventually attaining local office. During this period with Whites arriving through indentured servitude, there was arguably a lack of substantial difference between indentured servitude and slavery, due to the high mortality rates.⁹ In a country where slaves and indentured servants vastly outnumbered the elite, race was created as an issue by the

⁶ Tom Metzger addressed the New Black Panthers in Dallas in the 1990’s, and has continually promoted cooperation with Black groups when discussing political responses.

⁷ Joshi, S.T. (ed.) (1999) *Documents of American Prejudice: An Anthology of Writings on Race from Thomas Jefferson to David Duke* (New York: Basic Books).

⁸ Nash, G.B. (1990) *Race and Revolution* (Wisconsin: Madison House Publishers, Inc.). Link, W.A. (2003) *Roots of Secession: Slavery and Politics in Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill, USA: University of North Carolina Press).

⁹ Bailyn, B. (1987) *Voyagers to the West: Emigration from Britain to America on the Eve of the Revolution* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co. Ltd.).

Virginia elite to socially separate the White indentured servants from the Black slaves arriving in the Americas.¹⁰ Despite this anomaly, the experience of Blacks' during the ante-bellum period reinforced both racial prejudice and a number of distinctions, which have remained to this day, in terms of racial differences and cultural opposition.

The complexities of race and racism in America is deep rooted and embodied in social, cultural and economic aspects, beyond that of race alone.¹¹ When amalgamating the American history of race relations and tensions with those on the Far Right advocating a neo-Nazi approach, the issues become more clouded. Aside from exploring Nazi ideology towards race, from the American Nazi standpoint, it has become solely pan-American in outlook, with White being the only criteria regarding race.¹² It is perhaps surprising that considering so many supporters and much of the movement literature is concerned with Revolution and a Race War, Nazism in Germany had previously enlisted the help of non-Germans and non-Whites during the war.¹³ The main focus of race within the movement has focussed upon two facets: that of increased miscegenation and the prospect of having a White minority in the United States.¹⁴

Approaches to thesis statement and research

The original approach of the thesis began with seeking to understand the contribution and role if any of George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party within the context of the wider radical and extreme right in the USA. In the original research by Ridgeway (1995) at the Aryan Nations Conference, attended by

¹⁰ Franklin, J.H. (1970) *From Slavery. To Freedom* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc.).

¹¹ Brown, R.D. (ed.) (1992) *The Major Problems in the Era of the American Revolution* (United States of America: D.C. Heath and Company).

¹² Griffin, R.S. (2001) *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds* (USA: 1st Books). Schmaltz, W.M. (1999) *Hate: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Washington: Brassey's). Dobratz, B.A. and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States "White Power, White Pride!"* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press). Swain, C.M. and Nieli, R. (ed.) (2003) *Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

¹³ Graber, G.S. (1978) *History of the SS* (London: Robert Hale).

¹⁴ Ridgeway, J. (1995) *Blood in the Face* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press).

supporters from within the periphery of the right including, Identity exponents, Klansman and luminaries such as David Duke, Robert Miles, Richard Butler and Don Black; supporters had paid tribute to the influence of Rockwell as a figurehead and inspirational starting point on the Separatist journey to radicalisation of political views.¹⁵ There has been an almost morbid fascination with Rockwell and his assassination, with documentary footage of the aftermath of the assassination and interviews of Rockwell on television, in particular his Canadian television interview proving popular with supporters on the right. In the Canadian interview, Rockwell became a political juxtapose of Americana, where his activities were almost notable, solely as that of a political curiosity, notwithstanding the political content being extremely offensive to the interviewing journalists.¹⁶ Rockwell was effectively responding to a caricature Nazi, in comic book form, as though it was a persona or an acting performance in the style of his family tradition, it was suitably shocking in content, to captivate future supporters and activists.

The principal starting point of the thesis, has been utilising Rockwell as a guide to assessing the development of Separatism, allied to the foundations of American Nazism and the foundations and development of Separatism in the USA. Several studies had already assessed the peculiarities of the formation and development of the American Nazi Party itself, and its functioning capabilities.¹⁷ Therefore, as a consequence of the existing research, which had assessed the party apparatus, the focus would develop from a post Rockwell appreciation and retrospective of his role, impact and legacy to the Separatist community, as a historical political influence or ideologue. The initial scope of the study was to focus upon the existing prevalent groups within the Separatist Community, and their members, and establish any relationship Rockwell had in their development and ideological stances. However, in the course of correspondence with groups and individuals within the Separatist Community and assessment of primary sources it became apparent that not only was the movement itself fractious and in a constant

¹⁵ Ridgeway, J. (1991) *Blood in the Face*, Right Thinking Productions, Video.

¹⁶ CBC TV Interview, Canada, November, 1964.

¹⁷ Bell, L.V. (1973) *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press). Schmaltz, W.M (1999) *Hate: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Washington: Brassey's). Simonelli, F.J (1999) *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press).

state of flux, with members and groups themselves changing and becoming re-fashioned in short time periods, but essentially, two alternate research avenues were being presented.

The type of research investigation was effectively influenced by the interpretation of the sources consulted. The correspondence and primary sources alluded to the potential for a choice of either a themed assessment in theoretical terms of the movement and its development, when assessed in conjunction with political and historical developments, as opposed to that of relying principally upon the narrative social history aspect of those involved in the movement and the personal ramifications for the individual. Two studies had already utilised Klan and Separatist groups from a sociological/political stance, whereby the emphasis was placed on the individuals, and their peculiarities for motivated political action.¹⁸ However, the thesis naturally developed into themes surrounding the influential aspects of Separatism particularly in relation to Rockwell, with the relationship to leaderless resistance and subsequent developments of this being a pivotal aspect. Therefore, through the primary sources and historiography, principal themes were addressed in relation to conceptual variables, including state building, political marketing, the media, popular culture, and the embodiment of leaderless resistance in relation to that of the social contract and development of hate and terror activities against the state.

Overview of the thesis

The early exponent of American Nazism was set up by Rudolf Hess, when instigating the creation of an American Nazi organisation, the Friends of the Reich.¹⁹

¹⁸ Dobratz, B.A and Shanks-Meile, S.L (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States "White Power, White Pride!"* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press).

Ezekiel, R.S. (1996) *The Racist Mind* (New York: Penguin).

¹⁹ Geels, J.E. (1975) *The German-American Bund: Fifth Column or Deutschtum?* MA thesis, North Texas State University.

Higham, C. (1995) *American Swastika* (New York: Doubleday) pp 4-5.

The first person to carry a title authorised by Nazi Germany was Heinz Spanknoebel the 'Fuhrer of the Nazi Party in the United States, he formed the Friends of the New Germany (Bund der Freunde des neuen Deutschlands) in July 1933 with support from Rudolf Hess and Robert Ley. In the case of Spanknoebel's leadership, Germany became compromised in dealings with the USA, due to the Friends association with violence. By October that year he returned to Germany whilst under Federal

This was later replaced by the German American Bund, whose high profile leader was deported to Germany in the 1940's.²⁰ Rockwell's American Nazi Party (A.N.P) followed along the traditional Nazi path but received the scorn of many including the Ku Klux Klan for admitting Catholics and the principal selection criteria being focussed upon the grounds of race and being by definition White. Although the A.N.P and other National Socialist groups continued after Rockwell's death in 1967, his political mantle was taken by William Pierce and the National Alliance who advocated leaderless resistance through his texts 'The Turner Diaries' and 'Hunter'. The leaderless resistance philosophy was advocated in an essay by racist, Louis Beam, which Beam presented at the Estes Park Conference. The essay explained how the theory was developed by the US military and how it could be implemented by the movement.

There was a significant change in emphasis of some American White separatists from pursuing conventional party politics and organisational structures with a figurehead leader to the endorsement of leaderless resistance where there is no leader or focal point and the traditional pyramid organisation has been abandoned in favour of leaderless resistance cells. Critics²¹ have argued that the Separatist movement has pursued two strategic goals that of formal Separatism, where they encourage members to move to a designated state, where they will consolidate power and pursue an agenda to achieve separation from the USA to create a uniquely 'White' state; or that of pursuing leaderless resistance.²² This research will establish for the first time how Rockwell's leadership and subsequent assassination affected

indictment as an agent of a foreign power. The leadership of the Friends was taken over by Fritz Gissibl, followed by Reinhold Walter then by Robert Schnuch. With the formation of the McCormich-Dickstein Committee to investigate Nazi activities. The Committee reported the links between the Friends group and Nazi Germany, through propaganda, financial support and the use of German Consulate officials. It also reported links with other fascist groups, particularly William D. Pelley's Silver Shirts. As a result of these findings Rudolf Hess chose to withdraw German support from the Friends and all other Nazi groups and ordered all German nationals to cease their involvement and return to Germany.

²⁰ Canedy Clark, S. (1987) *Americas Nazis The German American Bund*. PhD thesis, Texas A and M University.

²¹ Dobratz, B.A. and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States "White Power, White Pride!"* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press). Kaplan, J. (ed.) (2000) *Encyclopedia of White Power: A Sourcebook on the Radical racist Right* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press). Swain, C.M. (2002) *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

²² Kaplan, J. (1997) 'Leaderless Resistance', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol.9, No.3 Autumn. Ridgeway, J. (1991) *Blood in the Face*. Right Thinking Productions, Video.

the endorsement of this policy in political and cultural terms. Rockwell shaped the development of American White racialist politics, by indelibly linking segregationist policies with that of a pseudo Nazism endorsing holocaust denial, rather than as a radical conservatism. This research will place Rockwell in historical context, in light of American political developments in the post 9/11 era, and the development of the White Separatist Movement and the new White culture. Thus Rockwell's assassination was a crucial historical event which shaped how the organisations developed politically and ideologically and also precipitated in a change of emphasis which has allowed the de-ideologisation of politics. The assassination was imperative to changing the reliance on a central figure of leadership for Americas Nazis.

There are a number of contradictions with Rockwell and the movement, in terms of outlook and approach to both policy development and interaction with others within the context of the radical or extreme right, in both the US and abroad. Indeed, despite the flight Rockwell took to Britain via Ireland, receiving widespread publicity after being smuggled into Britain to participate in the formation of World Union of National Socialists (W.U.N.S.) meeting with British racialists including, John Tyndall, Colin Jordan and European counterparts, Rockwell remained quintessentially American, specifically failing to develop, this new avenue.²³ One rationale for him being unwilling to take the title as leader of WUNS was American legislation, as he could be seen to be leading foreign agents who were potentially aggressive to the American state.²⁴ This could have posed significant issues for Rockwell, as membership of his party was subject to inspection by the FBI and in particular supporters' rationale, for joining the party. Arguably, in this regard Rockwell had to become a vehement supporter of America and the constitution, whilst under scrutiny of the FBI, to remain in a lawful organisation. Whereas, in the

²³ Inquiry on visit by U.S. Nazi (the Times, August 7th 1962). The press coverage during the period gave attention to Rockwell's activities and his desire to create links with other Nazi supporter's outwith the USA. Rockwell was smuggled into the UK via a flight to Ireland to facilitate the meeting with UK National Socialists. Once the news story of Rockwell's presence in the UK without a visa was highlighted the government arranged for Rockwell to be deported to the USA. However, in addition to attending the meeting Rockwell was able to utilise it as a publicity triumph, for giving himself and movement worldwide press attention. The following articles are a small selection of those at the time. Deportation order on U.S. Nazi (The Times, August 8th 1962). American Nazi Detained in London (The Times, August 9th 1962). Rockwell Flown Out (The Times, August 10th 1962).

²⁴ Mr C. Jordan as World Nazi Head (August 13th 1962).

modern political context, European fascist and neo-Nazi groups are progressing significantly in both membership and political influence particularly in Austria where there has been electoral success. Despite these links and the potential infrastructure this provided, Rockwell was parochial in approach and attitude, notwithstanding the nature of Nazi/Fascist ideology having technically no national boundaries or being solely focussed on a 'one nation' in terms of a pre-existing state whether Italy, Germany or the USA.²⁵

In party political terms, Rockwell failed in his attempts to gain elected public office using the paraphernalia of Nazism, and despite his declarations in his autobiography of achieving the presidency and setting a target date of 1973, he was unable to fashion any kind of political success.²⁶ In his 1965 campaign for Governor of Virginia, Rockwell only received 5,730 votes (1% of the total). Rockwell blamed his poor electoral performance on Jewish intervention in terms of media coverage, a fact later substantiated by the 'quarantine strategy'²⁷ devised by various Jewish groups. However, much of the support Rockwell, hoped for, was united behind segregationist candidate William Storey, who received 69,348 votes; the seat was won by Democrat, Mills E. Godwin.²⁸ Despite the lack of accord with Rockwell's political message and endorsement by the electorate, the issues of segregation and separation were not unsupported within the electoral votes. Throughout Rockwell's political career he often referred to 'backers' in Dallas who were funding him. However, despite his assertions he was found to have no wealthy patrons in Dallas and little support. Rockwell gave a highly publicised lecture in Dallas in April 1965, which created publicity and caused concern of a possible presence in the city.²⁹ This is indicative of Rockwell's approach to the media by alluding to a threat of Nazism spreading across America and the fear of a well-funded Nazi party presenting a credible electoral challenge.

²⁵ Walker, M. (1977) *The National Front* (Glasgow: Wm. Collins).

²⁶ Rockwell, G.L. (2004) *This Time The World* (York, SC: Liberty Bell Publications).

²⁷ Simonelli, F.J. (1999) *American Fuhrer* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press).

²⁸ Schmaltz, W.M. (1999) *Hate: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Washington: Brassey's) p. 265.

²⁹ Lehrer, J. Dallas Nazis (Dallas Times Herald, April 11th 1965).

Legacy of Hate

“Racism is a matter of conscious belief and ideology and can be distinguished from prejudice, which is a matter of attitude or feeling and discrimination.”³⁰

The tension between Black³¹ and White Americans during the 1960’s period in particular, is exemplified by the Civil Rights Movement’s actions³², which changed American politics.³³ The diversity of political opinions and options open to Americans during the period cannot be underestimated, since invariably each option or ideological feature, would have led to American society moving in a different social and ideological direction. Arguably, this period is insightful as it demonstrates which particular political groups developed in the way they have, particularly in regard to those on the periphery.

“Black demands for racial parity pose basic threats to their often insecure position in American society. Given the nature of racial stratification in America, such persons stand to gain little from racial equality.”³⁴

The origins³⁵ of American racial culture are arguably unusual, since racial perception³⁶ was moulded according to society’s beliefs and views, rather than the

³⁰ Fredrickson, G.M. (1988) *The Arrogance of Race*, (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press) p.189.

³¹ Malcolm X formed the Organization of African American Unity (OAAU) in June 1964. In 1967 the first Black Power conference was held. Rockwell was influential in giving Malcolm X advice on the structure and development of his future organisation. Until Rockwell’s bodyguard Roy James assaulted Martin Luther King in Birmingham, Alabama, 28th September 1962. Rockwell and Malcolm X had been on good terms with a shared view on separation. However, after this incident their relationship changed, as Rockwell’s supporters started targeting Blacks’ with violence. Rockwell, G.L. (2011) *A National Socialist Life: Selected Writings* (Wentzville, MO: Invictus).

³² Meier, A. and Rudwick, E.M. (1973) *Core: Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942-68* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

³³ In particular, the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

³⁴ Wellman, D.T. (1993) *Portraits of White Racism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) p.2.

³⁵ Abrams, D. and Hogg, M.A. (1988) *Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes* (London: Routledge) p.64 note that the ‘institution of slavery’ was important to the “economic development of America, it had a profound impact in shaping the socio-political-legal structure...”

populations. The American continent provided a remarkable sociological sample of world cultures and differing ideologies.

“Depending upon the historical period, racist ideology is both a consequence and a cause of racist structures....once an ideology arises it alters profoundly the material reality and in fact becomes a partially autonomous feature of the reality.”³⁷

Just as racism had existed before the Civil Rights protests, American Nazism was present long before the Rockwell raised the swastika on American soil.³⁸ Rockwell's predecessors had hailed Nazism as the answer to America's ills and the solution to the Great Depression. Although popular culture of the 1960's may acknowledge Rockwell as the first Nazi leader, he was simply the first American born Nazi leader. The mantle of first Nazi leader falls to Fritz Kuhn leader of the German-American Bund.

In many respects, America's introduction to Nazism differed from that of Communism for many Americans, though as with the Communist Party, the paramilitary German-American Bund sought to install their own social and political ideology. The Bund intended America to be a political extension for German National Socialism and a satellite state for Nazi Germany. The nature of the relationship between the Bund, through Kuhn's leadership, and Nazi Germany directly influenced the response of the American government.³⁹ The use of the Dies Committee, formed by Congress in 1938 to investigate Un-American Activities, treated the Nazi sympathisers in the same manner as Communists, reporting that the Bund:

³⁶ See Lavalette, M and Pratt, A. (2005) *Social Policy: Theories, Concepts and Issues* (London: Sage); Walker, M. (1977) *The National Front* (Glasgow: Wm. Collins); Bobo, L.D (1999) Prejudice as Group Position: Microfoundations of a Sociological Approach to Racism and Race Relations. *Journal of Social Issues*, online; for a discussion of the source(s) and types of racism.

³⁷ Wellman, D.T. (1993) *Portraits of White Racism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) p.20.

³⁸ Bobo, L.D. (1999) Prejudice as Group Position: Microfoundations of a Sociological Approach to Racism and Race Relations. *Journal of Social Issues*, online.15-16, notes that after 1945 “the racial attitudes of many White Americans moved from Jim Crow to Laissez Faire racism.”

³⁹ Bell, L.V. (1973) *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press).

“received its inspiration, program, and direction from the National Socialist government of Germany”.⁴⁰

The principal concern of Congress regarding the Bund was the feared links to German Nazism, and the use of the Bund as a means of destabilising the United States. This proved to be an anomaly since no formal relationship existed. This fact was confirmed by an FBI report that the only evidence stemmed from statements by Kuhn where he alluded to a close relationship with Hitler.⁴¹ Kuhn had presented himself as the American Fuhrer endorsed by Hitler, whom he had met in 1936 whilst visiting Germany, this proved to be merely political propaganda on the part of Kuhn who sought to cement his position as leader of the Bund.⁴²

In spite of the relative success of Kuhn’s message of National Socialism, it was the assertion of its use of violence and the title of ‘Kampfendes Deutschtum’ (Fighting Germandom) which gave the American public an indication of its purpose and nature. This presented a significant problem in attempting to appeal to the American public. Indeed, the early Bund ran into opposition from the Ku Klux Klan, who used a burning cross to warn the Bund against establishing their first base near Capitol Hill.⁴³ A Department of Justice report emphasised that Nazi organisations only represented the political fringe in the USA, when it revealed that between 1937 and 1938, when the Bund was at its most popular level, it had 8,500 members and 5-6,000 anonymous sympathisers, with aliens accounting for 25% of the membership. In the summer of 1938, the combined circulation of their newspapers reached 10,000 copies, its highest level. Arguably, this made the Bund the most widespread Nazi group in American history, for although the Friends of the Reich had 10,000 members in 1935, 60% of those were German citizens.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Canedy, S.C. (1986) America’s Nazis. *American History Illustrated*, April, p.49.

⁴¹ Canedy, S.C. (1986) America’s Nazis. *American History Illustrated*, April, p.49.

⁴² Bell, L.V (1973) *In Hitler’s Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press) p.42.

⁴³ <http://www.graphicwitness.com/federalhill/dab.html> Accessed on 22 October 2002.

⁴⁴ Bell, L.V (1973) *In Hitler’s Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press) p.15.

The Assassination and the Party Legacy

The two principal beneficiaries of Rockwell's political extremism were William Pierce and David Duke. Despite both being involved in the movement with Rockwell, they were subsequently able to utilise the portrayal of being less extreme in approach than Rockwell's politics and behaviours. Before his death Rockwell had begun to dismember the ANP, which could not function as a political party without him. The ANP was effectively replaced by the National Socialist White Peoples Party. Rockwell formed the NSWPP in the months before his death as he felt there was no longer any advantage to be gained from using 'Nazi' in a party name. The original motivation for calling his party the American Nazi Party was for shock value and publicity. There is speculation that this was a factor that led to Rockwell's assassination and that his deputy Matt Koehl, William Pierce and Robert Alison Lloyd arranged his death. There had been reported disagreements over the party's direction and they were about to be ejected from the party; Rockwell had an argument with all three, the night before his death.⁴⁵ According to Simonelli (1995), Pierce, if not an active participant, acquiesced in the assassination of Rockwell, by inaction and simply not responding to the likelihood that it was about to happen, perhaps aided from those within the party.⁴⁶

Historiography of the thesis

The thesis provides a historiography as an overview of the issues affecting race, politics and separatism in the American political context. Albeit, the thesis is concerned with recent political and cultural changes concerning White Separatism, it is indelibly linked to the historical landscape of America. Arguably, race and class have permeated American society since the times of the early settlers, who fled

⁴⁵ Simonelli, F.J. (1999) *American Fuhrer* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press) p.137.

⁴⁶ Simonelli, F.J. (1995) "*American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party.*" PhD thesis, University of Nevada-Reno.

oppression in Europe with the intention of achieving freedom and building a new society. In the early American context, the early settlers being principally White were less concerned with issues of race, than matters concerning religion and class. New England settlers in the Puritan communities, were driven by the opportunity for religious freedom, whilst the tobacco farmers of the Chesapeake were utilising the opportunities of freedom to trade and prosper outside the traditional bind of class in Europe. Despite these new social and religious goals and impetus driving new settlers to the Americas', a Virginia elite did develop and along with it, a new class structure.

Through the opportunities offered in the new world for prosperity and trade there was a desire to leave Europe, with on-going rises in migration patterns. However, with the growth of African slavery and indentured servitude for European Whites, a new issue developed, concerning class and race. Until race became a key issue of philosophy and racial differences between black and white, there was arguably more similarity in the fate of poor whites, subject to indenture and those of black slaves than similarity, with the Virginia elite. In the ante bellum period there was also less of an emphasis on racial differences and strife, with opportunities for blacks to gain manumission and social progression.

In addition to providing an overview of some issues which have arisen concerning race and class in America, the discussion of historiography will include the development of Nazi politics in America with the German-American Bund and the American Nazi Party, the leadership of George Lincoln Rockwell and the subsequent development of White Separatist Culture. In terms of the thesis these have been developed in two regards, firstly the political developments within the movement, and secondly concerning the lack of a state vision or policy over how the new state would be formed and operated. Due to the lack of formalised movement examples and texts this has meant that fictional examples have been utilised as informal political texts, in the absence of political policy statements from ideologues in the movement.

The relationship between Rockwell and the subsequent White Separatist Movement will then be assessed according to four themes of analysis: an assessment of the development of an American National Socialist state vision, with regard to state-building and movement texts; the marketing of White Nationalism and Separatist politics through political merchandise and the potential de-ideologisation of politics; the media portrayal of George Lincoln Rockwell and the White Separatist Movement; and the relationship between Separatist supporters and the state with regard to the social contract and the proclivity for terror activities. The discussion will also provide an overview of the issues and the subsequent themes which arise from these developments in terms of the implications for future developments within the separatist movement and an understanding of the rationale, for particular ideological stances.

Chapter Two

Methodology

Introduction

The research was conducted within a qualitative methodological framework⁴⁷. The philosophical and epistemological underpinnings of the research approach adopted, sought to reflect the sensitivity and the reality of the area being investigated. The challenges that would be presented if certain qualitative and methodological approaches were adopted did influence the research design.⁴⁸ The challenges of access to certain groups and individuals, particularly in terms of the health and safety of the researcher were likely to be considerable; even if appropriate gatekeepers⁴⁹ could facilitate access to prospective respondents or help to facilitate the research process.

The chapter will delineate the research question and aims of the research. The chapter will explain and explore the philosophical and epistemological background to the research and the influence this had on the methodological underpinnings of the research strategy adopted. The concept of the research process will be highlighted and consideration given to the reality of conducting research within the chosen area and the subsequent challenges this presented to the researcher. It will be argued, that the research process is not simply a clear linear process reflecting stages that can be pursued with ease, and may present a range of challenges in the practical exposition of the research act. The researcher may have to exhibit a degree of intellectual agility to overcome such challenges. In the conduct of the investigation, the researcher has tried to offer an awareness of a reflexive approach to research. The challenge presented in attempting to engage reflexively in the research act, requires the researcher to present a full range of research skills and competencies in the completion of the research investigation.

⁴⁷ The researcher did not view the choice between the dichotomy of qualitative and quantitative approaches, but rather that the research approach had to reflect the subtleties of the area of investigation.

⁴⁸ For example: Face-to-face semi-structured interviews; focus groups, from an appropriate sampling frame of respondents were considered.

⁴⁹ The role of 'gatekeepers' will be discussed later in the chapter.

The apparently competing challenges of qualitative versus quantitative research approaches will be explored and the framework adopted in the research investigation considered. Whilst the research did not employ discourse analysis as a research tool, it sought to take cognisance of the part such an approach can play, particularly in relation to the transcription and analysis of media and other audiovisual sources of data.

The realities and challenges that the research area presented to the researcher will also be considered. Such challenges helped to influence the choice of research instruments used to gather data. The nature of the data gathering methods employed will be discussed together with the analysis of the data generated. The research instruments employed helped to present a unique insight into what has been termed a 'hidden area',⁵⁰ and also had the advantage of being unobtrusive to key actors. The discussion will cover the following areas: the research question and the aims of the research; the epistemological/philosophical, ontological and methodological underpinnings of the research and the theoretical underpinnings of the research; factors affecting the design of the research; the difficulties and the reality of researching and engaging with the area under investigation; data gathering techniques and approaches used; analysis of the data. Other areas that will be covered: gatekeepers; ethics/ethical practice in the conduct of research.

Research Question

The research had one research question:

What factors have influenced the formation, development and outcome of leaderless resistance within the changing political, organisational and cultural context?

The research question has set the parameters for each chapter of the thesis. The research aims have been informed by the research question. The research question

⁵⁰ Blee, K.M. (2009) 'Access and Methods in Research on Hidden Communities: Reflections on Studying U.S. Organized Racism' eSharp *Special Issue: Critical Issues in Researching Hidden Communities* 10-27. Accessed online, 20 September 2011.

was developed after a thorough review of literature in the area and consultation with a range of primary and secondary documents.

Research Aims:

The research had three substantive aims:

Firstly, to offer a critical evaluation of the role and influence of George Lincoln Rockwell in the development of cultural change in the White Separatist Movement;

Secondly, to examine the effectiveness of American Nazism and White Separatism as a political movement in Post-War American society in terms of state building and state vision;

Thirdly, to assess how the assassination of George Lincoln Rockwell is linked to the endorsement of 'leaderless resistance' in the 'White separatist movement' and the subsequent relationship with terrorism.

Methodological and Theoretical Underpinnings

We need to understand the importance and role that methodology plays within the research process. The wealth of methodological approaches available in the conduct of research, and the theoretical underpinnings of each of them, can enable the researcher to make an informed choice about the methodology to be employed in a study. The relationship to the research questions and design of the research will also be an influencing factor in the choice of a methodological framework. The researcher will frequently have to justify the choice of methodology that has been used in the study and the factors that have influenced the research design. It is important, therefore, that there is a clear understanding of the epistemological background to the choice of methodology that has been used in the conduct of the research. Ethical issues will also come into play and these will be considered later in the discussion.

It is not simply a choice between qualitative and quantitative in the research approach to be considered; or the selection of a medium between positivism and that offered by phenomenological approaches. The approach to methodology will inevitably be influenced by a number of factors, including the choice of the researcher and the area to be investigated. The popularity of certain approaches to methodology may also be reflected by the requirements of certain academic journals regarding their willingness to publish. The sophistication of the research design may entail the use of a triangulation of different approaches. Liebling (1999)⁵¹ has noted that both qualitative and quantitative approaches to research can have ‘their dangers and rewards’. Table 1, illustrates the key differences between qualitative and quantitative approaches. Both approaches are reflective of different ontological and epistemological traditions.

Table 1 The difference in emphasis in qualitative and quantitative methods

Qualitative methods	Quantitative methods
Emphasis on understanding verification	Emphasis on testing and
Focus on understanding from for respondent’s / informant’s point of view	Focus on facts and /or reasons social events
Interpretation and rational approach	Logical and critical approach
Observations and measurements in natural settings	Controlled measurement
Subjective ‘insider view’ and closeness distant to data	Objective ‘outsider view’ distance from data
Explorative orientation on	Hypothetical-deductive focus
Process oriented	hypothesis testing
Holistic perspective	Result oriented
Generalization by comparison of properties and contexts of individual organism	Particularistic and analytical
	Generalization by population membership

Source: Ghauri and Gronhaug, (2010:105)

⁵¹ Liebling, A. (1999) Doing Research in Prison: Breaking the Silence? *Theoretical Criminology*, Vol. 3, 147-173.

The Research Process

Fulcher and Scott⁵² (1999:112) have argued that in the conduct of research we need to remember that ‘research is not undertaken in a moral or political vacuum’. Ghauri and Gronhaug⁵³ (2010:19) have suggested that research is a ‘never-ending’ activity and can be encapsulated within what they have termed, ‘the wheel of research’. The circular nature of this view of the research process highlights the eleven key components: Observation, literature review; Problem clarification; Assumptions and hypotheses; Concepts, constructs and models; Research design; Data collection; Data analysis; Interpretations and conclusions; Improvements in theory or problem solving. Nachmias and Nachmias⁵⁴ (1993:21) have noted that the research process can, for ‘scientists’ be regarded as ‘the paradigm of scientific inquiry’. They suggest that the research process can be contextualised through ‘seven main stages’: problem; hypothesis; research design; measurement; data collection; data analysis; generalisation.

Whilst such views of the research process, can provide a degree of understanding of the range of elements that are likely to be experienced in the conduct of research, it may fail to adequately reflect the nuances, subtleties and challenges, which may be experienced in the conduct of research. Whether there is adequate acknowledgement of the everyday realities of the research process and the dynamics contained therein may result in an overly deterministic, structuralist, Parsonian pattern being expressed. Nevertheless, it may be deemed to be helpful as a guide and a set of charts that enables the researcher to navigate the waters of the research, and observe the main components that are likely to be apparent in any research process. We need to recognise, as previously noted, that the research process may not be a clear linear process, and an instrument of apparent functionality, that reflects an apparent structuralist pattern of activity.

⁵² Fulcher, J. and Scott, J. (1999) *Sociology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press); Frankfort-Nachmias, C. and Nachmias, D. (1993), *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*, (4th ed.), (London: Edward Arnold).

⁵³ Ghauri, P. and Gronhaug, K. (2010) *Research Methods in Business Studies*, (4th ed.), (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd).

⁵⁴ Frankfort-Nachmias, C. and Nachmias, D. (1993), *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*, (4th ed.), (London: Edward Arnold).

Reflexivity

For the PhD student, who is undertaking what may be their first piece of research, the quest to engage reflexively in the research process may present a range of challenges; together with all the other areas they are seeking to demonstrate competence within. The student may not have engaged in personal or professional reflection before and it may take them some time to adapt to a reflexive approach. Finlay (2002:209) has recognised the challenges of ‘engaging in reflexivity’, viewing the process of reflexivity as akin to negotiating ‘the swamp of interminable deconstructions, self analysis and self disclosure’. She also suggests that reflexivity provides opportunity together with challenges to researchers. Holmes (2015) considers the challenges of researching emotional reflexivity, offering a definition of the same. She also places emotional reflexivity within the context of reflexive research. The premise of emotional reflexivity is particularly pertinent in the thesis research area and can help to place the challenges a researcher may face, within an appropriate theoretical framework.

Ginev (2014) offers a different dimension to the area of reflexivity by considering ‘radical reflexivity and hermeneutic pre-normativity’. Giddens⁵⁵ (2006: 123) has made a strong contribution to the area, by considering the impact of ‘social reflexivity’. He suggests that this form of reflexivity ‘refers to the fact that we have constantly to think about, or reflect upon, the circumstances in which we live our lives’. In many professional occupations we can see a reflection of this, in the standard of conduct expected from such groups both within and outside the workplace for example: teachers; doctors; social workers⁵⁶. It could be argued that if employees are expected to be reflective in terms of their work performance, and this is assessed through appraisal systems in the organisation that this could be seen as a form of control. Forms and patterns of resistance may be an outcome, when an appraisal system is felt to be a mechanism of control.

⁵⁵ Giddens, A. (2006) *Sociology*, (5th ed.), (Cambridge: Polity Press). Giddens suggests that the pressure of what he terms ‘living in an information age’, may lead to an increase in social reflexivity.

⁵⁶ Being reflective in a professional occupation, may be expressed through the medium of the reflexive practitioner. For example, Chartered Institute for Personnel and Development (CIPD).

Ethics

McGivern (2009:27)⁵⁷ has set out a number of ethical principles that should be followed with research participants: ‘voluntary participation; no harm to participants; informed consent; anonymity, confidentiality (privacy); transparency; not deceiving subjects’. Drawing on the work of Churchill (1999:50)⁵⁸, Ghauri and Gronhaug (2010:21) have expressed a number of ethical issues that need to be addressed in the researcher-participant relationship and these are expressed in the Table 2.

Table 2 Ethical Issues in the researcher-participant relationship

1. Preserving participants’ anonymity
2. Exposing participants to mental stress
3. Asking participants questions detrimental to their self-interest
4. Use of special equipment and techniques, e.g. tape recorder, video or health-hazardous equipment
5. Involving participants in research without their consent
6. Use of deception
7. Use of coercion to get information
8. Depriving participants of their rights, e.g. of self-determination.

Issues of ethics within the conduct of research have been raised by a number of commentators⁵⁹, who have tried to illustrate the ethical issues they have encountered in undertaking a research investigation. Czymoniewicz-Klippel, Brijnath and Crockett⁶⁰ (2010), have provided a thoughtful discussion on the ethical challenges that may be presented when undertaking qualitative research. In

⁵⁷ McGivern, Y. (2009) *The Practice of Market Research*, (3rd ed.), (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd).

⁵⁸ Churchill, G.A. (1999) *Marketing Research: Methodological Foundations*, (7th ed.), (Fort Worth, Texas: Dryden Press).

⁵⁹ Shipman, S. (ed.) (1976) *The Organisation and Impact of Social Research* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul).

⁶⁰ Czymoniewicz-Klippel, M.T., Brijnath, B. and Crockett, B. (2010), Ethics and the Promotion of Inclusiveness Within Qualitative Research: Case Examples from Asia and the Pacific, *Qualitative Inquiry*, Vol. 16, No 5, 332-341.

particular, they highlight the ‘concerns’ that may arise when the researcher is confronted with a ‘complex’ research ‘situation’. The need for ethics systems and procedures to promote and support inclusiveness is recognised.

Professional associations⁶¹ have also developed guidelines and codes of behaviour in relation to ethical practice. Beyond the research setting, the ethical implications and possible outcomes, in relation to the growth of surveillance and the monitoring of members of the public and employees through the medium of electronic surveillance have been documented⁶².

Entering and Researching the Field

When embarking upon the research exercise, initially contact was made with a range of groups including those within the Separatist Community, and others from watchdogs and civil rights organisations. Direct contact was made to the leadership of groups explaining the background of the researcher, the anticipated research and area for consideration. The anti-Nazi groups were forthcoming with copies of records and information to assist in the gathering of information. The initial problematic factor, which arose when corresponding with those within the Separatist community, was one of terminology. The contact utilised typical terminology such as the words ‘extremist’ and ‘right wing’. However, one respondent in particular was unhappy with such an approach stating that he was a ‘racist and Nazi’ but not ‘right wing’ and that he utilised left wing ideas every day. This led to an immediate need to decide upon terminology which would be acceptable to the contacts, clarification, therefore, was sought on appropriate terms from the groups themselves. Thereby an

⁶¹ See for example, The British Psychological Society, Code of Ethics and Conduct (2009) and the Code of Human Research Ethics (2014). The British Sociological Association, Statement of Ethical Practice.

⁶² Applebaum, S.H., Deguire, K. J. and Lay, M. (2005), The Relationship of Ethical Climate to Deviant Workplace Behaviour, *Corporate Governance*, Vol. 5, (4), 43-55. Ball, K.S. (2001), Situating workplace surveillance: Ethics and computer based performance monitoring, *Ethics and Information Technology*, Vol. 3, Issue 3, 209-221. Lyon, D. (2001), Facing the future: Seeking ethics for everyday surveillance, *Ethics and Information Technology*, Vol. 3, Issue 3, 171-180. Sewell, G. and Barker, J.R. (2001) Neither good nor bad, but dangerous: Surveillance as an ethical paradox, *Ethics and Information Technology*, Vol. 3, Issue 3, 181-194.

appropriate terminology of ‘white separatist’ was agreed. The National Alliance was particularly helpful throughout the research at several junctures.

In developing a basis for planning the research exercise, several offers of assistance were received to provide resources in carrying out the research project. One offer was from a Jewish organisation, and the other from the National Alliance. Due to the adversarial relationship that exists between separatist groups and the anti-Nazi organisations, it was felt that respondents would be suspicious of motivation and validity, if any formal assistance was taken from Jewish or Civil Rights groups. The help offered by the National Alliance included an opportunity to spend several months at their compound using it as a base, during which time the researcher would assist with any activities or research planned. The National Alliance suggested a form of formal affiliation to facilitate this process. This offer would have had a number of advantages, including access to records and contact with other groups through the National Alliance. However, for the purposes of the research exercise it was felt that this could compromise the validity of the research and the desire to remain impartial.

After initial contact with the National Alliance, some of their supporters contacted the researcher direct and distributed the researcher’s details informally. The overall contact with those in the community was cordial. Other researchers⁶³ have recorded the incidence of respondents brandishing weapons and the researcher feeling isolated and vulnerable in their presence. Blee (1998) has written widely on the KKK, particularly in relation to female members of the organisation. She has demonstrated an awareness of, what she has termed, the ‘emotional dynamics’⁶⁴ when undertaking fieldwork with ‘racist activists’⁶⁵. The challenges that she encountered in her research with female members of the Women’s Ku Klux Klan (WKKK), is illustrative of an ability to be innovative and flexible in researching this

⁶³ Ezekiel, R.S. (1996) *The Racist Mind* (New York: Penguin).

⁶⁴ Blee, K. M. (1998) White-Knuckle Research: Emotional Dynamics in Fieldwork with Racist Activists, *Qualitative Sociology*, Vol. 21, Issue 4, 381-399.

⁶⁵ Blee, K. M. (1998) considered issues surrounding ‘emotions’ in ‘the context of a life history project with activists in contemporary U.S. racist movements’.

area⁶⁶. Blee (1998) also demonstrates a willingness to recognise that ‘methodology challenges’ may influence the shape and form of the research design. She offers an insight about her feelings towards the research participants, prior to the conduct of the interviews with them:

“I was prepared to hate and fear my informants. My own commitment to progressive politics prepared me to find these people strange, even repellent. I expected no rapport, no shared assumptions, no commonality of thought or experience. What I found was more disturbing. Many of the people I interviewed were interesting, intelligent, and well informed. Despite my prediction that we would experience each other as completely foreign, in fact I shared the assumptions and opinions of my informants on a number of topics (excluding, of course, race, religion, and most political topics).”⁶⁷

Blee (2009:10) recognises the challenges that the ‘use of fieldwork’ to study ‘hidden communities’ may present. Suggesting that fieldwork in those communities ‘raises complex issues about the relationship between scholars and those they study’. Drawing on the work of Devault ⁶⁸(2007), Blee (2009:11) suggests that three questions are particularly salient in undertaking ‘research on hidden communities’: “first, where do we find what is hidden...?; second how can we generate valid knowledge in studies of hidden communities?; third, for whom do we generate knowledge or, put it another way, what ethical considerations arise in studies of hidden social life?”⁶⁹ Drawing on her own extensive research Blee (2009:19-21) offers ‘methodological suggestions for studying hidden communities. She does not suggest that these are ‘unique’ to the study of such communities, but rather that ‘they take on a special salience in this context’.

⁶⁶ Blee, K.M. (1992) *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920's* (Berkeley: University of California Press).

⁶⁷ Blee, K.M. (1992) *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920's* (Berkeley: University of California Press) p. 6.

⁶⁸ Devault, M. (2007) Knowledge from the Field. In Calhoun, C. (ed.) *Sociology in America: A History*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press). Devault, suggests that we need to demonstrate an awareness of the ‘research processes’, we seek to employ and the ‘uses of our work’.

⁶⁹ Blee, K.M (2009) ‘Access and Methods in Research on Hidden Communities: Reflections on Studying U.S. Organized Racism’ eSharp *Special Issue: Critical Issues in Researching Hidden Communities* 10-27. Accessed online 20 September 2011.

