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Strategic Framing of Racial-Nationalism in North America and Europe: An Analysis of a Burgeoning Transnational Network

STUART A. WRIGHT

Department of Sociology, Social Work & Criminal Justice, Lamar University, Beaumont, Texas, USA

Following the deadly Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, far-right racist leaders responded rapidly to changes in the political environment, disavowing militia and Patriot violence and exploiting increased public concerns about immigration and the growth of nonwhite populations. Evidence suggests that Patriot movement demobilization may have actually helped to swell the ranks of racial-nationalists. As attention to political violence shifted to international terrorism in the aftermath of September 11, racial-nationalist movement actors again moved quickly to seize the opportunity. The strategic framing of the crisis by racial-nationalist leaders revealed the existence of a transnational network of allies promoting a two-pronged message, 1) a virulent anti-Semitic assault on pro-Israel U.S. foreign policy and 2) a broadside on immigration and multiculturalism. The lineaments of these transnational networks are analyzed in an effort to explain a “trajectory of contention” regarding this emergent movement. Possible links between racial-nationalists and Islamic militants are also explored.

Keywords framing, racial nationalism, transnational network

This study analyzes a burgeoning racial-nationalist movement in North America and Europe as a trajectory of contention shaped by a complex interplay of convergent forces. Racial-nationalist ideas and theories are not new; but the strategic framing—or reframing—of these ideas by key movement leaders in recent years has gained greater currency in the face of broad social and political change. In Europe, the end of the Cold War produced a resurgence of ethnic nationalism, particularly in some of the former Eastern bloc countries under Soviet control. New waves of immigration, the forces of globalization, and Western economic expansion fueled high unemployment, rapid growth of minority and non-European populations, nativist resentment,

Stuart A. Wright is Professor of Sociology at Lamar University (Beaumont, TX). He has published four books, most recently *Patriots, Politics, and the Oklahoma City Bombing* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), and authored over forty publications in scholarly journals and edited volumes. He is internationally recognized for his research on religious movements, violence and terrorism.

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Address correspondence to Stuart A. Wright, Department of Sociology, Social Work & Criminal Justice, Lamar University, Beaumont, Texas, USA.

a corresponding increase in the number of racial-nationalist parties, and a rise in anti-Semitism. In the U.S., far-right activism in the early years of the post-Cold War era mobilized around antigovernment militia and Patriot groups in an escalating spiral of conflict with the state over expanding enforcement of gun control and militarization of police.¹

In the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing, however, the Patriot movement demobilized, opening up opportunities for racist factions on the far right to recruit and absorb defectors. This movement transformation went largely unnoticed by the state, the media, and the general public. The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon by al Qaeda operatives in 2001 introduced significant change in the political climate, creating a surge of nationalism and strong anti-immigration sentiment. Racial-nationalist leaders in both North America and Europe were able to exploit the new political conditions and widespread fears to their advantage, effectively framing the crisis as a result of 1) Jewish control over pro-Israel U.S. foreign policy and 2) non-white or non-European immigration. Cloaking deep-seated racist and anti-Semitic beliefs, racial-nationalists constructed narratives that dovetailed with wider public concerns about border/national security and immigration reform and successfully expanded their base. By constructing a common frame evolving out of a so-called “Third Position” philosophy² and advocating white-European privilege and heritage, racial-nationalists effectively formulated a troubling but potent transnational message.

In this paper, I examine how the strategic framing efforts of far-right movement actors have adapted to emergent social and political conditions formulating a narrative that connects to nativist impulses and perceived threats to white-European dominance. In turn, these framing efforts help to explain the development of an evolving transnational message and the growth of anti-Semitic, racial-nationalist networks in North America and Europe. The examination of framing is made in the context of a social movement analysis informed by the “contentious politics” model³ in the study of far-right political culture. The contentious politics model gives special attention to strategic framing and other interpretive/social construction processes that mediate between opportunity and action and it also addresses the elusive problem of “trajectories of contention” or the “mutation of paths” taken by movements in response to state actions, third parties, and shifting political conditions. Movement survival often depends on the ability of movement actors to reframe issues and reinvent themselves in ways that transform contention and change the discourse of ongoing struggles.

Framing and Social Movement Mobilization

Among the requisite components of movement success such as political opportunity/threat, organization, and collective action are the shared meanings and understandings that people bring to their situations.⁴ Social actors must feel aggrieved about an issue and believe they can organize to redress a problem before they can mobilize for collective action. Goffman’s seminal work on “framing” helps to explain the role of ideas and meanings in the formation and mobilization of social movements.⁵ Framing refers to the process by which social actors engage in “meaning-work” or “signification”: the struggle over production and maintenance of ideas. It is derived from the conceptual referent “frame,” which is defined as “an interpretive schemata that simplifies and condenses the “world out there” by selectively punctuating and

encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one's present or past environment."⁶ In social movement theory, "collective action frames" are emergent action-oriented sets of beliefs and constructs that invigorate social movement activities and campaigns. They empower movement actors to articulate and align a wide array of events and experiences so that they are integrated and blended in a meaningful way.

Collective action frames operate as filtering and collating mechanisms to encode, decode, or package portions of observed and experienced reality. For example, collective action frames may accentuate or amplify the gravity and injustice of a particular social problem that had previously been defined as merely unfortunate. Or they may redefine (or reframe) a circumstance, an event, or policy as unjust and intolerable, making salient something that was previously ignored by society or political authorities.

Frames also serve to align individual and social movement organization interpretative schemata through a process social movement scholars call "frame alignment."⁷ Frame alignment allows social movement actors to link two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames, expand on a primary framework to encompass interests or ideas incidental to its principal objectives (but of considerable salience to potential adherents), or reconstitute a problem constructed by competing groups.

An implicit function of framing is assigning causality or blame for a condition or event. Hunt, Benford, and Snow contend that collective action frames serve as modes of attribution which specify diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational tasks.⁸ Diagnostic framing assigns blame for some problematic event or condition by designating "culpable agents." It entails imputing characteristics and motives for those who are seen as having caused or compounded the problem. Culpable agents are then cast as villains, culprits, or enemies. Prognostic framing identifies or outlines a plan of amelioration, including an elaboration of specific targets and strategies, and the assignment of responsibility for carrying out a range of actions. Finally, motivational framing provides the appropriate rationales for action or "vocabularies of motive," which "entails the social construction and avowal of motives and identities of protagonists."⁹ Taken together, these framing tasks assign blame, impute motive, identify targets, and propose strategies for action.

The degree to which a marginalized political subculture such as the far right can be successful in mobilizing aggrieved groups depends first and foremost on the efforts of leaders to effectively frame the critical issues at hand. A major challenge confronting far-right framing of immigration and border/national security regards the task of effectively cloaking a direct attack on race and ethnicity while appearing to share legitimate concerns about these larger public issues. Movement leaders have to play to the perceived fears of threatened populations while achieving frame alignment, identifying potential allies, and broadening their base of support beyond racist groups. They must also seize the political opportunities that arise, identify sympathetic institutional insiders, and forge alliances with other entities and networks to reconstitute message and image.

