A Tale of Two Terrorists Redux (http://thesocietypages.org/socimages /2011/07/27/a-tale-of-two-terrorists-redux/)

by Guest Blogger Michael Kimmel, 4 days ago at 03:01 pm

Anders Behring Breivik has now joined the pantheon of homegrown domestic terrorists who have unleashed horror on their own countrymen. Sixteen years ago, Timothy McVeigh and other members of the Aryan Republican Army blew up the Murrah Office Building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 of their own countrymen and women. It was the worst act of domestic terrorism in our history, and, indeed, until 9-11, the worst terrorist attack of any kind in our history. We know what Norwegians are going through; as Bill Clinton said, we "feel your pain."

As pundits and policymakers search for clues that will help us understand that which cannot be understood, it may be useful to compare a few common elements between McVeigh and Breivik.

Both men saw themselves as motivated by what they viewed as the disastrous consequences of globalization and immigration on their own countries. Breivik's massive tome, 2083: A European Declaration of Independence, paints a bleak picture of intolerant Islamic immigrants engaged in a well-planned takeover of European countries in the fulfillment of their divine mission. His well-planned and coldly executed massacre of 94 of his countrymen was, as he saw it, a blow against the policies promoting social inclusion and a recognition of a diverse multicultural society promoted by the labor-leaning government.

McVeigh also inveighed against both multinational corporate greed and a society that had become too mired in multiculturalism to provide for its entitled native-born "true" Americans. In a letter to the editor of his hometown newspaper, McVeigh, then a returning veteran of the first Gulf War, complained that the birthright of the American middle class had been stolen, handed over by an indifferent government to a bunch of ungrateful immigrants and welfare cheats. "The American dream," he wrote "has all but disappeared, substituted with people struggling just to buy next week's groceries."

McVeigh and Breivik both sought to inspire their fellow Aryan countrymen to action. After blowing up the federal building – home of the oppressive and unrepresentative government that had capitulated to the rapacious corporations and banks — McVeigh hoped that others would soon follow suit and return the government to the people. Breivik cared less about government and more about the ruination of the pure Norwegian culture, deliberately diluted in a brackish multiculti sea.

For the past five years, I've been researching and writing about the extreme right in both the United States and Scandinavia. I've interviewed 45 contemporary American neo-Nazis, White Supremacists, Aryan youth, Patriots, Minutemen, and members of rural militias. I also read documentary materials in the major archival collections at various libraries on the extreme right. I then interviewed 25 ex-neo-Nazis in Sweden. All were participants in a government-funded program called EXIT, which provides support and training for people seeking to leave the movement. (This included twice interviewing "the most hated man in Sweden," Jackie Arklof, who murdered two police officers during a botched bank robbery. Arklof is currently serving a life sentence at Kumla High Security prison in Orebro. To my knowledge, I'm the only researcher to date to have interviewed him as well as members of EXIT.)

I've learned a lot about how the extreme right understands what is happening to their countries, and why they feel called to try and stop it. And one of the key things I've found is that the way they believe that global economic changes and immigration patterns have affected them can be understood by looking at gender, especially

masculinity. (Don't misunderstand: it's not that understanding masculinity and gender replaces the political economy of globalization, the financial crisis, or the perceived corruption of a previously pristine national culture. Not at all. But I do believe that you can't understand the extreme right without also understanding gender.)

First, they feel that current political and economic conditions have emasculated them, taken away the masculinity to which they feel they are entitled by birth. In the U.S., they feel they've been emasculated by the "Nanny State" through taxation, economic policies and political initiatives that demand civil rights and legal protection for everyone. They feel deprived of their entitlement (their ability to make a living, free and independent) by a government that now doles it out to everyone else – non-whites, women, and immigrants. The emasculation of the native-born white man has turned a nation of warriors into a nation of lemmings, or "sheeple" as they often call other white men. In The Turner Diaries, the movement's most celebrated text, author William Pierce sneers at "the whimpering collapse of the blond male," as if White men have surrendered, and have thus lost the right to be free. As one of their magazines puts it:

As Northern males have continued to become more wimpish, the result of the media-created image of the 'new male' – more pacifist, less authoritarian, more 'sensitive', less competitive, more androgynous, less possessive – the controlled media, the homosexual lobby and the feminist movement have cheered... the number of effeminate males has increased greatly...legions of sissies and weaklings, of flabby, limp-wristed, non-aggressive, non-physical, indecisive, slack-jawed, fearful males who, while still heterosexual in theory and practice, have not even a vestige of the old macho spirit, so deprecated today, left in them.