“First, it is important to let those being studied speak for themselves...A robust understanding of hidden social worlds requires that scholars be cautious in assuming that they fully understand what members say and the meanings they attach to their actions.”⁷⁰

“A second suggestion...is to pay attention to everything that members express in interviews and conversations...particularly pertinent when studying hidden communities in which talk can be disingenuous or evasive.”⁷¹

Pollock (2009) has sought to provide a useful insight into the difficulties of researching White Supremacists and racial hatred, through approaches to gathering data that may rely on face-to-face contact and interactions.⁷² He has sought to draw on his doctoral research⁷³ to provide a useful insight in to the methodological issues that can arise through the use of online research methods. His thesis has also provided a clear delineation of the links between ‘white supremacy and racial hatred’, through the medium of ‘newsgroups’. Pollock developed what he terms an ‘innovative methodology’. He has expressed this methodology as ‘covert, invisible, non-participatory observation’.⁷⁴ Pollock argues that the advantage of this approach is that the research method ‘can be used to investigate activity in any interactive online forum’.⁷⁵ He also argues that there will be a range of gains from the adoption

⁷⁰ Blee, K.M (2009) ‘Access and Methods in Research on Hidden Communities: Reflections on Studying U.S. Organized Racism’ eSharp *Special Issue: Critical Issues in Researching Hidden Communities* 10-27, p.19. Accessed online 20 September 2011.

⁷¹ Blee, K.M (2009) ‘Access and Methods in Research on Hidden Communities: Reflections on Studying U.S. Organized Racism’ eSharp *Special Issue: Critical Issues in Researching Hidden Communities* 10-27, p.20. Accessed online 20 September 2011.

⁷² Pollock, E. (2009) Researching white supremacists online: methodological concerns of researching hate ‘speech’. *Internet Journal of Criminology*, (online). Downloaded from www.internetjournalofcriminology.com Accessed online 20 September 2011.

⁷³ Pollock, E. (2006) Understanding and Contextualising Racial Hatred on the Internet: A Study of Newsgroups and Websites. PhD Thesis, Nottingham Trent University (Internet). Available from the PhD section of the *Internet Journal of Criminology*: www.internetjournalofcriminology.com Accessed online 20 September 2011.

⁷⁴ Pollock, E. (2006) Understanding and Contextualising Racial Hatred on the Internet: A Study of Newsgroups and Websites. PhD Thesis, Nottingham Trent University (Internet). p.2 Available from the PhD section of the *Internet Journal of Criminology*: www.internetjournalofcriminology.com Accessed online 20 September 2011.

⁷⁵ Pollock, E. (2006) Understanding and Contextualising Racial Hatred on the Internet: A Study of Newsgroups and Websites. PhD Thesis, Nottingham Trent University (Internet). p.18 Available from the PhD section of the *Internet Journal of Criminology*: www.internetjournalofcriminology.com Accessed online 20 September 2011.

of this methodology: the anonymity and privacy of the researcher; ability to access areas that may be deemed to be challenging through other research approaches; furthermore the methodology will present the opportunity to use an ‘effective research method’.

Pollock (2009) does appear to recognise that despite his enthusiasm for the research method he has described, that the methodology used in his research was ‘largely untested’ and a range of ‘methodological issues emerged’.⁷⁶ He appears to recognise that the research technique he is advocating ‘might induce ethical criticisms’⁷⁷, but argues that ‘for academic advancement to progress’ we need to be prepared to ‘build upon’ the foundation that this research technique offers.

Fielding (1981) has detailed the strategies and tactics he employed in seeking to gain entry to the British National Party, to undertake research.⁷⁸ The approach adopted by Fielding led to numerous debates surrounding the ethical issues raised by his study. Gaining access to closed communities such as the prison has always presented a range of difficulties and hurdles to be overcome for the researcher. The emotional resilience that may be required in the conduct of such research has not always been recognised. Liebling (1999: 147) has reflected on the ‘tensions’ that may be experienced when undertaking research within the prison setting and has made a useful contribution to this area.

Gatekeepers

Gatekeepers⁷⁹ play an important role in facilitating access to the research setting. Accordingly, access may be dependent on the successful negotiation of a range of hurdles to be overcome to gain entry to such a setting. Access to

⁷⁶ Pollock, E. (2009) has suggested that the following methodological issues emerged: validity of findings; reliability of findings; access to the setting; ethical considerations.

⁷⁷ Pollock, E. (2006) Understanding and Contextualising Racial Hatred on the Internet: A Study of Newsgroups and Websites. PhD Thesis, Nottingham Trent University (Internet). p.18 Available from the PhD section of the *Internet Journal of Criminology*: www.internetjournalofcriminology.com Accessed online 20 September 2011.

⁷⁸ Fielding, N. (1981) *The National Front*. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul). Fulcher and Scott (1999:112-113) have offered a summary of some of the ethical issues raised by Fielding’s research.

⁷⁹ Broadhead, R.S. and Rist, R.C. (1976) Gatekeepers and the Social Control of Research, *Social Problems*, No. 3, 325-336.

organisational facilities and personnel within the criminal justice service⁸⁰ may follow a range of procedures that have been established to deal with any requests for access to pursue research. The role of the gatekeeper may, accordingly, differ in terms of granting such access. In many respects, the request to undertake research will be subject to a formalised process, if access is to be allowed to the prospective researcher. Broadhead and Rist⁸¹ (1976) offered a critique of the ‘social control of research’ through the medium of an ‘analysis of the role of the gatekeeper’. The influence that the gatekeeper may exercise on the research enterprise has also been charted by Broadhead and Rist (1976). They suggest that ‘influence’ may be exerted through a number of channels:

“by limiting conditions of entry, by defining the problem area of study, by limiting access to data and respondents, by restricting the scope of analysis, and by retaining prerogatives with respect to publication”.⁸²

Hobbs (1997) through the use of ethnography sought to provide a critical examination of professional crime.⁸³ If the research site/setting is considered to be problematic (for whatever reason), there are real challenges of building in appropriate check and balances to secure the health and safety of the researcher and a risk assessment needs to be carried out. The qualities of the researcher, both personal and intellectually has a direct impact upon the research, the ability to establish rapport and act in a non-judgemental manner. Recognising that entering the research arena, can present a range of challenges to test the fortitude and resilience of even the experienced researcher. In terms of this research project a range of possibilities in respect of gathering data were considered; these included interviewing of key actors (including face-to-face); telephone; questionnaire distribution; focus groups. Due to

⁸⁰ Schlosser, J. (2008) has provided a useful account of gaining access to undertake research in the prison setting. She has termed the outcome of such a process as ‘navigating the methodological landmines of prison’.

⁸¹ Broadhead, R.S. and Rist, R.C. (1976) Gatekeepers and the Social Control of Research, *Social Problems*, No. 3, 325-336.

⁸² Broadhead, R.S. and Rist, R.C. (1976) Gatekeepers and the Social Control of Research, *Social Problems*, No. 3, 325-336, p.325.

⁸³ Hobbs, D. (1997) Professional Crime: Change, Continuity and the Enduring Myth of the Underworld, *Sociology*, Vol. 31, No 1, 57-72.

the financial costs of travelling to the USA to conduct fieldwork, which would be across the breadth of the country, it proved unfeasible.

Other points in relation to researching the field and challenges presented

The initial interest in this area began after the researcher viewed documentary footage of George Lincoln Rockwell, whilst an undergraduate working on small interest and focus groups in the USA. At the time the researcher had no awareness of Rockwell or that there had been American Nazis during the 1950's and 1960's in the USA. At a time before the availability of Internet resources, attempting to find out anything other than the most basic information on Rockwell was a challenge. Initially, the researcher's knowledge was based upon microfiche records from newspapers and inter-library loans, and archival documents. If the information had been readily available, as at present, through the Internet this could have been effectively the end of the research process. Instead, the roots of the research stemmed from collecting information and records over a period of years. Originally, the research was solely to assess the contribution of Rockwell and provide a historical overview of his role and politics. The research developed with the intention to analyse current groups and assess what, if any, influence or contribution Rockwell had on the wider politics of the far right. The research changed its focus after assessing the ideology of American Nazism and White Nationalism and Separatist beliefs, as there appeared to be no consensus or consistency in ideology or fundamental questions of political theory.

Documentary Research

Marx⁸⁴, Weber and Durkheim all used documentary sources in their work. In a discussion of the use of documents in the conduct of research, Fulcher and Scott (1999: 92) have drawn on the work of (Scott, 1990), to suggest that the use of documents should be assessed "in terms of four criteria:

⁸⁴ Marx, K. in Fernbach, D. (ed.), (1973), *Surveys from Exile* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books). Fernbach also includes a Chronology of Works by Marx and Engels, within this publication.

Authenticity: is it genuine?

Credibility: is it true?

Representativeness: is it typical?

Meaning: is it comprehensive?"

The research applied this rigour in the examination and analysis of documents.

Data Collection

The research utilises a wide range of primary sources and documents provided from a number of resources and libraries: including the Wilcox Collection at the University of Kansas, the Anti-Defamation League, the Southern Poverty Law Centre and various other library sources. Various collections have also been examined and reviewed, including newsreels, newspapers, periodicals and pamphlets. In addition to this, numerous 'movement' texts and sources were consulted including radio broadcasts and transcripts from William Pierce and the National Alliance, the Rockwell Collection providing recordings of lectures and interviews; radio and television interviews from other sources; pamphlets and movement literature from the White Aryan Resistance, the American Nazi Party and Stormfront. The resources that have been utilised in the conduct of the research are detailed in Tables 3 to 6.

Table 3 Summary of Documentary Sources Used

Radio Broadcasts
FBI Records
Government Reports
Newspapers/Magazines
Pamphlets
Web Pages
YouTube
Online Discussion Groups
Advertisements
Handbills
Photographs
Films
Videos
Doctoral Theses
Autobiographies

Table 3.1 Articles (unsigned)

Title of Article	Publication	Date
Criminals on Federal Payroll Engineered Rockwell Hoax on America.	The Councillor	1977, December 30, 14: 5.
An Insider talks about fringe organisations.	Acres USA	1986, September: 16: 24-27.
Griffin stays silent as BNP profits from hate.	International Searchlight: Election Special	2001, July: 313.
William Pierce and the National Alliance.	Searchlight	2002, October: 16-18.
The Secret that lurks deep in the US far right.	Searchlight	2002, November: 24-25.
In Your Face.	SPLC Intelligence Report	2006, Spring.

Table 3.2 Articles (signed)

Author and Title of Article	Publication	Date
Beam, L.R. Leaderless Resistance.	Seditionist	1992, Issue 12, February, Final Edition.
Burghart, D. Review: Beyond a Dead Man's Deeds: The National Alliance after William Pierce.	Searchlight	October, 2002.
Canedy, S.C. America's Nazis.	American History Illustrated	April: 40-49, 1986.
George Lincoln Rockwell Interview.	Playboy	April, 1966.
Langer, E. 'The American Neo-Nazi Movement Today'.	The Nation	July 16/23: 81-107, 1990.
Morrison, E. This Time We Win.	White Nationalist Party.	2004.

Table 3.3 Newspaper Article (unsigned)

Title of Article	Newspaper	Date
Inquiry on visit by U.S. Nazi.	The Times	August 7, 1962.
Deportation order on U.S. Nazi.	The Times	August 8, 1962.
American Nazi Detained in London.	The Times	August 9, 1962.
Rockwell Flown Out.	The Times	August 10, 1962.
Mr. C. Jordan as World Nazi Head.	The Times	August 13, 1962.
U.S. Nazis Plan March in negro Quarter .	The Times	August 16, 1966.

Table 3.4 Newspaper Article (unsigned)

Title of Article	Newspaper	Date
US Nazi Leader is Shot Dead.	The Times	August 26, 1967.
US Nazi Leader is Shot Dead.	The Guardian, Manchester	August 26, 1967.
Obituary: Mr George Lincoln Rockwell, American Nazi Leader.	The Times	August 26, 1967.
Pistol found in Rockwell inquiry.	The Times	August 28, 1967.
Nazi slogans interrupt trial.	The Times	August 29, 1967.
US ban on Nazi funeral.	The Times	August 30, 1967.

Table 3.5 Newspaper Article (unsigned)

Title of Article	Newspaper	Date
Cremation of American Nazi.	The Times	August 31, 1967.
Anniversary issue 1962-2002.	The Sunday Times Magazine	February 3, 2002.
Police investigate hate message postcards.	The (White Plains) Journal News	January 1, 2003.
Hate Group Leader Indicted: Montana 'Reverend Leaves Splinter Group'.	Montana Human Rights Network News	February 2003.
Democrats, Republicans say no to white supremacist candidate. Accessed online 19/03/06. http://www.contracostatimes.com/mld/cctimes/news/politics/14067453.htm	Contra Costa Times, California	March 10, 2006.

Table 3.6 Newspaper Article (unsigned)

Title of Article	Newspaper	Date
Web company boots racist site offline.	KBMC	February 9, 2006.
Neo-Nazis, city reach accord.	Orlando Sentinel	February 18, 2006.
Inland Empire a hotbed of hate.	San Bernadino Sun	February 8, 2006.
Fugitive brothers caught after 15 years.	Seattle Post-Intelligencer	February 18, 2006.
'White separatist' charged with slayings.	Star-Telegram	February 10, 2006.
Woman paralyzed in remote desert attack.	The Arizona Republic	February 17, 2006.

Table 3.7 Newspaper Article (unsigned)

Title of Article	Newspaper	Date
Fugitives caught with massive arsenal.	The Associated Press	February 18, 2006.
David Irving renounces Holocaust denial.	The Associated Press	February 21, 2006.
Skinhead will 'teach as needed'.	The Delaware News Journal	February 12, 2006.
Closed archive leads to Holocaust denial claim.	The Guardian	February 12, 2006.
The resistible rise of the historian who rejected plain facts.	The Guardian	February 2, 2006.
British Holocaust denier faces longer term.	Toronto Star	February 21, 2006.

Table 3.8 Newspaper Article (unsigned)

Title of Article	Newspaper	Date
'Suit and tie' racists gather at D.C.Conference.	The Washington Post	February 26, 2006.
Klansmen plead guilty in bombing plot.	The News and Observer	March 21, 2006.
Gunman threatens black bus riders.	The Capital Times	March 21, 2006.
Gas station attacker charged with 'ethnic intimidation'.	Detroit Free Press	March 21, 2006.
Prison guard convicted of aiding Nazi Low Riders.	LA Weekly	March 22, 2006.
Aryan Brotherhood violence on the rise in Texas.	KLBK News	March 27, 2006.

Table 4 Newspaper Article (unsigned)

Title of Article	Newspaper	Date
Evidence Fight delays cross-burning trial.	The Detroit News	March 27, 2006.
Coast Guardsman investigated for Klan recruiting.	Cape Cod Times	March 28, 2006.
'Pro-white' candidate denies Holocaust.	Montgomery Advertiser	May 13, 2006.
Chicago man admits felony hate crime.	Chicago Tribune	May 16 2006.
White Supremacist gang busted.	The Arizona Republic	May 20, 2006.
Seraw killer arrested for violating parole.	The Oregonian	May 20, 2006.
Jewish bookstore vandalized.	South Florida Sun-Sentinal	May 22, 2006.

Table 4.1 Newspaper Article (signed)

Title of Article and Author	Newspaper	Date
Aikman, D. America's Religious Past Fades in a Secular Age.	The Wall Street Journal	October 25, 2012.
Bell, Diane. Metzger no longer in Fallbrook.	The San Diego Union – Tribune Accessed online 19/09/06. http://signonsandiego.printthis.clickability.com/pt/cpt?action=cpt&title=SignOnSanDi	March 9, 2006.
Boycott, R. One man's war against his demons.	The Observer	March 10, 2002.
Burchardt, H. "Racist Leader Could Be Nasty, Charming...or Pitiful."	Washington Post	August 26, 1967.
Childress, Sarah. Justice: Battling the Aryan Brothers.	Newsweek	February 13, 2006.
Corcoran, Terry. Peekskill Police investigate hate literature.	The Journal News, White Plains Accessed online 26/03/06. http://www.thejournalnews.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20060315/NEWS07/603	March 15, 2006.

Table 4.2 Newspaper Article (signed)

Title of Article and Author	Newspaper	Date
Cornwell, T, US right-wing extremist has followers in Glasgow.	The Scotsman	April 28, 1995.
Fernandez, Laleah. Nazis coming to state Capitol.	Lansing City Pulse, Michigan Accessed online 05/03/06. http://www.lansingcitypulse.com/060222/news/index2.asp	February 22, 2006.
Flaccus, Gillian. Former Aryan Brotherhood member says Mafia leader sought hit.	Contra Costa Times Accessed online 26/03/06. http://www.contracostatimes.com/mld/cctimes/news/14107824.htm	March 16, 2006.
Hall, A. Hitler was an agreeable boss, a fatherly friend, but my guilt will live with me to the end.	The Scotsman	February 2002.
Herzog, Boaz. Man in infamous hate-crime killing arrested on violation of parole terms.	The Oregonian	May 20, 2006.
Hunt, Amber. Detroit cops call attack 'hate crime'.	Detroit Free Press	February 20, 2006.

Table 4.3 Newspaper Article (signed)

Title of Article and Author	Newspaper	Date
Jeeves, R. Candidate: Holocaust didn't happen.	The Associated Press	May 13, 2006.
Jenkins, C. and Spencer, C.C. Neo-Nazi stabs two in trailer park.	St Petersburg Times	March 25, 2006.
Jenkins, C, Search yields bloody gas mask.	St. Petersburg Times	March 29, 2006.
Knightley, P., Hess: Half a century of secrets.	The Scotsman	May 10, 1991.
Lehrer, J. Dallas Nazis.	Dallas Times Herald	April 11, 1965.
Meyer, Z. Redford Twp. Rampage is called ethnic intimidation.	Detroit Free Press	March 21, 2006.

Table 4.4 Newspaper Article (signed)

Title of Article and Author	Newspaper	Date
Pelisek, C. The Prison King.	LA Weekly	March 22, 2006.
Perkel, C. White supremacists ordered to 'cease their hatemongering'.	CNews	March10,2006.
Rab, Lisa. Fall of the Fourth Reich.	Cleveland Scene	February 15, 2006.
Reed, Christopher. William Pierce: The 'theoretician' of America's extreme right and author of the book that was claimed to have inspired the Oklahoma City bombing.	The Guardian	July 25, 2002.
Scott, R. 200,000 demonstrate for civil rights.	The Guardian	August 29, 1963.
Springfield, M. Democrats, Republicans say no to white supremacist candidate.	Conta Costa Times	March 10, 2006.
Weigl, A. 6 KKK members plead in gun plot.	The News and Observer	March, 21, 2006.

Table 4.5 News Reports

Title of News Report	Source of Publication	Date of Publication
'American Hitler' Shot dead.	BBC News-On this Day	August 25, 1967.
Race extremist jailed in plot to kill judge.	CNN	January 9, 2003.
White supremacists online.	Perkel, Colin , Canoe Network CNews, Toronto Accessed online 19/03/06. http://cnews.canoe.ca/CNEWS/TechNews/Internet/2006/03/10/pf-1482108.html	March 10, 2006.

Table 4.6 Reports

Title of Report	Source of Report	Date
Danger: Extremism The Major Vehicles and Voices of America's Far-Right Fringe.	Anti-Defamation League	1996.
Backgrounder – The Order and Phineas Priesthood.	Anti-Defamation League	1999.
Extremism: A Guide.	Anti-Defamation League	2002.
Dangerous Convictions: An Introduction to extremist activities in prisons.	Anti-Defamation League	2002.
The Dark Side of the Sunshine State: Extremism in Florida.	Anti-Defamation League	2006.
The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism: Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why?	Hudson, R.A. Honolulu, Hawaii: University Press of the Pacific.	2005.
Literature Review on State-Building.	Scott, Z. Report prepared for the Department for International Development, University of Birmingham.	2007.

Table 4.7a Theses

Author and Title of Thesis	University of Award	Date
Brewer, J.D. The British Union of Fascists, Sir Oswald Mosley and Birmingham: an analysis of the content and context of an ideology. Masters thesis.	Birmingham University	Undated.
Canedy Clark, S. Americas Nazis The German American Bund. PhD thesis.	Texas A and M University	1987.
Deal III D. Race and Class in Colonial Virginia: Indians, Englishmen, and Africans on the Eastern Shore During the Seventeenth Century. PhD thesis.	University of Rochester, New York.	1981.
Fielding, N.G. The National Front: a sociological study of political organisation and ideology. PhD thesis.	London School of Economics	1977.
Geels, J.E. (1975) The German-American Bund: Fifth Column or <u>Deushtum</u> ? MA thesis.	North Texas State University	1975.
Goldberg, D. (1984) The Philosophical Foundations of Racism. PhD thesis.	City University of New York	1984.

Table 4.7b Theses

Author and Title of Thesis	University of Award	Date
Horgan, J. Terrorism & Political Violence: a Psychological perspective. PhD thesis.	University College, Cork	2000.
Parkin, D.J. Contested Sources of Identity: Nation, Class and Gender in Second World War Britain. PhD thesis.	London School of Economics	1988.
Simonelli, F.J. “American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party.” PhD thesis.	University of Nevada-Reno	1995.
Sobisch, A. Right-Wing Extremism in Western Democracies: Testing Forty Years of Theory. PhD thesis.	Emory University	1993.
Ya Deau, A.B. Terrorism and Guerrilla warfare: an essay on people’s war and revolution. PhD thesis.	University of Aberdeen	1986.

Table 4.8a Audio Visual

Title	Source	Date
Dylan, B. 'Talkin John Birch Paranoid Blues'.	The Bootleg Series, Volumes 1-3 (Rare and Unreleased) 1961-1991, Columbia Records, C3K 86572.	1961.
George Lincoln Rockwell, CBC TV Interview, Canada.	The George Lincoln Rockwell Collection, Documentary and Audio Recordings.	November 1964.
Pierce, W. Who Rules America?	Audio Documentary	Undated.
Question Time, BBC broadcast featuring Nick Griffin leader of BNP.	BBC	22 October 2009.
Ridgeway, J. Blood in the Face.	Right Thinking Productions, Video	1991.

Table 4.8b Audio Visual

Title	Source	Date
Roots II, Television Series.	ABC TV	1979.
Timewatch, Hitler.	BBC	2001.
Timewatch, Hitler.	BBC	November 25, 2005.
Twilight Zone, Television Series.	CBS/UPN	1959-1964.

Table 4.9a Intelligence Reports

Title of Article	Publication	Date
White Supremacists Protest Immigration in Austin.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	January 24, 2006.
Florida Racist Skinhead Charged for Murder in New Jersey.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	January 24, 2006.
New National Socialist Movement Chapter formed in Montana.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	January 24, 2006.
Brotherhood of Klans Officially Moves to Tennessee.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	January 24, 2006.
Man Sentenced to 160 years for Plot to bomb Chicago Courthouse.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	January 24, 2006.
Utah White Supremacist Pleads Guilty to Racial Beating.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	January 24, 2006.
Ohio White Supremacist Sentenced to Nine Years in Prison.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	January 24, 2006.

Table 4.9b Intelligence Reports

Title of Article	Publication	Date
Seven Indicted in North Carolina Klan Bomb Plot.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	January 24, 2006.
Texas Officer Fatally Shot By Alleged Aryan Brotherhood Members.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	January 24, 2006.
Three Suspected Ecoterrorists Arrested in California Bomb Plot.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	January 24, 2006.
Trial of Sami Al-Arian Concludes with Acquittals, Deadlocks.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	January 24, 2006.
Unexpected Developments in Padilla Terror Trial.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	January 24, 2006.
Pennsylvania Skinhead Charged in Stabbing.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	February 17, 2006.
Former Prison Guard Convicted of Aiding Nazi Low Riders.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	February 17, 2006.

Table 4.9c Intelligence Reports

Title of Article	Publication	Date
Victims of Racist Skinhead Attack Threatened.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	February 17, 2006.
Extremism in Florida: The Dark side of the Sunshine State.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	February 17, 2006.
Texas Brothers Sentenced for Violating Export Laws.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	February 17, 2006.
ADL provides training to Pennsylvania Officers.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	February 17, 2006.
ADL Provides Training to Indiana State Police Academy.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	February 17, 2006.
Aryan Brotherhood Trial to Unfold in the Coming Weeks.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	March 13, 2006.
White Supremacist Fugitive Captured in Florida.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	March 14, 2006.

Table 4.9d Intelligence Reports

Title of Article	Publication	Date
Ecoterror Spokesman Indicted in San Diego.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	March 14, 2006.
Fugitive Brothers Captured in New Mexico.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	March 14, 2006.
Suspected Ecoterrorists Arrested in Washington.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	March 14, 2006.
California White Supremacist Pleads Guilty to Beating Elderly Black Man.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	March 14, 2006.
ADL Honors Law Enforcement Personnel for Combating Hate and Bigotry.	Anti-Defamation League – Law Enforcement Update	March 14, 2006.
Intelligence Report.	Issue 106	Summer 2002.
Intelligence Report.	Issue 108	Winter 2002.

Table 4.9e Intelligence Reports

Intelligence Report.	Issue 109	Spring 2003.
Intelligence Report.	Issue 112	Winter 2003.
Intelligence Report.	Issue 113	Spring 2004.
Intelligence Report.	Issue 114	Summer 2004.
Intelligence Report.	Issue 115	Fall 2004.
Intelligence Report.	Issue 116	Winter 2004.
Intelligence Report.	Issue 117	Spring 2005.

Table 4.9f Intelligence Reports

Intelligence Report.	Issue 118	Summer 2005.
Intelligence Report.	Issue 119	Fall 2005.
Intelligence Report.	Issue 120	Winter 2005.
Intelligence Report.	Issue 126	Summer 2007.
Intelligence Report.	Issue 129	Spring 2008.

Table 5 Intelligence Reports (signed)

Title of Article	Publication	Date
Buchanan. S. and Holthouse D., Minuteman leader has troubled past.	SPLC Intelligence Report	Undated.
Holthouse, D., Casting Stones: An Army of radical Reconstructionists is preparing a campaign to convert conservative fundamentalist churches.	SPLC Intelligence Report	Winter 2005.

Table 6a Radio Broadcasts

Title of Broadcast	Source of Broadcast	Date of Broadcast
Pierce, W. The Romanovs, Child Porn, and "Hate" Laws.	American Dissident Voices	August 1, 1998.
Pierce, W. The Lesson of Amy Biehl.	American Dissident Voices	August 8, 1998.
Pierce, W. Media Myths.	American Dissident Voices	August 15, 1998.
Pierce, W. David Geffen, Steven Spielberg and Bill Clinton.	American Dissident Voices	August 22, 1998.
Pierce, W. The Fayetteville Murders.	American Dissident Voices	August 29, 1998
Pierce, W. Untitled Broadcast.	American Dissident Voices	September 5, 1998.
Pierce, W. The Coming of the New Elites.	American Dissident Voices	September 12, 1998.
Pierce, W. A Confluence of Crises.	American Dissident Voices	September 19, 1998.
Pierce, W. Fashion for Genocide.	American Dissident Voices	September 26, 1998.

Table 6b Radio Broadcasts

Title of Broadcast	Source of Broadcast	Date of Broadcast
Pierce, W. A Closer Look at the Enemy.	American Dissident Voices	October 3, 1998.
Pierce, W. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.	American Dissident Voices	October 10, 1998.
Pierce, W. The Millennium Bug and "Mainstreaming" the News.	American Dissident Voices	October 17, 1998.
Pierce, W. Corruption of America's Police by the ADL.	American Dissident Voices	October 24, 1998.
Pierce, W. "Hate Crimes" and the New World Order.	American Dissident Voices	October 31, 1998.
Pierce, W. The Lesson of South Africa.	American Dissident Voices	November 7, 1998.
Pierce, W. Aesop's Fables and the Rules of Engagement.	American Dissident Voices	November 14, 1998.
Pierce, W. Why War?	American Dissident Voices	November 21, 1998.
Pierce, W. What we Owe Samuel Dash.	American Dissident Voices	November 28, 1998.

Table 6c Radio Broadcasts

Title of Broadcast	Source of Broadcast	Date of Broadcast
Pierce, W. Tribes.	American Dissident Voices	December 5, 1998.
Pierce, W. How It Fits Together.	American Dissident Voices	December 12, 1998.
Pierce, W. Time to Water the Tree of Liberty	American Dissident Voices	December 19, 1998.
Pierce, W. Clinton's War.	American Dissident Voices	December 26, 1998.
Pierce, W. Patriots Choice.	American Dissident Voices	April 28, 2001.
Pierce, W. Untitled.	American Dissident Voices	July 27, 2002.
Strom, K.A. William Pierce: His Mission.	American Dissident Voices	August 3, 2002.
Strom, K.A. Millstones for Moguls.	American Dissident Voices	August 30, 2003.

Table 6.1a Other Sources

Title of Material	Source of Material	Date
Handbill: Aryans Awake.	(http://www.americannaziparty.com) Accessed online 6 April 2006	Undated.
BNP Leaflet: But Who?	BNP	Undated.
BNP Leaflet: Asylum is Making Britain Explode.	BNP	Undated.
Persecution of an Old Campaigner: Colin Jordan.	The Heretical Press	2001.
National Vanguard.	Number 118	September-October, 2003.
National Vanguard.	Number 119	January-February, 2003.
National Vanguard.	Number 120	May-June, 2003.

Table 6.1b Other Sources

Title of Material	Source of Material
Rockwell, G.L. Battle Song.	(http://www.churchoftrueisrael.com/rocwell/rocsong.html) Accessed online 6 April 2006.
Rockwell, G.L. What We Stand For: Goals and Objectives of the National Socialist White Peoples Party.	http://www.churchoftrueisrael.com/rocwell/rocstand.html) Accessed online 6 April 2006.
Rockwell, G.L. The Fable of the Ducks and the Hens.	(http://www.churchoftrueisrael.com/rocduckhen.html). Accessed online 6 April 2006.
Rockwell, G.L. White Self-Hate Master Stroke of the Enemy.	National Alliance, Undated.
Schaerffenberg, A.V. Who was George Lincoln Rockwell?	National Alliance, Undated.

Conclusion

The chapter has set out the research question and the aims of the research. The research design and the research instruments utilised in the conduct of the research have been presented and their role in the gathering and analysis of data considered. The methodological, philosophical underpinnings to the research have also been delineated and considered within a critical framework. The difficulties of entering and researching the field of study have also been considered and the influence this had on the research design and strategy adopted in the conduct of the research. The challenges presented by the field of study to the researcher and the possible limitations that may have been placed on the research outcome considered. The ability to conduct and commit to the research act within such a challenging area of investigation has been explored.

Chapter Three

Roots of American Nazism:

the duality of hate and patriotism in the American past

Introduction

This chapter will provide a discussion of the historiography of American National Socialist tradition, specifically with, the fusion of culture and interchange of ideas between Rockwell and contemporary White Nationalism. In the context of modern White Separatist politics, this chapter will consider the following key themes: the historiography of George Lincoln Rockwell; Leaderless Resistance; the issue of hate crime and policy transfer. The analysis will offer a broad appraisal of issues pertinent to National Socialist thought and White Separatist politics in the US. The analysis will seek to provide the stimulus for a discussion of the themes and issues. The following themes are developed from the literature appraisal: the influence of George Lincoln Rockwell; leaderless resistance; American National Socialist politics; White Separatism; ideological writings⁸⁵ and the New White Nationalist Culture.⁸⁶

The peculiarities of Rockwell and American Nazism can be understood fully after realising the manifestations of modern Nazism in the USA. Rockwell's brand of American Nazism must also be seen in historical context to appreciate the effect

⁸⁵ Rockwell, G.L. (2004) *This Time The World* (York, SC: Liberty Bell Publications).

Rockwell, G.L. (2011) *A National Socialist Life: Selected Writings by George Lincoln Rockwell* (Wentzville, MO, USA: Invictus Books). Hitler, A. (2003a) *Mein Kampf* (London: Pimlico). Hitler, A. (2003b) *Hitler's Table Talk 1941-1944 His private Conversations* (London: Phoenix). Hitler, A. (2003c) *Hitler's Second Book: The Unpublished Sequel to Mein Kampf* (New York: Enigma). MacDonald, A. (1995) *The Turner Diaries* (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books). MacDonald, A. (1998) *Hunter* (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books).

⁸⁶ Bell, L.V. (1973) *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press). Dobratz, B.A. and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States "White Power, White Pride!"* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press). George, J. and Wilcox, L. (1996) *American Extremists: Militias, Supremacists, Klansmen, Communists and Others* (New York: Prometheus Books). Swain, C.M. and Nieli, R. (Editor) (2003) *Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

of the movement on the American public and popular culture. Assessing how these views developed and their impact upon the ideological development of the Separatist Movement, allows the essence of American extremist philosophy to be appreciated. The themes of extremism and modern Nazism have grown from the development of colonial slavery and the concept of government, where they were rekindled into a new phenomenon of political extremism. Although the USA has been synonymous with the ideals set down by the Founding Fathers in the Declaration of Independence, historically, race proved to be a contentious issue, which has continued to cause problems within the USA.⁸⁷ In the South, the demarcation between indentured servitude and slavery became significant in that it was a racial divide, although, indenture was in many respects as harsh a prospect for those emigrating to America. Arguably, all of these elements have an influence on the development of racial attitudes and a causal cultural link to interpretation of actions and bias, which can result in hate crimes.

Post-War Ideological Underpinnings

From 1945, the post war period of the United States has provided a political climate, which is adept at nurturing Nazi ideology, allowing white supremacist organisations to advocate racial separation and intolerance, on the political fringe⁸⁸. In contrast to Austria and Germany where Nazism was prohibited by law, US freedom of speech legislation openly endorses the right to express Nazi views⁸⁹. In Western Europe, those groups with an ideological alliance to a Fascist/Nazi ideology⁹⁰ have attempted to distance themselves from outright demonstrations of Nazis/Fascist sentiment. This has allowed political progress to be made by the far

⁸⁷ Griffith, R. (ed.) (1992) *Major Problems in American History Since 1945* (United States of America: D.C. Heath and Company). Vahan, R. (1962) *The Truth about the John Birch Society* (New York: Macfadden-Bartell Corporation). Durham, M. (2007) *White Rage: The extreme right and American politics* (London: Routledge).

⁸⁸ Schoenberger, R.A. (ed.). (1969) *The American Right Wing: Readings in Political Behaviour* (USA, Holt McDougal).

⁸⁹ Levin, B. (2001) Extremism and the Constitution: How America's legal Evolution Affects the Response to Extremism, *American Behavioural Scientist*, 45: 714-755. Levin reviews the 'protections' that US law provides for 'extremist speech and associations'. Recognising the balancing act that courts have to undertake to ensure 'free expression and association', whilst ensuring the right to protect citizens from 'violence and disruption'.

⁹⁰ Cheles, L., Ferguson, R. and Vaughan, M. (1995) *The Far Right in Western and Eastern Europe* (New York: Longman).

right in Austria, where parties on the right even threatened to lift the ban on the swastika if a majority in government was attained. Through the rise in prominence of parties of the far right in Italy, France, Northern Europe and the UK⁹¹, there has been an increase⁹² in muted Nationalism. In some instances, this has led to attempts to distance the parties from outright xenophobia, whilst retaining their philosophical beliefs. Despite most groups abandoning the outward paraphernalia of Nazism, the Nazi-Fascist ideological core, remains an ever-present feature.

In the European context, the growth of the far right support⁹³ has not been reflected in the UK context. Popular support of the far right is not comparable to that achieved by the National Front in the 1970's⁹⁴ or that of Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists⁹⁵ in the 1930's. Arguably, support levels have been dictated and driven, not by party political action, but with increases in far right support directly linked to immigration levels and rising unemployment,⁹⁶ exemplified by discontentment amongst the working classes. In the modern political sphere there is an adversarial relationship between the Nationalism of the far right and the Socialist left, as the influence of the far right sentiments increased during the

⁹¹ Ignazi, I. (2003) *Extreme Right Wing Parties in Western Europe*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), John, P. and Margetts, H. (2009) The Latent Support for the Extreme Right in British Politics. *West European Politics*, Vol. 32, No 3, 496-513. Bowyer, B. (2008) Local Context and Extreme Right Support in England: The British National Party in the 2002 and 2003 Local Elections, *Electoral Studies*, Vol. 27, 611-620. Copsey, N. (2008) *Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party and the Quest for Legitimacy* (2nd ed.). (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan). Goodwin, M. (2008) Backlash in the 'Hood': Determinants of Support for the British National Party (BNP) at the Local Level, *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, Vol. 16, No 3, 347-361.

⁹² In the UK, however, Williams and Law (2012) have noted that despite the 'disintegration' of the BNP and its inability to secure a place in the 'political mainstream' that it has been successful in 'legitimising' its claims to 'speak on behalf of the indigenous people of Britain'. Williams, S. and Law, I. (2012) Legitimising Racism: An Exploration of the Challenges Posed by the Use of Indigeneity Discourses by the Far Right, *Sociological Research Online*, 17 (2) 2.

⁹³ Mudde, C. (2013) Three Decades of Populist Radical Right Wing Parties in Western Europe: So What? *European Journal of Political Research*, 52, Issue 1, 1-19. Zuquete, J. (2008) The European Extreme-Right and Islam: New Directions? *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Vol.13, No 3, 321-344. Rydgren, J. and Ruth, P. (2013) Contextual Explanations of Radical Right-Wing Support in Sweden: Socioeconomic Marginalization, Group Threat, and the Halo Effect, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 36, Issue 4: 711-728. Mondon, A. (2013) Nicolas Sarkozy's legitimization of the Front National: Background and Perspectives, *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 47, Issue 1: 22-40. Art, D. (2011) *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigrant Parties in Western Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). Pytlas, B. (2013) Radical-Right Narratives in Slovakia and Hungary: Historical legacies, Mythic Overlaying and Contemporary Politics, *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 47, Issue 2: 162-183.

⁹⁴ Walker, M. (1977) *National Front* (Glasgow: Wm. Collins).

⁹⁵ Dorril, S. (2007) *Blackshirt: Sir Oswald Mosley and British Fascism* (London: Penguin).

⁹⁶ Walker, M. (1977) *National Front* (Glasgow: Wm. Collins). Dahrendorf, R. (1976) *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul).

1970's in Britain.⁹⁷ At first there was little opposition to the far right, by Socialist groups as it was felt that a far right party would split the Conservative vote and ensure a Labour government⁹⁸. However, once it was established by voting behaviour that the far right support was from the working class and taking potential socialist votes, a vociferous opposition was mounted.⁹⁹ In contrast with the American movement¹⁰⁰ this is linked by culture and religious influences, and has manifested an influence on modern popular culture.

Despite the ideological traditions amongst the political periphery of the far right, in the post war period, more recently there has been a divergence between the American and European experiences. Within the European and British sphere in particular, there has still remained a separation between the traditional church and state, with religion, which has diminished in importance being left as a separate factor to political action and involvement.¹⁰¹ In the US, however, there has been a strong religious impetus amongst the core of American society¹⁰² since the early settlers, which is still arguably significant, although may be diminishing.¹⁰³ This traditional religious impetus could be significant in the spread of religion through Christian Identity theology. The strong religious influence upon American society is directly related to the nature of American migration from Britain in particular.¹⁰⁴ The early settlers that formed the communities in New England and developed a new society in the Americas were strongly influenced by theology and motivated, on

⁹⁷ Jones, B. and Robins, L. (eds.) (1992) *Two Decades in British Politics*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press). Walker, M. (1977) *National Front*. (Glasgow: Wm. Collins).

⁹⁸ Walker, M. (1977) *National Front*. (Glasgow: Wm. Collins).

⁹⁹ Walker, M. (1977) *National Front*. (Glasgow: Wm. Collins).

¹⁰⁰ Bushart, H.L., Craig, J.R. and Barnes, M. (1998) *Soldiers of God* (New York: Kensington Publishing Corporation). Adams, D.K. (ed.) (1989) *Studies in US Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press). Boyer, P.S. et al. (1993) *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People* (Lexington: D.C. Heath and Company).

¹⁰¹ Greenhouse, Carol J. (2006) "Separation of Church and State in the United States: Lost in Translation," *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*: Vol. 13: Iss. 2, Article 7. Knutsen, O. (2004) Religious Denomination and Party Choice in Western Europe: A Comparative Longitudinal Study from Eight Countries, 1970-97. *International Political Science Review* Vol. 25, No. 1, (January), pp. 97-128.