Strategic Framing and Far-Right Movement Transformation

In the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995 and a discredited Patriot campaign, a significant metamorphosis occurred among far-right movement actors

and organizations. Even as the antigovernment Patriot movement declined in the late 1990s, reconstructed far-right factions fueled a growing network of racial-nationalist groups in North America and Europe.¹⁰ Racial-nationalist leaders, attempting to craft a new image, publicly denounced the antigovernment violence of militias and Patriot insurgents while strategically employing coded language to mask racist and nationalist motives and to appeal to wider audiences. Widespread grievances both here and abroad regarding the threat of increased non-European or non-white immigration provided racialists with new political opportunities to reframe emergent social and economic problems, recruit members, build alliances, and expand the movement's base. Far-right leaders effectively seized upon societal backlash to the influx of foreign nationals from poorer countries to mobilize nascent far-right groups and attract new adherents.

According to one watchdog organization, between 1996 and 2000, the number of active militia and Patriot groups in the U.S. dropped from 858 to 194.¹¹ With this precipitous decline, the perceived threat posed by the Patriot movement also waned, attracting much less attention from the media, interest groups, and public officials. Movement decline signaled impotence, if not a terminal demise, to a relieved public. But social science research has shown that social movements often survive such periods of decline, transmogrifying into networks of nascent actors and groups that may be mobilized again when conditions change, new political opportunities and/or threats arise, and emergent issues are appropriated and effectively framed.¹² Movement entrepreneurs may reposition themselves and revise the message rhetorically and politically to present a new image, taking advantage of deepening grievances to build alliances with newly aggrieved groups, and mobilize both emergent and latent networks. New cycles of collective action can erupt when alliances dissolve or shift, cleavages are created among ruling elites or changes disrupt the political environment, exposing vulnerabilities of powerholders and raising the prospects of success for challengers.¹³

Far-right movement entrepreneurs such as David Duke, William Pierce, Jared Taylor, and Tom Metzger wasted no time in responding to changes in the political environment after the Oklahoma City bombing, exploiting increased public concerns about immigration and the growth of minority populations. Broad public condemnation of antigovernment militia and Patriot groups after the destruction and carnage in Oklahoma City dealt a serious blow to the far right. Facing the demise of Patriot movement support among right-wing networks and organizations, racist elements within the movement developed and refined a new strategic frame attacking non-white immigrants and raising fears about the perceived threat to white culture and privilege. Demobilization of the Patriot movement provided large pools of far-right dissidents already steeped in Christian Identity beliefs of racialism, essentially creating a reserve of predisposed recruits. Preliminary evidence suggests that the demobilization of the Patriot movement did not mitigate the threat of far-right activism so much it functioned as a sieve to help swell the ranks of racial-nationalist groups. While the mass defection of Patriots alone cannot account for the dramatic growth of the racialist-nationalist groups in the late 1990s, it certainly contributed to its abrupt surge. Combined with the success racial-nationalist groups have had with younger white males through the internet and through white power music,¹⁴ the movement experienced its most intense growth during this period.

Based on data collected by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) Intelligence Project on far-right groups, the numbers of racialist or racial hate groups have

Table 1. Number of Racial Hate and Patriot Groups, 1995–2006

Year	Racial Hate	Patriot
1995	262	224
1996	241	858
1997	474	523
1998	537	435
1999	457	215
2000	554	199
2001	625	158
2002	626	143
2003	615	171
2004	654	152
2005	697	132
2006	756	147

Source: Southern Poverty Law Center Intelligence Reports (www.splcenter.org).

been climbing since 1996. Table 1 records the number of racial hate and Patriot groups for each year during an eleven-year period between 1995 and 2006. The table shows that the number of (white) racial hate groups increased from 262 in 1995 to 844 in 2006. The Southern Poverty Law Center’s classification of racial hate groups includes Neo-Nazi, Ku Klux Klan, Racist Skinhead, Neo-Confederate, and Christian Identity (the data were “cleaned” of black separatist groups with the assistance of Mark Potok at SPLC). Figure 1 plots the data revealing contrasting patterns of growth and decline for racial hate groups and Patriot groups during this period. The graph shows in dramatic fashion that the growth of racially-based hate groups spiked at precisely the same time the Patriot movement experienced its greatest decline. Sometime between 1997 and 1998, racialist groups began to outnumber Patriot groups and the gap has widened over time. It is also worth noting that

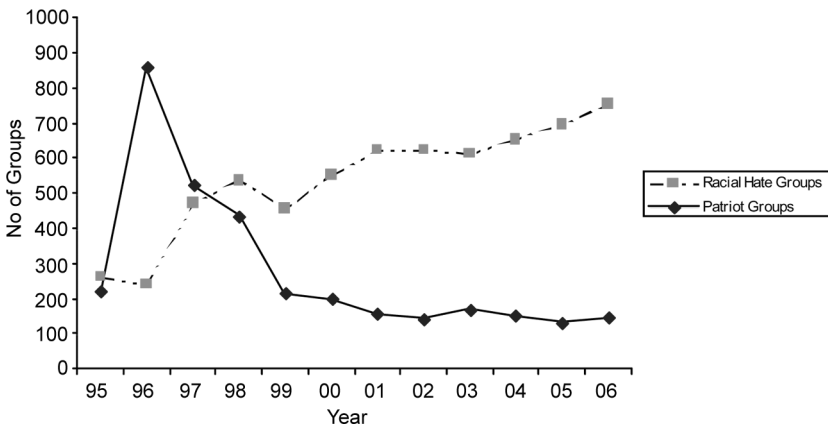


Figure 1. Growth and Decline of Patriot and Racial Hate Groups in the U.S. 1995–2006.

racially-based hate groups continued to grow after 9/11 as issues of immigration and border/national security became a preeminent public concern. The shift in the political climate after 9/11 created favorable social conditions and political opportunities to racial-nationalists who recognized both the threat posed by non-white immigrants and the swell of nationalist sentiment in the country. The SPLC data provide support for the argument that far-right activism did not simply dissolve in the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing but morphed into a reconstructed “white nationalist” or racial-nationalist dynamic and produced a different “trajectory of contention,” a response likely due in no small part to aggressive state and third party countermobilization targeting Patriot and militia groups.¹⁵

Far from an aberration, recent studies suggest this kind of movement dynamic has become a hallmark of far-right political longevity. Far-right political movements have proved to be remarkably resilient over the last half-century in the United States. Far-right actors and organizations have thrived by seizing political opportunities and attributing threats in the face of shifting social conditions, forging alliances with other entities and networks to reconstitute ideology, strategy and image. These efforts have spawned numerous populist and reactionary forces, including virulent anti-communist organizations, segregationist parties and citizen councils, anti-tax organizations, farm protest groups, the gun rights network, militia and Patriot groups, and most recently, anti-immigration groups.¹⁶ While the core beliefs of the far right have remained relatively constant, the reframing of the message and the ability to capitalize on widely shared perceptions of new threats has been essential to movement success. The packaging of threat utilizing that Hofstadter characterized as a “paranoid style” of politics has been quite effective and variously applied to a list of emergent social problems and issues. As such, far-right movement entrepreneurs have become skilled opportunists at fitting each new social crisis into an explanatory schema and constructing what social movement scholars call a “diagnostic” frame—assigning blame for a problematic event or condition, designating “culpable agents,” and imputing characteristics and motives for those who are seen as having caused or compounded the problem.¹⁷ These explanations inevitably advance the notion of “conspiracy” as a central motif in the construction of the putative crisis.