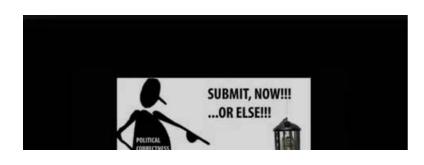
Second, they use gender to problematize the "other" against whom they are fighting. Consistently, the masculinity of native-born white Protestants is set off against the problematized masculinity of various "others" – blacks, Jews, gay men, other non-white immigrants – who are variously depicted as either "too" masculine (rapacious beasts, avariciously cunning, voracious) or not masculine "enough" (feminine, dependent, effeminate). Racism, anti-Semitism, nativism, and homophobia all are expressed through denunciations of the others' masculinity.

Third, they use it as a recruiting device, promising the restoration of manhood through joining their groups. Real men who join up will simultaneously protect white women from these marauding rapacious beasts, earn those women's admiration and love, and reclaim their manhood.

American White Supremacists thus offer American men the restoration of their masculinity – a manhood in which individual white men control the fruits of their own labor and are not subject to the emasculation of Jewish-owned finance capital, a black- and feminist-controlled welfare state.

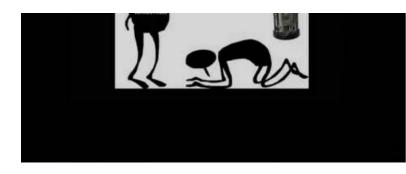
At present, I am working my way through 2083: A European Declaration of Independence, the 1,518 page manifesto written in London by Anders Behring Breivik (under the Anglicized name Andrew Berwick) in the months leading up to his attack. These same themes are immediately evident. (Quotes are from the document.)

(1) Breivik associates feminism with liberal, multicultural societies. He claims that feminism has been responsible for a gender inversion in which, whether in the media or the military, we see the "inferiority of the male and the superiority of the female." As a result of this widespread inversion, the "man of today" is "expected to be a touchy-feely subspecies who bows to the radical feminist agenda."



(http://thesocietypages.org/socimages/files /2011/07/12.png)

(2) Breivik spends the bulk of the document playing off two gendered stereotypes of Muslim immigrants in Europe. On the one hand, they are hyper-rational, methodically taking over European societies; on the other hand,



they are rapacious religious fanatics, who, with wide-eyed fervor, are utterly out of control. In one moment in the video, he shows a little boy (blond hair indicating his Nordic origins), poised between a thin, bearded hippie, who is dancing with flowers all around him, and a bearded, Muslim terrorist fanatic – two utterly problematized images of masculinity. 3:58 in <u>the video (http://www.twitvid.com</u>

/21.png)

<u>/EXJWW)</u>:

(http://thesocietypages.org/socimages/files/2011/07/2.png) (http://thesocietypages.org/socimages/files/2011/07



(3) In his final "call to arms" and the accompanying video, he offers photos of big-breasted women, in very tight T-shirts, holding assault weapons with the word "infidel" on it and some Arabic writing, a declaration that his Crusader army members are the infidels to the Muslim invaders.
9:02 in <u>the video</u> (http://www.twitvid.com

<u>/EXJWW)</u>:



(http://thesocietypages.org/socimages/files/2011/07/3.png)

This initial, if sketchy, report from Oslo, and Breivik's own documents, indicate that in this case, also, it will be impossible to fully understand this horrific act without understanding how gender operates as a rhetorical and political device for domestic terrorists.