¹⁰² Zelinsky, W. (2001) The Uniqueness of the American Religious Landscape. *Geographical Review* Vol. 91, No. 3 (July, 2001), pp. 565-585.

¹⁰³ Aikman, D. (2012) America's Religious Past Fades in a Secular Age Unthinkable to the Founders: One in five Americans today has no religious affiliation. *The Wall Street Journal*, October 25th.

¹⁰⁴ Fischer, D.H. (1989) *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press).

religious grounds, to create a new society and home.¹⁰⁵ The migration to America was effectively a forced migration in a quest to achieve religious freedom and expression from that which was practiced on the British mainland, they had left.¹⁰⁶ Unlike other migration patterns, during the later period, the initial development and impetus for American society was driven by religion and a desire for religious freedom and expression.

There have been a number of strong influencing factors upon the development of American society from its foundation. A number of the founding influences are particularly relevant and these are principally: the settlement of New England and the religious impetus these values created¹⁰⁷; the developments of Colonial social history, which has interwoven cultural traits from the settler's origins¹⁰⁸; the Declaration of Independence; and the role of indentured servitude¹⁰⁹ and slavery¹¹⁰ in the ante bellum period.¹¹¹ All of these factors have contributed to creating a unique cultural, religious and political environment upon which American society is based. There is a complicated cultural immersion between the puritan New England settlements, the Virginia elites, the slavery of the Chesapeake and the cracker culture in areas of the south.¹¹² All of these provide a historical foundation upon which an American society is based, with unusual motivations and relationships existing and their respective rationale for settlement in the Americas. Arguably, a century after the Civil War, social resonance was still felt within discernible cultural elements, with White attributes to early cracker culture¹¹³ still

¹⁰⁵ Greene, J.P. (1988) *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press).
Lockbridge, K. (1985) *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years, Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736*. (New York: Norton).

¹⁰⁶ Bailyn, B. (1987) *Voyagers to the West: Emigration from Britain to America on the Eve of the Revolution*. (London: I.B. Tauris and Co. Ltd.).

¹⁰⁷ Anderson, V.D. (1991) 'The Origins of New England Culture'. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol.48. Lockbridge, K. (1985) *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years, Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736* (New York: Norton).

¹⁰⁸ Middleton, R. (1996) *Colonial America: A History 1585-1776*. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell).

¹⁰⁹ Salinger, S. (1987) *'To Serve Well and Faithfully': Labor and Indentured Servants in Pennsylvania, 1682-1800*. (Cambridge: Heritage).

¹¹⁰ Morgan, P.D. (1998) *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth Century Chesapeake and Low Country*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press).

¹¹¹ Note: Ante Bellum refers to the period before the American Civil War.

¹¹² McWhinney, G. (1990) *Cracker Culture*. (Tuscaloosa: Alabama, University of Alabama Press).

¹¹³ Although used in a derogatory fashion now as a racial slur at times by African-Americans towards Whites, cracker refers to the descendants of the Scottish and Irish migrants to America and their cultural traits.

evident. The divisions between the north and south although no longer based along the Mason-Dixon line, were still apparent. However, the most notable and poignant was the on-going situation concerning the African-Americans, despite emancipation, the struggle for civil rights and recognition was still a pertinent issue¹¹⁴. These issues alone do not contribute to a rationale for the development of Separatist politics or increases in support for Identity theology.

The strong religious ethic¹¹⁵ in America has perhaps influenced the adoption of Identity theology amongst the traditional far right and developments in separatist politics. Particularly as religion plays an integral part of the tradition of American culture and values, unlike Europe which has seen a steadily decreasing influence of religion upon society and politics.¹¹⁶ There are a number of contending causes for the role and importance of religion in not only American politics but within the remit of American society where religious values are set as a precedent. In Europe the far right has not developed in the same manner as the Separatist Movement and has solely been a reactionary movement, triggered by immigration levels and appealing to those disenfranchised by mainstream society.¹¹⁷ With regard to race it has become the focal point for parties which have utilised 'Nationalist' sentiment so that the use of National flags become indicative of the far right, there has been a lack of ability to go beyond this single issue. The European dimension of Nationalist development within a Nazi/Fascist pretext has effectively ceased to evolve at the same rate as their American counterparts. Viewed from a sociological perspective, this could simply be attributed to 'policy transfer' from the USA to Europe.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ King, R.H. (1992) *Civil Rights and the Idea of Freedom*. (New York: Oxford University Press).
Eagles, C.W. (ed.) (1986) *The Civil Rights Movement in America*. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi).

¹¹⁵ Zelinsky, W. (2001) The Uniqueness of the American Religious Landscape. *Geographical Review* Vol. 91, No. 3 (July,2001), pp. 565-585.

¹¹⁶ Knutsen, O. (2004) Religious Denomination and Party Choice in Western Europe: A Comparative Longitudinal Study from Eight Countries, 1970-97. *International Political Science Review* Vol. 25, No. 1, (January), pp. 97-128.

¹¹⁷ Cheles, L., Ferguson, R. and Vaughan, M. (1995) *The Far Right in Western and Eastern Europe*. (New York: Longman).

¹¹⁸ Dolowitz, D. and Marsh, D. (1996) 'Who learns from whom? A review of the policy transfer literature.' *Political Studies*, 44: 343-357.

Hate Crime and Policy Transfer

Hate crime in America has in many respects emerged from the political shadows. William Pierce makes mention of the enforcement of hate crimes in his futuristic text 'The Turner Diaries', with the law enforcement officers being reminiscent of George Orwell's thought police portrayed in his novel *Nineteen Eighty Four*.¹¹⁹ Arguably, it is not quite so dramatic, for American White Nationalism and those on the political periphery, it does however, present serious problems, and questions regarding freedom of speech.¹²⁰ In the right wing texts, hate crimes and the criminal justice system is representative of the politically correct liberal society run amok.¹²¹ Although, at the moment there is no sign of restrictions to freedom of speech in the United States, the raft of prosecutions in the United States has provided a conduit of impending doom, and judgment.¹²² Though the political and legislative pendulum is swinging in the direction of tighter controls on provocateurs of hate, it has the disadvantage of disseminating the organisations to ever smaller factions or to lone members rather than merely containment, in effect creating lone crusaders. Inevitably, any democracy has to deal with organisations and individuals who advocate their destruction. However, the method employed in the USA to combat hate crime is creating more complex issues.¹²³

The dialogue regarding hate-based crimes opens an opportunity for analysis and understanding; it allows a multifaceted approach from different disciplines to assess the impact and possible implications of both crimes and legislation.¹²⁴ The interplay between hate crime and hate terrorism, as a mechanism of assessing their relationship to leaderless resistance, may be furthered by considering how to attribute possible developing factors, and examples from corresponding research.

¹¹⁹ Orwell, G. (1989) *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (London: Penguin).

¹²⁰ Levin, B. (2001c) Hate and the Constitution: How the law's evolution affects our response to modern right-wing extremism. *American Behavioural Scientist* (online).

¹²¹ MacDonald, A. (1995) *The Turner Diaries* (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books).

MacDonald, A. (1998) *Hunter* (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books).

¹²² Langer, E. (2003) *A Hundred Little Hitlers* (New York: Metropolitan Books).

¹²³ Nolan, J.J. (2002) The Hate Crime Statistics Act of 1990: Developing a Method for Measuring the Occurrence of Hate Violence. *American behavioural Scientist*, 46: 136-153.

¹²⁴ Ardley, J. (2005) Hate Crimes: A brief review. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 25: 12, 54-66.

In effect there is potentially a fluidity of movement between hate crime and hate terrorism, driven partly through the use of terminology and also through the provision of an ideological stimulus to justify the philosophical foundations of extremism.¹²⁵ The uses of hate crime and hate terrorism both create ambiguity when utilizing the leaderless resistance model to categorise and understand the implications of race-hate activities and violence.¹²⁶ Despite the difficulties in identifying and categorising hate crimes, the leaderless resistance mode of operation can still be referred to as a form of hate crime, just as hate crime can be termed leaderless resistance. Due to the political auspices it could be more productive to refer to these activities as hate terrorism, with hate crime becoming a subsection along with leaderless resistance, dealing with crimes and the model of operation used to achieve the goals.¹²⁷ It would appear from present literature and on-going developments within White Nationalism that the criminal justice responses are stifling the issue of hate crime.¹²⁸ There would also seem to be a prevalent change in the perpetrators of these actions, which could have far reaching implications for extremism in the future and the criminal justice system.¹²⁹ This could involve a marginalisation of hate crime, due to the rapid escalation in hate related activities. It may also have the potential for hate crime perpetrators outside the movement, to become harbingers of hate who are ideologically aware after exposure to extremist literature and culture.¹³⁰ Indeed, there is the potential for further racial stratification, with hate crime legislation highlighting racial differences and harnessing identity.¹³¹

¹²⁵ Goldberg, D. (1984) *The Philosophical Foundations of Racism*. PhD thesis, City University of New York.

¹²⁶ Nolan, J.J. and Akiyama, Y. (1999), An Analysis of Factors That Affect Law Enforcement Participation in Hate Crime Reporting. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 15: 111-127.

¹²⁷ Bensinger, G. (1992) 'Hate Crime: A New/Old Problem', *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 16: 115-123.

¹²⁸ Tonry, M. (1994) 'Racial politics, racial disparities and the war on crime'. *Crime and Delinquency*, 40: 4, 465-494.

¹²⁹ Tonry, M. (2009) Explanations of American punishment policies: A National History. *Punishment and Society*, 11: 3, 377-394.

¹³⁰ Watts, M.W. (2001) Aggressive Youth Cultures and Hate Crime: Skinheads and Xenophobic Youth in Germany. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 45: 600-615.

¹³¹ Wright, S.A. (2009) Strategic Framing of Radical-Nationalism in North America and Europe: An Analysis of a Burgeoning Transnational Network. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 21: 189-210.

It is arguable that hate crime¹³², hate terrorism and leaderless resistance must be reassessed as compatible elements within the modern political arena and criminal justice system, when dealing with hate based offences.¹³³ By utilising primary and secondary material the thesis will discuss the extent to which a fluidity of movement exists between these three areas and that they are not separate and mutually exclusive areas for analysis. The use of hate crime as a criteria and branding category presents a misleading understanding of both its origins and links to compatible areas such as the leaderless resistance model. This, therefore, has an effect upon the formal application of hate crime as a category of offence and as a universal approach to hate based activities.¹³⁴ Within the context of American White Nationalism, this is all too evident and provides a political and ideological collage when attempting to interpret or analyse the movement. There would appear to be a theoretical fluidity between all three areas, which must be recognised to understand if they operate in tandem with one another. This will be discussed within the confines of American White Nationalism.

The composition of American White Nationalism, which exists on the periphery of American politics, includes the traditional far right; White Separatists; neo-Nazis; Nationalists; Militias; Christian Identity Movements and other groups generalised within the context of White Supremacy (Dobratz 2000). This type of classification presents difficulties for not only White Nationalist Identity but also for hate crime and its manifestations. In the context of the political arena there is no agreed response or theoretical grounding and the movement appears to change through time, with groups and factions gaining prominence for short periods (Ridgeway 1995). At present, the interpretation and conceptualisation of hate

¹³² Petrosino (1999) has argued that hate crimes are not a 'modern-day phenomenon' in the US but have been present throughout the history of the country. Petrosino, C. (1999) Connecting the Past to the Future: Hate Crime in America, *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, February, 15: 22-47.

¹³³ White, R. (2002) Hate Crime Politics. *Theoretical Criminology*, 6: 499-502.

¹³⁴ Newburn, T. (2002) Atlantic Crossings: 'Policy Transfer' and crime control in the USA and Britain. *Punishment and Society*, 4: 2, 165-194.

crime¹³⁵ has far reaching implications for the public; and for the political interpretation of hate crime and its implications for American society.

Despite the nuances of categorisation some interesting points do arise, which require further discussion, specifically, the origins of hate crime¹³⁶. Hate crime has come to the fore recently with high profile cases on both sides of the Atlantic¹³⁷. In the US, the prosecution of Tom Metzger by the Southern Poverty Law Centre and the actions taken against the Aryan Nations are recent examples.¹³⁸ If hate crime is defined as crime against the person on the basis of bias, through race, ethnicity or culture then history provides numerous examples.¹³⁹ However, US legislation defines hate crime as “manifest prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation or ethnicity.”¹⁴⁰ Despite this, the nature of hate crime tends to posit race as the primary basis of hate crime¹⁴¹, with a white-black divide between perpetrators and victims. There is an array of difference between the suppositions of theory and the actuality of hate, with black-white violence, raising questions about the nature of criminal justice and racism in America and the UK.¹⁴² Hate crime has always existed in some form in the culture and society of the United States.¹⁴³ In the ante-bellum period, slaves were brutalised, and lynching became a feature of early America, with

¹³⁵ Morgan has provided a useful account of hate crime legislation in the USA. Morgan, J. (2002) US Hate Crime Legislation: A Legal Model to Avoid in *Australia*, *Journal of Sociology*, March, 38: 25-48.

¹³⁶ Grattet and Jenness (2001) Have examined the development and ‘maturation’ of policy in the area of hate crime. Grattet, R and Jenness, V. (2001) The Birth and Maturation of Hate Crime Policy in the United States, *American Behavioral Scientist*, December, 45: 668-696.

¹³⁷ Frost (2007, 2008) has examined the impact of race hate in Britain and also the impact of Islamophobia and the interface of the media. Frost, D. (2007) The ‘Enemy Within’? Asylum, Racial Violence and ‘Race Hate’ in Britain Today, *Journal of the Academy of Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, Issue 3: 227-248. Frost, D. (2008) Islamophobia: Examining Causal Links Between the Media and ‘Race Hate’. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, Vol. 28, Issue 11/12: 564-578.

¹³⁸ Langer, E. (2003) *A Hundred Little Hitlers* (New York: Metropolitan Books).

¹³⁹ Soyer, F. (2013) Faith, culture and fear: comparing Islamophobia in early modern Spain and twenty-first-century Europe. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36: 3, 399-416.

¹⁴⁰ Nolan, Akiyama and Berhanu (2002) provide a useful analysis of the Act of 1990. Nolan, III, J.J., Akiyama, Y. and Berhanu, S. (2002) The Hate Crime Statistics Act of 1990: Developing a Method for Measuring the Occurrence of Hate Violence, *American Behavioral Scientist*, September, 46, 136-153. Hate Crime Statistics Act of 1990, 28 U.S.C. 534.

¹⁴¹ Torres (1999) considered the impact of hate crime against African Americans. Torres, S. (1999) Hate Crimes Against African Americans: The Extent of the Problem, *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 15: 48-63. Reactions to hate crimes has been documented by, Craig, K. M. (1999) Retaliation, Fear, or Rage: An Investigation of African American and White Reactions to Racist hate Crimes, *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 14: 138-151.

¹⁴² Morgan, J. (2002) US hate crime legislation: a legal model to avoid in Australia. *Journal of Sociology*, 38: 25-48.

¹⁴³ Petrosino, C. (1999) Connecting the Past to the Future: Hate Crime in America. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 15: 22-47.

countless victims in the great cultural divide of American society.¹⁴⁴ In the American 1960's, hate crime underwent a metamorphosis into a new formulated theory, with the murder of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Secretary Medgar Evers in 1963, followed by the 1964 murder of the three civil rights activists James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner in Alabama. The 1964 murders were subsequently, portrayed on screen in the movie 'Mississippi Burning'.

However, there are three factors in the development of hate crime: firstly the relationship to the political ideology of White Nationalism; secondly the relationship to leaderless resistance; finally hate terrorism. Hate crime has now become more prominent politically in America and in other Western democracies, with heightened awareness and fear of the threat posed.¹⁴⁵ The point when hate crime becomes hate terrorism, or should be classified as leaderless resistance is open to debate.¹⁴⁶ If the 1997 bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal building by Timothy McVeigh is seen as a principal example of leaderless resistance, through its almost complete replication of the bombing of the Federal Building in the book *The Turner Diaries*, it could arguably, also be classified as hate terrorism. It could also be suggested, that the main differentiation between hate terrorism and leaderless resistance is one of terminology or philosophy; both have a general political pretext and goal, which differs from isolated hate crimes. The murders by Joseph Franklin¹⁴⁷, which apparently inspired Pierce to write the sequel to *The Turner Diaries*, *Hunter* can be referred to as hate crime but also as the lone wolf form of leaderless resistance, though it is regarded as crime rather than terrorism. This distinction is finite, but important, since although it highlights the ambiguity in how hate crimes or political acts of violence are categorised, it demonstrates the transfer, from one to the other.

¹⁴⁴ Levin, B. (2002b) From Slavery to Hate Crime Laws: The Emergence of Race and Status-Based Protection in American Criminal Law. *Journal of Social Issues*, Summer, 58 (2), 227-245.

¹⁴⁵ Petrosino, C. (1999) Connecting the Past to the Future: Hate Crime in America. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 15: 22-47.

¹⁴⁶ Beam, L.R. (1992) Leaderless Resistance, *Seditionist*, Issue 12, Feb., Final Edition.

¹⁴⁷ Kaplan, J. (Ed) (2000) *Encyclopedia of White Power: A Sourcebook on the Radical racist Right* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press).

There are a number of philosophical and theoretical questions which arise as part of this on-going analysis and debate, specifically concerning the American government's use of 'terrorist branding' and whether this is a purposeful ploy relating to White Nationalist identity. In light of recent events¹⁴⁸ and the on-going battle for 'hearts and minds' in the war against terror, terrorist terminology is indelibly linked in the public imagination to that of Islamic 'jihad' and Al Qaeda.¹⁴⁹ It could be argued that the lessons of earlier experiences of domestic terror action from Oklahoma City to the exploits of The Order have not been utilised effectively. The stark realisation from these cases proved that some White Americans, in their quest to be patriotic were consumed by hate for the Federal Government, assessing it to be tyrannical.¹⁵⁰

Policy transfer has provided a key resource from across the Atlantic to deal with hate crime, and provide a criminal justice response.¹⁵¹ The benefits of this are that lessons are learned from the implementation of law enforcement strategy. However, what is not readily identified or discernible is the propensity for policy transfer in the White Nationalist community between hate crime/hate terrorism and leaderless resistance. This policy transfer could occur within the movement itself or between the USA and West European, White Nationalists. During his tenure as leader of the National Alliance, William Pierce organised annual leadership training conferences for promising White Nationalist activists¹⁵², in order to spread ideas. This option was also open to members from Europe to allow an opportunity for communication and interaction.

The new awareness of hate crime, and appropriate criminal justice training to deal with it, also creates divisions and stratification amongst offenders. Indeed US legislation prescribes that sentencing represents the motivation for crime whether it

¹⁴⁸ In the post 9/11 period and the ongoing War on Terror, the emphasis has moved from domestic terror threats from events such as the Oklahoma City bombing and the Waco siege, to a dimension of International terrorism.

¹⁴⁹ Lennon, A.T.J. (ed.) (2003) *The Battle for Hearts and Minds: using soft power to undermine terrorist networks* (Cambridge Massachusetts: The MIT Press).

¹⁵⁰ Vidal, G. (2002) The Meaning of Timothy McVeigh: in *The Last Empire* (London: Abacus).

¹⁵¹ Newburn, T. (2002) Atlantic Crossings: 'Policy Transfer' and crime control in the USA and Britain. *Punishment and Society*, 4: 2, 165-194.

¹⁵² Griffin, R.S. (2001) *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds*. (USA: 1st Books).

be by “race, colour, religion, national origin, ethnicity, gender, disability or sexual orientation”¹⁵³. The issue of criminology and deviance in relation to hate crime; hate terrorism and leaderless resistance, creates a number of different yet significant issues, which can be utilised to create an appropriate response. In particular it may be useful to use comparative measures to fully understand the criminology of hate crime, assessing the hierarchy of offenders, social and class divisions. This will enable an appropriate assessment of hate crime to be analysed and related to other criminal behaviour, if any, outwith leaderless resistance. Following this an opportunity would be presented to allow an appropriate understanding to be formed on the issue in respect of public fear and law enforcement policies, towards hate crime and hate terrorism. These factors enable a profile of the perpetrators to be formulated and contrasted with other forms of criminal behaviour.

From the 1960’s onward, acts that would now be regarded as hate crimes were committed by a small band of extremists on the periphery of society.¹⁵⁴ This is personified by Joseph Franklin¹⁵⁵, a dedicated extremist, with a specific political philosophy. He was also unwavering in following the model later envisaged by right wing texts of the lone wolf predator, taking it upon himself to seek revenge against liberal society.¹⁵⁶ Hate crime has, with the exception of a few high profile cases, amounted to low level incidents, which are now occurring with increasing frequency. Hate Watch, run by the Southern Poverty Law Centre, reports rising numbers of incidents, which vary in level and propensity for public safety. However, what becomes increasingly evident from such reports is the difference in the profile of the perpetrators of these incidents. It appears that the individuals responsible for these crimes, unlike their high profile predecessors, are not activists or political cornerstones of the movement; indeed they may not necessarily be involved in political activities at all. The basis of White Nationalism depends on a precedent of

¹⁵³ Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act; Section 280003 of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994.

¹⁵⁴ Petrosino, C. (1999) Connecting the Past to the Future: Hate Crime in America. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 15: 22-47. Ridgeway, J. (1995) *Blood in the Face* (New York: Thunder’s Mouth Press).

¹⁵⁵ Kaplan, J. (ed.) (2000) *Encyclopedia of White Power: A Sourcebook on the Radical racist Right* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press).

¹⁵⁶ MacDonald, A. (1998) *Hunter* (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books).

racial consciousness and awareness, politically and through group contact.¹⁵⁷ Some of the more recent perpetrators have nothing more than a rudimentary immersion into the politics of radicalism and White Nationalism.

An important issue arises in response to these developments; the perpetrators are branded 'hate' criminals before being exposed to the core of the movement. If this became a scaling process, their crimes could only escalate further once they are exposed to the movement's rhetoric, and texts advocating explicit violence. Developments in the criminal justice systems responses have now reached a point where awareness is at its highest level ever, in recognising and dealing with exponents of hate. The perpetrators, although outwardly racially motivated, have racial imperatives as a pretext, rather than as a primary motivation. The division between crime and terrorism appears to rapidly diminish and allow opportunities for the perpetrators of hate crime to make the transition, to hate terrorism. Thus hate crime and hate terrorism, rather than being two contrasting aspects, will have a fluidity of movement, becoming a transitory process of political evolution. For the perpetrator, the political immersion and personal development could proceed in tandem, with the escalation to becoming a fully-fledged terrorist.¹⁵⁸

Conclusion

The political emphasis has propelled hate crime to a new phenomenon, both in cultural parameters and in terms of a criminal justice framework. The limitations of the premise and the inconsistencies of the application, within a modern liberal democracy are largely unexplored and open to interpretation, in the same manner as political will dictates when it is utilised rather than being a prescriptive response. The linkage between hate crime and hate terrorism provides scope for analysis and ongoing discourse. The theoretical journey, however, from political activist to terrorist is a tenuous link, rather than a means of prescriptive analysis. Charting the escalation, from racist to hate criminal or terrorist is more readily identifiable.

¹⁵⁷ Ridgeway, J. (1995) *Blood in the Face* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press).

¹⁵⁸ Flynn, K. and Gerhardt, G. (1990) *The Silent Brotherhood* (New York: Signet).

Invariably, many of those who have represented the movement, in violent opposition to the State, have subsequently been portrayed as ‘White Patriots’ and martyrs to the cause. Thereby, this could provide an indication of the possible direction and focus of the movement. There are arguably three variables: 1) the party activist who through frustration and ineptitude of party politics indulges in violence and crime before escalating to murder; 2) the racially aware protagonist who with little direct contact is motivated towards terrorism; 3) the dedicated racist and activist whose activities escalate to becoming a revolutionary. These variables correspond to the protagonists mentioned, Joseph Franklin, Timothy McVeigh and Bob Matthews. There is a pyramid of ideology, which provides a causal link for such variables: primarily the theories of leaderless resistance; the spiritual leadership provided by George Lincoln Rockwell and the legacy inherited by William Pierce. This highlights the fluidity of movement within the White Nationalist Community between an individual and the ideological core. The ideological umbrella provided by leaderless resistance is a core provider of encouragement and support for White Nationalists.

Chapter Four

The Public Enemy:

George Lincoln Rockwell and the Leaderless Resistance

Introduction

Arguably the creator of a new rejuvenated brand of Nazism and White Nationalist culture was Nazi Leader George Lincoln Rockwell¹⁵⁹. From founding the American Nazi Party in 1958 until his death in 1967, Rockwell advocated segregation, intolerance and hate. He was driven by a belief that an international Jewish conspiracy existed to overthrow America and destroy the White race.¹⁶⁰ The radical and extreme right have been present throughout American history in various guises. However, it was during the 1950's and 1960's when America was in the midst of the Civil Rights Movement that the post-war extreme right was most pronounced.¹⁶¹ Rockwell provides an enigmatic political profile, from 1950's and 1960's America. His personal motivation and ideology as an extremist leader are instrumental in understanding his leadership persona. This new political extremism asked incisive questions of the American society and values, which produced a Nazi leader who advocated the execution of 80% of Jews and the gassing of homosexuals.¹⁶² Rockwell as a self-appointed disciple of Adolf Hitler, was confined to the American political fringe by a society still recovering from World War Two.

One of the many contradictions in Rockwell's political portfolio is that an American who fought for his country in World War Two became a Nazi. A war veteran trying to re-create the political ideology of the regime he helped to overthrow, that of the Third Reich. In radio broadcasts and speeches, Rockwell and

¹⁵⁹ Bell, L.V. (1973) *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism*. (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press).

¹⁶⁰ Rockwell, G.L. (1983) *White Power* (Not known). Rockwell, G.L. (2004) *This Time The World* (York, SC: Liberty Bell Publications). Rockwell, G.L. (2011) *A National Socialist Life: Selected Writings by George Lincoln Rockwell* (Wentzville, MO, USA: Invictus Books).

¹⁶¹ Durham, M. (2007) *White Rage: The extreme right and American politics* (London: Routledge).

¹⁶² Schmaltz, W.M. (1999) *Hate: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Washington: Brassey's).

his detractors continually referenced his position as a veteran who had fought against Germany during the war.¹⁶³ Rockwell utilised this knowledge as a measure of two factors: firstly to prove that he was a patriotic American who would defend the USA: and secondly establishing the credibility his Nazi predecessors did not have. Therefore, by implication, for Rockwell as a veteran, to endorse such an ideology, demonstrated his patriotism coupled with his assertion that he and the USA had been duped into war with Germany and lied to by those in power.

Rockwell is arguably an enigma, a contradiction both politically, and as an individual and a contentious leader¹⁶⁴; although in hindsight, within the movement, he is established amongst the pantheon of movement folklore. At the time, some felt his approach was a hindrance to segregation and the Right, with his comic book Nazi approach¹⁶⁵ being so severe in policy and approach that he was effectively more beneficial to those who opposed segregation. After his death, some claimed Rockwell secretly worked for the FBI, due to the detrimental effect his publicity and politics had on the more conservative elements of the Radical Right.¹⁶⁶ However, there is no evidence to suggest this beyond the suspicion of others within the political periphery, who opposed his overt Nazism.¹⁶⁷ There are contradictions in Rockwell's background compared to other movement activists and leaders. During his childhood, he had been entertained by Groucho Marx and Jack Benny amongst others, who were all family friends, and Jewish, yet as an adult he was a vociferous anti-Semite. Rockwell left Brown University on 15th March 1941, to volunteer for World War Two, where he served as a naval aviator on the USS Omaha, Wasp and Mobile, seeing action in the Atlantic and Pacific. On 26th September 1950, he was recalled to active duty for the war in Korea. Rockwell's activities and military service contradict the traditional background of both supporters and leaders on the political extreme. His background prior to becoming a Nazi creates a mystique in the

¹⁶³ Rockwell, G.L. (2004) *This Time The World* (York, SC: Liberty Bell Publications).

¹⁶⁴ Burchardt, H. "Racist Leader Could Be Nasty, Charming...or Pitiful." (Washington Post, August 26, 1967). Criminals on Federal Payroll Engineered Rockwell Hoax on America, *The Councillor*, 1977, December 30, 14: 5.

¹⁶⁵ An Insider talks about fringe organisations, *Acres USA*, 1986, September: 16: 24-27.

¹⁶⁶ Criminals on Federal Payroll Engineered Rockwell Hoax on America, *The Councillor*, 1977, December 30, 14: 5.

¹⁶⁷ An Insider talks about fringe organisations, *Acres USA*, 1986, September: 16: 24-27.

movement literature, regarding his personal and ideological motivations and the profile of an enigmatic leader.¹⁶⁸

Father of the American Right

The peculiarities of Rockwell and American Nazism can be understood fully after realising the manifestations of modern Nazism in the USA. Rockwell's brand of American Nazism must also be seen in historical context to appreciate the effect of the movement on the American public and popular culture.¹⁶⁹ Assessing how these views developed and their impact upon the ideological development of the American Radical Right, allows the essence of American extremist philosophy to be appreciated.

During the 1950's and 1960's Rockwell's A.N.P. represented the extreme in America's political arena, preaching a message of separation from blacks and death to traitors.¹⁷⁰ Throughout this period, there was tension between black and white Americans due to societal changes exemplified by the struggle of the Civil Rights Movement, which changed American politics irrevocably.¹⁷¹ The foundation¹⁷² of American racial culture is based on perceptions of race¹⁷³ and was moulded according to society's beliefs at that time. The American continent provides a remarkable sociological sample of world cultures and ideologies. Whilst Nazism and Civil Rights were features of the 1960's period¹⁷⁴, neither were new concepts in America. Nazism had existed¹⁷⁵ in the USA long before Rockwell raised the swastika on American soil. Rockwell hailed Nazism as the solution to America's

¹⁶⁸ George Lincoln Rockwell Interview. *Playboy*, April 1966.

¹⁶⁹ Dobratz, B.A. and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States "White Power, White Pride!"* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press).

¹⁷⁰ George Lincoln Rockwell, CBC TV Interview, Canada, November 1964.

¹⁷¹ Eagles, C.W. (ed.) (1986) *The Civil Rights Movement in America* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi).

¹⁷² Abrams, D. and Hogg, M.A. (1988) *Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes* (London: Routledge).

¹⁷³ Lavalette, M. and Pratt, A. (2005) *Social Policy: Theories, Concepts and Issues* (London: Sage).

¹⁷⁴ Bobo, L.D. (1999) Prejudice as Group Position: Microfoundations of a Sociological Approach to Racism and Race Relations. *Journal of Social Issues*, (online).

¹⁷⁵ Canedy Clark, S. (1987) *Americas Nazis The German American Bund*. PhD thesis, Texas A and M University.

social problems just as his predecessors had presented Nazism as the answer to the Great Depression.¹⁷⁶

Rockwell's A.N.P. recognised Hitler as their spiritual and ideological leader and used Nazi uniforms and the swastika in an attempt to replicate Hitler's National Socialism. This represented an essential flaw in American Nazism, since Hitler had long maintained that National Socialism was unsuitable for export.¹⁷⁷ American Nazism looked to Germany as an example and viewed American leaders as second best, to Hitler. The appeal and membership of extremist groups confirm that their message resonated with certain sections of American society.¹⁷⁸ The mainstream recognition and support they required, however, was never forthcoming to a movement which elicited images of uniforms and violent confrontation.¹⁷⁹

The emergence of Rockwell at the head of the A.N.P. signified a new and lasting development in American Nazism. Unlike his predecessor, Fritz Kuhn, leader of the German-American Bund, Rockwell was the quintessential American. Prior to his sojourn into extremist politics, Rockwell represented the fabric of the American establishment with his conservative upbringing, unlike his Nazi contemporaries, who existed on the periphery of society. Rockwell had demonstrated his patriotism fighting in World War Two.¹⁸⁰ This draws a clear distinction between Rockwell and his Bund predecessors who were predominately German, and who, unlike Rockwell, sought the dissolution of the United States.¹⁸¹ Later, as leader of the A.N.P., Rockwell expressed his disquiet at participating in the destruction of Nazi Germany, he stoically insisted that despite media speculation he was still 'an American' and not a German. Rockwell explained in an interview¹⁸² that his party was an American

¹⁷⁶ Higham, C. (1985) *American Swastika* (New York: Doubleday).

¹⁷⁷ Hitler, A. (2003a) *Mein Kampf* (London: Pimlico). Hitler, A. (2003b) *Hitler's Table Talk 1941-1944 His private Conversations* (London: Phoenix). Hitler, A. (2003c) *Hitler's Second Book: The Unpublished Sequel to Mein Kampf* (New York: Enigma).

¹⁷⁸ Schoenberger, R.A. (ed.). (1969) *The American Right Wing: Readings in Political Behaviour* (USA: Holt McDougal).

¹⁷⁹ Simonelli, F.J. (1995) *The American Nazi Party 1958-1967. The Historian*, 57: 553-567.

¹⁸⁰ Rockwell, G.L. (2004) *This Time The World* (York, SC: Liberty Bell Publications).

¹⁸¹ Bell, L.V. (1973) *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism*. (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press).

¹⁸² George Lincoln Rockwell, CBC TV Interview, Canada, November 1964.

Movement spreading the doctrine and beliefs of Adolf Hitler. When probed regarding the possibility that he sought to model himself upon Hitler and emulate him, Rockwell asserted that it would be impossible and it was almost sacrilegious to speak of himself in the same terms as Hitler. This highlights the problem that all neo-Nazi groups experience by relying upon Hitler, who is set above all other political leaders.¹⁸³ Rockwell explained the relationship between himself and Hitler as similar to that of Lenin and Marx and that he was continuing what Hitler started.¹⁸⁴

The political ideology underpinning Nazism is unique in that it ceased to function without Hitler, and could not continue as a political movement without him.¹⁸⁵ In the conventional sense it provided a vehicle for the ideas and beliefs of Hitler, who was the manifestation of Nazism.¹⁸⁶ There are difficulties with exporting Nazism to other nations and in particular to the United States. Firstly, how applicable is it to the nation concerned and secondly the problems of integrating National Socialism in entirety. American Nazis wish to replicate German National Socialism without being fully aware of what National Socialist principles embody, or appreciating what Hitler intended. Rockwell was the first to recognise this problem of dwelling in the past. For American Nazism, it was the swastika and uniforms, which American society failed to identify with rather than the political ideology.¹⁸⁷

The existence of neo-Nazi organisations in the United States, arguably signified that some citizens were receptive to the policies Nazism represented, to the political fringe. The A.N.P. membership can only be estimated, at the time of Rockwell's death there were suggestions that the party had no more than 200 members¹⁸⁸; however, some have estimated membership at 2000¹⁸⁹. At the height of

¹⁸³ Ridgeway, J. (1991) *Blood in the Face*, Right Thinking Productions, Video.

¹⁸⁴ George Lincoln Rockwell, CBC TV Interview, Canada, November 1964.

¹⁸⁵ Pridham, G. (1973) *Hitler's Rise to Power: The Nazi Movement in Bavaria, 1923-1933*. (London: Hart-Davis, MacGibbon Ltd.).

¹⁸⁶ Hitler, A. (2003a) *Mein Kampf* (London: Pimlico).

¹⁸⁷ Bell, L.V. (1973) *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism*. (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press).

¹⁸⁸ Simonelli, F.J. (1999) *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press).

¹⁸⁹ Ridgeway, J. (1995) *Blood in the Face* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press).

his popularity, Rockwell admitted to leading an organisation of no more than 500¹⁹⁰, not all of whom were party members'. However, these figures were given as an attempt by Rockwell to reduce tax liabilities. Despite its location on the political fringe, the A.N.P. managed to gain significant publicity and become part of the national consciousness, perpetuating a myth of Nazi extremists taking over America.

Modern White Nationalism in America depends upon the mantle of spiritual leadership provided by the legacy of George Lincoln Rockwell. The image of Rockwell is of crucial importance along with the spectre of martyrdom and heroism that Rockwell has become to the movement, a decorated veteran, who became a Nazi and was subsequently assassinated by John Patler.¹⁹¹ In the context of 1960's America, following the deaths of high profile politicians and activists, conspiracy theorists were provided with the opportunity to create hypotheses of 'what if', for the movement and its' future.

Simonelli (1999), challenged the background to the assassination in his study of Rockwell, asserting that Rockwell's supporters acquiesced in his assassination, with William Pierce being a prime culprit. Part of the rationale for this was the desire for the movement to have a martyr and the supporters knowledge that there had already been several instances when Rockwell had indicated he was ready to give up his Nazi politics; particularly, if it would mean reconciliation with his second wife. Prior to Rockwell, the movement only had as an example Fritz Kuhn, a German born Nazi who was deported at the end of World War Two. However, Rockwell's Americanisation of Nazism and his background presented priceless propaganda for the movement.

Rockwell provided the impetus to Pierce, in not only his conversion to anti-Semitism through the American Nazi Party political vehicle, but also as a political

¹⁹⁰ Simonelli, F.J. (1999) *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press).

¹⁹¹ John Patler, a disaffected former member that had been expelled from the party. Patler was convicted of Rockwell's murder.

role model.¹⁹² The portrayal of Rockwell by the movement may not always be wholly accurate or representative of the man himself. In many respects Rockwell's own activities, merits and deficiencies become irrelevant as time passes. It is the constructed image and the perception of Rockwell, which becomes more crucial. The relationship between Pierce and Rockwell is complex, but nevertheless important, since it provides a political chain linking Rockwell to many others such as Timothy McVeigh, Bob Matthews and Joseph Franklin.¹⁹³ According to Pierce, Rockwell was not an efficient administrator,¹⁹⁴ although Rockwell excelled with the formulation of ideas, new concepts and utilising publicity to gain media attention.

When Pierce left the National Socialist White Peoples Party that Rockwell had fashioned from the A.N.P, he formed the National Youth Alliance, which finally became the National Alliance. Pierce was able to utilise his personal experience of Rockwell's errors when creating the National Alliance, carefully cultivating its image, and hand picking all individuals involved. Pierce branded the movement in a non-Nazi image using the Viking life rune as the movement's symbol and mythology as a background to the ideology. Simultaneous to the creation of the National Alliance, Pierce had been trying to utilise religion as a means and channel of conveying a politicised message. Pierce used his re-creation of the Cosmotheist religious order drawn from the Norse style religion of pre-Christian Europe.¹⁹⁵ He believed Christianity to be fundamentally flawed, as it exempted choice from believers.¹⁹⁶ Unlike Rockwell's style of movement and leadership¹⁹⁷ there was less emphasis placed on traditional politics. The National Alliance never fought elections instead it operated as an ideological think tank for the movement, a spiritual centre. Despite the restrictions imposed from a non-party political party platform of

¹⁹² Griffin, R.S. (2001) *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds* (USA: 1st Books).

¹⁹³ Kaplan, J. (Ed) (2000) *Encyclopedia of White Power: A Sourcebook on the Radical racist Right* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press).

¹⁹⁴ Griffin, R.S. (2001) *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds* (USA: 1st Books).

¹⁹⁵ Whitsel, B. (1995) "The Cosmotheist Community: Aryan Visions for the Future in the West Virginia Mountains. *Journal of Terrorism and Political Violence*, (online).

¹⁹⁶ Griffin, R.S. (2001) *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds* (USA: 1st Books).

¹⁹⁷ Nguyen and Umemoto (2012) have commented on the role that 'metaphoric intelligence' plays in successful leadership and the role of metaphors to support 'metaphoric intelligence'. Nguyen, N.T.B. and Umemoto, K. (2012), Leading with Metaphoric Intelligence, *Journal of Leadership Studies*, Vol. 5, Issue 4: 41-51. Singh, Nadim and Ezzedeen (2012) have considered the 'attributes' of 'good' and 'bad' leaders Singh, P., Nadim, A. and Ezzedeen, S.R. (2012) Leadership Styles and Gender: An Extension, *Journal of Leadership Studies*, Vol. 5, Issue 4: 6-19.

conventional politics, Pierce spread his message via short wave radio broadcasts, literature, White Power music and the World Wide Web.