Because longtime racialist leaders on the far right like the late William Pierce, David Duke, and Jared Taylor were involved only marginally in the antigovernment Patriot movement, the post-Oklahoma City fallout did not impact them in the same way it challenged key Patriot figures. The persistent focus on race as the pivotal issue allowed Duke, Pierce, Taylor, and others to fashion resonant claims and play to a broader base of right-wing audiences as non-white immigration became a more critical social issue in the late 1990s. Racial-nationalist leaders further exploited changes in the political climate brought on by the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The events of September 11, 2001 catalyzed deep-seated fears about immigrants as Americans learned from the 9/11 Commission Report that most of the al Qaeda terrorists were able to obtain U.S. visas with relative ease.¹⁸

After 9/11: Forging a Transnational Movement

The events of 9/11 created a special challenge and opportunity to the burgeoning racial-nationalist movement in the U.S. The 9/11 terrorist attacks produced the kind of disruptions in the political system that right-wing movement entrepreneurs and opportunists could exploit. The al Qaeda attacks significantly altered the political

environment in Washington by exposing vulnerabilities of highly touted intelligence and national security agencies, producing widespread fear of further attacks and fierce demands for accountability and change. The attacks also energized a languishing post-Cold War military infrastructure and released imperialist impulses among neo-conservatives in the Bush administration. Outside Washington, the terrorist attacks had a broad social impact; they catalyzed a torrent of feverish patriotism and nationalism while breeding nativist suspicion of immigrants and foreign nationals.

As attention to political violence turned to international terrorism in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, racial-nationalist movement actors moved quickly to seize the opportunity and exploit the threat of more terrorist attacks. The strategic framing of the crisis by racial-nationalist leaders revealed the existence of a transnational network of allies promoting a two-pronged message, 1) a virulent anti-Semitic assault on pro-Israel U.S. foreign policy and 2) a broadside on immigration and cultural diversity.

First, racist movement entrepreneurs in North America demonstrated striking ideological convergence with racial-nationalist actors and parties in Europe regarding alleged Jewish influence over U.S. foreign policy. The common front of charges and claims made against the U.S. government disclosed a well-developed communication structure and an embryonic organizational network. After September 11, racial-nationalists in North America and Europe consistently framed the terrorist attacks as justifiable while blaming Jews and the U.S. government for traitorous and criminal actions. David Duke declared in his 2003 "State of the Union Address" that America faced terror because "Israeli agents and American traitors have led America into foreign entanglements and aggression that now make us the target of terrorism." Employing a diagnostic framing of the problem, Duke castigated America's support for "Israel's criminal actions" and he expressed compassion for the "murdered, maimed and crippled tens of thousands of . . . Palestinians, Lebanese, Syrians and other Mideastern populations."¹⁹ In another report, Duke claimed that the real cause of the 9/11 terrorist attacks was that "too many American politicians have treasonously betrayed the American people by blindly supporting the leading terrorist nation on earth: Israel."²⁰ August Kreis, the leader of an Aryan Nations splinter group, echoed Duke's reaction on the Aryan Nations website and called believers to "active self-defense" against the "terrorist state of Israel." "You say they're terrorists," he declared, "I say they're freedom fighters. And I want to instill the same jihadist feeling in our peoples' heart, in the Aryan race."²¹ Billy Roper, an organizer for National Alliance who later founded the organization, White Revolution, expressed admiration for the al Qaeda suicide bombers, saying "anyone willing to drive a plane into a building *to kill Jews* is all right by me. I wish our own members had half as much testicular fortitude."²² According to George Michael, the events of 9/11 "emboldened the National Alliance" and signaled "a desire to reach out to a larger audience than the segments to which the organization has traditionally appealed."²³

In the September 2001 issue of *White Voice* newsletter, the organ of the Racial Nationalist Party of America (RNPA), Jews were blamed for the 9/11 terrorist attacks in a similar diagnostic framing of the problem. "The Jewish State of Israel, and its Jewish supporters in the United States, in particular, the Jewish lobby which controls our Congress, along with Jewish leaders in Congress and our nation's cabinet, have succeeded in bringing their cursed war, and their wretched enemies to

America's shores. . . . The war is not our war. It is the Jew's war. It came to our shores because we gave the Jewish state of Israel a blank check in arms and aid."²⁴ In another section of the newsletter, the more familiar claim is made that many societal problems are the fault of Jews. "The Jews who are pushing this fight are the same Jews who strove to undermine our race, who encouraged the defilement of our blood, the bussing of our children at bayonet point into nigger schools, the mass immigration of non-whites to our borders, and the mass murder of millions of innocent white children through abortion."²⁵

Tom Metzger, founder of White Aryan Resistance (WAR), echoing this same diagnostic frame, proclaimed admiration for the al Qaeda operatives and offered up their commitment and actions as an example to racial-nationalists: "This operation took some long-term planning, and throughout the entire time, these soldiers were aware that their lives would be sacrificed for their cause. If an Aryan warrior wants an example of 'Victory or Valhalla,' look no further."²⁶ Metzger has been one of the most influential racist leaders among young white males both here and in Europe. The White Aryan Resistance (VAM or Vitt Arikst Motstand) in Sweden is named after Metzger's U.S. organization. He and his son John, founder and president of WAR Youth, traveled extensively in Europe promoting racial-nationalist ideas and were subsequently barred from entering Germany for disseminating Nazi propaganda and violating hate crime laws.²⁷

World Church of the Creator (WCOTC) leader Matt Hale claimed in his September 19 hotline message that the only solution to terrorism was to 1) eliminate "America's slavishly pro-Israeli foreign policy" and 2) "America's insane immigration policy."²⁸ Offering both diagnostic and prognostic frames for the two-pronged problem, Hale said the first would undermine the "whole motivation" for terrorist acts. The second, Hale said, was a consequence of (non-white) immigration: "the more you flood a land with different and indeed conflicting people, the more ripe that land is for self destruction." The government, he stated, "never asked you or I whether we want sand niggers in America." Sensing an increased political opportunity, Hale urged followers to "step up activism on all fronts," because people were becoming "very receptive" to WCOTC messages. After Hale's criminal conviction in 2004 for soliciting the murder of U.S. District Judge Joan Lefkow, he penned an essay titled "The Truth about 911" which was posted on Tom Metzger's website. In the essay Hale states, "Israel knew in advance when the World Trade Center was to be hit with planes and yet allowed thousands to die needlessly; and there is credible evidence to suggest that Israelis and their Jewish cohorts abroad were involved in the plot."²⁹

In the November 2001 issue of the *GANPAC Brief*, Hans Schmidt, founder of the anti-Semitic German American National Public Affairs Committee (GANPAC) based in Florida, referred to the World Trade Center that was destroyed on 9/11 as the "Tower of Babel." Schmidt framed the attack as "appropriate" because the "Jews are predominant in the world's financial services operating out of the World Trade Towers." He also asserted that "it takes courage to sacrifice one's life the way the 19 hijackers did."³⁰ Schmidt initially dismissed Osama bin Laden's role in the terrorist attack, saying he was unlikely to be involved unless bin Laden was working for the CIA or the Israeli Mossad.