These members of the far right consider themselves Christian Crusaders for Aryan Manhood, vowing its rescue from a feminizing welfare state. Theirs is the militarized manhood of the heroic John Rambo – a manhood that celebrates their God-sanctioned right to band together in armed militias if anyone, or any governmental agency, tries to take it away from them. If the state and capital emasculate them, and if the masculinity of the "others" is problematic, then only "real" white men can rescue the American Eden or the bucolic Norwegian countryside from a feminized, multicultural, androgynous immigrant-inspired melting pot.

Michael Kimmel is a professor of sociology at the State University of New York at Stonybrook (http://www.stonybrook.edu/sociol/?faculty/Kimmel/kimmel2). He pioneered the study of masculinities and is routinely featured as a keynote speaker at academic and activist events. Michael has written or edited over twenty volumes, including <u>Manhood in America: A Cultural History (http://www.amazon.com/Manhood-America-Cultural-History-Pbk/dp/0684837129)</u> and <u>Guyland: The Perilous World Where Boys Become Men</u> (http://www.guyland.net/). You can visit his website <u>here (http://creativepromotionsagency.com/mk/index.htm)</u>.

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 Yrro Simyarin (http://profiles.google.com/yrrosimyarin)
 5 days ago (#comment-265524050)

Very good analysis.

It is important when examining the ideologies of terrorists, to try to look for the possibly legitimate grievances under the crazy. They are usually the ragged, fringe edge of a real concern held by more normal people.

In this case, it is traditional men feeling marginalized by modern multicultural society. Men who feel that their traditional mores created modern society, who are no longer approved of by it.

In the case of Bin Laden and al Qaeda, it is a strong reaction to a feeling of marginalization by Muslim people of the middle east, who have been left behind, but not left alone, by a modern western society they consider decadent and immoral.

You don't have to come on the balance to agree with them - dear lord, as a happy member of modern western society, I certainly don't. But normally they aren't just making stuff up, and this sort of analysis is so important to understand why they felt that way stronaly enough to go murder a bunch of innocents over it.

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"Traditional men" are white, then?			
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Great read, I've never read anything that link way.	s gender studies with the study of far-right pol	itical movements in suc	ch an insightful
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Kat (http://disgus.com/guest /a3ab53c7a663d5d6bc21765df6fcb79e/) Michael Kimmel! Great fan here!	3 days ago (#comment-267586885)		
See also Behring's comments here: http://www.americanpendulum.co (http no-show-no-indication-of-what-was-to-come/) 2009-12-04 20:08:02	://www.americanpendulum.com/2011/07/anders-I	oehrings-comments-at-o	document-
"Well, the essence is that Muslim boys learn their own religion, culture and cultural conse while Norwegian men have been feminized a This makes them totally unprepared for wha curriculum at the school now consists also la of our ancestors (evil imperialists, big farmer bloodthirsty Crusaders who invaded the pea victim the role of Muslims. The result is that 12-18 are particularly vulnerable and often of æreskodekser and a correct understanding of	rvative values at home and teacher excessive tolerance. t awaits them The argely of the demonization s who raped maids, ceful Muslims) as it gives a Norwegian girls aged ppressed. They lack pride,		
[I would translate 'æreskodekser' quite differ	ently: "code of honour"]		
In one passage of his manifesto, he claims the	nat his mother is to blame since she "feminized	" him and that he rese	nts her for it.
And there was a good analysis in the Guardi http://www.guardian.co.uk/comm (http:/	an: //www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/jul/27/	breivik-anti-feminism)	
		4 people liked this.	Like Reply



(http://disqus.com/guest /c1bbdca62223f640f46d2b5b4a2b10e4/)

This is terrific analysis. I don't know how nuanced you want to be, but some of the shades are interesting. From the left, the far right brings up inevitable stereotypes of neo-Nazis and white supremacists. But this character appears to be neither. He is certainly something of a Nordicist with a love of his ethnic fellows, but he eschews racialist theories or policies. All his animus is directed against Muslims. Hindus, Christian Africans and Jews are seen as potential allies. This is clearly not a neo-Nazi position. In fact he calls his doctrine the Vienna School - a reference to an anti-Jihadist blog, Gates of Vienna, run out of DC of all places. What I am getting at is that ABB appears to be a neo-con on steroids (literally on steroids as it turns out.) This novelty is something that the right is trying to digest in the blogosphere. Neo-cons have little history of going postal without air support. A picture of mental confusion abides.