A political party or ideology cannot be solely judged on membership numbers, but upon its immediate and long-term impact, particularly in garnering support for its cause and influencing the views of others. Although Rockwell was unable to convince American voters that Nazism provided a credible political solution, many of his racial segregation policies were not offensive to some Americans.¹⁹⁸ It was the presentation of A.N.P., policy with uniforms and swastikas, which created a barrier and dissuaded mainstream America, depriving Rockwell of the political success he craved. This is a continuation of the American public response towards German Nazism, eliciting a prescribed response to the politics of American Nazism. It nevertheless becomes apparent as a contradiction considering that high profile Americans such as Joseph McCarthy was anti-Communist¹⁹⁹ and Henry Ford was anti-Semitic²⁰⁰, though unknowingly both gave inspiration to Rockwell.²⁰¹

It is the apparent inflexibility of Nazism, which is responsible to Nazi groups' failure to attain mainstream success in the United States. As to whether Nazism would have prospered without attempts to replicate Nazi Germany, or if the real hurdle was ideology rather than the uniforms and swastika, is questionable. Although, the use of Nazi symbols and paramilitary orientation created an insurmountable barrier for mainstream America, it is only one dimension of the movement. Even without the trappings of Nazism, other groups with similar policies have been unable to enter the mainstream or gain credibility. Successors to the A.N.P. such as the National Socialist White People's Party (N.S.W.P.P.) did not achieve success. Even those like William Pierce, who distanced himself from neo-Nazism could only achieve a membership of 1500.²⁰² The only recent electoral

¹⁹⁸ Schmaltz, W.M. (1999) *Hate: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Washington: Brassey's).

¹⁹⁹ Bell, L.V. (1973) *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism* (Port Washington: NY, Kennikat Press).

²⁰⁰ Ridgeway, J. (1995) *Blood in the Face* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press).

²⁰¹ Rockwell, G.L. (2004) *This Time The World* (York, SC: Liberty Bell Publications).

²⁰² www.adl.org Accessed online 20 September 2011.

success for the extreme right in America was the election of former A.N.P. storm trooper and Klansman, David Duke in Louisiana, though by then he had apparently abandoned his Nazi origins.²⁰³

Rockwell, as the first official post-war Nazi in America, named his party to gain political notoriety, using Nazism as a vehicle for publicity and propaganda. Whilst attempting to replicate National Socialism, Rockwell made subtle changes, yet retained the focus upon him as leader, although he resisted using the terminology Fuhrer. Rockwell explained that he did not use the term Fuhrer as he was an American and not a German and was merely following the ideology of Nazism and example of Adolf Hitler²⁰⁴. He ensured that he was the undisputable and indispensable centre of the movement. Rockwell undertook a fraught political road, though his leap of faith into the depths of extremism could be linked to political expediency. Rockwell's metamorphosis from private to public Nazi, and political advocate only occurred after encouragement and financial support from Harold Noel Arrowsmith²⁰⁵ who has the dubious credit of being responsible for Rockwell's early anti-Semitic activity. In 1958 Rockwell became a full-time anti-Semite and political agitator after Arrowsmith provided a house, printing press and \$2,500 in cash. Arrowsmith, an amateur anthropologist and exponent of white superiority and anti-Semitism sought an output for his genetic theories. His association with Rockwell ended in 1959, partly due to Rockwell's inability to work in conjunction with others. However, it was important in the political development of Rockwell as he had been enticed by the prospect of financial backing, though arguably Arrowsmith did not plant the seeds of anti-Semitism in Rockwell, but merely mobilized Rockwell into becoming a full-time political activist. The National Socialist government envisaged by Hitler, and implemented in Germany, favoured a state where the 'principle of personality' was the supreme rule. Hitler's principle of leadership appealed to Rockwell as leader of the A.N.P., the slogans and attention in the public arena emphasised his role as the singular focus of attention. In the consensual politics of democratic systems a party leader's future can never be guaranteed, however, in

²⁰³ Kuzenski, J.C., Bullock III, C.S. and Gaddie, R.K. (1995) *David Duke and the Politics of Race in the South* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press).

²⁰⁴ George Lincoln Rockwell, CBC TV Interview, Canada, November 1964.

²⁰⁵ Arrowsmith funded Rockwell for a short period, though stopped when Rockwell's activities gathered widespread publicity.

National Socialism the leader provided the focus for the movement. German National Socialism and American Nazism differed in agenda and policy but both retained the similarity of a sole leader, dominating the party through will, personality and charisma²⁰⁶. It is a leader's self-appreciated superiority, as a superman, as prescribed by Nietzsche and Shaw, which makes him leader.

Neo-Nazism has taken on many guises, since Hitler's National Socialism, but remains true to the rule that one leader must rule through self-determination and will power. Neo-Nazis and much of the American extreme Right recognise Hitler as their supreme and spiritual leader. However, in many cases this is contradictory for although neo-Nazis such as Rockwell held Hitler as an example and 'act of providence'²⁰⁷, Rockwell shaped and interpreted Nazism to his own means. One of the most fundamental differences between German and American Nazism was the issue of race in terms of racial purity and stratification amongst whites. Germans, through their 'blood and race' theory, were concerned about German purity and the Nordic ideal. Rockwell's American Nazism was a Pan-American philosophy inclusive of all whites; where even those previously excluded by the Ku Klux Klan were welcomed by Rockwell. Unlike the German American Bund, he did not target ethnic Germans and their descendants, but instead all White Christian Americans. This is an important step, dismissing the exclusivity of the German Aryan Yeoman and instead seeking a unified white America, with the white man versus the black.²⁰⁸ The American Nazis also endorsed Christian Identity as the religion of the Right²⁰⁹, providing followers with a spiritual focal point, a white heaven as prescribed by Yahweh²¹⁰. This represents a stark separation from true Nazi ideology and the writings of Hitler, since Nazi Germany positively promoted de-Christianisation, intent on replacing Christianity with Nazism, and the Bible with *Mein Kampf*.²¹¹ The American Right claims to follow the spiritual and ideological guidance of Hitler and

²⁰⁶ Number of studies have been conducted on charisma and charismatic leadership. Aiwater, L., Penn, R. & Rucker, L. (1991), Personal Qualities of Charismatic Leaders, *Leadership and Organization Development Journal*, Vol. 12, Issue 2: 7-10. Musiedlak, D. (2009) Mussolini, Charisma and Decision-Making, *Portuguese Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 8, No 1: 31-41. Potts, J. (2009), *A History of Charisma*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan).

²⁰⁷ George Lincoln Rockwell, CBC TV Interview, Canada, November 1964.

²⁰⁸ Graber, G.S. (1978) *History of the SS* (London: Robert Hale).

²⁰⁹ Barkun, M. (1997) *Religion and the Racist Right* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press).

²¹⁰ 'Yahweh' is the word to represent 'God' in Identity theology, taken from the original Hebrew.

²¹¹ Graber, G.S. (1978) *History of the SS* (London: Robert Hale).

National Socialism, using Nazism as a way of promoting racial hatred and anti-black sentiments was a distortion of Hitler's racial theories, which were concerned with the purity of the German race.²¹² Hitler struggled for the survival of German purity, whereas Rockwell strove for the survival of the White race.

It is ironic that recent exponents of American Nazism, such as Rockwell and Pierce, have reinvented National Socialism to fit their own agendas, while displaying the vestiges of Nazism and hailing Hitler as their prophet. The crossover point between American and German Nazism is anti-Semitism. For Hitler the Jew was the opposite of the Aryan, with Jews representing a race rather than a religious people. Part of Hitler's aversion for Jews rose from his belief that they "never regarded themselves as citizens of a host state but always as Jews who merely happened to speak the same language,"²¹³ despite admiring their survival mechanism as a people and declaring that "the Jew had never had a civilisation of his own."²¹⁴ The American extreme right and other neo-Nazis have developed their own interpretation of anti-Semitic theology²¹⁵, concerning Christian Identity, declaring that there is an international Jewish conspiracy, which is determined to destroy the white race and create a 'New World Order'. This goes beyond the parameters of the German interpretation of the Jew. However, it was the instigation of Hitler's anti-Semitic belief that "Germany and the World must be liberated from Jewry,"²¹⁶ which supports the neo-Nazi anti-Jewish fervour. Hitler admitted that he regretted writing *Mein Kampf* and later advised Albert Speer not to read the book, as it was no longer applicable. Despite this, Hitler's writings are held forth as the political bible of Nazism and the ultimate endorsement for the beliefs and actions of neo-Nazis. However, in ideological terms there are aspects of National Socialism that have to be seen in context.²¹⁷ At the time it was an untried formula for a country economically devastated by war and unsure of the future. Rockwell's brand of Nazism can only repackage traditional ideology in a new format.

²¹² Hitler, A. (2003a) *Mein Kampf* (London: Pimlico).

²¹³ Maser, W. (1970) *Hitler's Mein Kampf: An Analysis* (London: Faber & Faber) p.158.

²¹⁴ Maser, W. (1970) *Hitler's Mein Kampf: An Analysis* (London: Faber & Faber) p.158.

²¹⁵ Goodrick-Clarke, N. (2002) *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism and the Politics of Identity* (New York: New York University Press).

²¹⁶ Maser, W. (1970) *Hitler's Mein Kampf: An Analysis* (London: Faber & Faber) p.158.

²¹⁷ Pridham, G. (1973) *Hitler's Rise to Power: The Nazi Movement in Bavaria, 1923-1933*. (London: Hart-Davis, MacGibbon Ltd.).

When two bullets from a lone assassin's gun ended the life of George Lincoln Rockwell, on 25 August 1967, it brought to an end any notions of an American Reich.²¹⁸ In some ways it may appear politically convenient for the extremists, since it allowed Rockwell, the martyred hero, to be established.²¹⁹ This may add to the mystique, which surrounds Rockwell's life and death. However, from the beginnings of his foray into the political fringe until his death in 1967, Rockwell lived and breathed Nazism. Military service shaped Rockwell, providing the structure and routine he required from life, however, war did not change Rockwell into a racist demagogue. Two failed marriages, however, led Rockwell to seek his gratification in the political arena. His search for another avenue of personal achievement had become evident in 1952, when, while visiting his cousin, he told of his discovery of a Jewish plot to control America, and his bitterness towards the 'Jewish traitors'.²²⁰ By 1956 Rockwell had developed his ideas and realised there was an absence of the extreme right in Washington that could be exploited economically and politically. After flirtations with numerous right wing conservative groups, in 1958, he publicly announced that he was a Nazi and an exponent of Adolf Hitler's National Socialism.

The American Nazi Party had a principal function, to act as a vehicle for the political ambitions of Rockwell, in his search for political power. The A.N.P., unlike other political parties, lacked an organisational core, and therefore depended on Rockwell's leadership. In this respect Rockwell's relationship to the A.N.P. was not dissimilar to Hitler's, with the German Nazi Party (NSDAP). This however is where the similarities cease. Unlike the NSDAP, the A.N.P. found it almost impossible to retain activists or party officers for any length of time. Whilst membership remained at a consistent level²²¹, it was constantly in a state of flux, with members leaving and new recruits taking their place. The party lacked cohesion as a political movement and there was no consistency in the party's organisation or strategy.²²² Rockwell's

²¹⁸ *US Nazi Leader is Shot Dead* (The Guardian, Manchester, August 26, 1967).

²¹⁹ Schaerffenberg, A.V. Who was George Lincoln Rockwell? (undated).

²²⁰ Simonelli, F.J. (1999) *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press) p.36.

²²¹ Simonelli, F.J. (1999) *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press).

²²² Simonelli, F.J. (1999) *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press) p.85.

party invariably existed on the political fringe, distanced by the swastika, from the rest of the right wing²²³. He regarded himself as the rightful heir to the leadership of the American Right, though became disaffected towards other extremists. In the context of his own party Rockwell would not be subordinate to anyone. There is an intriguing aspect to the political debate over the A.N.P.'s success and failure, since the party organised and subsisted without any reasonable financial resources. Considering the resources that Rockwell had at his disposal and the shortage of funds, the publicity he attained was remarkable. Despite never achieving electoral recognition, he became part of the national consciousness, an open exponent of hate, and virulent intolerance.

Rockwell's approach represented the threat of Nazism spreading across America and the fear of a well-funded Nazi party presenting a credible electoral challenge. An ever-present feature during Rockwell's sojourn into Nazism and anti-Semitic terminology was paranoia and insanity, where at times Rockwell questioned the lucidity of his own beliefs²²⁴. Despite this, he believed that there was an underlying sentiment for his message of intolerance, "the people are with us by the millions."²²⁵ Clearly he was either ignoring the reality of his political situation, or bolstering his position through delusions. Rockwell betrayed his own fear after being committed for psychiatric observation, that he was "a victim of a Jewish conspiracy; he believed that Jews alarmed, over his political views, wanted to eliminate his influence by incarcerating him in an insane asylum."²²⁶ Though there is no evidence to support that Rockwell could substantiate his claims of conspiracy, three organisations were responsible for a Jewish response to Rockwell's anti-Semitic threat, the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith, and the Jewish War Veterans of the United States. They unified in a strategy against Rockwell and the A.N.P., the 'quarantine strategy'.²²⁷ This was first developed by Dr. Solomon Andhil Fineberg of the American Jewish Committee in the 1940's, as a way to contain

²²³ Schmaltz, W.M. (1999) *Hate: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*. (Washington: Brassey's).

²²⁴ Rockwell, G.L. (2004) *This Time The World*. (York, SC: Liberty Bell Publications).

²²⁵ Simonelli, F.J. (1999) *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press) p.82.

²²⁶ Bell, L.V. (1973) *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism*. (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press) p.114.

²²⁷ In Your Face, *SPLC Intelligence Report*, Spring 2006.

Gerald L.K. Smith's anti-Semitism, and was used again to great effect with Rockwell.²²⁸ One example of this policy being implemented occurred with the editor of the Northern Virginia Sun and Phil Stern²²⁹, who persuaded the editor not to publicise Rockwell's activities. The Jewish community, although recognising that Rockwell thrived on publicity, endorsed his conspiracy fears, by implementing their 'quarantine strategy'²³⁰.

Rockwell's principal skill was in generating publicity, allowing him to achieve national notoriety and public recognition as a Nazi²³¹. Despite the limits of the A.N.P. membership and lack of electoral recognition, Rockwell projected the party to national prominence through adventurous public relations activities and audacious advertising. When Rockwell addressed the national convention of the Nation of Islam (N.O.I.), he gained national publicity and prominence, preaching his message of segregation. "In a phrase, the ethic is 'separation or death'. They want nothing to do with whites."²³² His ability to gain political advantage from situations was his most prized asset. As with the formation of the World Union of National Socialist (WUNS) in August 1962²³³, he showed his innovative appetite to use a world stage for publicising his achievements. Rockwell's trip to England for a secret meeting with British Nazi Colin Jordan²³⁴ also gained him national publicity and ended with his deportation²³⁵. It was in his lecture tours around American campuses that he realised the varied response his policies elicited. In the North and across America he described receiving "thunderous applause"²³⁶, everywhere except the South. According to Rockwell, whilst the North appreciated his comments on the threat of Jews to America, the South did not respond to the notion of a Jewish conspiracy, but were more receptive to his segregationist policies²³⁷. Despite his

²²⁸ Simonelli, F.J. (1999) *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press) p.94.

²²⁹ Simonelli, F.J. (1999) *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press) p.98.

²³⁰ In Your Face, *SPLC Intelligence Report*, Spring 2006.

²³¹ *U.S. Nazis Plan March in negro Quarter* (The Times, August 16, 1966).

²³² The Sunday Times Magazine, 1962-2002 Anniversary issue (February 3, 2002) p.48.

²³³ *Inquiry on visit by U.S. Nazi* (The Times, August 7, 1962).

²³⁴ *Mr.C. Jordan as World Nazi Head* (August 13, 1962).

²³⁵ *Deportation order on U.S. Nazi* (The Times, August 8,1962). *American Nazi Detained in London* (The Times, August 9, 1962). *Rockwell Flown Out* (The Times, August 10, 1962).

²³⁶ <http://www.churchoftrueisrael.com/rocwell/rocprivywall.html p.1> Accessed online 6 April 2006.

²³⁷ <http://www.churchoftrueisrael.com/rocwell/rocprivywall.html p.2> Accessed online 6 April 2006.

poor electoral performance Rockwell predicted he would become President of the United States. This was in part attributable to his belief that the young were more receptive to his views and less prejudiced against Nazism. Rockwell's assertion was endorsed by the performance of the NSDAP in the 1933 Bavarian election, which attracted more new voters than any other party.²³⁸ Rockwell thought that through using publicity to attract attention to his party and creating an identifiable image, albeit as a Nazi, he could remain at the forefront of the American extreme right. This would allow him to play a role as a prominent and controversial figure, always ready to take advantage of any situation.

It has been suggested that Rockwell provided "the bridge over which many have crossed"²³⁹, linking old style Nazism with the modern philosophy of 'leaderless resistance'. This new style of extremism has abandoned the traditional trappings of Nazism in favour of more stylised and fashionable symbols representing their interpretation of racial politics. This new extremism has grown from the ideology and propaganda first established by Rockwell, and now personified by the 'leaderless resistance' philosophy endorsed by William Pierce in his book 'The Turner Diaries'²⁴⁰. The concept of leaderless resistance compensates for the lack of a charismatic leader, in favour of individuals working independently towards a common goal. Louis Beam presented his essay 'Leaderless Resistance' at the Estes Park Conference where he explained the concept: "Utilising the Leaderless Resistance concept, all individuals and groups operate independently of each other, and never report to a central headquarters or single leader for direction or instruction."²⁴¹ In recent years American extremist movements have changed their emphasis from a party and leader orientation to a focus upon individualism, with many using the Turner Diaries as an "explicit terrorist manual"²⁴². Within two years of the book's publication a terrorist group, The Order, named after the organisation in the book, had formed.²⁴³ The National Alliance has used the Turner Diaries, and

²³⁸ Pridham, G. (1973) *Hitler's Rise to Power: The Nazi Movement in Bavaria, 1923-1933*. (London: Hart-Davis, MacGibbon Ltd.).

²³⁹ Simonelli, F.J. (1999) *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press) p.142.

²⁴⁰ MacDonald, A. (1995) *The Turner Diaries* (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books).

²⁴¹ Ridgeway, J. (1995) *Blood in the Face* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press) p.16.

²⁴² http://www.adl.org/explosion_of_hate/explosion_of_hate.html Accessed online 6 April 2006.

²⁴³ Flynn, K. and Gerhardt, G. (1990) *The Silent Brotherhood* (New York: Signet).

the concept of leaderless resistance to spread its message across America, Canada and Europe.²⁴⁴ Leaderless resistance is based on two structures, firstly organisations of people working in small groups, like The Order, outside the control of the authorities, as detailed in the Turner Diaries. The second embodiment of the concept rests upon the second novel by Pierce, 'Hunter'²⁴⁵, which details individual action, such as the killing of civil rights activist Medgar Evers or the murders by the Phineas Priesthood²⁴⁶.

A number of factors can be held responsible for the success of 'leaderless resistance' in favour of conventional party political activities. There is presently no leader of the extreme right who is able to uniformly unite groups in the way Hitler united National Socialism; although there have been high profile leaders, like Pierce, they have become marginalised on the Nazi fringe. Since 1967, the political landscape in America has changed along with society and members of extremist groups have become more concerned with their own welfare and less willing to sacrifice their lives for a political cause. The nature of extremist ideology has also undergone a metamorphosis, with conspiracy theory becoming inherent in right wing ideology. "The acceptance of the conspiracy theory according to the member's degree of commitment affirms its role as a key component of ideology."²⁴⁷ The America of the 21st Century is now at a racial crossroads with remarkable and definitive choices to be made if the 'melting pot' experiment in the United States is to continue. Through internet broadcasts and resources the American political arena has become more diverse, and creates a true duality to the leaderless resistance concept. Rather than conventional party political methods, many extremists use the Internet to communicate and organise. Pierce has used weekly radio and Internet broadcasts to convey his message, concerned that "the will of the people"²⁴⁸ is not being adhered to. According to Abraham H. Foxman, National Director of the Anti-Defamation League,

²⁴⁴ Cornwell, T, *US right-wing extremist has followers in Glasgow*. The Scotsman, April 28, (1995).

²⁴⁵ MacDonald, A. (1998) *Hunter*. (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books).

²⁴⁶ Cheles, L., Ferguson, R. and Vaughan, M. (1995) *The Far Right in Western and Eastern Europe*. (New York: Longman), p.265.

²⁴⁷ Fielding, N. (1981) *The National Front*. (London: Routledge) p.209.

²⁴⁸ Pierce, W. *Patriots Choice*, American Dissident Voices Broadcast of April 28, 2001.

“We had a tragic wake-up call on April 19, 1995 when the Murrah Federal Building was blown-up by Timothy McVeigh. The American people must be made aware that the National Alliance is not some insignificant fringe group. They are an army committed to violence and an ideology to undermine our democracy in favour of a Hitlerite world.”²⁴⁹

According to Foxman’s analysis, the leaderless resistance has already begun, with the National Alliance having 16 active cells across America and being linked to a host of criminal incidents²⁵⁰. “We are in a war to the death with the Jew.”²⁵¹ If this is accurate a new style of political terrorism could be indicative of the future of American politics.

The advantage of history and political context allows an accurate appraisal of Rockwell and American Nazism. Rockwell, as a phenomenon, has never been equalled in the American far right, with his panache, charisma, ability to manipulate situations and gain media exposure.²⁵² Rockwell had little in common with many of his followers, who were attracted to the Nazi philosophy he advocated.²⁵³ Rockwell must be judged in context with his time and the attitudes, fears and issues, which concerned all Americans in the 1950’s and 1960’s. Race and anti-Semitism are still emotive issues in America, which extremists are keen to exploit.²⁵⁴ However, in attempting to understand and comprehend modern extremist ideology and motivations it is essential to be aware of Rockwell, since he represented the ideological core of the extreme right.

²⁴⁹ http://www.adl.org/presrele/asus_12/3240_12.asp Accessed online 6 April 2006.

²⁵⁰ http://www.adl.org/presrele/asus_12/3240_12.asp Accessed online 6 April 2006.

²⁵¹ MacDonald, A. (1995) *The Turner Diaries*. (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books) p.130.

²⁵² Burchardt, H. “*Racist Leader Could Be Nasty, Charming...or Pitiful.*” (Washington Post, August 26, 1967).

²⁵³ Lehrer, J. *Dallas Nazis*. Dallas Times Herald, April 11, (1965).

²⁵⁴ Cornwell, T, *US right-wing extremist has followers in Glasgow*. The Scotsman, April 28, (1995).

Prior to Rockwell the extreme right was an exclusive resort, devoid of Catholics²⁵⁵ and non-Aryan whites. It was Rockwell who ended that exclusivity:

“I care not what religion, club, area or class you come from, nor what bit of coloured cloth you wave as a flag. WE are ALL under deadly attack...if you want to argue politics economics, sociology, religion, nationality or other things with me, you can. I will even fight you, if I must.”²⁵⁶

Rockwell presented White Americans with a stark choice:

“To HELL with the sneaky, safer approaches! They, get us persecuted every bit as much as the direct, open approach, and they doom us to miserable, sneaking failure every time. If we are to be the last of the White men who conquered the world; if we are finally to be overwhelmed by a pack of rats, let us at least face the death of our race as our ancestors faced death---like MEN. Let us not crawl down amongst the rats begging for mercy or trying to be rats ourselves!”²⁵⁷

A similar message of apocalypse for the white race is still endorsed by the racist extreme, warning of racial and cultural genocide of the white race, with American Government statistics endorsing the claim that the number of people classified as White, is declining.²⁵⁸

Rockwell’s life as an extremist brought him into direct confrontation with the country he fought for, as his family ostracised him and his second marriage ended after social pressure.²⁵⁹ It was a personal period fraught with difficulties as he became isolated. Rockwell ensured that a new interpretation of Hitler’s ideology would be broadcast in a more inclusive Pan-American Nazi movement, uniting white people under the common issue of race. Instrumental in the transformation of the

²⁵⁵ Pridham, G. (1973) *Hitler’s Rise to Power: The Nazi Movement in Bavaria, 1923-1933*. (London: Hart-Davis, MacGibbon Ltd.).

²⁵⁶ <http://www.churchoftrueisrael.com/rocwell/rocprivywall.html> Accessed online 6 April 2006.

²⁵⁷ <http://www.churchoftrueisrael.com/rocwell/inhocsignovinces.html> Accessed online 6 April 2006.

²⁵⁸ Ridgeway, J. (1995) *Blood in the Face*. (New York: Thunder’s Mouth Press) p.108.

²⁵⁹ Schmaltz, W.M. (1999) *Hate: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*. (Washington: Brassey’s).

political extreme, he utilised both religion and music under the neo-Nazi banner in an attempt to shed the Holocaust memory, which has become synonymous, in relation to Nazism. Unlike other extremist leaders, Rockwell represented both extremes in America, hero and public enemy.

However, America seemed unable to come to terms with his metamorphosis, with his funeral cortege being turned back at the gates of the National Cemetery, after the Pentagon banned his funeral.²⁶⁰ This perhaps was the ultimate insult to a war veteran who fought for his country, denied permission to be buried, or indeed a vindication of Rockwell's political life, as the country he fought for could not contend with true democratic freedom of speech and thought. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed a suit to stop Rockwell being buried at the National Cemetery.²⁶¹ In death, he highlighted that prejudice is two-way²⁶², although Rockwell's supporters effectively used his death and funeral for propaganda purposes. It could be argued that the ACLU has a responsibility for the Civil Liberties of all citizens' including Rockwell and not just for its supporters.

One of the serial issues highlighted by both Rockwell and his successors is one of distinction, in their treatment as opposed to being merely treated as another political group or movement.²⁶³ It is a political and social contradiction which has continued that there are legal parameters on freedom of speech and distinctions on the categorisation of particular political groups.²⁶⁴ This raises questions, which must be addressed in terms of how the factors relate to hate crime²⁶⁵, with any correlation to variables such as: leaderless resistance; Rockwell; and Pierce. These are the shaping factors, which determine the chain of events between the individual, hate

²⁶⁰ *US ban on Nazi funeral* (The Times, August 30, 1967).

²⁶¹ Schmaltz, W.M. (1999) *Hate: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Washington: Brassey's) p.333.

²⁶² *Cremation of American Nazi* (The Times, August 31, 1967).

²⁶³ Levin, B. (2001b) Hate and the Constitution: How the law's evolution affects our response to modern right-wing extremism. *American Behavioural Scientist*. (online).

²⁶⁴ Levin, B. (2001c) Extremism and the Constitution: How America's Legal evolution affects the response to Extremism. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 45: 714-755.

²⁶⁵ Bensinger, G. (1992) 'Hate Crime: A New/Old Problem', *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 16: 115-123.

crime, its implications and legacy.²⁶⁶ Hate crime must be regarded as a means of categorisation to tag and elevate in importance, certain crimes. Cogan (2002) questioned the validity of this view and considered whether it is justifiable.²⁶⁷ This is very much a political question, where criminal justice responses infer that somehow hate crime is more of a priority or more important than other non-hate related crimes.²⁶⁸ Despite the questions, which surround its validity, hate crime assists in highlighting the essence of the movement in an identifiable fashion. Although the method of categorization helps to maintain a focus on specific events within the White Nationalist Community, whether hate related crime or terrorism, it undermines the fluidity between the two and presents a political collage of overlapping theories and events which meet all criteria at some points.²⁶⁹ This shows the weaknesses in the methods of categorisation, but is not an insurmountable problem.²⁷⁰ Notwithstanding the weaknesses in the use of political tags, as long as the weaknesses are fully understood and interpreted accurately, there is no reason why these cannot be utilized when analysing hate crime, hate terrorism and leaderless resistance in the White Nationalist Community.²⁷¹

It is important to specify exactly what terminology represents to both the individuals and the criminal justice system.²⁷² Hate crime terminology is created through legislation²⁷³, with hate terrorism as the natural accompanying factor for acts of terrorism.²⁷⁴ This contrasts completely with leaderless resistance, which despite originating as an American government response to counter insurgency in Korea,

²⁶⁶ Blazak, R. (2001) White Boys to Terrorist Men: Target Recruitment of Nazi Skinheads. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 44: 982-1000.

²⁶⁷ Cogan, J.C. (2002) Hate crime as a crime category worthy of policy attention. *American behavioural Scientist*, 46: 173-185.

²⁶⁸ Boeckmann, R.J. and Turpin-Petrosino, C. (2002) Understanding the Harm of Hate Crime. *Journal of Social Issues*, 58: 2, 207-410.

²⁶⁹ Feldman, S. and Huddy, L. (2005) Racial Resentment and White Opposition to Race-Conscious Programs: Principles or Prejudice? *American Journal of Political Science*, 49: 1, 168-183.

²⁷⁰ Craig, K.M. (1999) Retaliation, Fear, or Rage: An Investigation of African American and White Reactions to Racist Hate Crimes. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 14: 138-151.

²⁷¹ Blazak, R. (2001) White Boys to Terrorist Men: Target Recruitment of Nazi Skinheads. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 44: 982-1000.

²⁷² White, R. (2002) Hate crime politics. *Theoretical Criminology*, 6: 499-502.

²⁷³ Gadd, D. (2004) Hate and Bias Crime: Criminologically Congruent Law? A Review of Barbara Perry's *Hate and Bias Crime: A Reader*. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 37: 1, 144-154. Levin, B. (2001) Extremism and the Constitution: How America's Legal evolution affects the response to Extremism. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 45: 714-755.

²⁷⁴ Carr, A. (1997) Terrorism on the couch – a psychoanalytic reading of the Oklahoma Disaster and its aftermath. *Disaster Prevention and Management*, 1: 22-32.

was utilized as an organisational model by American extremists.²⁷⁵ Once modified by American extremists, Louis Beam and William Pierce's, leaderless resistance became an effective option for fringe political groups.²⁷⁶ Leaderless resistance has two distinct sections: firstly where individuals work in cells and secondly individual action frequently referred to as lone wolf, where people of a similar goal and orientation work independently, towards a common goal. This is also an organisation structure employed by groups outside the auspices of the White Nationalist Community, such as animal rights campaigners.²⁷⁷ In the White Nationalist context this refers to lone assassins as opposed to a formal leaderless resistance cell structure, with four to six people operating independently under a common political mantle. The difficulty arises when trying to ascertain if actions are actually leaderless resistance, especially, those under the lone wolf criteria. Recent reports of hate crime incidents, and the lack of a precedent of leaderless resistance, means predominately, hate-based crimes are unlikely to be categorised as leaderless resistance.²⁷⁸ The political implications of this and the existence of any form of leaderless resistance are speculative.²⁷⁹

In theoretical terms, there is no direct link between Rockwell and hate crime, and no formal causation, between the ideology of American Nazism and hate crime perpetrators.²⁸⁰ Despite the lack of an established chain of intent, there is however, a tentative causal link between Rockwell's leadership, subsequent assassination and the justification of violence through hate crime or other means.²⁸¹ However, the basis of leaderless resistance can be in the White Nationalist Community. In that respect hate crime or hate terrorism as a product or manifestation of leaderless resistance can be attributed to Rockwell's legacy and leadership. Non-politicised hate crime or subsequent actions of instigated violence must therefore be attributed to social

²⁷⁵ Beam, L.R. (1992) Leaderless Resistance, *Seditionist*, Issue 12, February. Final Edition.

²⁷⁶ Griffin, R.S. (2001) *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds* (USA: 1st Books).

²⁷⁷ Ferber, A.L. (1998) Constructing whiteness: the intersections of race and gender in US white supremacist discourse. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21:1, 48-63.

²⁷⁸ Mason, G. (2003) Hate Crime and the Image of the Stranger. *British Journal of Criminology*, 45: 6, 837-859.

²⁷⁹ Koopmans, R. and Olzak, S. (2004) Discursive Opportunities and the Evolution of Right-Wing Violence in Germany. *American Journal of Sociology*, 110: 1,198-230.

²⁸⁰ Glaser, J., Dixit, J. and Green, D.P. (2002) Studying Hate Crime with the Internet: What makes Racists Advocate Racial Violence? *Journal of Social Issues*, 58: 1, 177-193.

²⁸¹ Johnson, S.D. and Byers, B.D. (2003) Attitudes toward hate crime laws. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 31: 3, 227-235.

causes or other unspecified factors, than accorded the distinction of leaderless resistance.²⁸² The initial premise of this research that leaderless resistance is a direct result of the death of Rockwell and the change in movement emphasis, from the traditional pyramid style organisation to leaderless resistance cells, is of crucial importance. Since the historical chain of causation can be linked from Rockwell to leaderless resistance, this directly attributes the actions of Bob Matthews and Timothy McVeigh to Rockwell's legacy.²⁸³ During his leadership of the National Alliance and the writing of his polemic texts, *The Turner Diaries* and *Hunter, Pierce* despite his propaganda, was careful not to endorse formal acts of violence.²⁸⁴

The distinction will arise if the current perpetrators of hate crimes begin to evolve politically, or move into a more radical environment of political rhetoric, which cannot be legislated for.²⁸⁵ Many of the incidents now reported as hate crime are not committed by politically active individuals who have an ideological awareness of the movement's philosophy, at more than a rudimentary level.²⁸⁶ A great deal will depend on the individual response to being branded a hate criminal. Indeed, this social branding of hate perpetrators is not dissimilar to the tattoos used by the Phineas Priesthood and other Aryan groups to identify exponents of lone wolf action, or Phineas actions such as murder.²⁸⁷ Whilst speculative, the social branding and inferred social exclusion could potentially be a trigger mechanism leading to a quadrangle of extremist violence.²⁸⁸ Amongst the White Nationalist Community one of the most pronounced problems encountered is the lack of racial awareness amongst White Americans, in terms of a strong White identity.²⁸⁹ Hate crime legislation although designed to combat hate based crimes and allow a dedicated

²⁸² Academic Resistance in the Managerial University, *Organization Journal*, Vol. 15, 2: 251-270.
Ackroyd, S. and Thompson, P. (1999) *Organizational Misbehaviour*. (London: Sage). Foucault, M. (1991) *Discipline and Punish-The Birth of the Prison*. (Ringwood: Penguin). Hall, S. and Jefferson, T. (1976) *Resistance Through Rituals-Youth Sub-cultures in Post-War Britain*. (London: Hutchison).
Scott, J. (1990) *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press).

²⁸³ Kaplan, J. (1997) "Leaderless Resistance". *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 9: 3, 80-95.

²⁸⁴ Michael, G. (2003) The Revolutionary Model of Dr William L. Pierce. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 15: 3, Autumn, 62-80.

²⁸⁵ Schafer, J.A., (2002) Spinning the web of hate: Web-based hate propagation by extremist organizations. *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture*, 9: 2, 69-88.

²⁸⁶ Boycott, R. *One man's war against his demons*. (The Observer, March 10, 2002).

²⁸⁷ Anti-Defamation League.,(1999) *Backgrounder – The Order and Phineas Priesthood*.

²⁸⁸ Strobl, R., Klemm, J. and Wurtz, S. (2004) Preventing Hate Crimes: Experiences from two East-German Towns. *British Journal of Criminology*, 45: 634-646.

²⁸⁹ Pratt, D. (2010) Religion and Terrorism: Christian Fundamentalism and Extremism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 22: 438-456.

response through the wide use of these measures, could inadvertently trigger a higher level of racial exclusion amongst the perpetrators, than previously existed.²⁹⁰

Issues of identity, whether racial or cultural, are at the proverbial heart of the modern White Nationalism. Due to cultural dissemination the concept of identity has become integral to ideology in the White Nationalist Community, whereas traditionally culture and politics were separate and incompatible elements. The study by Ezekiel (1996) of Klansmen, noticed the divide between the ideology of Klan members and their continued participation in mainstream American culture.²⁹¹ This was an aspect, which George Lincoln Rockwell highlighted as a significant problem with public awareness and support. Rockwell tried to combat this by using a multitude of mediums to express his political motivations and Nazi agenda, including music.²⁹² In recent years, the growth of a separate White Nationalist Culture has been unparalleled, with companies such as Aryan Wear and Resistance Records providing an alternative cultural vision.²⁹³ This new cultural identity allows supporters to have their own subculture within US society.²⁹⁴ Traditionally the political periphery on the far right relied solely on literature to spread their message. However, with the advent of the marketing of White Nationalism, as a product, supporters can convey their political message, through clothes, boots, jewellery etc.²⁹⁵ Combat boots with swastikas and SS lightning bolts on the soles, or t-shirts

²⁹⁰ Watts, M.W. (2001) Aggressive Youth Cultures and Hate Crime: Skinheads and Xenophobic Youth in Germany. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 45: 600-615.

²⁹¹ Ezekiel, R.S. (1996) *The Racist Mind* (New York: Penguin) Cotter, J.M. (1999) *Sounds of hate: white power rock and roll and the neo-Nazi skin subculture*.

²⁹² *Journal of Terrorism and Political Violence*, 11: 2.

²⁹³ Jacoby, J., and Chestnut, R.W., (1978), *Brand loyalty: Measurement and Management* (New York: John Wiley).

²⁹⁴ Mann, D., Sutton, M. and Tuffin, R. (2003) The Evolution of Hate: Social Dynamics in White Racist Newspapers. *Internet Journal of Criminology* [online].

²⁹⁵ Jamal, A. and Goode, M.M.H. (2001) Consumers and brands: a study of the impact of self-image congruence on brand preference and satisfaction. *Marketing Intelligence and Planning*, 19: 7, 482-492. Grace, D. and O’Cass, A. (2002) Brand associations: looking through the eye of the beholder. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 5:2, 96-111.

with catch phrases such as ‘My Boss is an Austrian Painter’ have proved most popular, now even available as bumper stickers for cars.²⁹⁶

The growth of a separate White Nationalist culture is in many respects market and society driven with the cultural disenfranchisement of White Americans, seeking an identity in modern America²⁹⁷. It could be argued, however, that this is merely a manifestation of American MTV culture, or perhaps more aptly a cultural backlash.²⁹⁸ The traditional Nazism advocated by Rockwell in the post war period, met with strong resistance from American society to his political manifestation of Nazism. Modern White Nationalism has an entirely new approach and style²⁹⁹, whilst utilizing the rudimentary message of Rockwell, focusing on White identity.

The Media Portrayal of George Lincoln Rockwell

Rockwell utilised the media in gaining initial publicity and notoriety as a means of becoming known to the mainstream public.³⁰⁰ Arguably, all of Rockwell’s principal activities were not directed towards a formalised political action or developing an infrastructure for a political movement, but simply in creating a persona and role within the media, as a publicity vehicle for gaining notoriety.³⁰¹ The media thrived on the images and publicity he created, as they provided a stark alternative at a time when social protest and change towards liberal attitudes were becoming prevalent in the media. When award winning photographer Eve Arnold, who had worked with Marilyn Monroe and Joan Crawford spent two years with

²⁹⁶ Kohli, C., and Thakor, M., (1997) Branding consumer goods: insights from theory and practice. *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, Vol.14, No.3, pp. 206-219.

²⁹⁷ Jackson II, R.L. and Heckman, S.M. (2002) Perceptions of White Identity and White Liability: An Analysis of White Student Responses to a College Campus Racial Hate Crime. *Journal of Communication*, 52: 434.

²⁹⁸ McCauley, C. and Moskalenko, S. (2008) Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways Towards Terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 20: 415-433. Hough, G. (2006) American Terrorism and the Christian Identity Movement: A Proliferation Threat from Non-State Actors. *International Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies* 3: 79-100.

²⁹⁹ Charters, D.A. (2007) Something Old, Something New...? Al Qaeda, Jihadism, and Fascism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 19: 65-93.

³⁰⁰ Lehrer, J, Dallas Nazis (Dallas Times Herald, April 11th 1965).

³⁰¹ Burchardt, H, “Racist Leader Could Be Nasty, Charming...or Pitiful.” (Washington Post, August 26th 1967).

separatist Black Muslims, she took iconic pictures of George Lincoln Rockwell and Malcolm X addressing a Muslim rally on 21st April 1963, where both were united by their goal 'separation or death'.³⁰²

Relationship between the media and politics

The political and legislative landscape has changed through time, these interests and behaviours are suddenly represented in regard to the role of the media as not only providing a 'watch dog' on proceedings, but also acting as a determinant to any deviance from that of the accepted norm. At the time when Rockwell and others were becoming politicised and protesting during the 1950's and 1960's, the media was utilised as a tool and means of communication with not only the public at large, but supporters. Durham (2007) has assessed the 1950's period in particular as being a significant and influential period for the radical and far right in both its development and formative action.³⁰³ Within the confines of politics on the extreme, whether the proverbial right or left of politics, there was an on-going need to demonstrate not only effectiveness but that the organisation was vibrant and active, otherwise with the number of groups and competition for supporters, the support could be lost altogether. Previously when membership of these groups has been assessed it was shown that there was a fluidity of membership and that those on the political periphery drifted in and out of extremist politics and activism rather than being ideologues or having a fundamentalist approach. In many respects those involved within the context of the extreme right and political periphery, as members, were unlike those of other parties. The minority appeal attracted a combination of those who were either disaffected with the existing political system and processes due to a lack of representation or were dysfunctional. This has been endorsed in more recent assessments of the extreme right and those who become involved in these politics, with a divergence and separation between those who are members and the leadership of the organisations.³⁰⁴

³⁰² The Sunday Times Magazine, 1962-2002 Anniversary issue. (February 3rd 2002).