The founder and longtime leader of National Alliance, the late William Pierce, condemned the U.S. war in Afghanistan on his website and portrayed the al Qaeda and Taliban warriors as "freedom fighters" struggling to keep their independence

and their way of life.³¹ Pierce, who has called blacks “mud people” and campaigned against racial and ethnic groups relentlessly in the past, gave indications of an increasingly accepted approach among racial-nationalists to the problem of “race mixing” or cultural pluralism. Pierce averred that Muslims in the Arab world “are proud that we are separate and both of us would like to stay that way.”³² Ethnic, religious, and racial separatism was hailed as a “mutual goal” and Pierce condemned U.S. efforts to try to “make them more like us.” Pierce proposed that separatism and cultural purity were common interests. He also noted another shared interest: a common enemy in Jews and Israel. Pierce sided with the Islamic terrorists in an apparent effort to mobilize antipathies against Jews. According to news reports, in the months following 9/11 there was compelling evidence that neo-Nazis and white supremacists in North America were reaching out to foreign terrorists whose similar hatred for Israel and the U.S. government might make them “natural allies.”³³

These “natural allies” encompass a number of European far-right organizations that potentially serve as mobilizing structures for a burgeoning transnational movement. Racialists such as Pierce, Duke, Metzger, and Gary “Gerhard” Rex Lauck have traveled extensively in Europe to network and broker ties with other groups. At the same time, European racial-nationalists have supplied a steady stream of movement activists to the U.S. to meet and network with their American counterparts here.³⁴ While the full extent of this embryonic organizational structure is not yet known, scholars, human rights organizations, and law enforcement agencies have begun to document this development. One manifestation of this burgeoning transnational network has been the production of a common framing of the problem on both sides of the Atlantic.

International news reports of far-right and racist group reactions abroad point to a remarkably unified narrative. As noted earlier, this framing cast U.S. and Israeli leaders as culpable agents and the Palestinians and al Qaeda as victims and heroes, respectively. After the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center, members of the French National Front celebrated with champagne and extolled the “courage” of the al Qaeda operatives.³⁵ Horst Mahler, a leading figure in the neo-fascist National Democratic Party (NPD) in Germany, announced that the 9/11 attack “marked the beginning of the end of the Judeo-American empire.” Mahler proclaimed his solidarity with the al Qaeda terrorists and said “America got what it deserved.”³⁶ Jan Kopal, head of the Czech National Social Bloc, declared at a rally in Prague that bin Laden was “an example for our children.”³⁷ Nick Griffin, leader of the British National Party (BNP), criticized the U.S. as an aggressive superpower controlled by “a powerful Zionist lobby” which had provoked Islamic animosities through the Palestinian genocide.³⁸ Swiss holocaust denier, Jurgen Graf, assailed American support for the “colonialist state of Israel and the enslavement of Palestinians” while neo-Fascist youth activists in Switzerland wore bin Laden emblems, carried signs, and celebrated in the streets.³⁹ These and other comments and reactions closely mirrored those of their racial-nationalist counterparts in North America, sometimes evidencing almost identical words and phrases.⁴⁰

The lineaments of this evolving transnational network can also be seen in creation of new organizations such as David Duke’s EURO (European-American Unity and Rights Organization). Founded in January 2000, a principal objective of EURO is to unite racialists or white nationalists, “wherever they may live.” Duke asserts that EURO “defends the interests of white people” and alleges substantial discrimination against Europeans and European-Americans by government policies that

favor minorities. Duke's website provides a summary of EURO's beliefs. It advocates racial, ethnic, and religious separatism, the cessation of forced integration, an end to all types of immigration, "total" welfare reform, and the preservation of European-American heritage, which Duke claims is under attack. In more recent years, Duke has focused increasingly on anti-immigration messages, seizing the political opportunity afforded racial-nationalists by the growing public concern over illegal immigration.

Perhaps more than any other figure in the movement, Duke has worked to forge international ties with white nationalists in Europe and Russia (where the scandalous "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" originated⁴¹) meeting with key leaders and building alliances with other groups. In 2000, Duke traveled to Moscow at the invitation of right-wing nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky to attend a holocaust denial conference. Zhirinovsky is the leader of the nationalist Russian Liberal Democratic Party and an important activist in the transnational racist network. Zhirinovsky has cultivated ties with Arab leaders such as Saddam Hussein, Muammar Qaddafi, and Yasser Arafat and has been a prominent opponent of "the American-Israeli plot to dominate the world."⁴² While in Russia, Duke learned that federal authorities in the U.S. had raided his home and were preparing charges of tax fraud against him. As a result, Duke became an exile for several years, using his time constructively by traveling, promoting his message, and appropriating new sites to mobilize in the future. Duke's main base of operations was in Northern Italy where he lived part of the time. Through contacts with far-right activists in the Verona and Milan areas, Duke was able to find a publisher for an Italian translation of one of his books, *Jewish Supremacism*. In France, Duke made important connections with Jean Marie Le Pen and Bruno Gollnisch of the National Front. A photo of Le Pen with his arm around Duke was posted on the EURO website. In August 2002, Duke was a featured speaker at an event sponsored by the far-right National Democratic Party in Germany. Duke praised the Nazi army of WWII for having fought for "freedom and heritage."⁴³ While in Germany, Duke met Germar Rudolf, a prominent holocaust denial figure. Duke later recruited Rudolf to speak at the 2004 EURO Conference in New Orleans. Rudolf, who bills himself as a "certified chemist," claimed to have conducted scientific tests of soil samples at the Birkenau and Auschwitz extermination sites. According to information on the EURO website, Rudolf published a 110-page report allegedly showing there were no traces of Zyklon B, a gassing agent used by the Nazis, in the soil tests. The EURO 2004 Conference also featured Paul Fromm, who heads the racist and anti-immigration organization, CAFÉ, in Canada, and former British National Party leader John Tyndall. Willis Carto, founder of the proto-fascist Liberty Lobby, was another featured speaker. In June 2005, Duke co-chaired a conference named "Zionism as the Biggest Threat to Modern Civilization" in the Ukraine, sponsored by the Interregional Academy of Personnel Management (MAUP). MAUP has been identified by human rights organizations as a harbinger of anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe. The conference was attended by several notable Ukrainian politicians and public figures, and featured writer Israel Shamir, a well-known anti-Semite with close ties to Horst Mahler.

A second element of the racial-nationalist framing has focused on immigration and multiculturalism. Jared Taylor, one of the leading racist figures in the U.S. to date, devoted the November 2001 issue of his *American Renaissance* to attacks on immigration policy and cultural diversity which he claimed were causally linked to the 9/11 terrorist hijackings. "The events of Sept. 11," Taylor wrote, "are the

most spectacular consequence to date of two of the most self-destructive policies the United States has ever pursued: open immigration and the refusal to acknowledge group traits.” Taylor explained the source of the problem in the following manner:

One of the most obvious lessons begging to be learned is that diversity is not a strength. Even the most benighted liberal would be hard-pressed to state just what the United States has gained from seven million Muslims within its borders. And it is the presence of these seven million—many of them Middle Easterners—who gave the terrorists a plausible context here and permitted them to move from university to flight school to mosque to rent-a-car counter without attracting the slightest attention.

Some had been in the United States for several years, presumably imbibing the vapors that, we are told, can turn anyone into a happy member of the “first universal nation.” They were unaffected. They were true to their blood, true to their religion, true aliens in the profoundest sense.⁴⁴

In October 2002, former Los Angeles school teacher Chris Simcox issued a public call to arms, inviting readers of his Arizona newspaper, *Tombstone Tumbleweed*, to join a “Citizens Border Patrol Militia” with the goal of halting illegal immigration. Simcox dropped the militia name after some unfavorable public reaction and founded Civil Homeland Defense (CHD), a group of vigilante or “volunteer” patriots who claimed to be functioning as a coordinated border-watch patrol.⁴⁵ CHD offered to assist the federal Border Patrol, but the U.S. Justice Department declined the group’s offer and advised CHD to allow authorized law enforcement officers to do their job. Simcox was later fined and his handgun confiscated by federal park rangers at Coronado National Memorial Park in 2003 for firearms violations. In 2004 Simcox and James Gilchrist organized the Minutemen Project, gaining national attention with a planned month-long patrol of a 23-mile stretch of the Arizona-Mexico border. In May 2005, Simcox and Gilchrist met with members of the Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus (CIRC), giving the Minutemen public recognition and legitimation. Colorado Representative Tom Tancredo, chairman of CIRC, lauded the patriots for their public service: “I would like to thank the Minutemen on behalf of the millions of Americans who can’t be here today,” he said. “You are good citizens who ask that our laws be enforced. When did that become a radical idea?”⁴⁶

According to a 2005 Southern Poverty Law Center report, white supremacists claimed in online postings to be registered as Minutemen volunteers. National Alliance members also leafleted at least one Minutemen gathering in Arizona. The leaflet trumpeted the following charge: “Immigration or Invasion? Non-Whites are turning America into a Third World slum. They come to take our jobs. They bring crime. Let’s send them home now!”⁴⁷ The Minutemen also spawned a number of similar vigilante organizations, including Concerned Citizens and Friends of Illegal Immigration Law Enforcement, Operation Spotlight, the Texas Minutemen, the United States Border Patrol Auxiliary, and Friends of the Border Patrol.