The gender side is interesting. He appears not to be homo-phobic, indeed the Vienna School policy is pro Gay rights (Think Geert Wilders and the late Pym Fortuin). ABB's two personae on World of Warcraft were both female. And he clearly has what Dr Phil would call 'issues' with his parents. Again, we see confusion.

3 people liked this.	Like	Reply
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I don't think that racial politics are necessary to fascism- the Italian Fascists, after all, made no special point of them. The Nordicist obsessions were peculiar to the German and Scandinavian far-rights of the Interwar period, a pseudo-scientific elaboration on the twin narratives of a "clash of civilisations" and a "decadent Europe" that underlay most fascist movements. The abhorrence of these movements for interwar social democracy and Soviet socialism is mirrored closely in Breivik's feelings about modern liberalism and Islamism, and those were ultimately far more significant factors in the initial formation of the movements than any racial politics, which were largely expressed within these terms- the Nazi caricatures of a Jew being a liberal financier on the one hand a militant Bolshevik on the other, the equivalent of Breivik's multicultural politician and Islamist radical.

Like	Reply
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Gilbert Pinfold 2 days ago (#comment-268441956) in reply to Finnegan (#comment-268357601)

(http://disqus.com/guest /c1bbdca62223f640f46d2b5b4a2b10e4/)

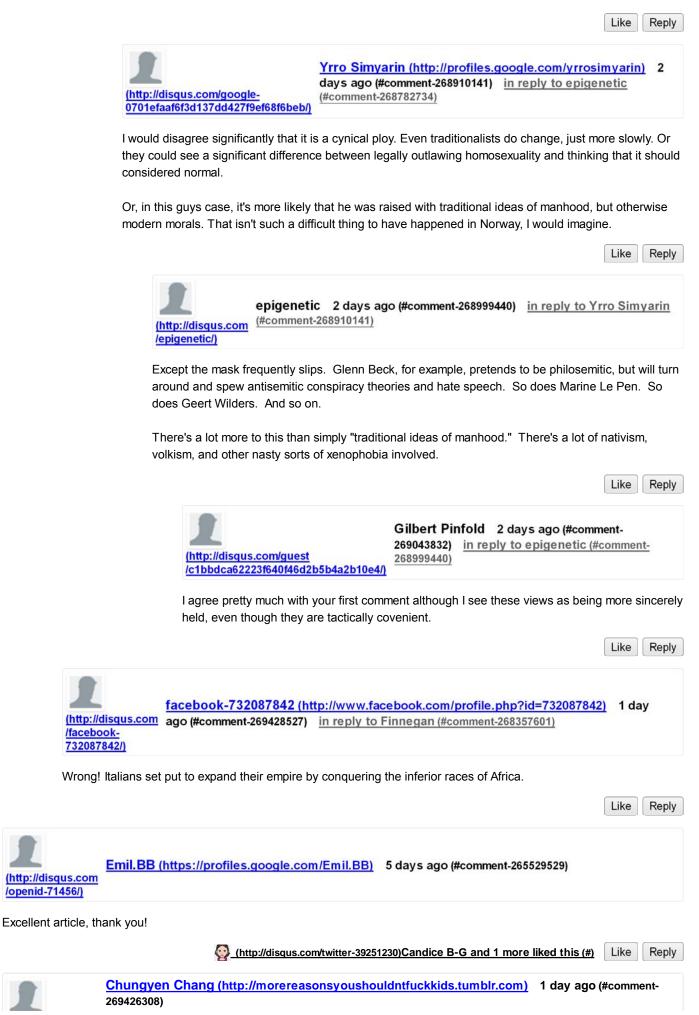
This is why I say that ABB was in a state of catastrophic confusion. He is at once anti-jihadi hard right, intinctively Nowegian ethno-patriotic; AND yet concerned enough about 'political correctness' to be pro-gay, anti-Nazi, anti racist, anti-fascist, and pro-Israel.