³⁰³ Durham, M. (2007) *White Rage: The extreme right and American politics*. (London: Routledge).

³⁰⁴ Boycott, R, One man's war against his demons. (The Observer, March 10th 2002).

In the context of the 1960's, in particular, where politics were fluid and reactionary, there was scope and an opportunity for people to become mobilised due to an issue but then drift away once the issue of concern had gone, or was no longer significant to them, as individuals. This was even more pronounced within the context of the political radical right and those beyond, on the periphery, who were arguably alienated by the social change in favour of liberalism. The propensity for social change and the illusion from protest singers and groups that this was somehow an unstoppable process, as a means of political and social change, is contentious, as much of the impetus although utilised by Civil Rights activists in particular was effectively driven by the media, when presenting the challenges and outcomes. A perception was developed that the Civil Rights Movement was somehow indicative of that period and was only of relevance during that period of legislative and political turmoil, although this was not the case, as the movement had its origins after the Civil War.³⁰⁵

However, in response to the social tensions and racial strife along with the development of a protest movement, protesters were able to harness the issues of Civil Rights as a topical issue, and a time for change. Arguably these opportunities had been presented before in political and social situations but had not been sufficiently developed to instigate change. In social and political terms the media played an essential part in mobilising opinion and ensuring the issue remained in prominence, allied to the protests and culture of opposition at the time. The role of the media during the period is influential not just in the mobilising of opinion but in terms of ensuring that what could be seen as a single-issue movement in some respects is directed as being representative of wider social change. This also harnesses the impression for activists that they are part of a sweeping movement of change, which is shaping all of society, and requires prolonged involvement, whilst adhering to the illusion that the participation is a necessity. Small political parties have also required dedicated members to continue to function or a radicalisation of

³⁰⁵ The Civil Rights Movement gained momentum during the 1950's and 1960's, although its origins were in the abolitionist movement prior to the Civil War, the main Civil Rights Movement arose after the end of the war, with the 13th and 14th Amendments. Meier and Rudwick, (1973) discuss the later period of the Civil Rights Movement from 1942, which gave rise to later developments during arguably the critical period of the 1950's and 1960's.

their support in the same manner as the Black Panther Party, and equivalent groups, across the political spectrum. The mood for social change had to be maintained to continue to instil a belief in those becoming activists with effectively modern revolutionary style fervour of activism, through music, art, expression and public protest against the establishment.

The combination of the media and marketing, together with resistance to the figures of authority on University campuses became integral facets of the growth in social change. During this period, young people through political debates and protests within University campuses were essential ingredients for both the protest movement advocating social change and Civil Rights, and those advocating more radical action within the remit of socialism. Regardless of the issues and the merits of both the protest and Civil Rights movement in political and social terms, there was a widespread use of media and marketing of an idea that those involved, were participating in a unified struggle against oppression. Rockwell attempted to garner support and funds by giving lecture tours, by invitation, on campuses. He sought to use this as an example of a willingness to demonstrate democracy and freedom of speech. However, despite Rockwell being able to use this as a modest revenue source and publicity tool, he was unable to mobilise increased support from University students for his political message and philosophy. The lectures themselves were actually well received in comparison to the reaction, which the media gave Rockwell outside the University setting.³⁰⁶ In the context of meetings organised beyond such a setting, protests and sometimes violence would erupt at the prospect of the meeting being organised. Where a meeting did take place, Rockwell was also subject to continuous heckling.

It appears that through negative media coverage and political rivalry there was a lack of opportunity, outside that of violence, for Rockwell to speak or interact, and convey his political ideology and message; whether this was deemed controversial or otherwise. The response to Rockwell may be a result of the perceived unpalatable nature of his politics and ideology; allied to the historical

³⁰⁶ The George Lincoln Rockwell Collection, Documentary and Audio Recordings.

associations with Fascist/Nazi style government and the totalitarian measures, which resulted.³⁰⁷ In terms of his engagement with the democratic process, Rockwell was met with opposition. Two principal examples of engagement with his ideas in a debating context, were when he addressed a rally of Black Muslims and the speeches he gave as part of his lecture tours, where despite differences in ideological stances, he was given a forum to present arguments.³⁰⁸ There were continual remonstrations from Rockwell and others on the right, that there was a lack of media co-operation and willingness to highlight any pertinent issues originating from the right. Though this was contradicted by the interview he gave for Playboy magazine. Irrespective of this interview, Rockwell bemoaned the lack of media prominence for his party and the political alternative it may have offered the American public.

The liberal left of the political spectrum, despite encountering many of the same issues regarding being on the periphery of the political stage, had numerous advantages not least of which was a media driven agenda to promote liberalism and social change. Whereas, the extreme right was focussed on more abstract threats, in particular the threats from Jews or that of a Communist infiltration and conspiracy. At a time of political change in society in terms of mobilisation, the left of politics promoted the idea that there was a momentum for change in society and that it was inevitable. Through this, it helped to encourage supporters and media to appraise them as changing the existing status quo in favour of a new perspective. However, although Rockwell had the pretext of National Socialism and for a period had an influence upon the black political movements, the right was concerned about returning stability and seeking continuance of a more traditional politics and approach.

In America and Europe, political success and influences over public opinion regarding issues, have been interwoven with the role and function of the media, whether in print format, radio or television. The position of the media in shaping

³⁰⁷ Bell, L.V. (1973) *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism*. (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press).

³⁰⁸ Schmaltz, W.M. (1999) *Hate: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Washington: Brassey's). Simonelli, F.J. (1999) *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press).

both electoral success and opinion has become unparalleled since the post war years in the USA. Arguably, the first and most significant example of this was in the first television debate between Nixon and Kennedy. Broadcast simultaneously on radio and television, radio listeners thought Nixon had won the debate, with television viewers opting for Kennedy. Despite the marginal age gap, Nixon was portrayed as the older politician with Kennedy representing youth, with the media playing a key shaping role for the first time in a televised debate. This style of representation used by the media has been indicative of the American media and journalism during the 1960's in particular, where the establishment was seen as under threat from enemies both foreign and domestic. Despite the rationale for an independent media and the journalistic function of providing a source of critical thinking, together with holding a government accountable for its actions, there is likely to be an intersection of belief in the joint fortunes of both parties into a state's success.

Image and portrayal of George Lincoln Rockwell

Arguably the image of Rockwell appealed to the vanity of the media and society, in the modern context he would have been a 'poster boy' for the movement. However, for the 1950's press coverage and America society of the time, he was unlike the caricature Nazi leader, despite using such features for his own publicity.³⁰⁹ Rockwell's own background as the son of Vaudeville performers, familiar with contact from acting notables such as Groucho Marx and Jack Benny, enabled him to use his performer attributes for political gain. In comparison with other political leaders on the extreme, and the previous Nazi leader Fritz Kuhn, the difference was stark with Rockwell's Hollywood matinee looks.³¹⁰ Rockwell's appearance was more akin to that of a leading actor rather than a Nazi leader and the movement under Rockwell's stewardship utilised this, at every opportunity. In the traditional party format where the leader is a personification of the party and a focal point, the advantages of having a charismatic leader with panache and matinee idol looks can be significant. In particular, for small or peripheral political parties where success

³⁰⁹ Bell, L.V. (1973) *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism*. (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press).

³¹⁰ Canedy, S.C. (1986) America's Nazis. *American History Illustrated*, April: 40-49. Canedy Clark, S. (1987) *Americas Nazis The German American Bund*. PhD thesis, Texas A and M University. Geels, J.E. (1975) *The German-American Bund: Fifth Column or Deutschtum?* MA thesis, North Texas State University.

may be influenced by such factors, allowing the party to be carried forward under the leadership of one person.

Bob Dylan, 'Talkin John Birch Paranoid Blues'

Within the political sphere, political opponents and critics have marginalised Rockwell's influence as being little more than that of a peripheral political figure of a small party, intent on publicity. In the political realm, Rockwell's success is arguable in terms of tangible results through the electoral system. However, within the context of cultural influence and impact there is evidence of a significant impact into the cultural fabric of American society, particularly during the 1960's. Whilst cultural impact may be subjective, for Rockwell, on the political extreme and the periphery of political influence, the assimilation of his ideas and influence into mainstream culture may appear surprising. His cultural influence can be measured through indicators such as writing, music, film and art.

One of the cultural stalwarts and representative influences of 1960's music and culture was Bob Dylan, with his political commentaries and satire, and harbinger for political change and liberalism.³¹¹ Much has been written,³¹² regarding Dylan's contribution to culture and fabric of American society and the lasting impact and influence of his music. Yet, ironically, this provides an interesting cultural measure for assessing how Rockwell permeated culture. Dylan wrote about George Lincoln Rockwell in his song "Talkin' John Birch Paranoid Blues", which was a parody of the John Birch Society.³¹³ The satirical song features a narrator who has joined the society and is concerned about the presence of Communists in the USA. Dylan's parody features the prominence of Communism as a priority of those in the USA; commenting that 'Hitler killed six million Jews but at least he wasn't a Communist'.

³¹¹ Dylan, B. (2005) *Chronicles: Volume One* (London: Simon and Schuster U.K. Ltd.). Dylan, B. (2005) *The Bob Dylan Scrapbook: An American Journey, 1956 -1966* (New York: Simon and Schuster).

³¹² Gray, M. (2008) *The Bob Dylan Encyclopedia* (London: The Continuum International Publishing Group). Heylin, C. (2010) *Revolution in the Air: The Songs of Bob Dylan 1957-1973 (Songs of Bob Dylan Vol.1.)*, (London: Constable and Robinson Ltd.). Sounes, H. (2001) *Down the Highway: The Life of Bob Dylan* (London: Transword Publishers). Shelton, R. (2011) *No Direction Home: The Life and Music of Bob Dylan* (London: Omnibus Press).

³¹³ Dylan, B. (1961) 'Talkin John Birch Paranoid Blues'. The Bootleg Series, Volumes 1-3 (Rare and Unreleased) 1961-1991, Columbia Records, C3K 86572.

Within the satirical lyrics written from the perspective of a John Birch Society member, Dylan comments that “There is only one true American, George Lincoln Rockwell”, and references his dislike of Communists, by Rockwell’s picketing of the movie Exodus.

If Rockwell had been of no threat or consequence, there would have been no need or desire for Dylan to mention him in the lyrics, and as part of the attack on the right. The background to the song is also of note, as it highlights a contentious issue at a time of social and political strife. The song originally intended for Dylan’s second album, ‘The Freewheeling Bob Dylan’, was dropped by Columbia Records in anticipation of probable litigation by the John Birch Society. Dylan’s performance on the Ed Sullivan Show, was also marred by the fear of a reaction to the song, which was dropped from the play list as contentious and possibly leading to legal action, if aired. Numerous writers, academic and otherwise looked to the songs and lyrics of Dylan for inspiration, or to provide a nuanced approach to social protest during the period. At times social protest of American society of the 1960’s could present as an unstoppable force of change in America, generating considerable support.

The Country Doctors

The influence of Rockwell was also apparent when The Boston gospel/folk group ‘The Country Doctors’ released a song on their 2004 album called simply ‘George Lincoln Rockwell’. When Rockwell’s modern day supporters gathered to commemorate the anniversary of his assassination at the Laundromat, their posters proclaimed ‘Rockwell Lives’. Perhaps ironically, given his reactionary stance against the times of social change in America, Rockwell has become ensconced in the essence and fabric of the time and an example of the diversity of ideas prevalent at the time.

Playboy interview by Alex Haley

The politics and public persona of Rockwell could be defined by key moments, not least of which was the decision by Playboy magazine to interview Rockwell for the April 1966 issue. The magazine recognised that although Rockwell was a periphery figure with little to no discernible influence over any particular group, with a membership they estimated as being at between 25-100 people, at any given point, they still featured him in their publication. It may be surprising for a self-appointed leader of a party and movement, universally opposed by the majority of society, that the magazine argued for an opportunity to assess the Rockwell's views. In a lengthy interview, a range of Rockwell's views and motivations were presented. Perhaps not surprisingly, despite the prominence of a high profile interview in a national magazine, Rockwell's popularity and that of his party, did not increase or change in terms of political success.

When discussing the role of the Klan in America and their tactics Rockwell commented on:

“...Their *partial* terrorism. I feel that terrorism is a valid weapon in guerrilla warfare, or any kind of warfare; and under the circumstances in which our country finds itself, I would favour terrorism if it could be *complete* – if it would *work*. A hundred years ago, I'd have been a Klansman with a rope and a gun and the whole business. I'd have really gone all out during the Reconstruction to save the white South. And make no mistake about the terrorism. It did the job. But, today, it plays directly into the hands of Martin Luther Coon; it manufactures martyrs for the Northern press, for the liberals, and it doesn't scare the niggers out of hell-raising anymore.”³¹⁴

George Lincoln Rockwell, Playboy Interview.

Despite Rockwell pursuing legitimate means for electoral success, through his ill-fated attempt to be elected Governor of Virginia in 1965, together with his

³¹⁴ Playboy, April 1966, p.154.

electioneering; his comments in the Playboy interview regarding KKK tactics and responses indicate his willingness to consider terrorism as an option. Rockwell added the caveat, that it was merely recognised as an option when assessing the changing role historically of the KKK. It would also have to take account of what would at the time be acceptable practice in the USA as compared to the period during the reconstruction. Rockwell's views do appear to highlight an apparent willingness to consider terrorism as an option. In practice, however, there was no willingness to pursue terrorism by Rockwell or his supporters at the time. Arguably, during the 1960's there was numerous occasions where blacks and others were subject to terror by activities during the period, which were effectively, hate crimes, perpetuated by various groups.

The Playboy interview, which was conducted by acclaimed author Alex Haley, would create the bedrock for another cultural personification of Rockwell, in the series *Roots II*, where the interaction and interview was replayed for television audiences. Although Rockwell espoused an outspoken and virulent racism towards Negroes, in particular, following the interview, Rockwell actually became friends with Haley and corresponded with him on a regular basis.

Roots and the Twilight Zone

Even within the realms of mainstream television, Rockwell permeated a presence and influence. The use of television is significant in demonstrating that there is a cultural place for Rockwell, evidenced by his presence in the series *Roots II*.³¹⁵ Marlon Brando was the actor chosen to play Rockwell, in the series opposite James Earl Jones in the portrayal of the Playboy Interview. It is interesting and unusual to say the least, for a political figure regarded at times as inconsequential, to feature in a high profile series and have an Oscar winning actor of significant standing, portraying him. In an episode of the *Twilight Zone*, television series, a character resembling Rockwell was played by Dennis Hopper.³¹⁶ It is unusual that a

³¹⁵ *Roots II* Television Series, (1979)

³¹⁶ *Twilight Zone* Television Series, (1959-1964)

fringe leader can be represented on screen by leading actors of his generation and may be simply indicative of the contradictions, within American society.

Cultural Legacy

Assessing any cultural legacy is subjective, in the same manner as awareness of cultural impact upon either the popular culture of a theme or a historical and cultural period can be dependent upon a number of variable factors. In terms of cultural icons or iconic events there is an obvious advantage in terms of transparency. However, in terms of small scale cultural aspects the attempts to quantify significance are challenging. In the case of Rockwell, he is part of the fabric of 1960's culture regardless of his political successes or failures. He may be regarded as an example of the time, in the same manner as the Black Panther Party, or Malcolm X. There were also a number of high profile assassinations during the period: Martin Luther King; Rockwell; Malcolm X; John and Robert Kennedy; which had wider sociological causes and within criminology created a new focus on the impact such acts can have on popular culture. During the assassinations of this period, whether reactionary or caused by wider more subtle effects, the cult of the leader is arguably a characteristic of the time.

Rockwell may also have been influenced by the acting background of his parents and his foray into advertising, where he studied under notable artist and illustrator, Norman Rockwell and won a National Award.³¹⁷ Rockwell and his time were in many respects, shaped by the media and publicity. Although not an indispensable feature, or rationale for his activity, much of his actions and behaviours were influenced and dictated by the media, in terms of profile, attention and publicity.³¹⁸ This new personification of Rockwell's influence was also defined by the media and publicity in a way that was never to be repeated after his assassination.

³¹⁷ Schmaltz, W.M. (1999) *Hate: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Washington: Brassey's).

³¹⁸ Bell, L.V. (1973) *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism*. (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press).

Propaganda and Hate

The media responses can be categorised as demonstrating a bias towards a particular portrayal of Rockwell and the subsequent Separatist Movement. It appears that this was advantageous to the media's use of both the hate activities and evocative images of protest. Arguably, media representations of Rockwell were all invariably biased either as a result of Rockwell's actions or by those reporting the political events. This can largely be attributed to their critical disposition towards those on the periphery of the right.

The Rockwell Conspiracy

Once the shock appeal of Rockwell's media propaganda had dissipated and was no longer newsworthy, in the sense of being either a potential political threat or national movement, he became a quixotic juxtapose. Effectively, Rockwell was an indictment of the American system, as a flawed representation of the American dream. The media then moved on to other examples of the cultural fabric, allowing Rockwell's propaganda of hate to exist unchallenged, as a variable subculture. Even under the tenure of Rockwell, publicity and propaganda became untenable as a sustaining political medium, although, effectively Rockwell continued to use his skills as the quintessential advertising man. Despite Rockwell's forte for creating publicity and propaganda of hate, arguably, at the time he created little in political terms, with his principle contribution being through that of image and perception and becoming a figurehead for American Nazism.³¹⁹

This perception and Rockwell's adversarial relationship with other parts of the movement, including tension with the Klan and Segregationists, created a number of issues concerning both his motivation and how effective he was to the overall aims of the movement. It could be argued that he had a detrimental effect on the wider movement. There were accusations, through interviews and in articles, that Rockwell was either working in conjunction with the FBI, or that his activities were actually beneficial to the Anti Defamation League and other organisations opposing

³¹⁹ Simonelli, F.J. (1999) *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press).

the segregationists and the political changes which were occurring.³²⁰ In some respects, this is an understandable reaction from elements of the movement, who sought to appeal to those concerned about racial tensions and social change, thus creating a more moderate image.

There is no evidence to suggest that Rockwell was involved with the FBI or any other government agency. Perhaps ironically, some of the conjecture regarding his motivation stems from his atypical background to that of others in the movement. Rockwell was unique in using the image of the archetypal Nazi, with uniform, and swastika armband, as a political persona. He also had a small group of Nazi storm troopers who provided a military backdrop of ceremony and aggression, whilst he pretended to be leading a new movement to power. In comparative terms, considering the significant membership of the German-American Bund, which under Fritz Kuhn's leadership was subject to little media scrutiny, compared to that experienced to Rockwell.³²¹ It does appear somewhat contradictory, that Rockwell's publicity was so significant, considering the modest support he enjoyed. Arguably, Rockwell did have a measure of influence on politics at the time, towards separation. If this influence had been beyond those on the political periphery; his agenda of separation could have been more significant. Alternatively, although Rockwell was on the political periphery, he enjoyed remarkable success, considering the political legacy of Nazism. In terms of the movement and popular culture, arguably, he provided a proverbial double edge sword to those within the Radical Right of the time.

Rockwell's overt Nazism and propaganda of hate became integral to the media portrayal of those on the radical right who were opposed to social and cultural change and against the integration supported by the Civil Rights Movement. His critics on the right have highlighted that his approach was counterproductive in political terms and Pierce commented that even for those receptive to Nazism, as an ideology and political viewpoint, would be put off by Rockwell's portrayal and the

³²⁰ The George Lincoln Rockwell Collection.

³²¹ Bell, L.V. (1973) *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism*. (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press).

lack of organisational core within the movement itself.³²² If as Pierce suggested even those predisposed to Nazism as a philosophy were reticent towards Rockwell's activities and behaviours in political and practical terms, it is perhaps not surprising the lack of wider success amongst the radical right and the political mainstream to his policies. Despite Rockwell's activities providing a focal point and figurehead for subsequent separatists, he did create issues, which have still been unresolved within the movement and the continuing interpretation of American Nazism and Separatism. Rockwell used overt Nazism whilst also pursuing a separatist agenda, prophesising racial strife and declaring that he was a racist in vehement terms. The adoption of the paraphernalia of Nazism, by Rockwell, so soon after the end of the war together with his insistence on the repatriation of Negroes; the trials and execution of Jewish traitors; and holocaust denial, all served to create an unpalatable political message. It further ensured that through the media association and the resulting publicity, such views became entwined and linked with separatism.³²³

Conclusion

In terms of media coverage, the White Separatist Movement has not developed or gained the level of publicity and representation that Rockwell achieved during his tenure as leader. It is debatable, whether this was simply a reaction to the times and the lack of a credible political choice or an opportunity to highlight a political alternative. In the subsequent political landscape with tensions over race and class in America, the far or radical right elements of separatism, are either unwilling to become a focal point for scrutiny or simply unable to command a volume of media attention. This may reflect the contradictions within the post-war coverage of Rockwell and American Nazism, that whether as a political anomaly or source of curiosity, it created and welcomed publicity. It may have been brashness on the part of Rockwell or simply the showmanship that others lacked, which became symbolic of the time. In the modern age of 24 hour media with political parties using sound bites and technology to keep in touch with supporters, whether in the form of tweets on twitter, or through email updates and online discussion forums,

³²² Griffin, R.S. (2001) *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds*. (USA: 1st Books).

³²³ Swain, C.M. and Nieli, R. (ed.) (2003) *Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America*. (New York: Cambridge University Press).

Rockwell would arguably have embraced and revelled in the opportunities such an environment created.

Chapter Five

The underpinnings of National Socialist thought as a political entity and mechanism for state building in the USA.

Introduction

The ideological foundations of modern Separatism in the America, is underpinned by a shared heritage of National Socialism, anti-Communism and a variation of White Supremacy, through the Southern cultural traditions of race. To assist in the analysis of this wide theoretical basis and canonised texts, the terminology of ‘state building’ and thereby a ‘state vision’, will be utilised in relation to the subject matter. In terms of a uniform distinction of what ‘state building’ covers in general scope, the Department for International Development (DFID) have defined as:

“State-building is a national process, a product of state-society relations that may be influenced by a wide variety of external forces, but which is primarily shaped by local dynamics...by an underlying political settlement; the forging of common understanding, usually among elites, that their interests or beliefs are served by a particular way of organising political power. A political settlement may survive for centuries, but within that time decision power is likely to transfer among elite groups as individual governments come and go.”³²⁴

However, in practice there has been a multitude of inferences on whether it is simply the mechanism of continuing and improving state power, or creation of a state. For the American Nazism and Separatist politics to flourish and achieve their aims, effectively a new state must be formed in entirety.

In terms, of achieving power, American Nazism and the subsequent politics of White Separatism appear to lack, any formalised state vision of what an American Nazi or Separatist state would represent, as a working expression of political power.

³²⁴ Whaites, A. (2008) *States in Development: Understanding State Building* (Department for International Development Working Paper) p.4 Accessed online 12 September 2011. (tna.eiroparchive.org/20081212094836/dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/State-in-Development-Wkg-Paper.pdf).

If the process of state building is one of forging political power and shaping policy through a 'political settlement', then a formalised state vision is required. This could either be conveyed through canonised texts or by political statements and policy. However, there is a specific lack of information on what the American Nazi/White Separatist perspective on this could be categorised as, which has specific limitations upon the movement, as a whole. Effectively, due to the lack of a formalised state vision or response to state building other than through fictional portrayals, religion has provided the fundamental response to ideological constructs. Through the lack of political interaction or development by key actors to facilitate a state process for power, the religious impetus has superseded the political dimension.

The concept of state building is employed as a method of assessing the White Separatist Movement in the USA. The rationale for using the 'state building'³²⁵ critique and its implications for National Socialist thought in the USA is as a means of assessing Rockwell and the White Separatist Movement. The use of the 'state building' criteria when discussing key issues of politics, government, civil society and the role of the state³²⁶, provides a different perspective on actors. Traditional analysis of American politics has focused upon the mechanisms of government, rather than the state itself. However, state building has become more relevant in relation to US diplomacy and allegations of American imperialism. Therefore, a Nazi/Fascist perspective of state building in the USA becomes useful when assessing the Separatist movement. The assessment will be through a theoretical discussion of the premise of state building, as applied to American National Socialist ideas. By utilising this theoretical premise to assess the contribution of a variety of factors, an understanding of the political actors and movement can be achieved. Assessing the movement through the state building principle provides a perspective and context for the movement, which can be utilised as a theme, when giving an overview of the wider political environment and political actors involved.

³²⁵ Scott, Z. (2007) has provided a fairly thorough review of state-building. Scott, Z. (2007) Literature Review on State-Building, Report prepared for the Department for International Development, University of Birmingham.

³²⁶ Role of the state has been considered through many studies. Barrow, C.W.(1993) *Critical Theories of the State*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press). Miliband, R. (1970) *The State in Capitalist Society* (London: Quartet Books). Nettl, P. (1968) The State as a Conceptual Variable. *World Politics*, 20 (4): 559-592. Poulantzas, N. (2000) *State, Power, Socialism*. (London: Verso). Skowronek, S. (1982) *Building a New American State*. (New York: Cambridge University Press). Westergaard, J. and Resler, H. (1977) *Class in a Capitalist Society: A study of Contemporary Britain*. (Middlesex: Penguin).

The use of state building as a pretext for achieving power is an integral feature to both Rockwell and leaderless resistance, but in different contexts. The state building concept as a theoretical premise is a method of critical analysis that can be applied to White Nationalist Politics and ideology. State building³²⁷ can be utilised within the confines of a conceptual study or applied to specific political groups and ideologies. The origins of National Socialism in the USA and the development of the White Separatist Movement are examined in relation to the legacy for the USA.

National Socialist State Building

Arguably, American National Socialism has a principal focus of state building therefore, the creation of a National Socialist state is the rationale for its existence as a political force. However, this issue is problematic and there is a lack of specific research on the 'state vision' and treatise for political action. It is arguable that the American National Socialist politics may not succeed in a traditional party system. Fictional observations of totalitarianism such as George Orwell's novel 1984 utilise the premise and function that, terror begets terror and maintenance of power is the reason for the regime. This would then make the whole notion of political policy redundant as a representation of 'Stateness'. The basis and theoretical premise for American National Socialism is imperative to understanding the movement's development and the subsequent role of leaderless resistance, presenting the issue of terror.

Due to the complex nature of White Nationalism³²⁸ and the Separatist Movement³²⁹, the analysis will take place through themes. Simonelli (1999) discussed three prevalent themes in the A.N.P., which were directly attributable to Rockwell, Holocaust denial (literature and beliefs); Christian Identity faith; and

³²⁷ O'Neil (1999) has examined the importance of culture and economic in the formation of 'new states'. O'Neil, D.J. (1999) Essentialism and epochalism within the context of Irish state-building. *International Journal of Social Economics*, Vol.26, Issue: 10/11, 1285-1301.

³²⁸ Swain, C.M. (2002) *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration*. (New York: Cambridge University Press).

³²⁹ Dobratz, B.A. and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States "White Power, White Pride!"* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press).

White Power music. Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (2000) discuss a number of themes within the White Separatist movement including leaderless resistance and the movement's Nazi origins.³³⁰ The underpinnings of the philosophy, directly concerns the political prerogative of National Socialism in the USA, both in terms of political thought through the portrayal of its ideology as a political entity.

Commentators have widely discussed the importance and challenges of state building³³¹ whilst Rotberg analyses state failure and nation building³³², both of these aspects are integral, when assessing the political foundations of the Separatist movement regarding the state. However, “nation building must be seen as a distinct activity that normally parallels state-building...Where the state deliberately excludes its own people from the nation-building agenda”³³³ particularly in regard to ethnic or religious groups. American Nazism and Separatist politics have created a contradictory alternative to that of the traditional politics of the Radical Right; re-imagined according to race and a variety of Americana, amalgamated with pseudo Norse and Nazi heritage. White Separatism has developed to encompass religion, culture and ideology. Despite the developments and strong ideological influences at the core of the White Separatist Movement, this reflects a significant weakness through the lack of a formalised, ‘state vision’. In terms of the political and theoretical base there is a lack of cohesion, between elements or consensus in approach. The strong core ideology of Nazism and reliance upon race has been re-invented and Americanised, whilst incorporating new aspects, yet has not formalised into a ‘state vision’, beyond the basis of a racial vision, of a White society.

³³⁰ Bell, L.V. (1973) *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism*. (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press).

³³¹ Consideration has also been given state building and the particular challenges faced by ‘failed’ states’, by Bah, A. B. (2012) *State Decay: A Conceptual Frame of Failing and Failed State in West Africa*, *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, Vol, 25, Issue 1-3, 71-89. Barbara, J. (2008) *Rethinking Neo-Liberal State Building: Building Post-Conflict Development States*, *Development in Practice*, Vol. 18, Issue 3, 307-318. Barbara argues that we should use the ‘developmental state’ as an ‘alternative model’ for state building in the context of failed states.

³³² Rotberg, R.I., (2003) *The New Nature of Nation-State Failure* in A.T.J. Lennon, (ed.), *The Battle for Hearts and Minds: using soft power to undermine terrorist networks* (Cambridge Massachusetts: The MIT Press).

³³³ Whaites, A. (2008) *States in Development: Understanding State Building*. (Department for International Development Working Paper), P.5. (tna.eiroparchive.org/20081212094836/dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/State-in-Development-Wkg-Paper.pdf) Accessed online 12 September 2011.

According to Popper (1979) there are inherent problems when applying a theoretical criteria or construct to historical events and understanding, especially when considering Utopian goals. Popper (1979: 47) discusses the impact of these on subsequent events, arguing that although they are influential, they are never decisive factors, in shaping the overall development of history. He also acknowledges that they can be a useful method of monitoring future developments. This provides potential for considering a large volume of data and the scope for a wide-ranging discussion, considering the impetus for National Socialism in the Separatist Movement and the development of a ‘terrorist’ element. Since both have a theoretical element, which arises from primary sources and existing literature, it is important that the causal chain between the evidence and the theoretical supposition, remain intact and open to scrutiny. Specifically, by combining the political aspect of state building and a resistance model, the political theory is modified, to complement the resistance structure.

Berman (1990) provides a useful context to the background of American society during the early period of Nazism and complicated issues surrounding Zionism.³³⁴ The use of the traditional party political machine, through membership, ideology and political treatise allow a state analogy or vision to be represented, in the beliefs of activists. There are examples of movement texts, which provide forms of political treatise, inspiration and ideological motivation, to movement activists. However, essentially the movement lacks a state vision or party manifesto leading to an explanation of the future state and government. Rockwell’s autobiography *This Time The World*³³⁵ and his political commentary *White Power*³³⁶ provide a basis for movement treatise, rather than formal state vision.

The nearest the post-Rockwell movement has come to a formal state vision or example outside the writings of Hitler, was through *The Turner Diaries*³³⁷, as it provided a fictional White state in the future. It is through the state’s creation, format

³³⁴ Berman, A. (1990) *Nazism The Jews and American Zionism 1933-1948*. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press).

³³⁵ Rockwell, G.L. (2004) *This Time The World*. (York, SC: Liberty Bell Publications).

³³⁶ Rockwell, G.L. (1983) *White Power*. (Not known).

³³⁷ MacDonald, A. (1995) *The Turner Diaries*. (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books).

and thus state building, that the mechanisms of government are represented in the idea of an American National Socialist state.³³⁸ National Socialist state building as a representation within the American movement has depended upon Hitler's texts *Mein Kampf*³³⁹, *Hitler's Table Talk*³⁴⁰ and *Hitler's Second Book*³⁴¹ to provide an insight into the state building vision of Hitler and Nazism.³⁴²

The essence of American National Socialist state building is the creation of an apparatus for government, state rule and a state vision. This is a complicated paradox within the movement. The German-American Bund leader³⁴³ advocated a Nazi state in the USA, whilst this overt targeting disadvantaged the movement and promoted legislation to deal with the anti-American threat posed by Nazism. It was America's entry into World War II (WWII) which marked the end of the movement's success. Thus the early movement's state vision was attributable to German Nazism and Hitler's vision for Germany, which the Bund sought to replicate in its entirety. The precise state vision of Rockwell is more problematic because his movement tended to merge different components of ideology and ideas, which he fashioned as American Nazism. Rockwell had statements of intent and policy, though he lacked the formal state vision outside the libertarian vision of the USA. The post-Rockwell movement lacks the stature of a state vision legacy, so depends on the political treatise of Hitler and Rockwell. However, when 'The Turner Diaries' was published, an element of state vision was taken from the fiction of a dystopian libertarian America overthrown by White Revolutionaries, with Hitler simply referred to as the 'great one', portrayed as a mythic historical leader who inspired the movement.

³³⁸ National Socialist state building as a representation within the American movement has depended upon Hitler's texts (2003a) *Mein Kampf* (London: Pimlico), (2003b) *Hitler's Table Talk 1941-1944 His private Conversations*. (London: Phoenix) and (2003c) *Hitler's Second Book: The Unpublished Sequel to Mein Kampf*. (New York: Enigma) to provide an insight into the state building vision of Hitler and Nazism.

³³⁹ Hitler, A. (2003a) *Mein Kampf*. (London: Pimlico).

³⁴⁰ Hitler, A. (2003b) *Hitler's Table Talk 1941-1944 His private Conversations*. (London: Phoenix).

³⁴¹ Hitler, A. (2003c) *Hitler's Second Book: The Unpublished Sequel to Mein Kampf*. (New York: Enigma).

³⁴² Pridham, G. (1973) *Hitler's Rise to Power: The Nazi Movement in Bavaria, 1923-1933*. (London: Hart-Davis, MacGibbon Ltd.).

³⁴³ Bell, L.V. (1973) *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism*. (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press).

State building is a useful concept and means of assessing National Socialism as a political mechanism, and its function as a political organisation. Essentially, analytical contributions have relied upon partial histories of the movement, its leaders or of significant time periods and events. Studies by Ezekiel (1996), Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (2000), Bell (1973) and Simonelli (1999) have either focussed on core themes, specific case histories or significant events.³⁴⁴ They have not assessed Rockwell or his legacy in the context of the wider movement and the relevance to leaderless resistance. By creating a research composite of relevant areas explored by these studies, a progression can be reached and overall literature appraised. All of these works are significant in their key areas and can be appraised and utilised when combined with themes of separatism and identity within the post-Rockwell movement. However, the study of the movement has lacked a consensus of theoretical analysis to critique both its political direction and justification. This political diffusion is attributable to Rockwell and other movement leaders who have lacked consistency in approach and method.

Rockwell's principal successors in the movement have become more pronounced in their specific political paths. Matt Koehl³⁴⁵ became a pronounced National Socialist exponent. Whereas Pierce by contrast moved towards a less German orientated philosophy and adopted a more distanced approach to National Socialism. This embraced a general theme of Nordic and Viking mythology³⁴⁶ adopted, in addition to core movement values of separatism and identity. The Separatist movement's basis has relied upon a constructed image of political propaganda³⁴⁷, attributable to policies which are partly based on a popularisation of what the movement is seen to represent, rather than an actual manifesto of intent. This has allowed political philosophy to be dictated by issues and events rather than

³⁴⁴ Ezekiel, R.S. (1996) *The Racist Mind*. (New York: Penguin). Dobratz, B.A. and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States "White Power, White Pride!"* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press). Bell, L.V. (1973) *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism*. (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press). Simonelli, F.J. (1999) *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press).

³⁴⁵ Kaplan, J. (Ed) (2000) *Encyclopedia of White Power: A Sourcebook on the Radical racist Right* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press).

³⁴⁶ Griffin, R.S. (2001) *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds*. (USA: 1st Books).

³⁴⁷ Dobratz, B.A. and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States "White Power, White Pride!"* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press). Ridgeway, J. (1995) *Blood in the Face*. (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press).

as a core belief. Rockwell, in particular, tended to respond in a reactionary fashion to ideas rather than instigate core political principles, which would dictate policy ideas and beliefs³⁴⁸.

Methods of state building are arguably, an ever-present feature, since the advent of the state and have provided a useful method of analysis for organising and assessing American National Socialism. Unlike the German model, this presented a flawed but conceptualised vision of a Nazi state. US National Socialism was bereft of an independent understanding and concept of a desired state vision. Instead, National Socialism relied upon the German model to present an idealised pseudo-German state in the USA. This inadvertently followed the same route as those US Communists who attempted to re-create the template of the Soviet system in the USA. It could be argued that the lack of a clear and concise state vision contributed to the lack of political success and this also had a distinct effect on the members and activists of those movements who followed party doctrines. Whereas, political parties or movements are judged by the electorate on their manifestos, policies and vision in response to key issues in support of endorsed values; American National Socialism differs in all these respects.

The ideological and political thought of National Socialism in the USA is driven towards the principal goal of 'state building'. The goal of achieving the creation of a National Socialist state is integral to the 'state building' concept. However, this has created a problematic paradox in National Socialist thought, due to the lack of consensus between White Nationalist groups and has highlighted a lack of vision, concerning their utopian ideal, of a National Socialist state in the USA. The Turner Diaries is not without its flaws as a visionary text of White society; this could in part be attributed to the lack of foresight in its construction³⁴⁹.

³⁴⁸ Rockwell, G.L. (1983) *White Power*. (Not known).

³⁴⁹ Originally the book was released in serialised form as an action story with a political message. It was only through its popularity that it was later released as a book. Pierce, when commenting about the book, said he wrote it quickly and never assumed it would be successful otherwise he would have spent more time on its political message, if he had realised it would be so widely read. His sequel *Hunter* was less successful but had more of an emphasis on politics.

Though ‘The Turner Diaries’ and the follow up text ‘Hunter’ are examples of leaderless resistance and White Revolution in the USA, ‘The Turner Diaries’ is the more popular of the two in terms of sales and influence.³⁵⁰ Unlike the first text, ‘Hunter’ provides much more of a political commentary and direct arguments, rather than concentrating on the narrative. In his interviews with Griffin³⁵¹, Pierce admitted, with regard to ‘The Turner Diaries’, that due to its serialisation and the attempts to maintain interest, less time was spent on detailed discussions of political points, or justifications for actions. Pierce argued that readers were likely to be broadly supportive of the book’s point of view. However, perhaps the readers lacked an awareness of important issues, thus the novel though propelled by action, would explain key aspects of ideology to readers. Whilst ‘Hunter’ is loosely based on the activities of Joseph Franklin, with the focus on a lone assassin, the book is interspersed with political dialogues of propaganda on anti-Semitism and racial theories, to explain movement beliefs. This gives the text a disjointed approach, but does highlight how movement protagonists, such as Pierce, justify their political beliefs and prejudices.

Pierce also admitted that he did not foresee the success of ‘The Turner Diaries’ and spent minimal time on some elements, utilising it more as a serialised political story with action, before it was eventually published as a novel.³⁵² There are a core selection of ideological texts, which are influential in American White Nationalism, including, the ‘White Man’s Bible’, ‘Vigilantes of Christendom’ and the Rockwell texts ‘This Time the World’ and ‘White Power’. The White Man’s Bible is the basis for the World Church of the Creator (WCOTC), now disbanded and widely referred to by supporters. In parallel with the White Man’s Bible, the Vigilantes of Christendom depends on religious meaning, with Phineas referring to an example from the Bible.

³⁵⁰ The Turner Diaries (whilst still an underground text and not available at commercial bookshops) had sold 198,000 copies. Hunter sold 61,000 copies. MacDonald, A. (1995) *The Turner Diaries*. (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books). MacDonald, A. (1998) *Hunter*. (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books).

³⁵¹ Griffin carried out a series of interviews with Pierce whilst preparing his political biography on Pierce and the National Alliance, which were referred to in his text.

³⁵² Griffin, R.S. (2001) *The Fame of a Dead Man’s Deeds* (USA: 1st Books).

There have been a number of similar texts attempting to capture the attention of the movement since the publication of 'The Turner Diaries'.³⁵³ Jackson (2004) discusses the influence of 'The Turner Diaries' and a selection of the dozens of extremist novels published which attempt to replicate it and or become a modern sequel to the original, in impact and influence. Despite many of the texts being either self-published or published by neo-Nazi publishing houses, such as the National Alliances, National Vanguard Books; Jackson notes that they are still influential in the movement and act as inspiration to violence.