On the Racial Nationalist Party of America (RNPA) website, leaders denounced a 2007 congressional bill that would give amnesty to undocumented immigrants if they paid a fine and applied for legal citizenship. This “will allow 66 million or so illegal spics and their families to claim America as their own,” RNPA activists

proclaimed. “The treason in Washington knows no bounds as politicians continue to barter away the future of White America for Hispanic votes. And, of course, this serves the power elitists like David Rockefeller who want to oversee the Hispanicization of America.” RNPA lauded the “unapologetic” views of Congressman Tom Tancredo on immigration and attacked former New York mayor Rudy Guiliani as an “Israel-firster” and referred to the Republican presidential hopeful as “Jew-liani.”

The racial-nationalist framing of immigration in Europe has been equally notable, drawing on similar attributions of threat. Even before 9/11, Horst Mahler of the German National Democratic Party began campaigning for the “identity of the German people” and the “survival of German culture” against destructive foreign influences; in particular, mass immigration and the homogenizing effect of globalization.⁴⁸ Echoing the grievances of American racial-nationalists, his anti-immigration posturing was intended to appeal to the growing threat of foreign workers from non-European nations. Mahler and the NDP staged pro-labor demonstrations in several cities under the banner of “Work for Germans first.” The NDP protests found a receptive audience among embittered Germans in the former communist areas where unemployment was as high as 25 percent. NDP has been successful in inciting anti-foreigner sentiment by accusing immigrants of stealing German jobs.⁴⁹

Mark Cotterill, a British expatriate and founder of the American Friends of the British National Party (AFBNP), exemplified the common framing and burgeoning transnational network of racial-nationalists in a speech in the fall of 2001. “Although we are all nationalists,” he said, “here today we are only one nationality—*white*. It (immigration) is not an American fight or a British fight or a German fight. It is a *white* fight, and we have got to win it.”⁵⁰ Cotterill developed close working relationships with William Pierce and David Duke and served as a key liaison between European and North American racial-nationalist organizations after moving to the United States in 1995. “Our failure to cooperate with one another over the years,” he noted, “has been a major factor in the enemies [*sic*] marginalization of us in the States.”⁵¹

Jean-Marie Le Pen and the French National Front campaigned to “defend the national character” and integrity of French culture against the “invasion” of Third World immigrants.⁵² Appropriating the concept of “ethnopluralism,” racial-nationalists in France turned the debate on its head by feigning concern about minority rights and invoking a “right to difference” as a means to legitimize prejudice and demands for exclusion. Ethnicity or ethnic identity is best celebrated by acknowledging “true” racial and ethnic differences, it is now claimed. “I love North Africans,” Le Pen told one audience, “but their place is in North Africa.”⁵³ Lee observes that this kind of xenophobic populism approach has resonated with disillusioned voters in France. A 1998 poll by the French National Commission found, for example, that “38 percent of all French men and women admitted they were racist, 27 percent said there were too many black people in France, and 56 percent said there were too many Arabs.”⁵⁴

The Third Position, Broad Political Change, and Transnational Frame Alignment

As noted previously, racial-nationalists in North America and Europe revealed a remarkably unified framing of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The statements by Le

Pen, as well as those by Taylor, Pierce, Metzger, Griffin, and Duke reflect within some far-right factions the evolution of a perspective called the Third Position. The Third Position posits an alternative to capitalism and communism, advocating a monocultural nation built on the idea of a supremacist racial nationalism or supremacist religious nationalism.⁵⁵ Third Position proponents claim that this approach is “neither left nor right” largely in an effort to recruit former left-wing activists and broaden its base of support. However, the claim clearly ignores its neo-fascist roots. There are actually several variants on Third Positionism representing factional and ideological splits, but space does not permit a detailed discussion of these variations.⁵⁶ The racial-nationalist network which is the focus of this study arose largely “out of the stew of the Third Position and the European New Right theories of intellectuals such as Alain de Benoist, (which) (be)came a new version of White Nationalism that championed racially separate nation-states. In the United States this filtered down to White supremacists, who began to call themselves White Separatists.”⁵⁷ Key publications outlining Third Position racial-nationalist theories include the British magazine *The Third Way*, the German journal *Nation und Europa* and Tom Metzger’s WAR newspaper. Additionally, according to the Southern Poverty Law Center, “a burgeoning number of sites devoted to the ‘Third Position’ ideology . . . have sprung up on the World Wide Web in recent years.”⁵⁸

While still relatively unrefined, broad changes in the political environment in recent years suggest that Third Positionism may resonate more effectively with potential recruits for at least two reasons. First, the strategy has already had some modest success in the post-Cold War years, particularly in Eastern Europe where long-suppressed ethnic identities and conflicts re-emerged in the form of ethnic nationalism after the demise of Communist rule. According to Lee, “The post-Cold War resurgence of racism and neofascism in Eastern Europe was fueled by the obsessive notion of an ethnically determined nation-state, whose members were bound together by the primacy of blood, lineage, and language rather than by recognized international borders or a set of laws that afforded equal rights and protections to all citizens.”⁵⁹ Lee observes that hard-core nationalist factions existed within every communist party in Eastern Europe where, in an effort to shore up party loyalty, indigenous racist tendencies were often officially encouraged. After the Cold War ended, many communists in the formerly Eastern bloc countries became active members of burgeoning ultra-national groups.

Second, after the events of 9/11, the issues of national security and immigration converged to generate new waves of nationalism and nativist suspicion of immigrants and foreign nationals among both elites and the public. In the post-9/11 political climate, an evolving Third Position frame could become a critically important interpretive scheme from which to solidify a transnational discourse and narrative about race and politics among racial-nationalist groups. Strategic framing efforts by movement leaders both here and abroad already reveal attempts to seize the opportunities afforded them by a political environment more favorable to their cause, some of which have been discussed in this paper.