It is easy enough to see him as coming from the plain old fascist tradition you are alluding to in your last two sentences. However, this is at odds with his stated neo-con, pro-Zionist ('presentable' EDL rather than 'ugly' BNP) position. He clearly tries throughout his manifesto to distance himself from the ugly fascist tradition in an absurd attempt at self-justification given the ultimate nature and scale of his atrocities. Hence my call about extreme cognitive dissonance.

			1 person liked this.	Like Reply
(http://disqus.com /epigenetic/)	epigenetic 268441956)	2 days ago (#comment-268782734)	in reply to Gilbert Pinfo	Id (#comment-

Well, with respect to the gay rights and Jewish rights stuff, I feel like a lot of right-wingers have taken to championing gay rights and Jewish rights (and women's rights) as a way of differentiating themselves from the Muslim world and of making the case that the Muslim world is "barbaric" and therefore that Islam must be fought at all costs. It doesn't help that, in the US especially, there's a weird obsession with Jews that's associated with certain brands of evangelical christianity. I wouldn't consider these stances to actually represent a change in conservative attitudes towards gays, women, and Jews, but rather a cynical ploy to "win" a perceived culture

war and shame leftists who ally with Muslim rights groups.



(http://disqus.com /Chungyen/)

Michael,

I love your work, and I totally agree with you here on this analysis. But I strongly object to your use of the word "rapacious" (four times). Rape is already equated with a ridiculous range of things-- sometimes in gendered, Othering ways. The "rape of land(s)", for example, calls up a dichotomy in which nature is female and humans (read: men) are in charge of protecting said land-- an analogy which inherently assigns men as the property owners of what is "female". The rape association has been misused multiple times by some of the very same extremists you are criticizing.

Regardless of the dictionary definition, any time "rape" is used to describe something that isn't rape, it inherently demeans what is a horrible experience for many people. It's either a misrepresentation of what rape is or it trivializes it by comparing rape to things that hardly match up. Please choose another word next time.

edit: extremely relevant article posted here just a few days ago: <u>http://thesocietypages.org/soc... (http://thesocietypages.org</u>/socimages/2009/12/18/politics-and-the-rape-metaphor/)



Sanasral 1 day ago (#comment-269269254) (http://disqus.com/guest /72974e5868c947354b3a3b8254c006f1/)

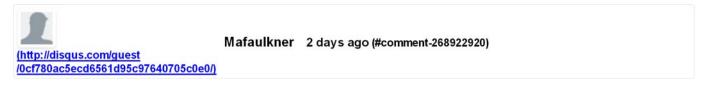
forgive me,

but all this post strikes me as, regardless of how interesting, is a good example of how ones paradigm can inhibit good social action.

In this grave example particularly, is seems a bit irresponsible and bloated to indulge oneself in auxiliary analysis when a more urgent crux of the problem can be better attacked or mediated with critiques of cutthroat nationalism and helpful insights into the remarkable people hidden under the "multi-culti" policy farce.

Fantastically insightful, structurally-immoral, insights.





Could someone please explain the reference to "the video" that the author makes in (2)? The author is talking about a document, but suddenly he refers to "the video" without introducing it. Thanks.





This is an interesting analysis of extremist men, but what about women in these movements? I assume there are some. I can't recall ever hearing about any; perhaps the construction of gender in these groups leads to any women who are involved being less likely to act out violently (and therefore come to the attention of the press). Michael Kimmel, if you read this - were any of your interviewees female?

Like Reply



Treefinger 3 days ago (#comment-268172184)

/9e0150dac5d34beb29c08b7bb4c3bd03/)

Excellent article, I've been waiting a few days to read it since it disappeared, and I wasn't disappointed.

P.S.: *Homer Simpson voice* mmm, the whimpering collapse of a blond male.