Whilst the texts may be viewed as radical and extreme they are readily available via the Internet for online consumers. Jackson commented on the online reviews testifying to their influence in popular culture. Information on many texts and other materials are shared through websites like Stormfront, the online resource and information site run by former Klansman, Don Black. However, these have not entered the subconscious of mainstream American society to the extent of 'The Turner Diaries'. The book's unique political and historical interspersion with real life events, places it in a literary paradox of life imitating fiction. Arguably, there is a lack of political imagination in the post-war Nazi-Fascist movement's writings, which have contributed to the success and popularity of 'The Turner Diaries', in particular.³⁵⁴ Indeed, perhaps it is merely symptomatic of the micro-politics, which arises from groups on the political fringe that lack significant contributions to produce creative treatise and commentaries that exemplifies a lack of mainstream recognition. In terms of White Nationalist sentiment, 'The Turner Diaries' did capture the imagination of supporters and became synonymous in the movement as a radical prescription for White Revolution.

The absence of an acknowledged political treatise beyond Mein Kampf presents significant ideological and cultural problems, which must be addressed and understood when analysing the movement's development. Rockwell's autobiography *This Time the World* and political commentary *White Power* provide an outlet for

³⁵³ Jackson, C. (2004) *Fightin' Words*, in the Southern Poverty Law Center's Intelligence Report, Fall 2004, Issue 115.

³⁵⁴ Swain, C.M. and Nieli, R. (ed.) (2003) *Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

expressing political thought, but both lacked movement endorsement, availability to the mainstream and mass appeal. Whereas, the Marxist/Communist tradition has a breadth of ideological writings, the presumption of Nazi/Fascist political thought returns predominately to *Mein Kampf*, as an ideological and spiritual guide to politics. Rockwell himself commented on the need for *Mein Kampf* to provide political clarity and inspiration. In 1960, Rockwell underwent psychiatric observation and was found to be suffering from paranoia. Following his hospital admission and clinical evaluation Rockwell wrote the pamphlet, 'How to get out and stay out of an insane asylum.'³⁵⁵ His guide implied that he had disguised his behaviour and feelings to the doctors, in order to obtain his release from the institution and Rockwell used this, as justification for his own behaviour.

In the context of post-war American Nazism, several key flaws and contradictions present themselves within the movement. These elements would appear to present contradictory phases in the movement's political and ideological development. They essentially represent, a Nazi movement, which underwent a change of focus and initiative after the end of World War Two. There is arguably, 'state failure' within the movement's interpretation of events and the failure of the state vision endorsed by the movement. The underlying response to this leads directly towards the exploration of leaderless resistance, in relation to terrorism. It is well documented by Crenshaw (2001)³⁵⁶, that the state is 'complicit' in the justification and motivation for terrorism, by providing an impetus through the state's actions, which provoke terrorism. Through the use of arguments on the historical application of terrorism, the justification for resorting to terrorism is the responsibility of the state and the terrorist organisation.³⁵⁷ The White Nationalists who resorted to using leaderless resistance and terrorism did so after the instigating actions of the Federal Government and the state's behaviour.³⁵⁸ This highlights a

³⁵⁵ This was an unpublished pamphlet produced by Rockwell recounting his experiences whilst undergoing psychiatric observation.

³⁵⁶ Crenshaw, M. (2001) *The Psychology of Terrorism: an agenda for the 21st Century*. *Political Psychology*, 21: 2, 405-20. Crenshaw, M. (1982) *The Causes of Terrorism*. *Comparative Politics*, 13: 379-399.

³⁵⁷ Crenshaw, M.(2001) *The Psychology of Terrorism: an agenda for the 21st Century*. *Political Psychology*, 21: 2, 405-20. Crenshaw, M. (1982) *The Causes of Terrorism*. *Comparative Politics*, 13: 379-399.

³⁵⁸ Hudson, R.A. (2005) *The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism: Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why?* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University Press of the Pacific).

rationale and pretext for the movement's development towards leaderless resistance and a more secular approach.

In an editorial, "Terrorism the only answer to Terrorism"³⁵⁹ Rockwell discussed the issue of terrorism from a different perspective. He maintained that the USA was the victim of terrorism from groups like the Black Panthers³⁶⁰. Rockwell digressed to a discussion of the fear invoked after the reconstruction of the South by the Ku Klux Klan on Negroes, maintaining that there was no longer fear of the Klan. Rockwell's solution to help create and foster a climate of fear was the formation of U.S. Nazi Motorcycle Corps., to terrorise and recreate the symbolic fear the KKK had once embodied in the South. By applying the historical understandings of terrorism and the justification for terrorist action as a theoretical premise, the movement sought to create a scenario of victimology, and through such an approach, members were somehow the victims of terror and failed by the state. Such perceptions became more important after the assassination of Rockwell.

Hudson (2005)³⁶¹ argues that, subjecting and targeting groups or individuals reinforces their belief that they are justified in acting in a terrorist manner. Therefore, Joseph Franklin³⁶² who was a former stormtrooper in the A.N.P. and was the example used for Pierce's novel Hunter and the lone wolf form of leaderless resistance could arguably be classified as a terrorist. During the 1970's, for example, Franklin targeted and murdered inter-racial couples and minorities. Arguably, the failure of the National Socialists state building principle and state vision could be seen as a cause of the search for an alternative means of political expression. Furthermore, it could also be used as a vehicle for attaining power through other means, principally that of terrorist action. Hudson's 2005 report³⁶³, compiled by the Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, discusses the motivation for

³⁵⁹ The Stormtrooper, Summer 1967.

³⁶⁰ Street, J. (2010) The Historiography of the Black Panther Party. *Journal of American Studies*, Vol.44, No. 2, May.

³⁶¹ Hudson, R.A. (2005) *The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism: Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why?* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University Press of the Pacific).

³⁶² For a full discussion of Franklin see Kaplan (ed) (2000) *Encyclopedia of White Power: A Sourcebook on the Radical Racist Right*. (Walnut Creek, C.A.: Rowan and Littlefield).

³⁶³ Hudson, R.A. (2005) *The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism: Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why?* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University Press of the Pacific).

terrorism and the justification for their actions in addition to the ideological perception of the terrorist's decision making. The report also suggests methods for terrorist analysis and the various approaches employed. However, the report does not deal with the typology of right wing terrorism, which was beyond the remit of the study, which focuses on foreign terrorist organizations specified by the U.S. State Department. The movement could be perceived as having reached an ideological impasse concerning leaderless resistance, as there is still no formal state vision for the National Socialist ideologues in the USA. In this political flux there has been an increase in hate-based behaviour amongst White Nationalist activists.

American Nazism is in many regards a political fallacy, since there is a tenuous link between the party itself and National Socialist thought and no tangible evidence of linkage, in historical terms. This is specifically a result of a number of factors both historically and politically, where interpretation leads to re-invention of political thought and historical events. The Friends of the Reich had a tangible link with Nazism through its creation and the influence of Rudolf Hess, to a lesser extent the German-American Bund was linked with the Nazi party. Canedy-Clark has already discussed the Bund in detail, with its fragile relationship with Hitler and German Nazism.³⁶⁴ However, unlike these groups, the American Nazi Party arguably could be interpreted as being a pseudo Nazism of imagined communities and policies. In the A.N.P. writings and Rockwell's declaration, Nazism became a quasi-religious order rather than a party political machine. The causal link between German Nazism and the German American Bund gave only a cursory credibility to American Nazism's roots, which first arose due to Rudolf Hess and the Friends of the Reich movement. Rockwell's American Nazi Party was principally a form of political expediency, to achieve prominence.³⁶⁵ In principle the goals of the American Nazi Party, the German-American Bund and American National Socialists had a set agenda for political change, through party documents, statements and procedures. This is counteracted by the secondary goal, the political construction of theoretical principles and arguments. There is a suggestion of a continuance of the

³⁶⁴ Canedy Clark, S. (1987) *Americas Nazis The German American Bund*. PhD thesis, Texas A and M University.

³⁶⁵ Simonelli, F.J. (1999) *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press).

German Nazi movement at times, whilst attempting to distance it at others; there is the propensity for a new pseudo neo-Nazis phenomenon, through caricature and the residual self-image of Nazi representation. It could be argued, these principally occur through literature, political propaganda, filmic representations and popular culture. In the same way, recent extremist examples of neo-Nazi violence in the USA have suggested a lack of political awareness of political ideology, outside popular culture.³⁶⁶

Hate Watch, tracks incidents across the USA. Some recent examples have demonstrated neo-Nazi violence by people with a lack of movement or ideological awareness.³⁶⁷ However, these individuals have used Nazi symbolism such as the swastika. Terminology would suggest that these groups and individuals are neo-Nazis; however, this does not address the wider issue of movement representation and ideological consensus. It is arguable, that the two most relevant issues here concern identity, of both the individuals and groups; specifically what features the leadership assess when creating the movement's political basis and why? There has been a lack of consistency in the movement concerning this issue, with groups being singularly unable to agree specific tenets of National Socialist philosophy they endorse or accurately articulate a political treatise or state vision, without contradicting movement rhetoric. When assessing the contribution and underpinning features of National Socialist thought in the USA as political theory, there are two principal features, identity and state building; both of these factors interrelate and have specific features as separate entities within the movement.

The issue of identity is a core feature of the American National Socialist Movement from the 1930's to present the day.³⁶⁸ This can take a number of forms to reflect social, political and religious contexts. Manifesting a distinct cultural identity is crucial to White Nationalist politics and culture, as a means of creating a stable

³⁶⁶ Langer, E. (2003) *A Hundred Little Hitlers* (New York: Metropolitan Books). Dobratz, B.A. and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States "White Power, White Pride!"* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press).

³⁶⁷ Langer, E. (2003) *A Hundred Little Hitlers* (New York: Metropolitan Books). Ridgeway, J. (1995) *Blood in the Face* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press).

³⁶⁸ Bell, L.V. (1973) *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press).

movement, and a support mechanism to potential supporters. Rockwell lamented the lack of a separate culture for his supporters, that could counter their exposure to US popular culture and ideas, which were ideologically opposed, to those espoused by National Socialists. Ezekiel³⁶⁹ in his study, of Klansmen, commented on the fluidity between US popular culture and the Klan's supporters, with a lack of formality between the ideology and practices of those involved. Arguably, this approach could be formulaic when discussing the mainstream cultural influences on the social activities of supporters. The division between mainstream culture and Klan supporters has become more pronounced through time, although there has been a lack of discussion of this factor and its implications within existing literature.

In terms of American National Socialism, the movement is full of contradictions in both its orientation and outlook, which assist in perpetuating the political anomalies. Therefore, it is arguable that the US movement, as Simonelli³⁷⁰ and Schmaltz³⁷¹ maintained, acted as an opportunistic vehicle for Rockwell in his pursuit of power and helped to create a division between the individual and the party, or the individual and the machinery of state. National Socialism, is symbolically portrayed as a representation of totalitarian oppression, although, not in comparable terms with Stalin's rule in the Soviet Union. The USA movement has attempted to use freedom, as a motivating factor for individual expression of Nazism, over the Communist collective ideal or modern liberal democracy.³⁷²

The studies by Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (2000), Swain and Nieli (2003) and Ezekiel (1996) are useful when assessing the White Nationalist Movement and American National Socialism.³⁷³ All of these studies focus on the contemporary movement and the ideology of White Identity and Separatism. However, they do not

³⁶⁹ Ezekiel, R.S. (1996) *The Racist Mind*. (New York: Penguin).

³⁷⁰ Simonelli, F.J. (1999) *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press).

³⁷¹ Schmaltz, W.M. (1999) *Hate: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Washington: Brassey's).

³⁷² Griffin, R.S. (2001) *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds* (USA: 1st Books).

³⁷³ Dobratz, B.A. and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States "White Power, White Pride!"* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press). Swain, C.M. and Nieli, R. (Editor) (2003) *Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America*. (New York: Cambridge University Press). Ezekiel, R.S. (1996) *The Racist Mind*. (New York: Penguin).

focus on the importance of leaderless resistance theory, other than as an aspect of the modern movement and Rockwell is only mentioned as a historical reference. Griffin's critique of Pierce, provides an interesting insight and analysis of the theoretical underpinnings of Pierce's justification for his beliefs. Pierce's novel 'Hunter' also acts as a vehicle for his ideas and as a political testament.

There have been several key academic writings³⁷⁴ and sources on both Rockwell and American White Nationalism, which cover the Bund, A.N.P. and the post-Rockwell movement. These contributions provide an overview of the topic and are key indicators of the movement's development as a political entity. Whilst some specific aspects have been addressed, analysis of the movement has neglected some of the important trends, which have only become apparent through time. The recent metamorphosis of the movement highlights the key trends and aspects, which can be attributed to these occurrences. The specific writings on the movement have been concerned with events and practices rather than a thematic approach. Some of these themes have been explored as elements; however, the overall perspective of the movement has not been sufficiently analysed from a theoretical and conceptual basis, as a political and cultural movement.

It is important to maintain a historical perspective of both the movement and its ideology in order to retain a basis of understanding, for analytical purposes. However, through the use of key concepts such as state building the themes can be addressed in theoretical and conceptual terms, rather than being focussed on specific historical aspects. Due to the breadth of literature³⁷⁵ on some of the traditional key themes and aspects of National Socialism, the establishment of a valid analytical approach via signposting concepts, allows a circumventing of these issues in order to address those, which have been neglected or are less readily accessible, to the critical analyst.

³⁷⁴ Bell, L.V. (1973) *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press).

³⁷⁵ Shirer, W.L.(1968) *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany*. (London: Book Club Associates). Pridham, G. (1973) *Hitler's Rise to Power: The Nazi Movement in Bavaria, 1923-1933*. (London: Hart-Davis, MacGibbon Ltd.).

There have been a significant number of texts on both National Socialism³⁷⁶ and Hitler³⁷⁷, notwithstanding aspects such as race and the Ku Klux Klan.³⁷⁸ Therefore due to the number of texts, which are only generally relevant to Rockwell, American Nazism, leaderless resistance and the other themes, signposting is required, as an accurate research tool. The political movement's ideology should be a central and irreplaceable feature of the political direction, structure and motivation to achieve power. The method of governing through state building and the fluid ideology suggests that in accordance with George Orwell's summary of totalitarianism in his novel *1984*³⁷⁹; that power begets power and the political party is merely a mechanism to the achievement of power with no discernible agenda on the gaining of power, other than its retention. Rockwell's own political development confirmed that Nazism provided a political vehicle for him to develop a recognisable media persona for the American public.³⁸⁰

The representation of the state in American National Socialism, which could be interpreted as following a cycle with three competing elements: (1) Revolution; (2) Terror; (3) Freedom. The respective elements then become competing forces in directing the form and direction of the state, under a National Socialist government. These elements though at odds with one another are not mutually exclusive and each must be combined with the others in order to achieve power. There is a contradiction between creating, defending and threatening the principles of an American National

³⁷⁶ Shirer, W.L.(1968) *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany*. (London: Book Club Associates). Pridham, G. (1973) *Hitler's Rise to Power: The Nazi Movement in Bavaria, 1923-1933*. (London: Hart-Davis, MacGibbon Ltd.). Levanda, P. (2002) *Unholy Alliance: A History of Nazi Involvement with the Occult*. (New York: Continuum International Publishing). Lane, B.M. and Rupp, L.J. (translators) (1978) *Nazi Ideology before 1933: A Documentation*. (Texas: University of Texas Press).

³⁷⁷ Kershaw, I. (1998) *Hitler 1889-1936: Hubris*. (London: Penguin). Kershaw, I (2001) *Hitler 1936-1945: Nemesis*. (London: Penguin). Roberts, S.H. (1937) *The House that Hitler Built*. (London: Methven).

³⁷⁸ Phillips, J.W. (2000) *Sign of the Cross*. (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Know Press). Burlein, A. (2002) *Lift High The Cross: Where White Supremacy and the Christian Right Converge*. (Durham: Duke University Press). Chalmers, D.M. (1987) *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* (Durham, USA: Duke University Press).

³⁷⁹ Orwell, G. (1989) *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (London: Penguin).

³⁸⁰ Simonelli, F.J. (1999) *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press). Schmaltz, W.M. (1999) *Hate: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*. (Washington: Brassey's). Bell, L.V. (1973) *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism*. (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press). Rockwell, G.L. (2004) *This Time The World*. (York, SC: Liberty Bell Publications). Rockwell, G.L. (2011) *A National Socialist Life: Selected Writings by George Lincoln Rockwell*. (Wentzville, MO, USA: Invictus Books).

Socialist state. Thus, to achieve freedom from the Federal Government, a revolution is required, which can only be maintained by terror, ostensibly to protect freedom. It appears that this in itself is a contradiction in method, approach and outcome. Nevertheless, American National Socialism has been directing its ideology and practices, through the lens of this paradox.

Many of the features of White Separatism and generally National Socialist politics have focussed on the role of the Federal Government as a restrictor of freedom. Indeed the view that ‘White Separatists’ are being denied freedom is an on-going element. Broad analysis suggests that there is a culture of victimology amongst the movement, that a White Revolution is the only way to obtain freedom of speech and thought, since they perceive themselves as the victims of oppression. Once in power, however, terror and oppression appear to emerge as key elements of maintaining power. Hence, the fluidity between revolution and terror as a means of achieving freedom, which then in itself would be an instrument of the state.

Through the embodiment of leaderless resistance philosophy, there is a preoccupation amongst White Nationalist literature and culture with the Federal government as a suppressor of freedom, spirit and identity.³⁸¹ This is most fully personified in the Zionist Occupied Government (Z.O.G.) categorisation and the Federal government is perceived as a mechanism for oppressing White Nationalism, by illuminati.³⁸² The broad representation in ideology and political thought is of an adversarial relationship between White Nationalists and the government/state, with revolution, the overthrow of the government and the mechanism of the state being a key ingredient or tenet to the philosophy.³⁸³ The diffusion of traditional politics in favour of a new White culture arguably presents a more anarchical style to the expression of the terrorist model.

³⁸¹ Dobratz, B.A. and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States “White Power, White Pride!”* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press).

³⁸² This is a popular theory with groups on the right and conspiracy theorists that the world is controlled by a secret group the ‘illuminati’ who control world events and that this select handful of people effectively rule the world.

³⁸³ George, J. and Wilcox, L. (1996) *American Extremists: Militias, Supremacists, Klansmen, Communists and Others*. (New York: Prometheus Books).

Leaderless Resistance fulfils criteria as both a political ideology and a mechanism for terrorist action. This has been utilised in many forms, including that of Animal Rights activists who exploit its cell structure. The two principal manifestations of leaderless resistance are the model adapted by Louis Beam from the US army and that prescribed in ‘The Turner Diaries’ to counteract the power of the Federal Government.³⁸⁴ The philosophy and model is hard to analyse with specific examples as a contemporary movement and structure other than as a theoretical premise. By utilising different historical examples however the anomalies of leaderless resistance can be addressed.

In many respects, leaderless resistance is a deeply flawed concept, which has developed and manifested itself in the imagination and in the rhetoric of, American White Separatist sentiment. The most obvious flaw, is that as a formula it lacks leadership or a central core to lead it; as a construct of resistance it has many attributes yet it lacks a discernible starting point or direction other than towards the most general goal agreed by the majority. Its flaws appear in the lack of detail of how to respond and implement actions to specific events. The politics of American Nazism also lack a core philosophy for dealing with state building. However, as a theoretical principle and construct it presents a strong ideology and structural core. Therefore, for the purposes of analysis and critique it can be compartmentalised into theoretical and practical implementations. Unlike conventional political ideology, leaderless resistance is not only based within the confines of political theory but is manifested in literature, through fictional texts such as ‘The Turner Diaries’ and ‘Hunter’, which give the closest example of its use in practice.³⁸⁵ The historical factors provide evidence for both its origins and application.

Former Klan leader Louis Beam discussed leaderless resistance in his essay on the topic, which analysed and explained it in detail. Beam’s essay³⁸⁶ is regarded as important and influential for the movement; it was published after leaderless resistance was already becoming popular, as a concept. In general terms, most

³⁸⁴ MacDonald, A. (1995) *The Turner Diaries*. (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books).

³⁸⁵ MacDonald, A. (1995) *The Turner Diaries*. (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books).
MacDonald, A. (1998) *Hunter*. (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books).

³⁸⁶ Beam, L.R. (1992) Leaderless Resistance, *Seditionist*, Issue 12, Feb. Final Edition.

commentators only give a cursory mention to leaderless resistance, its origins and consequences of its implementation. Some of these inaccuracies have led to discrepancies in the ideological implications of the concept. The theoretical construct of leaderless resistance has a strong conceptual base. The White Nationalist Community in the USA have replaced the threat of Communist rule, with that of the US Federal Government, as a manifestation of ZOG.³⁸⁷ In many cases there is a discrepancy between academic writers on the exact origins of leaderless resistance and the facts, with many focussing exclusively on The Turner Diaries as its source and origin.

Beam is specific in detailing the original development of leaderless resistance by Colonel Ulius Louis Amoss, for the US Army as an anti-communist model and strategy. According to Beam's leaderless resistance essay, it arose from the US military, concerned that there could be a communist takeover of the USA in 1962.³⁸⁸ Beam's essay has been widely distributed in various forms since its publication in the Klansman. It was Pierce's text 'The Turner Diaries' originally published in serial form, which as a novel became the most common embodiment of the leaderless resistance application. His second novel 'Hunter', focussed on the lone wolf variant of leaderless resistance, inspired by the activities of Joseph Franklin. Bob Matthews and The Order (Silent Brotherhood) used 'The Turner Diaries' example to combat the Federal Government. Franklin used the lone wolf variant before it was commonly defined or subscribed to as a resistance mechanism.³⁸⁹

The theoretical nature of leaderless resistance follows a variation of that prescribed in 'The Turner Diaries' as a means of structure. In the book there are two formal tiers of structure within leaderless resistance: firstly the political organisation that directs the movement's logistics and goals from a central command; secondly

³⁸⁷ Dobratz, B.A. and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States "White Power, White Pride!"* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press).

³⁸⁸ Beam, L.R. (1992) Leaderless Resistance. *Seditionist*, Issue 12, Feb. Final Edition.

³⁸⁹ Flynn, K. and Gerhardt, G. (1990) *The Silent Brotherhood* (New York: Signet). Hamm, M.S. (2002) *In Bad Company: America's Terrorist Underground*. (Boston: Northeastern University Press). Kaplan, J. (ed.) (2000) *Encyclopedia of White Power: A Sourcebook on the Radical racist Right*. (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press). Dyer, J (1998) *Harvest of Rage: Why Oklahoma City is only the Beginning*. (Boulder Colorado: Westview Press).

the independent cells whose members act autonomously towards achieving the common goal.³⁹⁰ The principle of leaderless resistance is based on the premise of independent cells working autonomously towards a common goal under the political umbrella and infrastructure of the organisation against the state. The most direct implication of adopting a leaderless resistance philosophy is abandoning the traditional pyramid structure of an organisation in favour of a purely cell formation with no direct leader taking responsibility or charge.³⁹¹ Particularly in Nazi/Fascist politics the leader is crucial to the movement and structure to achieve success. Thereby the cult of the leader shapes people's interpretations of the overall pretext for power. A political pyramid orientated organisation relies on the existence of a leader as a figurehead to the movement, with directives being distributed downward through a chain of command to activists at the bottom of the pyramid. The lack of a figurehead has the advantage to the organisation of not relying on one central and powerful individual, with power being given to the majority to lead the movement in a direction agreed through mutual consent.

The futility of a traditional pyramid structure with the charismatic figurehead as leader of the movement became more apparent after Rockwell's assassination in 1967. Though not specifically documented from the perspective of the movement's development, Rockwell's assistant Pierce penned the texts under his pseudonym Andrew MacDonald, in response to the assassination, which had such close political proximity. This is a contradiction to the circumstances of Rockwell's assassination and the relationship Pierce had, which is controversially suggested by Simonelli (1995) in his research on Rockwell, stating that Pierce acquiesced in the assassination of Rockwell. Simonelli (1995) suggests that this was either as a de-facto accomplice, who was either directly involved in facilitating it, or as an accomplice by not attempting to stop the events which he knew were in motion. Simonelli's (1995) research is clear in suggesting that the movement's leaders benefited from Rockwell's death and his subsequent projection as a martyr to the cause. Some of the post assassination responses endorse the view of Rockwell as a martyr, thereby reinventing him as an iconic image for the movement. This includes

³⁹⁰ Michael, G. (2003) The Revolutionary Model of Dr William L. Pierce. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol.15, No.3 (Autumn), pp.62-80

³⁹¹ Kaplan, J. (1997) "Leaderless Resistance". *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 9: 3, 80-95.

the publicity³⁹² of his funeral at Arlington National Cemetery, which was abandoned after being banned, and the trial of Rockwell's assassin John Patler. This provides an opportunity for conspiracy theorists to suggest a complicit relationship between Rockwell's assassination and unknown forces.

Despite Rockwell's contribution to the movement as a pivotal leader during the period³⁹³, as a figurehead and early post-war exponent of American Nazism, arguably, if it were not for his assassination and influence on Pierce this would have been the limit of his legacy. Whilst both Rockwell and Pierce in their approach, have been highly influential in the movement, there has still been a lack of a coherent state vision. In the context of a political movement it would seem to be bereft of political theory and analysis. The movement, has developed and moved on in terms of cultural influence and grown to promote a Pan-American cultural philosophy, influenced by Viking mythology and esoteric writings.³⁹⁴ Politically, the movement has stagnated in ideological terms, and been unable to grow beyond its origins; the cultural aspect in contrast has continually changed and re-invented itself as part of popular culture. The movement suffers from a lack of ideological and philosophical cohesion for its political mantra. It also utilises a broad cultural consensus as a state vision, rather than this being derived by ideology. This state vision is manifested by popular culture. Due to the complexities involved, the movement's development, motivation and the ideological impetus of its supporters must be assessed in a number of ways.³⁹⁵ It could be argued that these elements all become subservient to the broader movement's approach.³⁹⁶ The disenfranchisement of White separatists from social cohesion could have a dramatic impact in the longer term, in their relationship with the state and in the form of a social contract with society.

³⁹² *US ban on Nazi funeral* (The Times, August 30, 1967).

³⁹³ From 1958-1967 Rockwell was leader of the ANP. Durham has assessed the 1950's in particular as being a pivotal period for the movement. Durham, M. (2007) *White Rage: The extreme right and American politics*. (London: Routledge).

³⁹⁴ Goodrick-Clarke, N. (2002) *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism and the Politics of Identity*. (New York: New York University Press).

³⁹⁵ Ridgeway, J. (1995) *Blood in the Face*. (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press).

³⁹⁶ Ferber, A.L. (1998) *White Man Falling: Race, Gender and White Supremacy*. (Lanham, Maryland: Rowan and Littlefield).

Notwithstanding the issues concerning leadership structures together with the movement's changing emphasis ideologically, flaws have emerged. The result of this has been that the movement has been continually undermined politically. This has been particularly notable in attempts to compete with mainstream political parties and as a prospective party of government. For the political movements with an ideology comparable to Separatism, there has been a strategic failure on the part of the small parties, when trying to garner mainstream political success and recognition. Rockwell's leadership attempted to manipulate mainstream success using the media and Nazism as a political vehicle to gain publicity. Rockwell's leadership demonstrated a number of peculiarities, for example, he was shameless in his attempt to gain publicity and notoriety. He also showed a reluctance to follow mainstream parties and cultures on current issues. Rockwell would nevertheless take interest in issues which would promote his notoriety. His actions were more as an agent provocateur, than a leader following a political vision. However, the small party scenario of attempting to gain mainstream recognition on limited resources is not dissimilar to other small interest and protest groups in the USA and beyond.

Prior to the utilisation of leaderless resistance and less formal structures, the party political endeavours were of limited appeal, for a variety of reasons, including the unwillingness of an American public to accept Nazism as a political alternative. The party politics of Rockwell and his successors, in fighting elections and campaigning, suffered from the attempt to portray a range of policies relating to domestic issues and economic policy. Although the party was already united on a singular issue that concerned race, they attempted to appeal to the electorate on a basis of a range of policies. In respect of such policies they appeared at times to have been ill-conceived and reactionary. As a result of this lack of either a formalised alternative state vision or a co-ordinated policy to create a legitimate and coherent strategy, the A.N.P and successors have struggled. Rockwell's principal policy determination of a race war, and that Communism and Jewry were the same, with White Christianity's existence threatened by forces promoting miscegenation.

There are a variety of reasons for the political failure of separatism in attempting mainstream political recognition, through Rockwell or others. However, a

former storm trooper and Klansman, David Duke, attained elected office in Louisiana once he had distanced himself from the extreme paraphernalia and ideology.³⁹⁷ White Separatist politics effectively exists as a single issue movement and has effectively been corralled into a political cul-de-sac by both the media and association with a Nazi-Fascist ideology. Both White Separatists and White Nationalists have invariably been linked to neo-Nazism. In the same way within Europe, the term 'fascist' is used in a derogatory form to slur opponents. In part, Separatists have continued the linkage to Nazism through focusing on overt Nationalism, the prominence of race and the threat from International Jewry.³⁹⁸ In the context of the USA, although effectively there is the division between two parties Republican and Democrat, there has still been a change in emphasis in the parties, through time. Historically, the Republican Party was the party of Abraham Lincoln and championed the end of slavery, and the Democratic Party was the Confederacy and the South. By the 1960's Civil Rights struggle, both parties had changed positions, with Democrats championing Civil Rights in the Southern States, so that it was seen as the natural political home for African Americans, with many Southern Whites changing allegiance to the Republicans. At the same time, however, albeit in a different time frame, Separatists have been unable to shed the neo-Nazi or Klan origins, in favour of a less controversial image.

Politically, White Separatist politics in the USA and beyond have become tied to the historical conventions, by the media, popular culture and their own foibles. Invariably, the movement has been linked with a de facto Nazi-Fascist outlook, and therefore by implication, promoting genocide of opponents. Ideologically, since post-1945 all of the extreme right or political periphery advocating Separatism or forms of White Nationalism, have had to contend with the issue of mass genocide as a political issue in providing and insurmountable barrier for public support. Unlike other political groups there has been both an unwillingness and lack of ability to progress from the linkage between ideology and

³⁹⁷ Kuzenski, J.C., Bullock III, C.S. and Gaddie, R.K. (1995) *David Duke and the Politics of Race in the South*. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press).

³⁹⁸ Swain, C.M. and Nieli, R. (ed.) (2003) *Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America*. (New York: Cambridge University Press).

genocide of the Jews and political enemies.³⁹⁹ Genocide and the mass execution of individuals, despite all the rhetoric in speeches, was never a formalised electoral policy in Germany. Since 1945, however the extreme right has had to politically combat issues concerning genocide and treatment of the Jews, in particular and this issue has never dropped from the spotlight.⁴⁰⁰ In mainstream politics, it has now become synonymous to link questions of genocide and the role of concentration camps in Germany with any party, individuals or groups advocating racial separation or promoting an extreme right wing agenda.

The failure of the White Separatist Movement to provide a state vision, together with an incompatibility with mainstream culture, has through the association with genocide and mass executions, presented the movement with a clear challenge.⁴⁰¹ It is now difficult for the movement to reconcile these factors whilst adapting a sustainable ideology and this has arguably led to a disaffected extreme, unable to gain representation. The post-war movement in all its various guises from overt Nazism, to Klansmen, and the later more moderate response of David Duke and others have all failed to address the malaise.⁴⁰² In the modern context, the movement is never likely to gain mainstream recognition or success. The success is below what could arguably be expected for a broad movement or community of a specific political persuasion who are beyond the bounds of lobbyists and focus groups. Due to the extreme and unpalatable message provided by these groups, they are largely ignored by the media. The only exception to this is when they are portrayed in caricature form, which is usually in response to a national incident. In addition the politics are marginalised and ignored, as propaganda. The veritable enigma of the movement is that with around 600 different groups across the USA encompassing all Separatist elements and a membership of 2-3 million people, that there is a little to no consistency in approach. Intelligence sources have assessed that

³⁹⁹ Langer, E. (2003) *A Hundred Little Hitlers*. (New York: Metropolitan Books). Guttenplan, D.D. (2001) *The Holocaust on Trial*. (London: Granta Books).

⁴⁰⁰ Berman, A. (1990) *Nazism: The Jews and American Zionism 1933-1948* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press).

⁴⁰¹ Ridgeway, J. (1995) *Blood in the Face*. (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press). Dobratz, B.A. and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States "White Power, White Pride!"* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press). Swain, C.M. (2002) *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration*. (New York: Cambridge University Press).

⁴⁰² Kuzenski, J.C., Bullock III, C.S. and Gaddie, R.K. (1995) *David Duke and the Politics of Race in the South* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press).

the total support of groups in the USA, is beyond that which existed in Nazi Germany prior to Hitler gaining power. The lack of a galvanising influence for the movement or figurehead has prevented the movement from developing further. Whilst these groups are broadly, Separatist in outlook, they vary both in range, of ideological commitment and in their response to violence and approach to government and religion. The role of Church and State also takes on a much more prominent position from the Cosmotheist stance advocated by Pierce, to that of Christian Identity which has now proved an important and influential factor.⁴⁰³

In broad terms, as a political movement the White Separatists have to reconcile contradictory influences in attempting to harness and promote an ideological vision and outlook which is acceptable to a wide constituency of support. Unlike overt neo-Nazism, American Separatists have endeavoured to retain their American Identity. Through the passage of time, however, both opponents and supporters have changed with the political and racial boundaries. This has resulted in a rapidly changing persona and identity, which is continually being re-appraised in the face of new threats to America. Groups, who at one historical point, were at odds with one another suddenly with political reckoning became aligned. When the German-American Bund began, they were placed at odds with the Ku Klux Klan who regarded this Nazi orientated organisation for Germans and their descendants, as anti-American and a threat to America, with an early Bund meeting being met by a burning cross outside. For a Klan that was vociferous in its anti-Catholic and anti-Negro orientation, the German influx was another minority to pose a threat.⁴⁰⁴ It would appear the pre-occupation with race and the breakdown of American culture by non-Whites, together with the influence on politics of Jews and an assertion of ZOG, has created a longing to return to the ideals of the founding fathers.

⁴⁰³ Barkun, M. (1997) *Religion and the Racist Right*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press). Griffin, R.S. (2001) *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds*. (USA: 1st Books). Griffin, R.S. (2001) *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds* (USA: 1st Books).

⁴⁰⁴ Chalmers, D.M. (1987) *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan*. (Durham, USA: Duke University Press). Phillips, J.W. (2000) *Sign of the Cross*. (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Know Press). Burlein, A. (2002) *Lift High The Cross: Where White Supremacy and the Christian Right Converge*. (Durham: Duke University Press). Canedy Clark, S. (1987) *Americas Nazis The German American Bund*. PhD thesis, Texas A and M University. Geels, J.E. (1975) *The German-American Bund: Fifth Column or Deutschtum?* MA thesis, North Texas State University.

One of the complexities surrounding Separatism is that it is a manifestation of a political ideology, which has then integrated a variety of cultural elements to create a new phenomenon. This cultural backdrop creates difficulties in both the analysis and application, as individual elements within this are culturally and ideologically at odds, yet have forged an alternate cultural view. Through the new integration of elements within Separatist culture and the utilisation of popular culture, there has been a divergence from traditional core policies and practices.⁴⁰⁵ Nevertheless, there is far from being any type of consensus, across the various groups in the USA, for either leadership or coherent policy and structure; with fractious competing elements between Klan groups, Nazis, Skinheads and Christian Identity followers. In terms of the cultural elements, there has been a firmer consensus and focus on White Nationalist sentiment.⁴⁰⁶ In post 9/11 America, the Separatist groups have become more secular and vociferous in their disenchantment with wider society. The growing influence of popular culture combined with the lack of formal party activism or representation by the majority of the movement, has signalled a transition and re-alignment of the movement, strategically. The movement actively creates a sense of paranoia and promotes a situation where supporters are effectively alienated by mainstream society and at odds with the Federal Government. This climate has been developing since the well-publicised incidents which have taken place, such as: the siege at Waco; the attack on Randy Weaver; and the death of Bob Matthews; all of which have become immersed, in the ideology of the movement's propaganda.⁴⁰⁷

In many respects, the Separatists now represent a growing subculture of discontentment amongst alienated and disaffected Whites, who feel under-

⁴⁰⁵ Dobratz, B.A. and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States "White Power, White Pride!"* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press).

⁴⁰⁶ George, J. and Wilcox, L. (1996) *American Extremists: Militias, Supremacists, Klansmen, Communists and Others*. (New York: Prometheus Books). Phillips, J.W. (2000) *Sign of the Cross*. (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Know Press). Burlein, A. (2002) *Lift High The Cross: Where White Supremacy and the Christian Right Converge*. (Durham: Duke University Press). Chalmers, D.M. (1987) *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* (Durham, USA: Duke University Press). Barkun, M. (1997) *Religion and the Racist Right*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press).

⁴⁰⁷ Dyer, J. (1998) *Harvest of Rage: Why Oklahoma City is only the Beginning*. (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press). Neiwert, D.A. (1999) *In God's Country: The Patriot Movement and the Pacific Northwest* (Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press). Newport, K.G.C. (2006) *The Branch Davidians of Waco: The History and Beliefs of an Apocalyptic Sect*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

represented in modern multicultural USA, and threatened by the power of the Federal Government. Through the growing influence of Separatism as an ideology and culture there is now more of a disparity between political ideals, values and the inherent propaganda utilised daily. Arguably, economic forces have always played a role in levels of support for political extremes, and extreme nationalist sentiment. This can result in increased tension in the relationship, between the individual and government. There is also concern in respect of the role of race amongst disaffected White people, in American society, where particular groups feel marginalised economically and socially. Whereas, traditionally there has been a separation between Church and State, the Christian Identity theologians bridge the gap with Separatist politics and provide a religious imperative and justification. More recent growth in support, outside the traditional political spectrum, has been expressed through deviance via the Aryan Brotherhood, which is indelibly linked with modern penology discourse.⁴⁰⁸ There is a disparity between the rationale for political support and decision-making between the various leadership groups and the rank and file members, with tribalism used as a mechanism rather than political ideology.⁴⁰⁹

Traditional party activity and structure has been replaced by a type of political collective individualism, where, although there can be broad consensus, the organisation is less formal and acts collectively on single issues. In many respects, although not formalised, it has mirrored the growth of leaderless resistance styles of structure, with overall common goals and outlook pursued by small groups or individuals, to meet the political goal. Through the decrease in political party membership, activism and voter apathy; non-formalised approaches to strategy and organisation have ensued. The perceived failure of party politics and activism has resulted in apathy towards the traditional party systems. This has been interpreted as the extreme right, using force, rather than engaging as representatives of liberal democracy. The re-alignment towards a new political approach, beyond the spectrum of left to right, dictating policy and ideas has had a number of consequences. It has ensured that, rather than being dictated by an ideological stance, which is then

⁴⁰⁸ Anti-Defamation League., (2002) *Dangerous Convictions: An Introduction to extremist activities in prisons*. Anti-Defamation League., (2006) *The Dark Side of the Sunshine State: Extremism in Florida*.

⁴⁰⁹ Dobratz, B.A. and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States "White Power, White Pride!"* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press).

applied to all actions and events, thereby creating a dogmatic approach; there is opportunity to utilise ideas from both right and left, when approaching problems.

There are contradictions throughout the Separatist community and politics, from an unwavering interpretation of ideological thought, to a non-intrusive political stance.⁴¹⁰ The growth of fundamentalism has also provided a new kind of stimuli and motivation to supporters. Due to the lack of philosophical engagement with the challenges facing the movement as a political entity, the growth of religious impetus has provided an answer to these issues, as it absolves the need for debate or justification of contentious aspects. The religious aspects of the Separatist approach, have allowed a more focussed justification of self-determination in actions to support the goal along racial lines. Together, with a utilitarian approach to the issues, where the White majority have the will and determination to dictate to minorities, without need for justice or consideration. Historically, the aims of White Nationalist politics and Separatism in the United States contradicted the theological teaching and interpretation of Christianity and the liberal democratic tradition. Traditionally the KKK has been synonymous with the declarations of support for White Christian America.⁴¹¹ Rockwell continually utilised the linkage between his own values, Christianity and White America, as opposition to an atheist Communist enemy. Despite the continual references to Christianity and attempts to instigate a religious reverence to American Nazism, this was never successfully integrated into being a religious and political cause. Rockwell was effectively attempting to recreate Nazism according to American values and society, to meet his own requirements.

In the American context, the relationship between Church and State was being reinterpreted with a Nazi-Christian outlook, as a means of creating a state vision beyond that of merely a political movement (Barkun: 1997). However, this manifestation was unsuccessful, but did lead to two alternate developments within

⁴¹⁰ Swain, C.M. (2002) *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration*. (New York: Cambridge University Press).