Third Positionism also provides a possible structure and theoretical legitimation for cooperation between racial-nationalists and militant Islamic groups since both groups, in the words of William Pierce, “are proud that we are separate and both of us would like to stay that way.” Indeed, it was Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi who first popularized a syncretistic version of the Third Position.⁶⁰ Qaddafi formulated his ideas in a manifesto called *The Green Book*, which gained popularity among

white supremacists in the U.S. and Europe in the 1980s. Qaddafi reached out to far-right movement actors in April 1987, sponsoring a conference on Third Positionism attended by 2,000 delegates from North America, Europe, Palestine, and Libya. Wolfgang Droege and Don Andrews of the racist Heritage Front in Canada were two delegates. The following year, key leaders of the British National Party, Nick Griffin, Patrick Harrington, and Derek Holland, traveled to Libya as guests of Qaddafi. The BNP leaders were introduced to Libyans and other Arabs in an effort to explore common ground. Griffin soon formed the International Position with the Italian fascist fugitive Roberto Fiore. Ultimately, the Qaddafi connection stalled largely as a result of the Libyan leader's aggressive support of international terrorism, but Third Positionism continued to evolve among far-right factions. As recently as 2002, *The Green Book* was featured as the top online book on the website of the American Front, an organization described by the Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism (MIPT) as "the most explicitly Third Positionist group in America"⁶¹ Its leader, James Porazzo, is on record supporting the actions of Hamas and Hezbollah as long as they "see their home is in the Mideast and that their religion is great for their people, but not intended for all mankind."⁶²

According to one report, government officials and watchdog organizations have documented overtures by racial-nationalists to befriend such groups as al Qaeda, Hezbollah, and Abu Sayyaf in the Philippines.⁶³ Evidence for direct links between these groups remains preliminary and may be largely symbolic. Support for contacts between racial-nationalists and Islamic groups vis-à-vis holocaust denial conferences or other anti-Semitic themes is stronger. A holocaust denial conference involving American racial-nationalists and members of militant Islamic organizations was planned in Beirut in 2001. The conference was moved to Amman, Jordan, but later cancelled. No explanation for the cancellation was given. David Duke, whom Abraham Cooper of the Simon Wiesenthal Center has called "the most important transnational figure" in the racist movement,⁶⁴ has been the foremost pioneer in brokering ties with Islamic groups. In November 2003, Duke was invited to lecture in Bahrain by a group of businessmen and professionals anxious to promote Islamic beliefs and the plight of Palestinians. While in the Middle East, Duke appeared on al-Jazeera, the Arab satellite TV network, which evoked a formal protest by the U.S. State Department. In November 2005, Duke traveled to Syria where he voiced solidarity with the Syrian people and the Assad regime, which was facing increased international pressure over the support for terrorism. Duke assailed pro-Israel organizations in the U.S., which he said exercised undue influence over foreign policy. He also denounced Israel for possessing weapons of mass destruction. While in Damascus, Duke participated in a mass solidarity protest and stated in a speech aired on Syrian national television that "It is not just the West Bank of Palestine... that is occupied by Zionists, but Washington D.C. and New York and London."⁶⁵

In December 2006, Duke attended a holocaust denial conference in Tehran, titled "Review of the Holocaust: A Global Outlook." The conference was hosted by Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, who has called for Israel to be "wiped off the face of the map." Scheduled speakers included Duke, Georges Thiel, a French writer who has been prosecuted in France for public denials of the holocaust, and Robert Faurisson, also of France, who called the holocaust "a myth created to justify the occupation of Palestine."⁶⁶ According to a *New York Times* report, most of the speakers praised Ahmadinejad, who repeated the threat that Israel must be wiped off the map. Some conference attendees

were interviewed for the news story; these included Bendikt Frings, a German psychologist who said he believed Mr. Ahmadinejad was “an honest direct man” and Toben Feredrick, an Australian who extolled Ahmadinejad for opening up an issue “which is morally and intellectually crippling the Western society.”⁶⁷ Mr. Feredrick told the *New York Times* that he was previously jailed in Germany for six months in 1999 for speaking his ideas publicly. On his website, Duke later denied that Ahmadinejad had ever made the statement that Israel should be “wiped off the face of the map.” Duke called it a lie and a hoax perpetrated by Jewish extremists and Jewish-controlled media.⁶⁸

Additional evidence of the Middle Eastern link has been the appearance of anti-Semitic interviews, speeches, and articles by racial-nationalists in Islamic publications and on websites. Many of these communications have been translated into Arabic and widely disseminated throughout the region. William Pierce was interviewed on Iranian radio after the September 11 attacks, blaming the incident on U.S. politicians and Israel.⁶⁹ Pierce’s fiercely racist novel, *The Turner Diaries*, has been translated into Arabic and circulated among militant Islamic groups. In May 2002, David Duke had an article published in *Arab News*, a Saudi-English daily newspaper. The article was entitled “The World’s Most Dangerous Terrorist” and claimed that Israel “aided and abetted” the al Qaeda terrorists who were secretly controlled by the Mossad, the Israeli Security agency. In March 2005, the al-Jazeera English language website posted a transcript of a broadcast of Kevin Alfred Strom’s “American Dissident Voices” radio programs. Strom is a protégé of the late William Pierce and succeeded Pierce as host of the National Alliance-sponsored radio program. In May 2005, Strom was interviewed by Iran’s Mehr News Agency in which he attacked the Jewish lobby in Washington, singling out the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and its influence over American foreign policy in the Middle East.⁷⁰

Resurgence of Anti-Semitism in Europe

Finally, the growth of a Euro-American racial-nationalist network has also coincided with the revival of anti-Semitism in Europe. Government officials and human rights organizations in Europe have expressed serious concerns about the puzzling resurgence of anti-Semitism. In June 2003, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) held its first high-level conference in Vienna devoted specifically to the issue of anti-Semitism in Europe. More than 400 participants in government agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) who attended the conference heard disturbing reports about a rise in the desecration of Jewish cemeteries and memorials, attacks on synagogues, the spread of slurs and hate messages, and the proliferation of anti-Semitic internet sites. A statement by the chairperson of the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, Felice D. Gaer, recommended such actions as monitoring, data collection, and public reporting about compliance and violations to attain goals of human rights commitments. At the close of the conference, participants called for a reaffirmation of commitment to racial and ethnic hatred made in the 1990 Copenhagen conference. But international human rights organizations (Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, International League for Human Rights) later issued a powerful joint statement to the OSCE demanding that more concrete and specific actions be implemented. While lauding

the OSCE's effort to recognize anti-Semitism in the language and international norms of human rights, the NGOs challenged the participating states to "take effective measures" that ensure the meetings "have a concrete and lasting outcome."⁷¹

The OSCE convened a second conference on anti-Semitism in Berlin in April 2004. According to an OSCE press release following the conference, participants agreed to a declaration to take concrete measures, including "a review of legal systems to ensure safe environments free of anti-Semitic harassment, violence or discrimination," "the collection of reliable information and statistics about anti-Semitic crimes," and "educational programs to combat anti-Semitism."⁷²

A third OSCE conference on anti-Semitism was convened in Cordoba in June 2005. The Cordoba conference was preceded by intense negotiations and debate over key definitional issues and goals. Specifically, delegates expressed concern over the exclusive focus on anti-Semitism while ignoring other forms of intolerance. According to a Helsinki Commission Digest report,

Numerous participating States had actively resisted the convening of a meeting exclusively focused on anti-Semitism and instead argued in favor of a 'holistic' approach to tolerance issues. As OCSE Chair-in-Office (CiO) Dimitrij Rupel put it, "I also hope that Cordoba, and after Cordoba, a truly holistic approach to combat all forms of discrimination and intolerance will prevail, as this is the most effective way to address this issue." While supporting a broader approach, others, including the U.S. Helsinki Commissioners, voiced concern that the focus on anti-Semitism as a unique form of intolerance not be lost, especially given the dimensions of the Holocaust and European history.⁷³

As a result of the debate, subsequent OSCE conferences broadened the theme of discrimination to include all forms of intolerance, making anti-Semitism only one type of discrimination, albeit still a priority, addressed by the participating states. The Helsinki Commission report on the Cordoba conference pointed out, however, that "disappointingly few" states were able to cite concrete steps they had taken to combat anti-Semitism. The OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) reported that 13 of the participating states had not provided any information on statistics, legislation, and national initiatives regarding anti-Semitism and hate crimes. Of the 42 participating states that did respond, only 29 provided information and statistics on hate crimes and violent manifestations of racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, and intolerance. Moreover, the quality of information varied widely; one country's statistical submission consisted of a single sentence.