⁴¹¹ Phillips, J.W. (2000) *Sign of the Cross*. (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Know Press). Burlein, A. (2002) *Lift High The Cross: Where White Supremacy and the Christian Right Converge*. (Durham: Duke University Press). Chalmers, D.M. (1987) *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan*. (Durham, USA: Duke University Press). Barkun, M. (1997) *Religion and the Racist Right* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press).

the theology of the movement. The most successful of which, arguably is, the on-going development and utilisation of Christian Identity as an interpretation of Christian teaching and theology, which endorses anti-Semitism, through religion (Goodrick-Clarke: 2002). Aryan Nations supporters utilised Identity teaching of theology, which endorsed the dual seed theory, arising from Adam and Eve in 'The Bible' and Satan. The philosophy suggests that Eve carried the dual seed of Adam and that of Satan, with a dual seed resulting in White men being descended from Adam, whilst Jews are descendents of Satan, thereby giving rise to a justification for anti-Semitism. With this rationale along with others, there is the on-going assumption that Christian teaching had been changed to ignore both the dual seed theory and the role of Jews in the crucifixion of Christ.

Arguably, the issues between the interpretations of Christian theology and anti-Semitism are an on-going issue within modern American society beyond the politics of the Right. In the teaching of Catholicism, there is a divergent opinion and group of support for Catholicism, which is not supported by the modern Catholic Church, and regarded by the Alliance for Catholic Tradition as distorting theology. They argue that since Vatican II in the 1960's and Pope John Paul II, Catholicism has been changed and distorted. The many interpretations create the opportunity for anti-Semitism through interpretation of teaching and documents. There is on-going religious tension over the relationship between the Jewish faith historically and Christ, through his treatment and crucifixion. When the filming of 'The Passion' was announced, the ADL expressed concern that the film was racist, anti-Semitic and would be contentious, since it was based on a historical account of the crucifixion and the acquiescence of Jews, in the fate of Christ. The ADL requested that particular aspects should not be used in the final film, with the finalised film showing less of an emphasis on the contentious aspects. However, it highlighted the volatile relationship between Catholicism and anti-Semitism.

Whilst Identity theology⁴¹² has become a core tenet of Separatist culture, it is by no means wholly representative or universally endorsed by supporters. There has

⁴¹² Barkun, M. (1997) *Religion and the Racist Right*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press).

been an on-going recognition that some kind of theology is beneficial to the movement's supporters when seeking guidance or support for their actions beyond a purely ideological basis. Pierce recognised this when forming the National Alliance, and developed the Cosmotheist interpretation, as a religious metaphor and supporting mechanism for his Nationalist agenda.⁴¹³ This religious variation was ultimately unsuccessful, although he continued to utilise it as an alternative to the political perspective, and to capitalise on the beneficial aspects, concerning taxation. Pierce had originally intended his organisation and compound to be regarded as a religious movement, thereby avoiding Federal taxes.⁴¹⁴ The Cosmotheist interpretation of theological teaching as a recent cultural trend, integrates a Norse styled mythology with the one being, as a singularly defining characteristic.⁴¹⁵ To gain religious reverence, quasi-religious aspects were reformed into a philosophy strongly influenced by George Bernard Shaw's writing and the ideal of the superman.⁴¹⁶ Traditional Christianity was seen as unsustainable, since it promised rewards for the weak, and the last to be first, as opposed to Pierce's viewpoint that strength and survival of the strong, was nature's answer. This new religious agenda has been strongly influenced by esoteric writings and interpretation.⁴¹⁷

Conclusion

The absence of a formalised political and ideological state vision has increasingly allowed forms of religious fundamentalism to become shaping factors in determining how the movement responds ideologically to issues. The result has been that rather than being dealt with as political, such issues are responded to from a religious perspective. This has effectively removed a need for a political argument

⁴¹³ Griffin, R.S. (2001) *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds*. (USA: 1st Books). Swain, C.M. and Nieli, R. (ed.) (2003) *Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America*. (New York: Cambridge University Press).

⁴¹⁴ As a political organisation the National Alliance headquarters were subject to taxation. However, as a religious organisation it would be exempt from any tax liability.

⁴¹⁵ Whitsel, B. (1995) "The Cosmotheist Community: Aryan Visions for the Future in the West Virginia Mountains." *Journal of Terrorism and Political Violence*.

⁴¹⁶ Although politically a socialist, Shaw's writing was influential on Pierce according to the interviews with Griffin.

⁴¹⁷ Goodrick-Clarke, N. (2002) *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism and the Politics of Identity* (New York: New York University Press).

to be formulated, which interacts with issues, as motivation is taken from Holy Scripture, when seeking guidance to Separatist issues and politics. The consequence of this has been that, rather than follow a course of argument, through political ideology as a motivating factor for actions, the religious rhetoric displaces traditional political factors in favour of divine inspiration and guidance. The result of this is that followers give it religious reverence, in the same manner as the Crusades of the 11th, 12th and 13th Centuries. The movement has increasingly used this as a motivating factor and justification for their rhetoric of violence that a modern race war looms, threatening the existence of the state and America. Yet, this in itself is a contradiction, as Separatism utilises recent Islamophobia and fear of jihadists to motivate and harness opinion, to save America in the wake of 9/11. The conceptualisation of the state is different, with not only a distinction being drawn in terms of White America, but in the apparatus of government, with ZOG being its manifestation. Despite the lack of political state building or analysis of a state vision, with an apparatus of government, traditionally, the American extreme right has been enthusiastic to determine a continuation of American values, as declared by the founding fathers. Rockwell was keen to declare that a National Socialist government would work within the existing parameters of the state and government functions. However, since then there has been a change in emphasis with the Federal Government now interpreted as being an omnipresent force, determined to suppress the freedom of Whites who question its power.

In contrast, the responses by Separatists and Nationalists in respect of their intent towards the State and the mechanisms of government are arguably a declaration of revolution and race war. Despite attempts to distance the war on terror from representing a modern Crusade, parallels have been set by Islamic detractors and commentators. Arguably, however, with the continued rise and spread of Islamic fundamentalism and the perceived decay of the West through liberal democracy, this has provided an opportunity for a galvanising influence for those on the periphery of the right. In the absence of a strong state vision or state building philosophy, there has been an invigoration of the religious impetus and merging of theology and political philosophy to fashion a new ideological stance.

Chapter Six

Aryan Wear and the New White Culture in American Politics

Introduction

The chapter will analyse the issue of political marketing⁴¹⁸ by the White Separatist community in the USA. It will assess how this is used within the context of leaderless resistance and organisations with a terrorist strategy as a means of furthering their objectives. The discussion will apply the principle of leaderless resistance to political and marketing activity by separatist organisations in America. The parameters of leaderless resistance will be applied directly to political marketing's use by extremist groups⁴¹⁹. Examples of the operation and use of political marketing will be considered together with its legacy and context in the USA.

There will be an exploration of the methods of political marketing⁴²⁰ and the branding of identity within the White Nationalist community in the USA. The discussion also charts the radical politicisation of traditional buying behaviour and the creation of an enhanced subculture of intolerance. The analysis will take place within the parameters of three distinct areas: 1) the politically motivated firm; 2) ideology through products; 3) the implications of this for political marketing and culture through branding and identity. The analysis will also draw on case study examples from the following organisations: Aryan Wear, Resistance Records, and National Vanguard Publishers. Consideration will be given to issues such as commercial branding⁴²¹ and buying behaviour⁴²² as a political statement. Such issues

⁴¹⁸ Useful review on the growth of political marketing has been offered by: Harris, P. and Lock, A. (2010) "Mind the gap": the rise of political marketing and a perspective on its future agenda. *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 44, Issue 3/4, 297-307.

⁴¹⁹ Analysis of the 'dark side' of political marketing has been offered by: Baines, P. R. et al (2010) The dark side of political marketing: Islamist propaganda, Reversal Theory and British Muslims. *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 44, Issue 3/4, 478-495.

⁴²⁰ O'Shaughnessy, N. J. et al (2012) have noted the choices available to political parties as they seek to develop political marketing 'orientation. In particular they recognise the need to control 'symbolization' and 'personality'. O'Shaughnessy, N. J. et al (2012), Political Marketing Orientation: Confusions, Complications and Criticisms. *Journal of Political Marketing*, Vol. 11, Issue 4, 353-366.

⁴²¹ Saunders, J. and Guoqun, F. (1996) Dual branding: how corporate names add value. *Marketing Intelligence and Planning*, 14: 7, 29-34. Knox, S., and Bickerton, D., (2003), The six conventions of corporate branding. *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol.37, No. 7/8, pp.998-1016.

can be viewed as branch of political marketing. The motivation behind the use of political marketing by the groups in question will also be considered.

New White Culture

The New White culture within Separatist politics has ensured that modern political marketing and popular culture have combined to present a fresh cultural experience. This cultural experience has helped to contribute to the de-ideologisation of politics of the traditional radical and far right on the political periphery. The growing cultural trends have ensured that the opportunity for truth and ecumenism has been reduced in favour of a populist agenda, where traditional core aspects are re-imagined. These issues arise from emerging trends in American White Nationalist culture, specifically the use of political ideology in popular culture. The word organic is more commonly used in sociological terms to describe social structures⁴²³. The terminology 'organic politic', however, will be used to represent the fluidity of movement in ideological concepts, that remain true to core tenets within White Nationalist Culture. 'Organic politic', may be defined as a political organisation which has non-uniform responses to traditional party politics whilst retaining the fluidity demanded by the market place. In order for this method to be successful it depends upon a capitalist market led state⁴²⁴, which gives the citizen power⁴²⁵. The on-going rationale of the thesis depends upon a core theoretical supposition; accordingly the theoretical boundaries of the discussion have been set within the framework of organic politic and the politics of identity. The significance of these factors only become apparent when seen in the context of the historiography of

⁴²² Morgan, R.E. (1996) Conceptual foundations of marketing and marketing theory. *Management Decisions*, 34:10, 19-26 Kohli, C., and Thakor, M., (1997) Branding consumer goods: insights from theory and practice, *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, Vol.14, No.3, pp. 206-219.

⁴²³ Fulcher, J. and Scott, J. (1999) *Sociology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). McNeill, P. and Townley C. (eds.) (1993) *Fundamentals of Sociology* (Great Britain: Stanley Thornes (Publishers) Ltd.).

⁴²⁴ Giddens, A. (1999) *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory: An analysis of the writings of Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

⁴²⁵ It is questionable the extent to which citizens are given 'real' power.

White Nationalism and the key mitigating events which have influenced the movements' direction.⁴²⁶

Traditional party politics in the United States require a structured organisational model to be followed.⁴²⁷ The new White Nationalist subculture, however, exists outside the bounds of a party whilst retaining a political agenda.⁴²⁸ The modern movement is yet to crystallise and fully adapt to the new developments. This new culture of White Nationalism has undergone a metamorphosis in recent years, with a reawakened cultural heritage.⁴²⁹ Aryan Wear has merged iconic images and symbols with a mix of traditional early European Viking mythology and more recent Nazism. Unlike early Nazi movements in the USA such as the German-American Bund, and George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party, recent White Nationalist culture has presented a mix between mythology and history along with pseudo Nazism and neo-Fascist values.⁴³⁰ The movement has evolved in conjunction with American popular culture⁴³¹, with the marketing side of the movement evolving and developing at a faster rate than the party political elements. This is due to the new fluidity brought by the market place and modern identity branding.⁴³²

The new organic politic within White Nationalism is a direct response to the growth of the political firms like Aryan Wear, Resistance Records and the publisher National Vanguard utilising branding⁴³³, image and identity to fill the cultural vacuum, for America's White Nationalists. The reference to the political firm accords to that of a company, solely driven by ideological beliefs and values with a marketing strategy, which works in accordance with a predisposed political agenda. Prior to the political firm achieving popularity and marketplace growth, White

⁴²⁶ Kaplan, J. (Ed) (2000) *Encyclopedia of White Power: A Sourcebook on the Radical racist Right*. (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press).

⁴²⁷ Denenberg, R.V. (1976) *Understanding American Politics*.(Glasgow: Fontana/Collins).

⁴²⁸ www.aryanwear.com Accessed online 6 April 2006.

⁴²⁹ Goodrick-Clarke, N. (2002) *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism and the Politics of Identity* (New York: New York University Press).

⁴³⁰ George, J. and Wilcox, L. (1996) *American Extremists: Militias, Supremacists, Klansmen, Communists and Others*. (New York: Prometheus Books).

⁴³¹ Ezekiel, R.S. (1996) *The Racist Mind*. (New York: Penguin).

⁴³² Knox, S., and Bickerton, D. (2003) The six conventions of corporate branding. *European Journal of Marketing*, 37: 7/8, 998-1016.

⁴³³ Davis, S.M., (2000) The power of the brand. *Strategy and Leadership*, 28, 4, 4-9.

Nationalism had reached an impasse with a period of political stagnation.⁴³⁴ The new dimension provides an unprecedented opportunity for growth through branding White Nationalism as an iconic fashion rather than the ideological exclusivity, endorsed by movement leaders such as Matt Koehl.⁴³⁵ This has allowed a market driven product to be dictated by the White Nationalist consumer and as a result, the movement has sought to respond in an organic fashion, to market trends. Whilst sales figures are not readily available, many of the products have become popularised and bestsellers within the Nationalist community, whilst others invariably become clearance items.⁴³⁶ From the mission statement by Aryan Wear, it is clear that the company was created in response to consumer need and their demand for high quality products, which have an ideological identity or symbolic branding.⁴³⁷

Due to the complexity of the issues being discussed and the fluidity of movement between political and marketing elements, the discussion will be pursued within the following parameters and sections. A process of categorisation and specific terminology must be established to allow a fully accurate appraisal to be made, relating to the historiography and political precedents that have laid the foundations of the modern movement. The discussion will highlight crucial aspects, which are modern developments of the historical and philosophical core. The most effective means of analysis is through three central themes 1) the politicised or political firm, 2) product ideology, and 3) identity and cultural branding. These elements provide a basis for the discussion and create the theoretical parameters for the discussion.

The discussion will utilise the term ‘the political firm’ to exemplify Aryan Wear, Resistance Records and other White Nationalist firms predisposed to a political platform such as National Vanguard Books, which along with Resistance Records is linked to the National Alliance. Most of America’s White Nationalist

⁴³⁴ Ronson, J. (2001) *Them: Adventures with Extremists*. (London: Picador).

⁴³⁵ Dobratz, B.A. and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States “White Power, White Pride!”* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press).

⁴³⁶ www.aryanwear.com Accessed online 6 April 2006.

⁴³⁷ www.aryanwear.com Accessed online 6 April 2006.

groups have a forum for selling literature and merchandise. Unlike other companies who may be predisposed to a political party, in the political firm, ideology is at the core of the organisation, with the apparatus of the firm acting as an organisational construct, and a means of political marketing. Unlike corporate America, the political firm is a reapplication of the political party model within a business setting, which must be seen as a political extension to the traditional party machine.

This development has allowed a clearer cultural vision to emerge for White Nationalists than the traditional exclusivity provided by a tailored political response. There are two far-reaching implications for the movement, which are political identity and popular culture. Firstly, the political dissipation of ideology creates political ambiguity and an ideological ‘mishmash’ of politics and culture, for both the individual members of White Nationalist organisations and in the presentation of ideology. Secondly, when combined with an alienated and dissatisfied White community, there is a propensity for provoking a response through hate crime. Recent incidents of hate crime have shown growing levels of individual action amongst disaffected members of the White community, which though not linked to the advent of the political firm or the products themselves could be attributed to the growing cultural divide in America and the prevalence of a growing subculture. Launching its online Racist Skinhead Project, the Anti-Defamation League stated that:

“We’ve specifically seen a rise in (skinhead) activity...across the country and the hate crimes associated with such groups...racist skinhead activity – fuelled by rapidly changing demographics, the Internet and an influx of other white supremacist media”.⁴³⁸

Prior to the political firm, White Nationalist supporters⁴³⁹ highlighted the shared cultural experience with those American citizens outside the movement. This emphasised the shared cultural exchange between Americans through popular culture in the form of clothing, music, movies and identity. Supporters may seek to

⁴³⁸ Inland Empire a hotbed of hate. *San Bernadino Sun*, (February 8, 2006).

⁴³⁹ Ezekiel, R.S. (1996) *The Racist Mind* (New York, Penguin).

project and enhance their self-image through clothing and related products that express and reflect a positive self-image and beliefs which they endorse. The motivation behind self-image is a key social tool within the product, selling and marketing environment, whereby the consumer envisages the positive associations of ownership.⁴⁴⁰

The movement and more directly, firms such as Aryan Wear now cater for a more intensive White Nationalist experience. Supporters can immerse themselves in brand image almost completely with products such as jewellery, comics, boots and computer games all providing a cultural and political message, using the products to convey ideology.⁴⁴¹ Prior to the political firm this notion was largely confined to extremist literature. However, this is a new and fundamentally crucial development in the manifestations of the movement for its members. Although themes of branding, identity and ideology are far from new concepts in marketing, the development of the political firm is significant, due to its implications for the movement and American society.⁴⁴²

Aryan Wear presents an island of cultural opportunity for supporters via its web resources and products, with a news outlet, product catalogue, discussion boards and links to endorsed sites of interest. The latter even includes a site for White European Dating online. The company utilises a host of different symbols in addition to the wolf's hook logo, many of which are highly subtle and marketable tools. A new example of this is the new variation on the popular Alpha style flight jackets which come complete with totemkopf, SS flashings, the Aryan Wear logo and under the collar the inscription in German "My Honour is Loyalty"⁴⁴³. This is important due to its historical significance as the SS motto, although products such as this are a contrast to the subtle marketing which is also evident. Such small motifs are less readily identifiable as Nazi than those used by previous groups. This is distinctly

⁴⁴⁰ Anderson, E., and Sullivan, M.W. (1993), The antecedents and consequences of customer satisfaction for firms. *Management Science*, 12: 2, 125-143.

⁴⁴¹ Gommans, M. Krishnan, K.S. and Scheffold, K.B. (2001), From Brand Loyalty to E-loyalty: A conceptual framework", *Journal of Economic and Social Research*, 3:1.43-58.

⁴⁴² Kohli, C., and Thakor, M., (1997) Branding consumer goods: insights from theory and practice. *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, 14:3, 206-219 .

⁴⁴³ www.aryanwear.com Accessed online 6 April 2006.

different to the conventional party political machine, and equally separate from the traditional corporate enterprise. In many respects, it is a new dimension falling between the two, neither traditional party vehicle nor traditional capitalist enterprise. Despite being driven by specific nuances and demands by the market, all products have a distinct political orientation. Ideology is a clear factor prevalent in the political firm and in a customer's motivation, as a consumer. It is not unreasonable to assume that customers purchasing products adorned with swastikas, Nazi emblems or provocative slogans proclaiming 'White Power', are sympathetic to the political cause.

Aryan Wear is committed to customer service, providing high quality products and meeting the demands of their customers.⁴⁴⁴ However, unlike early political merchandise available via White Nationalist groups that lacked finesse and quality, Aryan Wear provides a streamlined, highly marketable image, slick and honed to the White Nationalist marketplace. In terms of being a political firm, Aryan Wear has moved away from the traditional restrictions of White Nationalism to create a new more profound image with its product and branding.⁴⁴⁵ Aryan Wear has successfully made use of modern branding and its designer image, which along with superior quality products can be highly subtle in approach to marketed branding, image and identity.⁴⁴⁶ In respect of corporate identity, Aryan Wear controls the design, production and marketing of their products, giving the company complete autonomy in shaping and promoting its image. This helps to create a unique branding culture that responds effectively to market demands whilst retaining control of the products. Product control is integral to both their marketing strategy and the branding culture, which elicits specific images and portrays the cultural poignancy of the product. By controlling these factors and through the range of their products, the company has created a branding subculture and integral culture peculiar to Aryan Wear, which is adept at utilising the market share whilst retaining White Nationalist

⁴⁴⁴ www.aryanwear.com Accessed online 6 April 2006.

⁴⁴⁵ Swain, C.M. (2002) *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration*. (New York: Cambridge University Press).

⁴⁴⁶ De Chernatony, L., and Riley, F.D., (1997) Modelling the components of the brand. *European Journal of Marketing*, 32:11/12, 1074-1090.

goals and perspectives.⁴⁴⁷ This assists in the creation of an explicit identity and enhances the cultural aspects without compromising on the White Nationalist core behind the strategy. It is the proverbial double-edged sword, balancing business marketing and politicisation of identity. However, it also has wider repercussions, which though not implicit and formal intent is negligible, the company is representative of a wider trend in the de-ideologisation of politics. When combining this with the World Wide Web as a medium for advertising, Aryan Wear and other political firms have helped promote a specific White Nationalist identity, which historically had been lacking in the movement. All of the political firms are predominately Internet based, relying on the web and mail order to market and sell their products.

Aryan Wear has been able to exploit the opportunities within the marketplace to create a brand and identity. White Nationalism as a cultural community has historically failed in attempts to separate White Nationalist politics from the influence of mainstream popular culture. Historically, separatism has provided a quintessential problem in both ideology and in practical terms.⁴⁴⁸ When groups formally oppose the Federal Government and American society, it becomes untenable for supporters to co-exist in a hostile social situation without some form of cultural or community support. Prior to the recent developments, the nearest the movement came to having an entirely separate cultural community was with the German American Bund during the 1930's and 1940's (Canedy Clark, 1987).⁴⁴⁹ The organisation was unique, since it had a specific German orientation and separate secular outlook, with members either being German born or of German parents. The movement unlike others provided a distinct and separate culture due to their shared German heritage and culture.⁴⁵⁰ The Friends of the Reich, an earlier German Nazi organisation set up by Rudolf Hess, also utilised the German cultural identity, in the United States, although it was limited in scope and longevity. Outside the Klan

⁴⁴⁷ Swain, C.M. (2002) *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration*. (New York: Cambridge University Press).

⁴⁴⁸ Bell, L.V. (1973) *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press).

⁴⁴⁹ Canedy Clark, S. (1987) *Americas Nazis The German American Bund*. PhD thesis, Texas A and M University.

⁴⁵⁰ Geels, J.E. (1975) *The German-American Bund: Fifth Column or Deutschtum?* MA thesis, North Texas State University.

organisations, more recent White Nationalist groups have faltered in attempts to maintain and preserve a White cultural identity, in multi-cultural America.

Despite being a relatively new phenomenon, Ridgeway's (1995) study, highlighted the early developments of the political firm in White Nationalist politics. The genre, however, of White Power music as a means of spreading a political message, was pioneered by Rockwell.⁴⁵¹ Resistance Records and other music manufacturers would prove this to be, not only a source of unparalleled revenue but also an inspired recruitment tool. The White Nationalist movement in the USA had been on an exceedingly narrow and limiting ideological path both culturally and politically, before adopting a variation of the British skinhead culture of the 1980's.⁴⁵² This has continued to flourish in the USA where it is popular with discontented White Nationalist youths who seek solace in the White Power culture.⁴⁵³ There are several conflicting spheres of influence which affect the political firm through its roots in White Nationalist Politics. Competing groups for example have all aspired to prominence e.g. the National Alliance, Aryan Nations, White Aryan Resistance and the World Church of the Creator.⁴⁵⁴

This is a complex phenomenon in which the political firm has developed in conjunction with the White Nationalist Community, acting as a vehicle for supplying supporters with ideologically motivated products. It carries a specific political expression, whilst catering for commercialism and the economics of supply and demand. The ideological nature at the core of the business, ensure that product, identity and image are the key driving force in determining the projected development of the company. In trying to provide an appraisal and understanding of the business context, a socio-political perspective is beneficial, due to the scope of analysis. The motivation of the companies themselves is of lesser importance than the implications for the customer and the ideological motivation behind the purchase. Through the use of slogans on t-shirts such as 'My Boss is an Austrian

⁴⁵¹ Simonelli, F.J. (1999) *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press).

⁴⁵² Ridgeway, J. (1995) *Blood in the Face*. (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press).

⁴⁵³ Intelligence Report, 2005.

⁴⁵⁴ Swain, C.M. and Nieli, R. (Editor) (2003) *Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America*. (New York: Cambridge University Press).

Painter', in reference to Adolf Hitler, and boots with swastikas and SS flashings on the soles, the neo-Nazi parallels are stark and hard to challenge. Merchandise such as this has been absorbed into the wide selection of products, which are less overtly political in imagery, utilising Norse symbols and Viking mythology. The representation of identity is of crucial significance with pseudo Nazism, Viking lore and pre-Christian Europe all providing a modern popular cultural base for White Nationalism and a vehicle for White Revolution. Goodrick-Clarke (2002), has chronicled the extent of Aryan imagery in relation to the esoteric, religious meaning of modern Nazism, which closely follow developments within the movement. Since Rockwell began to champion Christian Identity, the Radical Right has enjoyed a fruitful relationship of linking religion and politics by using Identity ideals to promote its neo-Nazi credentials. Through the guise of the political firm this all falls under one commercial umbrella.

Historically, living in a pluralist society has been an alternative vision for White Nationalists in the United States, which is at odds with their own values. Thereby ensuring, the separation between church and state is between their faith and the power of the Federal Government, categorised as ZOG.⁴⁵⁵ Creating a conflict between the Federal authorities and White Nationalists, which resulted in Ruby Ridge⁴⁵⁶, the Waco siege⁴⁵⁷, which itself primed Timothy McVeigh to bomb the Federal Building in Oklahoma City.⁴⁵⁸ Any suggested linkage between merchandise with an ideological sub-text and violent incidents, is tenuous if not non-existent, at present. Despite the lack of a causal link to these issues, there is a remarkable but unsubstantiated change of emphasis within sections of the movement.⁴⁵⁹ Since the developments are at an early stage, possible solutions or judgements cannot be accorded the status of implicit findings. The embryonic nature of recent developments may show the changes either to be a phase, within the movement's

⁴⁵⁵ Hamm, M.S. (2002) *In Bad Company: America's Terrorist Underground*. (Boston: Northeastern University Press).

⁴⁵⁶ George, J. and Wilcox, L. (1996) *American Extremists: Militias, Supremacists, Klansmen, Communists and Others*. (New York: Prometheus Books).

⁴⁵⁷ Newport, K.G.C.(2006) *The Branch Davidians of Waco: The History and Beliefs of an Apocalyptic Sect*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

⁴⁵⁸ Dyer, J. (1998) *Harvest of Rage: Why Oklahoma City is only the Beginning*. (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press).

⁴⁵⁹ Swain, C.M. (2002) *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration*. (New York: Cambridge University Press).

ideology, or part of a wider exploration of branding for 21st Century American society.

The image of the White Nationalist community following a united front with responses generated according to a predetermined ‘plan’ is a fallacy. In real terms, despite attempts at unifying cooperation, cross-group complexity leaves notions of uniformity in disarray. White Nationalism and references to the White Nationalist Community in the widest sense, explore the linkage between supporters, activists and commentators on the nature and essence of the movement. The linkage between the groups and supporters can be formal, informal, and ideological, in following political theories and historical concepts.⁴⁶⁰ The term ‘organic politic’ is principally used to analyse and define the movement’s shape and growth since the advent of the political firm. From an analytical perspective, the movement could arguably be classified as being organic in structure and development. Applying the term organic to the development and structure of the movement could be a productive form of analysis, thereby relating the concept of leaderless resistance, with its independent cell structure for independent action towards a common goal.

The New Nazism

Rockwell’s American Nazi Party suffered by being unable to retain members for any significant period, with membership always in a state of flux⁴⁶¹. It could be argued, however, that this was as a result of Rockwell’s specific management style⁴⁶² and his lack of ability, as an administrator. It is perhaps more appropriate to consider a lack of culture and community consensus as a mitigating factor.⁴⁶³ Reflecting on the culture and ethos attached to troopers of the A.N.P. it is useful to note what this meant in reality. A.N.P troopers were separated from their leadership and lived in barracks, with no support network readily available. The troopers,

⁴⁶⁰ Ridgeway, J. (1991) *Blood in the Face.*, Right Thinking Productions, Video.

⁴⁶¹ Ridgeway, J. (1995) *Blood in the Face.* (New York: Thunder’s Mouth Press).

⁴⁶² Aiwater, L., Penn, R. and Rucker, L. (1991) Personal Qualities of Charismatic Leaders. *Leadership and Organization Development Journal*, 12: 2, 7-10. Ahn, M.J., Ettner, L.W. and Loupin, A. (2011) From classical to contemporary leadership challenges. *Journal of Leadership Studies*, 5: 1, 6-22.

⁴⁶³ Rockwell, G.L. (1983) *White Power.* (not known).

similar to Rockwell existed in abject poverty and there was an understated cultural conflict between the troopers and mainstream American society.⁴⁶⁴

Modern White Nationalist groups use the World Wide Web and the political firm, through clothing; music, books computer games etc. to provide a support network. The cultural branding allows supporters to separate themselves from mainstream American culture and live in a separate dimension. In such a subculture, they are able to immerse themselves in White Nationalism with only a limited interaction between themselves and American popular culture. This experience has an impact on both the individual and the movement, in the perception of society and the state. In this situation, the member no longer identifies with society or its citizens and the social contract between them and the state is in jeopardy.

This represents a metamorphosis of White Nationalism from the historical precedent of a traditional based organisation and identity. The most significant influence of White Nationalist companies and culture, as embodied by Aryan Wear could arise from the non-activist consumers. Modern marketing has a more subtle use of products, many of which are not overtly political, other than displaying the wolf's crook logo of Aryan Wear. This discreet branding, along with a variety of non-Nazi images specifically those of Viking orientation, make the products less ideological and acceptable for non-activist White supporters, to purchase without displaying a formal political banner, agenda or statement of intent.

Aryan Wear, Resistance Records and National Vanguard Books are all essential examples of political firms and the continued development of White Nationalist culture through music, publishing, clothing and branding. The differences between Aryan Wear and the others are only minimal; though all three are equally influential upon White Nationalist culture. Essentially, although all three are political firms in their own right, the main issues remain unchallenged. Although the three companies are fully representative of the political firm, it is Aryan Wear

⁴⁶⁴ Burchardt, H. "*Racist Leader Could Be Nasty, Charming...or Pitiful.*" (Washington Post, August 26, 1967).

that fully embodies the defined criteria representative of the political firm. All of the political firms exhibit the core requirements previously noted and contribute overall to the theory of organic politic.

There are two important factors, which relate to the impact of the political firm and organic politic. Firstly, what does this new White Nationalist culture represent and what are its practical manifestations in American society? Secondly, how does organic politic relate to the current political structures and ideology within White Nationalism? This is perhaps indicative of a new trend, a development of an existing structure or a political life cycle, which has receded. Both of these factors are influential upon any analysis of the influence and role of organic politic and the political firm. Regarding the first issue, the essence of White Nationalist culture is at present hard to assess and extremely complex.⁴⁶⁵ This is due to the number of groups within the scope of the movement, which though under the umbrella of White Nationalism are at odds with many of the theories and philosophical threads. This in itself can be subdivided between groups and individuals, though both can only be assessed in the broadest terms to retain accuracy and the fluency of debate. It could be argued that White Nationalist groups are in a state of flux providing a lack of consensus and identity to unify the movement.⁴⁶⁶ The breadth of the movement's culture provides a resource for conspiracy theories and ideology without fully gaining an overall consensus.⁴⁶⁷ The members often have equally divergent choices upon which to base their allegiance, with some parts of the movement apparently being at odds with itself.⁴⁶⁸ The most apt example of this is the relationship between Christian Identity and other groups such as the National Alliance whose philosophy

⁴⁶⁵ Swain, C.M. (2002) *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration*. (New York: Cambridge University Press). Dobratz, B.A. and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States "White Power, White Pride!"* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press).

⁴⁶⁶ Griffin, R.S. (2001) *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds*. (USA: 1st Books).

⁴⁶⁷ Criminals on Federal Payroll Engineered Rockwell Hoax on America. *The Councillor*, 1977, Dec 30, 14: 5.

⁴⁶⁸ An Insider talks about fringe organisations. *Acres USA*, 1986, September: 16: 24-27.

contradicts Identity in favour of Cosmotheist or a non-specified religious response.⁴⁶⁹

The second aspect concerns how organic politic relates to the existing political structures within White Nationalism. If organic politic is seen to be an accurate definition and a justifiable structural consideration for the movement, then for analytical purposes, it can be argued as being an embodiment of a new perspective built upon existing theories. Outside the implications of organic politic, essentially the recent movement can be divided into two ideological philosophies: those who endorse leaderless resistance as an effective strategy and others who prefer a traditional pyramid organisation. These divisions are representative of a gap, which has existed in the movement since the 1970's but which came to prominence in the 1980's, with the somewhat contentious theory of leaderless resistance.⁴⁷⁰

The lack of uniformity in organic politic, albeit principally concerning business and marketing, has a general similarity with that of leaderless resistance in that it is less formal in approach, although, leaderless resistance follows a cell structure, with each cell being independent and autonomous. There are no other formal similarities with the organic politic of the political firm in business or marketing terms. The lack of consensus on leaderless resistance has caused a gap to appear in the philosophy of White Nationalism, where the stark contrast and vacuum, has presented an opportunity for the political firm and organic politic. It could be argued, that it is this gap between the two competing political views, concerning leaderless resistance, which has provided the opportunity for marketing and business to utilise the political firm and organic politic.

Outside the development of leaderless resistance and the on-going debate surrounding its effectiveness as a strategy, the political firm and branding are arguably the most influential dimensions to America's White Nationalist

⁴⁶⁹ Whitsel, B. (1995) "The Cosmotheist Community: Aryan Visions for the Future in the West Virginia Mountains. *Journal of Terrorism and Political Violence*.

⁴⁷⁰ Kaplan, J. (1997) "Leaderless Resistance". *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 9: 3, 80-95.

community.⁴⁷¹ The identity and branding, as previously discussed, by the political firm fills the cultural vacuum, which had never previously been fully exploited. There is a continued debate within the movement as to an appropriate and coherent future response for White Nationalism.⁴⁷² The political firm has invigorated White Nationalist culture and has also effectively created a two-tier system through business and marketing for both ideology and its supporters. Though the principal divisions, concern traditional and modern groups attempts to shape the direction of the movement, it is the business marketing relationship to White Nationalist ideology that creates a barrier and the two-tier system of support. Despite the political rationale behind Aryan Wear, business and the market play an important role in directing the firm. Whereas White Nationalist groups have a formal membership system, a two-tier system can exist between group members and the political firms' customers. The latter as consumers, have freedom of choice to purchase and are under no obligation to join or formally support any White Nationalist group.⁴⁷³

The unique power base of the political firm within the White Nationalist community arises from the power of the brand and the role of image and identity to the customer⁴⁷⁴. This helps to instil iconic images and identity, as prevalent core trends, in the same way as non-politicised businesses, market image and the creation of a brand culture is integral to marketing the product. Despite the inherent differences between the political firm and that of conventional politics, loyalty, identity and political power continue as fundamental factors in defining it. Arguably, the political firm and organic politic, highlight a new trend within White Nationalism as exemplified by Aryan Wear, Resistance Records and National Vanguard Books. The marketable image and designer style branding, along with a ready-made market of White Nationalist supporters, all assist the political firm in its development and maintaining a market share. It is through organic politic that the political firm has

⁴⁷¹ Griffin, R.S. (2001) *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds*. (USA: 1st Books).

⁴⁷² Swain, C.M. and Nieli, R. (Editor) (2003) *Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America*. (New York: Cambridge University Press).

⁴⁷³ Dobratz, B.A. and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States "White Power, White Pride!"* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press).

⁴⁷⁴ Fan, Y., (2005) Ethical branding and corporate reputation. *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*, Vol.10, No.4, pp. 341-350; O' Cass, A., (1996) Political Marketing and the marketing concept. *European Journal of Marketing*, 30:10/11, 37-5.

achieved success, whereby it is market led but based upon political ideals. This apparent contradiction of achieving the consensus of business, marketing and political ideology is remarkable.

Business Models and the de-ideologisation of Politics

A potentially negative impact on the political firm and those politically motivated industries with products aimed at the White Nationalist core support is when there is disharmony or changes, which impact upon the consumers. Many of the groups who market products have a specific product range, conducive to the White Nationalist cause. This has been expressed through traditional memorabilia such as flags, badges and other forms of merchandise; although, some have a wide range of products available subject to market demand.⁴⁷⁵ Unlike traditional business governed by the constraints of economic supply and demand, it is the credibility and validity of those selling and marketing the products, as authentic movement supporters of the cause that is of essential and critical importance.⁴⁷⁶ In many cases, the ownership is unseen and unknown to the consumer. However, with the benefit of online message forums such as Stormfront, information regarding both the ownership and motivation of present operators of companies and events, marketing products to supporters, is immediately subject to scrutiny. Such commentaries have been used to inform others, about both Aryan Wear and the situation regarding Panzerfest, in terms of those involved in both and how they were being run. In the same respect, as in traditional business enterprises or companies supplying merchandise and music within the White Separatist community, ownership changes. In the context of political firms, however, there is a more volatile market force, subject to both opinion and political motivation. When the income generated by White Power music alone is substantial, the economic viability of the venture supplying merchandise or products to supporters is significant.

There is no mechanism for determining the level of support those marketing the products have for White Separatist ideology. It could arguably be assumed that

⁴⁷⁵ Dobratz, B.A and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States*. (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press).

⁴⁷⁶ Ridgeway, J (1995) *Blood in the Face*. (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press).

by marketing these products, those behind the companies are of a similar political persuasion. Support has arguably increased and music and merchandise have become a multi-million dollar industry. It is surprising in some respects that business alone has not been the sole determinant over politics, for those providing products, as governed by market forces. The only obvious factor which is detrimental to a non-political affiliated firm is the nature of some of the views and merchandise, together with public opinion and pressure from political opponents.

Traditionally, before the marketing and sales opportunities presented by the World Wide Web, to make merchandise and memorabilia an industry in itself, it was the income derived from selling movement literature and paraphernalia which was the staple supporting factor in allowing the various groups to function, along with donations.⁴⁷⁷ Whereas, traditionally there was a limited market for many items and difficulties in distribution to potential supporters; online sales have transformed both the market and potential products for spreading a political message. When Timothy McVeigh, was trying to encourage White Revolution and resistance against the government, inspired by ‘The Turner Diaries’, he purchased copies of the book. He then travelled around gun stalls at events, selling copies to gun enthusiasts and in many cases giving the books away free in attempts to bolster support.⁴⁷⁸ At the time the book was effectively an underground text published by the movement’s own publisher, and not freely available. Prior to the book being stocked by mainstream book suppliers, it was nevertheless available to purchase online.

The increase in availability of merchandise denoting political themes and core branding representations, have been expressed through the medium of: numeric distinctions of 14/88; the nostalgia for both Nazi items providing swastikas and reprints of Nazi manuals; American Nazi Stormtrooper magazines. The outcome of this has been that such products have helped to create a swathe of items for supporters. Potentially for supporters it allows an opportunity to pick and choose items from different periods and groups. It also essentially provides revenue streams for the movement. Ironically, where this has a detrimental effect is on the merging

⁴⁷⁷ Ridgeway, J (1995) *Blood in the Face*. (New York: Thunder’s Mouth Press).

⁴⁷⁸ Vidal, G. (2002) The Meaning of Timothy McVeigh: in *The Last Empire* (London: Abacus).

and interspersed of ideological variants. Arguably, in political terms, detractors and political opponents have little to gain from drawing distinct lines ideologically and politically between factions and groups. It appears that a clear ideological distinction and political message would benefit the movement. Due to the proclivity to use evocative race hate terminology and political opponents using the Nazi/Fascist term as both a slur and political signposting, this has reduced the political arguments and distinction to a minimum. However, ironically, this merging through marketing of different strands of separatism, creates issues and raises political and ideological anomalies. Separatism as a movement is distinct, and broadly defined, it encompasses a multitude of philosophical and political elements, which although united under the issue of race, diverge rapidly on other issues.