Even as these modest efforts were being announced, anti-Semitism continued to rise across Europe. In France, where anti-Semitic hate crime statistics have been kept efficiently, 2004 revealed a sharp spike in the number of incidents. The French Interior Ministry found that the number of anti-Semitic acts had nearly tripled from the previous year, climbing from 593 in 2003 to 1,513 in 2004.⁷⁴ In 2005, anti-Semitic hate crimes rose another 6.6 percent in France.⁷⁵ A 2006 survey conducted by Taylor Nelson Sofres of five European countries—France, Italy, Germany, Spain, and Poland—from March 21 to April 16, found widespread anti-Semitism, with many residents believing stereotypes of Jewish business prowess and lack of patriotism. The survey found that 51 percent of respondents in Spain, Poland, and Germany believed it was "probably true" that Jews are more loyal to Israel than to their home

countries. Additionally, 44 percent of those surveyed in France, Poland, Germany, Italy, and Spain agreed that “Jews have too much power in international financial markets,” while 39 percent believed “Jews have too much power in the business world.” Each country surveyed showed a rise in negative perceptions of Jews in relation to business and finance over the previous year. Forty-seven percent said it was “probably true” that Jews talk too much about the Holocaust, and 20 percent blame Jews for the death of Jesus.⁷⁶

A 2007 Human Rights First (HRF) report on hate crimes in Europe revealed a number of disturbing trends and statistics. In Germany, the Interior Ministry recorded “8,000 incidents (of hate crimes) involving the extreme right in the first eight months of 2006,” a 20 percent increase over 2005 and nearly double the number in 2004 for the same period.⁷⁷ A 2005 report by Germany’s domestic security agency, the Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, said “rightist crimes” (any form of crime by right-wing extremists) there rose to 15,361 in 2005, up 27 percent from the 12,051 crimes in 2004.⁷⁸ The highest levels of these crimes per capita were reported in Eastern Germany. In the United Kingdom, hate crimes overall “continued at a high rate, despite significant efforts by central government and independent police authorities to monitor and combat them.” The British Home Office “reported 57,902 racist incidents (no separate data [were] published on religiously aggravated incidents) and 37,028 racially or religiously aggravated offenses in England and Wales in 2004/2005, the latest period for which statistics are available. This was a moderate rise over 2003/2004 levels in which there were 54,286 incidents and 34,996 registered offences.”⁷⁹ The HRF report found increases in hate crimes in the Russian Federation as well, but reported the most acute problems in the Ukraine, where anti-Semitic and racist violence appeared to be encouraged by inhospitable media and political leaders.

A rise in openly neo-Nazi movements has been accompanied by growing racist and anti-Semitic violence in Ukraine, while government responses have been limited. Violence toward members of non-Slavic minorities has resulted in serious injuries and death. Rising incidents of anti-Semitic violence have occurred against a backdrop of anti-Semitic discourse by influential political leaders, the widespread dissemination of anti-Semitic screeds in printed and broadcast media, and the growth of extremist movements that have made anti-Semitism a foundation of their political platforms.

Although Ukraine is a member of the Council of Europe and a participating state of the OSCE, the government does not collect and publicly report on crimes of violence motivated by anti-Semitism, racism, or other forms of intolerance. The Criminal Code of Ukraine contains provisions that expressly allow the motives of the offender to be taken into account by the courts as an aggravating circumstance when sentencing, but prosecutions are rarely brought under these terms.

Conclusion

Social movement scholars have recently called for more investigation into factors and conditions that shape the “trajectories” of contention. McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly state that “when it comes to *trajectories*, we face the problem of explaining

the course and transformation of contention,” a dynamic of actions and reactions involving multiple parties—the state, challengers, third-party interest groups, the media.⁸⁰ Elsewhere, they assert that we must be able to identify sets of factors that help us explain the “mutation of paths taken by ongoing struggles.”⁸¹ Success or failure is often dependent on the ability of movement actors and organizations to adapt to shifting political conditions and emergent challenges. Movement leaders must seize opportunities and exploit threats when they arise, construct effective diagnostic and strategic frames to assign blame, identify culpable agents, and offer solutions to the putative crisis.

This study analyzes an evolving racial-nationalist movement as a *trajectory of contention* fashioned and framed in response to emergent social and political conditions. Racial-nationalist ideas are not new; but the strategic reframing of these ideas by movement leaders has gained greater currency. In Europe, the forces of globalization and Western economic expansion have fostered high unemployment, rapid growth of immigrant populations, nativist resentment, an increase in the number of racial-nationalist parties and organizations and a disturbing rise in anti-Semitism. In the U.S., far-right activism in the early years of the post-Cold War era mobilized around antigovernment militia and Patriot groups. In the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing, however, the Patriot movement disintegrated, opening up opportunities for racialist factions on the far right to recruit and absorb defectors. By the end of the 1990s, racial-nationalist groups had grown in direct proportion to the decline of militia and Patriot groups. The terrorist attacks on 9/11 introduced considerable change in the political climate, creating surges of nationalism and strong anti-immigration sentiment. Racial-nationalist leaders in both North America and Europe were able to exploit the new political environment and widespread fears to their advantage, strategically framing the crisis as a result of Jewish control over pro-Israel U.S. foreign policy and non-European immigration. Racial-nationalists effectively constructed narratives that dovetailed with wider public concerns about border/national security and immigration reform and successfully expanded their base.

The possible link between racial-nationalists and militant Islamic groups will require further documentation and support. At this juncture, the ties between the groups appear to be more ideological and ambassadorial than operational. But there are broad social forces at work that are shaping similar reactions among these groups that could spawn greater cooperation. Globalization combined with the political, military, and cultural imperialism of the world’s only superpower in the post-Cold War era has produced reactionary movements in the form of religious and tribal fundamentalism.⁸² Globalization has imposed a fabricated, unvaried world of production and consumption, rapidly dissolving social and economic barriers between nations and transforming the world’s diverse populations into a blandly uniform market. The breakdown of these barriers—racial, religious, national—are at the root of the backlash among tribalist groups and cultures struggling to preserve threatened traditions and heritage. Arab and Muslim antipathy toward American domination and interference in the Middle East (and Islamic countries elsewhere) has galvanized tribal reactionary violence. It is not only the alleged decadence of Western culture—so vividly described by Sayyid Qutb whose influence on the development of the jihadist revolution is critical⁸³—that has incited fundamentalist rage, but according to Osama bin Laden, America’s propping up of corrupt political regimes in Islamic lands (Saudi Arabia, Iran, Egypt) and the

presence of “infidel” U.S. military troops desecrating sacred sites such as Mecca and Medina during the Persian Gulf War.⁸⁴ Back home in the U.S., globalization has fueled displacement of working-class whites in the industrial sector, forcing them to compete with minorities for residual and often lower wage jobs. It has also attracted a flow of immigrant workers from Mexico and other Central American countries, compounding the perceived threat among right-wing groups that white culture is under attack. Though separated by nationality and the alleged “clash of civilizations,” it appears that these radical uprisings of tribal/religious fundamentalism among racial-nationalists and Islamic militants do indeed reveal common features and shared fears. It remains to be seen whether these are sufficient to compel active collaboration.

Notes

1. See Stuart A. Wright, *Patriots, Politics and the Oklahoma City Bombing* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2007). As I explain in some detail in the book, the Patriot movement was a broad-based coalition of far-right groups, including Christian Identity adherents, Posse Comitatus, militias, gun rights activists or Second Amendment fundamentalists, and a host of disparate groups. These groups coalesced in reaction to the rise in paramilitary policing and expanding gun raids that culminated in the deadly sieges at Ruby Ridge and Waco. The link between racist or white supremacy groups and the Patriot movement is discussed at length.
2. Political Research Associates, “Racial Nationalism, the Third Position, and Ethnviolence.” Accessed online at http://www.PublicEye.org/fascist/third_position.html.
3. Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
4. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald, *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Cultural Framings* (New York: Cambridge, 1996).
5. Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis* (New York: Harper Colophon, 1974).
6. David A. Snow and Robert D. Benford, “Master Frames and Cycles of Protest,” in Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller, eds., *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 137.
7. David A. Snow, E. Burke Rochford, Steven Worden, and Robert D. Benford, “Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization and Movement Participation,” *American Sociological Review* 51 (1986): 468–81.
8. Scott A. Hunt, Robert D. Benford, and David A. Snow, “Identity Fields: Framing Processes and the Social Construction of Movement Identities,” in Enrique Larana, Hank Johnston, and Joseph R. Gusfield, eds., *New Social Movements* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 185–208.
9. Hunt, Benford, and Snow, “Identity Fields” (see note 8 above), 191.
10. Jeffrey Kaplan and Tore Bjorgo, *Nation and Race: The Developing Euro-American Racist Subculture* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998); Jeffrey Kaplan and Leonard Weinberg, *The Emergence of a Euro-American Radical Right* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999); George Michael, *The Enemy of My Enemy: The Alarming Convergence of Militant Islam and the Extreme Right* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2006); Carol Swain, *The New White Nationalism: Its Challenge to Integration* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2002).
11. Southern Poverty Law Center, “The Rise and Decline of the Patriots,” SPLC Intelligence Report accessed online at <http://splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article.jsp?aid=195&printable=1>.
12. Alberto Melucci, *Nomads of the Present* (London: Radius, 1986); Alberto Melucci, *Challenging Codes* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
13. Doug McAdam, “‘Initiator’ and ‘Spinoff’ Movements: Diffusion Processes in Protest Cycles,” in Mark Traugott, ed., *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action* (Durham, NC:

Duke University Press, 1995), 271–89; Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Sidney Tarrow, “Cycles of Collective Action: Between Moments of Madness and the Repertoire of Contention,” in Mark Traugott, ed., *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press 1995), 89–115.

14. Anti-Defamation League, “Poisoning the Web: Hatred Online: Internet Bigotry, Extremism and Violence.” Accessed online at http://www.adl.org/poisoning_web/; Betty A. Dobratz and Stephanie L. Shanks-Meile, *The White Separatist Movement in the United States* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins, 2000); Helene Loow, “White-Power Rock ‘n’ Roll: A Growing Industry,” in Jeffrey Kaplan and Tore Bjorgo, eds., *Nation and Race* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000), 126–47; Brigitte L. Nacos, *Mass-Mediated Terrorism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002); Swain (see note 10 above), 6–7, 243, 332–34.

15. See Stuart A. Wright, *Patriots, Politics and the Oklahoma City Bombing* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 194–214. See footnote 1.

16. James Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1990); Michael Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 1994); Daniel Bell, *The Radical Right* (New York: Macmillan, 1963); Chip Berlet and Matthew N. Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism in America* (New York: Guilford, 2000); James Corcoran, *Bitter Harvest: Gordon Kahl and the Posse Comitatus* (New York: Viking, 1990); Sara Diamond, *Roads to Dominion: Right-Wing Movements and Political Power in the United States* (New York: Guilford, 1995); Carolyn Gallaher, *On the Fault-Line: Race, Class and the American Patriot Movement* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003); Daniel Levitas, *The Terrorist Next Door: The Militia Movement and the Radical Right* (New York: Thomas, 2002); Wright (see note 1 above); Leonard Zeskind, *The Christian Identity Movement* (Atlanta: Center for Democratic Renewal; New York: National Council of Churches, Division of Church and Society, 1987).

17. Scott A. Hunt, Robert D. Benford, and David A. Snow, “Identity Fields: Framing Processes and the Social Construction of Movement Identities,” in Enrique Larana, Hans Johnston, and Joseph R. Gusfield, eds., *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 185–208.

18. *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States* (New York: Norton, 2002).

19. David Duke, “David Duke’s State of the Union Address: The Speech I Would Have Made to the Congress of the United States.” David Duke Online Radio Report 02-10-2003. Accessed online at <http://www.davidduke.com/index.php?s=state+of+the+union+address+2003&submit=go>.

20. David Duke, “Israeli Terrorism and September 11.” Accessed online at <http://www.davidduke.com/index.php?p=13>.

21. Henry Schuster, “An Unholy Alliance: Aryan Nation Leader Reaches out to al Qaeda.” CNN.com, March 29, 2005. Accessed online at <http://cnn.usnews>.

22. Michelle Cottle, “White Hope,” *The New Republic*, Dec. 3, 2001; Michael (see note 10 above).

23. George Michael, “The Revolutionary Model of Dr. William L. Pierce,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15, no. 3 (2003): 62–80, see 76.

24. Anti-Defamation League, “Terrorism Strikes America: What They are Saying.” Posted December 11. Accessed online at http://adl.org/terrorism_america/saying_121101.asp. (emphasis mine).

25. Ibid.

26. Michael, *The Enemy of My Enemy* (see note 10 above), 221.

27. Kaplan and Weinberg (see note 10 above), 94.

28. Anti-Defamation League, “Terrorism Strikes . . .” (see note 24 above).

29. Matt Hale, “The Truth About 911: How Jewish Manipulation Killed Thousands.” Accessed online at <http://www.resist.com/>. The conspiracy theory evidently originated with the Hezbollah news organization Al Manar.

30. Anti-Defamation League, “Terrorism Strikes . . .” (see note 24 above).

31. Michael, *The Enemy of My Enemy* (see note 10 above), 76.

32. John Solomon, “U.S. Extremists, Terror Groups Eyed.” Associated Press, Thursday, February 28, 2002. Pierce’s views on race and separatism are rooted in a belief system called “cosmotheism;” see Mattias Gardell, *Gods of the Blood* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

33. Ibid.
34. See Kaplan and Weinberg (note 10 above); Southern Poverty Law Center, "The Internationalists." *SPLC Intelligence Report* (Fall). Accessed online at <http://www.splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article.jsp?sid=135>.
35. Martin Lee, "The Swastika & the Crescent," *SPLC Intelligence Report*, Spring 2002. Accessed online at <http://www.splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article.jsp?pid=244>.
36. Michael, *The Enemy of My Enemy* (see note 10 above), 220.
37. Lee, "The Swastika & the Crescent" (see note 35 above).
38. Michael, *The Enemy of My Enemy* (see note 10 above), 226.
39. Ibid.
40. Cottle (see note 22 above); Southern Poverty Law Center, "Hands Across the Water." *SPLC Intelligence Report* (Fall). Accessed online at <http://splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article.jsp?aid=177>; Lee (see note 36 above).
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