In the past there was a clearer and more distinct demarcation between Nazism, the Klan, the esoteric or Norse aspects and Identity theology.⁴⁷⁹ It would appear, for the purposes of the groups opposing the rise of politics based on race, such as Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), recognition is given to the spread and types of groups. For those supporters of Separatism in the broad sense, the range and types of products available together create a linking step between various ideological stances with the arguable assumption that they are not mutually exclusive, but somehow connected. In some respects this could be conjecture, with the use of marketing directly to the customers. A bridge can be created between different philosophies with the assumption that these have theoretical and ideological links. If this were the case and an assumption was made as a result, it creates a number of ideological and political issues which have to be resolved, in many ways this galvanises the movement, by providing a firmer identity. Whereas traditionally, politically and ideologically there have been potentially insurmountable issues, concerning the philosophy and outlook of various factions within the movement. Through the growth of popular culture and marketing tools, White Separatism and Nationalist sentiment are being re-fashioned into a mutually compatible and beneficial cultural pretext. Ideas are now becoming interchangeable, along with the

⁴⁷⁹ Goodrick-Clarke, N. (2002) *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism and the Politics of Identity*. (New York: New York University Press) Chalmers, D. M. (1987) *Hooded Americanism The History of the Ku Klux Klan*. (Durham: Duke University Press).

items sold and a new historical fabric is developing within the movement, where all of these elements merge to form a new symbolic representation with which to identify the movement.

This creative meddling with the ideological and philosophical core of the movement has both advantages and disadvantages. In many respects, there has been a breach in the cultural integrity of the movement's traditional elements, which have long been influenced and dictated by the media, popular culture and assumption. The advantage of this for supporters and those trying to instil a notion of separation from the core of society and modern liberal democracy has been that the new subculture has enough depth to support a diverse, but not mutually exclusive, white identity and heritage. In the same way as Rockwell maligned the lack of identity beyond traditional mainstream American society for supporters who were continually surrounded by a society, based on an alternative set of fundamental beliefs. Ezekiel (1996) observed that Klansmen, were effectively part-time, as when no longer at meetings or spending time with other members of the Klan, they effectively resumed their place in American society. The Klansmen viewed the same programmes, bought the same clothes as other Americans, and were exposed to what they regarded as the Jewish forces controlling the media and American culture and complicit members of the state.⁴⁸⁰

White Nationalist Branding

One of the new variations on the marketing element with dedicated politicised firms is the original intent and mission statement behind their formation. Aside from providing desirable products⁴⁸¹, which were unavailable from other suppliers such as boots with swastikas and SS insignia on the soles, the approach was to provide jobs for White supporters.⁴⁸² Therefore customers were supporting the movement indirectly with profits being reinvested, in a White community

⁴⁸⁰ Ezekiel, R.S. (1996) *The Racist Mind*. (New York: Penguin).

⁴⁸¹ Kozinets, R.V. (2002) The Field Behind the Screen: Using Netnography for Marketing Research in Online Communities. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 39:1 (February), 61-72.

⁴⁸² Chaudhuri, A. Holbrook, M.B. (2001) The Chain of Effects from Brand Trust and Brand Affect to Brand Performance: The Role of Brand Loyalty. *Journal of Marketing* 65:2 (April), 81-93.

employer. Sentiments of this kind were first voiced by groups within the movement in the 1990's, with the ANP commenting on the possibility of providing jobs for supporters making products, with profits reinvested. This could stem from the ongoing attempt to create a separate cultural identity from the fabric of the mainstream, with one element being a separate shopping and consumer experience.⁴⁸³ Despite the remarkable success the movement has enjoyed in generating income from products, music and books, with the National Alliance income previously estimated in millions, there has been little in the way of a tangible impact in terms of creating a new well-funded movement. Indeed if anything, the changing ownership of key firms and the vocalised discontent of supporters sharing their views⁴⁸⁴ over some owners lacking movement credibility, creates a business where success and failure could rapidly exchange places.⁴⁸⁵

The opportunity for companies displaying a dedicated political and philosophical approach towards supporters of White Nationalism is significant, since they provide a level of brand support, which is far reaching.⁴⁸⁶ If the political message and association did not have such controversial content a commercial non-politicised firm would have perhaps targeted this group with products.⁴⁸⁷ Despite the political message associated with these companies, however, there is no guarantee of political support from those in control or control over what happens to the profits generated. Many of these companies, regardless of assurances and association, are still effectively private enterprises and not run by the movement. For supporters of the movement intent on a brand loyalty due to the political nature of the companies, there is little in the way of reassurance other than through interaction with other supporters and customers in online community forums.⁴⁸⁸ In terms of being a

⁴⁸³ McAlexander et al. (2002) Building Brand Community. *Journal of Marketing*, 66:1 (January), 38-54.

⁴⁸⁴ Kozinets et al. (2013) Networked Narratives: Understanding Word-of-Mouth Marketing in Online Communities. *Journal of Marketing*, 74:2, 71-89.

⁴⁸⁵ Ahluwalia, R. Burnkrant, R.E & Unnava, H.R (2000) Consumer Response to Negative Publicity: The Moderating Role of Commitment. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 37:2 (May), 203-214.

⁴⁸⁶ Merunka, N.A (2013) "The role of brand love in consumer-brand relationships". *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, 30:3, 258-266.

⁴⁸⁷ Quinton, S. Harridge-March, S. (2010) "Relationships in online communities: the potential for marketers". *Journal of Research in Interactive Marketing*, 4:1, 59-73.

⁴⁸⁸ Kozinets et al. (2013) Networked Narratives: Understanding Word-of-Mouth Marketing in Online Communities. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 74:2, 71-89. Trusov, M., Bucklin, R.E and Pauwels, K.

commercial venture outside a formal association with a movement group, it presents a precarious situation since the trust of the online customer in associating with the company and product is paramount.⁴⁸⁹

Since the formation of this new brand of politicised company, targeting the White Separatist supporter, some have encountered a tumultuous existence and protracted dealings with customers. The positive aspect for those companies embarking on such a venture is due in part to the lack of competition and the nature of politics among separatists and the offer of a unique branding experience.⁴⁹⁰ Due to the nature of political orientation and the specific racial and cultural traits, customers are making choices based on a particular branding and marketing strategy where the products have a direct cultural association and imagery represented by the political views.⁴⁹¹

Self-defence and Resistance

There is an obsession with self-defence and preparedness for a potential revolution or disintegration of the American state apparatus, within the Separatist community, where it is a perquisite for citizens to defend themselves against tyranny. This has fuelled considerable rhetoric on the need to prepare and provide knowledge of combat and survival methods. Arguably, this is intertwined with the nature of American society and the right to bear arms, as a means of maintaining freedom and democracy. In the USA, the survival of the American way of life is a paramount feature and ideology. In the context of the separatist community, although there are militias and training, in preparation for either a race war or the breakdown

(2013) Effects of Word-of-Mouth Versus Traditional Marketing: Findings from an Internet Social Networking Site. *Journal of Marketing*, 73:5, 90-102.

⁴⁸⁹ Maclaran, P. Catterall, M. (2002) "Researching the social Web: marketing information from the virtual communities". *Marketing Intelligence and Planning*, 20:6, 319-326.

⁴⁹⁰ Brown, S. Kozinets, R.V. and Sherry Jr. J.F. (2013) Teaching Old Brands New Tricks: Retro Branding and Revival of Brand Meaning. *Journal of Marketing*, 67:3, 19-33.

⁴⁹¹ Thompson, C.J. Rindfleisch, A. and Arsel, Z. (2013) Emotional Branding and the Strategic Value of the Doppelganger Brand Image. *Journal of Marketing*, 70:1, 50-64.

of society, some elements see the American way of life and society as a problem, rather than something which must be continued.

There is always the assumption that citizens will support the status quo, and ensure the state's continuance out of patriotic duty, rather than acquiesce in its demise. This is the quandary which faces many of those sympathetic to the White Separatist philosophy in the USA and beyond that, the nation state to which they belong. There is an assumption that the social contract between the government or state and the individual is intact; regardless of the treatment of those individuals and any perceptions of alienation. The relationship between those living in a state and the state itself is different to that of the government, with the contradiction that the government may be opposed yet those in opposition will still support the apparatus of the state. However, within the Separatist philosophy, the contradiction between resistance and patriotism presents an interesting dilemma. Separatist supporters are in many respects conflicted regarding the nature of the American state and its role. Much of the rationale and support derived from Separatist philosophy is in the seeming distortion and disintegration of traditional American values and independence, in favour of a Federal government, which exerts too much control over the citizenry.⁴⁹²

The anti-Federal Government viewpoint is distinct from much of the National Socialist outlook and those prophesising the end of the USA. It reflects an aspiration to return to limited government, as prescribed by the founding fathers with a reduced capacity and function of the government, thus returning freedom to the citizens. This type of outlook is similar to McVeigh and supporters of the gun lobby in that the power of the Federal Government seems to be unchecked and the creator of insurmountable obstacles to change. Whilst McVeigh and others endorse action against the Federal Government, they remain focussed on the Nationalistic aspect of the state in accordance with patriotism and the flag. Despite the focus upon revolution and an apparent race war, some of the Separatists effectively want a

⁴⁹² Freer, J. (2013) Thomas Pynchon and the Black Panther Party: Revolutionary Suicide in Gravity's Rainbow. *Journal of American Studies*, 47:1 (February), 171-188.

continuance of the existing government structure albeit in reduced terms.⁴⁹³ In some respects, this supposition creates the problem for the patriotic element of the separatist movement who simply desire a return to the America of the past, since they are unable and unwilling to endorse or be party to state failure.⁴⁹⁴ Therefore as a resistance mechanism and factor, effectively, the ultimate sanction of state failure and complying with that result is not considered, or available.⁴⁹⁵ All the subsequent outcomes for the patriotism of the Separatists depend on a re-negotiation of the state relationship, into a reduction in Federal influence and the apparatus of government, which is never likely to be achievable.

The more avant-garde supporters within the movement endeavour to establish a new state. In essence for every modern state, some form of state apparatus is required to allow the government to function. The alternative options to a patriot based Separatist state, with a reduced capacity Federal Government is either a National Socialist variant or effectively, a stateless country. Despite the lack of the formalised state vision, the essence of resistance and revolution is to either provide, a mechanism of pressure on the existing state apparatus, that in order to achieve state survival a compromise is reached. This would mean that if no immediate threat is apparent, then the status quo remains. In the eventuality that state failure is achieved, to the extent of allowing a National Socialist variant, there is no comparable state apparatus to allow functioning government. The effective outcome from this eventuality would be the end of a modern recognised state function, in favour of traditional minimal government, or effectively a government free region.

Ideology

In the context of the online community and forums utilised by White Separatist supporters, a number of themes become significant when assessing the ideological breadth and depth, in terms of appreciation by those involved in

⁴⁹³ Kaplan, J. (Ed) (2000) *Encyclopedia of White Power: A Sourcebook on the Radical racist Right*. (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press).

⁴⁹⁴ Vahan, R. (1962) *The truth about the John Birch Society*. (New York: Macfadden).

⁴⁹⁵ Lennon, A.T.J., (ed.) (2003) *The Battle for Hearts and Minds: using soft power to undermine terrorist networks* (Cambridge Massachusetts: The MIT Press). Howitt, A.M. and Pangi, R.L. (eds.) (2003) *Countering Terrorism: Dimensions of Preparedness* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA: Harvard University).

organisations and their supporters. There is a lack of cohesion and a level of disunity when interpreting and assessing the ideology of the movement, whilst attempting to create a modern application.⁴⁹⁶ The widely acknowledged difficulties of supporters in attempting to gain ideological guidance and clarity from either the writings, of Hitler or the manifestations of National Socialist government and history, anomalies may arise. There are differences in motivation and outlook of those within the movement, where Pierce presented himself as an ideologue and intellectual practitioner for the movement, attempting to create a stimulus for White Separatist thought and a desire to reach those of intellectual outlook, through the philosophical approach of a quasi-Nazi orientated agenda, utilising George Bernard Shaw and the writings of Nietzsche.⁴⁹⁷ This is set against those, such as Tom Metzger who despite being an ideologue and exponent of utilising ideas to further the cause of White Nationalism, champions the 'working class' nature of his struggle and that of working White Americans.⁴⁹⁸

There is the contradiction created by Pierce that despite National Alliance attempts to court support from the intelligentsia for the philosophical approach, with the acquisition of Resistance Records and the increase in support for Separatist politics from skinheads, this presented an uneasy alliance. The issue of class division and class struggle, although traditionally the prerogative of the left, especially outside the USA, is a highly pertinent issue and one over which there appears to be no consensus. From within the movement, supporters report a class divide, separating those with no definable solutions to the issues. In some respects the movement is conflicted due to the reliance upon Nazi fundamentals and attempts at utilising a modern socialist state, based on racial lines.

⁴⁹⁶ Bell, L.V. (1973) *In Hitler's Shadow*. (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press).

⁴⁹⁷ Griffin, R.S. (2001) *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds*. (USA: 1st Books). Michael, G. (2003) The Revolutionary Model of Dr William L. Pierce. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol.15, No.3 (Autumn), pp.62-80. Kaplan, J. (ed.) (2000) *Encyclopedia of White Power: A Sourcebook on the Radical racist Right*. (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press). Ridgeway, J. (1995) *Blood in the Face*. (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press).

⁴⁹⁸ Swain, C.M. (2002) *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration*. (New York: Cambridge University Press). Swain, C.M. and Nieli, R. (ed.) (2003) *Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America*. (New York: Cambridge University Press).

Conclusion

The chapter has identified a number of key themes within the American National Socialist movement, which require further analysis in order to chart the trends and developments in the sphere of White Nationalist culture and politics. Arguably, there is mobility between the political ideology of separatism and the popular culture of White Nationalism through ideas, images and propaganda. Therefore the contribution of Rockwell to American White Culture goes beyond that of purely a party political agenda, requiring assessment through legacy and influence to separatist movement and cultural influences. This provides a conduit for National Socialism to become part of popular culture in White Nationalist and Separatist politics, where there is no formal political process. Perhaps the most significant development is the advent of the 'political firm', dedicated to a political and ideological pretext of intent. The creation of political based firms to supply merchandise and products to White Separatist supporters has aided in the harnessing of a distinct political identity. The countermeasure of this is the impact of market forces through customer buying behaviour to influence product ranges. This allows customers to interchange products from a variety of political sources within White Separatism, thereby promoting a political de-ideologisation from a branding perspective. The individualism of leaderless resistance and aspects of American popular culture have allowed Rockwell and others to be re-invented as a symbol of the movement rather than being judged on political achievements. Therefore, the contribution of Rockwell becomes a more important factor than the specifics of the American Nazi Party or indeed Rockwell's attributes as a party leader. The symbolism of having Rockwell as a martyr becomes integral to this philosophy, promoting a culture of assassination and the endorsement of leaderless resistance. The threat of a leader's assassination by the state or unknown forces negates traditional leadership or party structures, in favour of having a terrorist response.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

The socio-political and cultural changes within the fabric of American society have quintessentially changed since the advent of American Nazism, and the influence of Rockwell and others, in attempting to promote social and political change. This impetus, in some respects, was doomed to failure, since despite the on-going challenges to democracy from American Nazism and the vociferous rhetoric; Rockwell in particular, believed in the values of America. Rockwell argued that America represented a personification of White Christian civilisation. In the same manner as the early Nazi supporters in America viewed Nazism as an answer to the Great Depression; Rockwell regarded it as a cultural clash and battle for American values and beliefs, which could only be saved by American Nazism. The rhetoric has principally focused upon issues of race and anti-Semitism. This is only part of the deeper convictions of those involved, who utilise it as a personification and articulation of their hate and frustration over, what is arguably, a cultural state of flux between traditional America and that of a rapidly evolving and expanding 'melting pot' of cultures. It is arguable, that the role and personification of Nazism provides a political gauntlet to attempt to change the cultural tide in favour of traditionalism. In the same manner as those industrialists, who supported the Nazi party were in fear of the social and industrial changes which communism posed, supporters are arguably fighting a cultural war against modern society and liberal democracy.

On the part of Rockwell and the subsequent movement, there has been a continual attempt to focus upon aspects of mainstream cultural history as examples which supporters should utilise, whether in the form of Charles Lindberg, Ezra Pound, Jack London or Henry Ford. The modern movement has focussed on providing reprints of classic literary texts, and even classic children's stories. This action followed many of the classic texts being re-written and released to make use of a pro-multiculturalism stance. This cultural battle is at odds with the traditional

Nazi influence in America, which sought to end the American state in favour of a National Socialist state and government. In many respects, it is a contradictory position that the far and radical right have become so immersed in aspects of Nazism and neo-fascism, since traditionally they have never supported an essential regime change, in respect of the US. It is this inconsistency, which has created many of the ideological anomalies within the cultural fabric of separatism. Essentially, much of the Separatist philosophy has focussed upon a return to previous cultural values in American society, as culture is becoming under threat from new influences. Pierce had arguably faced the same challenge to his social values, when during the 1960's as a young University Physics Professor, he viewed the changing cultural climate on campus and the changing behaviours of students and student protest. Though influenced by Rockwell, it was the cultural changes, which motivated him to seek out an avenue to instigate a change and stop the cycle of social changes.

Arguably, there is a populist approach to the usage of terminology for categorisation whether in terms of neo-Nazi and Fascist, as the terminology elicits negative connotations. Thereby, the response by the population in terms of categorisation through popular culture can then readily identify these elements as divisive creating anxiety and discord through association; which in many respects are now less relevant in political terms. The focus upon Nazi-Fascist ideals has been less as a political force and momentum than as a mechanism for change. The political left, in the same manner, utilised the struggle for civil rights as a defining issue for instigating changes to the inherently conservative approach of 1950's America. Nazi rhetoric has also been utilised as a dramatic and evocative countermeasure to the social changes which occurred along with the arguable on-going cultural disintegration of traditional American values. It could be argued, that this is simply a matter of political escalation from McCarthyism, the John Birch Society, and the radical right, to elements focussing on Nazism, as an alternative philosophy.

Alternatively, Pierce lamented that the root cause of the 1960's political changes and subsequent developments have been through Jewish media influences, set on an agenda of change. The historical relationship of the nemesis between Nazis and Jews could be an equally important aspect. In the same respect, anti-Jewish and

anti-Israeli responses in the Middle East from Hamas and other Islamic groups have denied the holocaust and allied themselves, to Hitler and Nazism.⁴⁹⁹ Regardless of the inconsistencies within the politics of Nazism in the American context, it provides a political vehicle and mechanism for radical societal changes in America. Arguably, the political and ideological focus upon anti-Semitism and concerns over media control, even where justified, is a distraction to the overall goals and aims of the movement and belie a lack of focus.⁵⁰⁰ Even in cases where the media bias alleged by the radical and extreme right have been later endorsed as legitimate, it has been invariably after the events, with those at the time being accused of paranoia and as being conspiracy theorists. The Radical Right, however, have an indelible fascination with aspects of the political duel between Nazism and Jewry, as though it were part of a re-established Crusade like struggle, or in Identity terms a religious battle. The public have shown no interest in the agenda promoted by the wider periphery of the right regarding a focus on a Jewish conspiracy and racial miscegenation as a means of creating a cultural shift and destabilisation of the American way of life. It is arguable whether this fascination of the right, is in itself representative of a political self-obsession or distraction, providing a point of focus, whilst separating their views from the political mainstream.

In respect of Rockwell this argument poses a contradiction, since as extreme as his views and statements were during the period, and the likelihood that they could have dissuaded potentially moderate right supporters, concerned with social changes and the issue of segregation. It was arguably his outlandish behaviour and use of Nazism as a political vehicle, which allowed him to gain initial media coverage and attention. Just as Rockwell confirmed, that for years he had been a

⁴⁹⁹ In interviews with BBC reporters, Hamas followers have commented on Hitler and Nazism, noting that they liked Hitler because he hated Jews. Through the discussions with Hamas and the origins of the state of Israel, the supporters were unwilling to recognise the holocaust and indulged in holocaust denial. However, they had an alternate perspective that they were the ultimate enemy of the Jews, so it would be impossible for Hitler to have killed 6 million Jews as that would mean he had been more successful than they had been. From their perspective the holocaust was 'too good to be true' and they would rejoice if that had been the case that the holocaust been perpetrated by Germany.

⁵⁰⁰ In Your Face, SPLC Intelligence Report Spring, 2006, discusses Jewish groups' tactics against Rockwell and subsequent groups on the radical right by persuading newspapers not to report their activities. The result of this was that Rockwell and others instigated publicity stunts to get attention. When David Duke entered mainstream politics and tried to gain electoral success they were unable to achieve any success. As a consequence of this lack of success in the mainstream, groups have returned to techniques of 'outrage, aggressive, in your face publicity stunts' in attempts to gain attention.

conservative, but whenever he voiced opinions against these social, cultural and political changes, he was faced with the accusation of being a Fascist and Nazi, facilitated his journey to the far right. There would have also, perhaps been no medium to create a basis for publicity, as he had already had involvement with a variety of groups on the right, but did not want to subordinate himself, to anyone else. In the realm of modern online supporters and many of those involved in parties of the far right in America and Europe, all seem to focus on the idea of being the Fuhrer, with grandiose plans. Though, despite all the rhetoric there is no evidence of any clear successor to Hitler, within the right. Even in the context of Rockwell, he was a showman extraordinaire regarding marketing and publicity for his movement; charismatic, though not an organiser or administrator. Despite his later achievements in terms of the movement, initially at least with the financial support of Arrowsmith, he was motivated by promises of funding a movement. Rockwell himself was in many respects, simply reactionary in modern political terms, rather than being a creative influence in finding a new political direction. Much of his actions and political behaviours, were simply reacting to other events at the time, which were publicity generating. His politicisation and subsequent behaviours were, in many respects, indicative more of modern political campaigning and behaviours rather than tied to historical notions of leadership. Although, subsequently he has been given acknowledgement for his development of a Pan-American racial strategy, his sole criteria for membership was on the basis of being White.⁵⁰¹

Perhaps apparent, in an awareness of Rockwell himself, who repeatedly made mention of a recurring dream he had, where he would be taken into a room and introduced to Hitler, thus creating a link between himself as a modern political descendant. Part of this may be due to motivation as Rockwell reported his conversion to Nazism after reading *Mein Kampf* and some crude racist literature, which gave him a morbid fascination. Whereas Hitler, although highly influenced by his time recovering in hospital at the end of the First World War, had commented on having an experience years before, after an opera, where on top of a hill he had a profound experience, reminiscent of the experience by Luther. The role of

⁵⁰¹ In his analysis, Simonelli (1995) assessed Rockwell's contribution as being widespread in terms of holocaust denial literature and endorsement of Christian Identity theology, along with his assertion of White Power.

motivation cannot be underestimated, as although many leaders within the right have asserted themselves with rhetoric and charisma, the role of Hitler within Nazism creates insurmountable obstacles due to his achievements and persona. For critics of the far right and those fearful of its political potential, this is a useful weakness for the movement. Ironically, these have arguably presented considerable issues for western democracy with the outlawing of the Nazi party in Germany and Austria, the banning of the swastika, and holocaust denial becoming illegal.⁵⁰²

Rockwell provided the linkage with European supporters and groups, which in many respects have flourished more than their American counterparts. The media has a fascination with surviving relatives of Hitler and their descendants. Until the 1970's, biographies of Hitler had noted that during his time as a soldier in France Hitler had fathered a child to a French woman he was known to have a relationship with. Subsequent biographies appear to have discounted this information with the consensus now being that this was not possible. However, in political terms such an implication would be reminiscent of that which encountered Napoleon II, where European powers were unable to comprehend or fathom the repercussions of a descendant of Napoleon, so effectively isolated the child and ensured he never ruled before his early death.

There are arguably a number of elements concerning both aspects of leadership and the utilisation of Nazism as a political ideology, particularly since it then presented both positive and negative issues for the subsequent movement. Despite such elements, the American right have utilised aspects whilst distancing themselves from an endorsement of a Nazi state and as a political movement, the issue of state vision and method of government becomes of paramount importance. There has been a lack of movement literature to describe the structure or formation of a modern White state, other than Rockwell's assumption that it would simply work within the existing constitution of the United States. This has been in many respects a parochial response to the issue of state building and the state vision, with the illusion that the state would remain unchanged and it would simply be the

⁵⁰² Guttenplan, D.D. (2001) *The Holocaust on Trial* (London: Granta Books).

mechanism of government, which would change. Whereas, for the entire state vision to be implemented it would be incompatible with the existing constitutional framework. An explanation for this is the route instigator for much of the radical rights approach that it is not an exponent of state building and endorsement of a new vision, but arguably trying to use the far right, to return to an America of the past with a more conservative outlook.

The movement has remained, in many respects, quintessentially American in outlook, arguably if it were not for the aspects which contain overt Nazism or anti-Semitism it could be similar in outlook to many other American groups on the right, which simply wish to return to a conservatism of the past. However, despite the wish for separatism and a 'White' state the movement has chosen to remain with an American focus rather than prioritise race as the singular element.⁵⁰³ In the context of separatism and the desire to build a White government together with a new future, this has not been manifested either in the actions or philosophy of those on the far right. Assuming the priority is that of a Separate White nation based on racial segregation, it is arguably unlikely to expect this to be achievable in an America, long associated as the 'melting pot'. It would also require a change in emphasis, political cultural and momentum. The movement has consistently lacked a cohesive understanding and assessment of a state vision and desire for state building. Due to this, inevitably supporters have had to draw analogies from other sources in attempts to understand what type of country and government would be the consequence of a White Separatist government.

'The Turner Diaries', ostensibly provided an avenue and evocation of what a modern White government and state would represent to the movement, albeit, in a fictional context. The immensely popular underground text provided an avenue of discourse for the route to power of a new White society. It also offered an

⁵⁰³ Arguably if race had been the sole focus beyond a requirement for National boundaries with the embodiment of a White government, the inevitable aspiration, then the focus would not have been the sole preserve of America. Indeed, there were opportunities for American Separatists to look beyond America for an opportunity to participate in a White government. These could be personified by the struggle for Rhodesia after Unilateral Declaration of Independence (U.D.I.), or even apartheid South Africa, although both of these did not meet the criteria of being White States, they were the preserve of White government.

explanation of how they would deal with particular issues in respect of state formation and relations with others; albeit through nuclear terrorism, as an avenue of ensuring state survival. However, with the lack of guidance from within the radical right, in terms of the state apparatus of government and state vision, it has been left to fiction to create visions of what this could represent and embody. Notwithstanding the significant influence of the 'Turner Diaries' as a political inspiration, the nearest opportunity for political discourse has been from Rockwell, through his books and various writings. Though Pierce's writings were principally in the form of fiction, as a leading ideologue of the movement, he made a significant contribution and input to supporters through his American Dissident Voices broadcasts.

It can also be argued, that effectively a causal chain of significance links the major factors in post war Nazism/Separatism and resistance, all originating from Rockwell as the source and instigator. In terms of the development of leaderless resistance, in particular, although it would not have ceased as an alternative without Rockwell's influence through his assassination, his death provided impetus to its consideration. Even although a formal chain cannot be established in a definitive manner, it is arguable that following Rockwell's assassination and the lack of a charismatic leader to replace him, Pierce then prioritised thinking in terms of leaderless resistance, which would become popular in the movement after the 'Turner Diaries' was serialised and in conjunction with Louis Beam's essay. It provided the dramatic change from a formal pyramid organisation in favour of a cell based structure working towards a common goal. This provided the domino effect in creating a wave of other activities, where although the protagonists would arguably still have committed offences, they would have not been of a less formalised nature. However, this chain of events between 'The Turner Diaries' and 'The Order', with the subsequent effect upon the movement of Bob Mathews, David Lane, and latterly Timothy McVeigh in the Oklahoma City bombing, have all provided a causal chain of events, which have effectively inspired or instigated a series of actions.

Leaderless resistance is not indelibly linked with the assassination of George Lincoln Rockwell in terms of a political exclusivity or isolated parallel of an alternative vision for America. There is no evidence to suggest that without the

assassination of Rockwell, Louis Beam's essay would not have been equally well received. However, where it does have crucial impact is not the assassination of Rockwell, but on the influence this event had on Pierce who was a significant ideologue for the movement and writer of the leaderless resistance text 'The Turner Diaries' and the lone wolf variant 'Hunter'. Despite the accusations of one commentator⁵⁰⁴ that Pierce 'acquiesced' in the assassination, Pierce seems singularly affected and commented on the affect it had on his outlook and philosophy, motivating the writing of 'The Turner Diaries'. Arguably without 'The Turner Diaries', there would have been no mobilisation to action of Bob Matthews to form 'The Order' and commit terror acts, with Timothy McVeigh being equally unaffected in the absence of the book's influence. The individuals could have carried out equally significant acts without the book, but in the absence of the framework of a White Revolution. In the same manner as Joseph Franklin carried out lone wolf actions before the term was available as a means of categorisation. Assuming a direct causal chain is followed in theoretical terms, at least those actions relating to 'The Turner Diaries' would not have been perpetrated without the book. The direction of the movement towards being a leaderless form is arguably encouraged by the philosophy and writings on leaderless resistance. This in turn renders it directionless, in political terms at least. The popularity of leaderless resistance as opposed to the formal separatism of moving to a specified state in the USA and pursuing secession should not be exclusive to one philosophy.

In terms of the relevance of this to the wider movement, when combined with the lack of state vision, and state representation it creates a significant metamorphosis within the context of the movement. This along with changes to popular culture and the development of the Internet has given the supporters a defining influence in shaping the direction of the movement in real terms. This in turn has been expressed through online, forums, buying behaviour and choice of movements. Correspondingly, there is fluidity within groups with supporters able to choose diverse ideological aspects, which would normally be incompatible in political terms and fashion them into their own interpretation. The abandonment of

⁵⁰⁴ Simonelli, F.J. (1999) *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press).

stringent ideology and lack of political structure has contributed to the de-ideologisation in the movement. In terms of political marketing, the Internet and new commercial opportunities have sought to cater to supporters needs beyond that of literature, and movement texts. This has also found expression through a growing interest in respect of clothing, music, religion and even specific tattoos as representative symbols.

The consequence of this is that the movement no longer has a traditionally functioning core in political terms.⁵⁰⁵ Indeed the philosophy of leaderless resistance either in terms of cells or groups, but principally in terms of lone wolf has been taken on by supporters. In a modern age of popular culture, supporters as consumers and politically separate elements then control both the direction of their own behaviour and inadvertently that of the movement. However, whereas the traditional groups always remained focussed upon non-state actors as a threat, and creating a warning influence against threats to the state, or perceived threats in terms of Communism or immigration, that no longer exists. Indeed, with the perception of ZOG, the supporters within the context of the wider separatist movement are arguably more isolated than ever from the mainstream political process. Traditionally when studies have been conducted of the movement's elements in cultural terms, despite the vociferous nature of the politics, the supporters were still Americans in the mainstream sense, in that they viewed the same television, wore similar clothes and had a shared experience. Arguably, this is no longer the case for a considerable number of those who support the separatist cause.

Assuming there is a cultural and philosophical separation between supporters and that of mainstream society, this could open opportunities for an alternate political and philosophical perspective, where the social contract would no longer apply. In the context of this, it needs to be recognised that patriotism has always been enshrined as an essential part of the movement and as a protective mechanism. In the absence of a social contract, this avenue of opportunity combined with the

⁵⁰⁵ Dobratz, B.A. and Shanks-Meile, S.L. (2000) *The White Separatist Movement in the United States "White Power, White Pride!"* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press).

endorsement of a leaderless resistance or lone wolf strategy, could lead to a formalised change in interpretation, of the role of the state. The significant result of this would be an agenda of pursuing terror activities and a willingness to instigate state failure as a means of regime change. However at present there is no evidence of a change in emphasis or willingness to consider attempting to instigate mechanisms of state failure, in the USA. Indeed if anything, there appears to be a gradual and more succinct development of leaderless resistance elements into a more refined strategy. The result of government and legislative intervention against the movement has been the reliance on more covert styles of lone wolf activities, which are more representative of sleeper cells or the lone wolf actions in Hunter; rather than the singular lone wolf action of the kind perpetrated by Anders Breivik. This modus operandi encourages would be lone wolf activists and supporters not to distinguish themselves from the mainstream of society and to utilise insurgent tactics when taking individual action against the state.

The present developments, in some respects, are far removed from Rockwell's own activities and political behaviour during the 1950's and 1960's, where it was conventional political antecedents in attempts to gain elected office. In political terms during the period, aside from creating publicity and a figurehead, the political aspects themselves in relation to parties in a modern democratic state was a failure, where the party was unable to achieve, electoral success, significant membership and existed in abject poverty. Critics within the movement have argued that Rockwell's activities were instigated and contrived by those wishing to have a detrimental effect upon the ability of the movement to appeal to the wider public.⁵⁰⁶ However, in spite of these conventional political aspects and arguable failures, the activities, publicity and leadership persona created an inspirational platform for Rockwell's successors. Pierce had commented that part of Rockwell's political failure resulted from a lack of ability as an administrator or organiser, and his party being in a constant state of flux, unable to retain members. Nevertheless, Pierce still acknowledged Rockwell as a source of inspiration. Even without his subsequent assassination, Rockwell would arguably have been an indicative example of the

⁵⁰⁶ Criminals on Federal Payroll Engineered Rockwell Hoax on America. *The Councillor*, 1977 December 30th, Vol. 14: 5. An Insider talks about fringe organisations. *Acres USA*, 1986 September: Vol. 16: 24-27.

time. He had the ability to polarise political opinion and sought to offer a source of encouragement to students to consider the extremes of the political spectrum.

The most significant characteristic of Rockwell was arguably, the contribution he made through his influence and inspiration to others. The principal ideologue in the post-Rockwell era has been Pierce, through his development of the National Alliance, his writings and radio broadcasts to the movement. Although Pierce engaged with the philosophical ideology of the movement, he had through Resistance Records and the National Alliance, significant support from skinheads, due to the music's influence. The National Alliance was traditionally a more thoughtful and intellectual approach, aimed at professionals and those with an inquisitive intellect.⁵⁰⁷ Albeit relatively small in numbers, the group's members were dedicated to the cause both philosophically and politically.⁵⁰⁸ After Pierce's death in 2002, the movement changed as it no longer had the principal ideologue, with the National Alliance experiencing a tumultuous time. In terms of leadership, the most significant leader remaining within the Separatist movement, with stature, is Tom Metzger; although he has been continually targeted by Civil Rights groups and legal actions.⁵⁰⁹

Following the influence of Rockwell, there is arguably no facility for political discourse within the bounds of traditional party politics. It could be suggested that due to historical precedents there has been a process of de-ideologisation and the politicisation of members through the party constructs has been reduced. Changes in the nature of party politics have not solely been dictated by the levels of electoral success, but also by the role and behaviour of the media and the representations within popular culture. Rockwell, although capable of playing a number of roles from: grand standing and playing the Shakespearean anti-hero; nemesis to the state; a purveyor of politically offensive remarks designed to create outrage and reaction; experienced considerable bias from the media and the political establishment. He was, for example, also accused of paranoia over his conspiracy

⁵⁰⁷ Cornwell, T, US right-wing extremist has followers in Glasgow. (The Scotsman, April 28, 1995).

⁵⁰⁸ William Pierce and the National Alliance. (2002) *Searchlight*, October: 16-18.

⁵⁰⁹ Langer, E. (2003) *A Hundred Little Hitler's*. (New York: Metropolitan Books).

allegations of media misrepresentations at the time, to ensure he never had a forum or voice for his discontentment and political events; in hindsight his complaints were found to be legitimate.

Despite the conjecture, partly created by Rockwell's own rhetoric of execution of Jewish traitors and deportation of African Americans, many of his speeches were temperate by comparison. Modern critics such as Michael Moore, albeit with different sentiments to Rockwell's agenda based on anti-Semitism and race, have focused on information being purposely withheld from the public by media and the government. In speeches to University students, Rockwell would continually ask that the students think for themselves. He also suggested that they consult the same evidence and records as he had from the Library of Congress. This would then allow them to decide for themselves, if he was being truthful in his assertions. Unlike other political parties and groups, separatism is continually in a state of justification of beliefs and ideology, with policies based on existing evidence. It is perhaps the only political group that is constantly under ideological attack, and continually having to justify a rationale for its beliefs. Even modern contemporaries, such as Metzger, simply utilise the starting point of providing information. There is also a situation, where despite the role of the media, the movement sells old newspapers at discounted prices, describing it as 'history'. The aim of this action is intended to enable people to remain informed through reading the information and be able to make their own decisions.

There are remarkable changes in emphasis within the traditional neo-Nazi and Separatist groups in the USA and beyond. In the traditional domain of Nazism in Germany, a 2011 study by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation found that neo-Nazis were now 'younger, more violent and more militant' than ever before.⁵¹⁰ The developing cultural and political separation between supporters and the state will have a number of possible outcomes. The lack of a formal intermediary, in the form of either a

⁵¹⁰ The report also found that in relation to East Germans 15.8 per cent had extreme right views, and sympathisers were estimated at 23,000. The National Socialist Underground had a decade long reign of terror of the kind not witnessed since the Second World War. Anders Breivik was known to idolise group member Beate Zschape. Tony Paterson, Neo-Nazi Nuremberg: Germany forced to confront its dark side. *The Independent*, (May 4, 2013).

political party or groups such as Aryan Nations and the White Aryan Resistance, to provide a channel for supporters to voice and share their discontent with others who share their views could foster a lone wolf cult and subculture. The result of this could lead to a situation where effectively those opinions could develop and culminate in a devastating act. The movement has always left the prerogative of individual or lone wolf action as the decision of the individual. The only formal encouragement given with regard to the impetus has been to get activists mobilised, in advancement of the movement's struggle.

Despite the Nazi rhetoric of racial unity and global domination, much of the movement beyond the USA, has been fixated by localised Nationalism, with an almost parochial viewpoint. In many respects, this is not dissimilar to the American experience, for although supporters have begun to recognise that there are no formal national boundaries for the National socialists and separatists, in an agenda of White unity, some still have concerns regarding locality. Historically, the American approach has always been reminiscent of societal approaches to worldwide issues and social intervention, by focusing primarily upon America itself with an inward outlook, rather than taking a more inclusive approach to the outside world. Their unwillingness to engage with what can be regarded as un-American principles arguably creates a sizeable division between separatists and the remainder of society. The movement has progressed and developed from its watchdog approach to in some respects being more reminiscent of the early Nazi groups, where paraphernalia and violence are key components, along with a disregard for the apparatus of state and mechanisms of government.

In many respects, the politics of Rockwell had more in common with the radical right and McCarthyism than that of formal Nazism. It was as though Nazism was a response to the prospect of Communist infiltration and an anti-Communist mechanism to salvage the American state and political entity from the threats of socialism. The rhetoric of the era has followed through into becoming an essential element, albeit contradictory at times, in ideological aspects. It has been assessed, that Rockwell provided the starting point for much of the right when embarking upon the sojourn to separatism and overt White Nationalism, in its many forms. The

transformation of the periphery of the right into a mobilised entity is growing, though not in terms of a uniform structured organisation. Arguably, the separation and relationship between supporters towards the state, has reappraised the notions of patriotism. However, despite many groups still supporting the essence of, the United States, through the early colonial forms of limited government and independence for the individual, in a frontier sense as with the early settlers, there is widespread discord at the representation of government and in particular the categorisation of ZOG.

This separation in ideological and philosophical terms from the state and popular culture, when combined with the popularity of lone wolf activities as an embodiment of leaderless resistance, could have significant implications for the future development of the traditional radical right on the periphery and separatism. Individualism is a key component to the modern movement, with many supporters no longer willing to be simply dictated to in a dogmatic fashion. The modern developments depend on an interaction and mutual understanding regarding the philosophy and motivation for subsequent actions. There is a fluidity of movement between elements of the movement, both in practical terms and in the utilisation of their political philosophy. Arguably, one significant issue, which has reflected the approach to state resistance, is the integral feature of patriotism within the essence of the right and separatism. This loyalty to the state, albeit of a particular nature, leads to a complicated relationship and conflict, between a ZOG government and resistance. Whilst methods of resistance in any form are a key element, at present the state itself is still of singular importance. The outcome of this is that supporters are not motivated towards a situation of promoting state failure and regime change in order to satisfy their goals. There is potential for this to be developed as a means of achieving a level of power and influence over the notional aspects of the state. However, this would require a change of emphasis within the Separatist supporters, as although revolutionary sentiment is a key component, it has not been manifested in real terms. There are arguable changes in philosophical outlook and approach towards a proclivity to terror or terrorist activities against ZOG and the state. However, this would depend upon a separation between the individual and the state in terms of the social contract and a willingness to participate in a causal chain which

could effectively end the state. At the moment, although there is the capacity and capability to carry out these types of activities, there is a reluctance to escalate actions to this level. Through the on-going cultural changes and the role of the media, with the potential for a developed subculture of disenfranchised White Americans, this could be subject to change and become a mechanism for the fluidity in popular culture and lack of social cohesion. Rockwell's revolutionary rhetoric for America could arguably see fruition, though not in the same manner or in the same terms as he envisaged, but through the duality between hate and patriotism in American society.

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