

CRIMES COMMITTED BY TERRORIST GROUPS: THEORY, RESEARCH, AND PREVENTION

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Mark S. Hamm and Cécile Van de Voorde¹

Statement of Purpose: A decline in state-sponsored terrorism has caused many terrorist organizations to resort to criminal activity as an alternative means of support. This study examines terrorists' involvement in a variety of crimes ranging from motor vehicle violations, immigration fraud, and manufacturing illegal firearms to counterfeiting, armed bank robbery, and smuggling weapons of mass destruction. Special attention is given to transnational organized crime. Crimes are analyzed through the routine activity perspective and social learning theory. These theories draw our attention to the opportunities to commit crime and the criminal skills necessary to turn opportunity into criminality. Through these lenses, the research appraises the "successes" and "failures" of terrorists' engagement in crime. Because "failures" can result from law enforcement efforts to (1) interrupt criminal skill development, and/or (2) remove criminal opportunities via technologies and transportation systems, the research represents a best practices approach to the study and control of terrorism.

Methods: The study is organized into three parts [this excerpt will deal with only the second part and with only one of six case studies in that part]:

- I) A secondary analysis of the American Terrorism Study (ATS) database, comparing the criminality of international jihad groups with domestic right-wing groups. This comparison represents an original use of the ATS.
- II) Six case studies of crimes committed by international jihad groups and domestic rightwing groups, selected from the ATS based on frequency distributions of criminal counts filed against the groups. Trial transcripts, official reports, previous scholarship, and interviews with law enforcement officials and former terrorists are used to explore opportunities and skills that made crimes possible ("successes"); or events and lack of skill that the prevented crimes ("failures"). These crimes do not occur in a social vacuum, therefore the research includes brief biographies of the terrorists along with descriptions of their organizations, strategies, and terrorist plots. The actualities of daily criminality inside terrorist cells are also considered through an analysis of such factors as religion, charismatic leadership, intra-group conflict, terrorism's cultural codes and mythologies, as well as the role of women in terrorist groups.

- III) Content analysis of the pervasive themes presented in closing arguments of the transcripts used in Part II. Variables include crimes committed by terrorist groups, criminal opportunities, criminal skills, and controls. This method has also never before been used in terrorism research.

Executive Summary

This research systematically examines the major terrorism trials of our times. Those trials involve a number of terrorism cases both foreign and domestic in nature. In summarizing concisely both the varieties and the specific techniques of criminal activity within various terrorist organizations, the study shows that terrorist-oriented criminality does, indeed, have distinguishing features.

International jihad groups are statistically more likely than domestic right-wing groups to commit aircraft and motor vehicle-related crimes; violations of explosive materials; and firearms violations. Right-wing domestic groups are more likely to commit mail fraud; racketeering; robbery/burglary; and violations involving machine guns and destructive devices.

The main finding of the study is that the most successful method of both detecting and prosecuting cases of terrorism is through the pursuit of conventional criminal investigations. By analyzing past successful prosecutions and the evidence accumulated from studying them, the research strongly suggests that the best practices of investigators should be directed to crimes that facilitate the operation of complex organizations. A clear pattern of precursor activity across diverse terrorist organizations is discovered. The study shows that all terrorist organizations require money, material, transportation, identity documents, communication systems, and safe havens to accomplish their aims. Crimes that finance these operations should be the top priority for investigators.

These crimes reflect the natural history and culture of each organization. The study indicates that bank robbery, credit card theft, document counterfeiting, motor vehicle violations, and money laundering are the types of crimes that those charged with combating terrorism should focus on. As such, this research reduces the problem of terrorism to its simple common denominators, thereby removing the mystery that shrouds these groups. Once the hype surrounding terrorism is removed, we are able to see the vulnerabilities of such organizations.

The case studies and content analysis indicate that the opportunities and skills associated with criminal successes and failures are contingent upon historical and cultural factors as well. Jihad groups rely on low-level operatives to perform menial criminal acts necessary for a terrorist attack. They are recruited less for their criminal skills than for their connections to local communities and attendant opportunities to exploit routine activities. Jihad leaders with specialized training are responsible for successes in the areas of surveillance, financing, communications, breaching airline security, smuggling explosives, and bomb-building.

Unlike the jihadists, domestic right-wing groups recruit individuals specifically for their criminal skills. Typically headed by charismatic leaders, domestic groups

are most successful at acquiring false identity documents, manufacturing illegal firearms, armored truck and bank robbery, and murder. They are surveillance experts, often spending weeks taking into account every moment in the taken-for-granted order of daily routines in and around their targets.

Yet none of these terrorists are the “criminal masterminds” we have been led to believe they are. The greatest failures of jihad groups involve cultural conflicts that manifest themselves in such seemingly innocuous crimes as passport fraud, immigration infractions, and traffic violations. Yet their Achilles heel is an inability to cross international borders without attracting attention. Jihadists are inexperienced criminals who often fail to conceal incriminating evidence.

Likewise, often they do not display the criminal skills necessary to transform opportunity into terrorism, nor do they setup contingencies in the event that their terrorist plots go awry.

Domestic terrorists fail in different ways. They are failures when it comes to counterfeiting, theft, arson, constructing weapons of mass destruction, and maintaining internal security. Yet their greatest failure has been the showcasing of imagery and style. While jihad groups do not use appearances or panache to make ironic statements about their violence, domestic terrorists present themselves as entertainers, thereby turning terrorism into performance. And this is their Achilles heel.

Yet the research also demonstrates that there are some important similarities among these organizations. One of the most compelling findings of the research is the discovery of attempts made by domestic terrorists to forge alliances with international jihad groups. Similarly, both domestic and international terrorists have financed their operations through counterfeiting. Both domestic and international groups have stolen arms, explosives, and equipment from military installations. Both have exploited military training for terrorist purposes. And both have engaged in assassination.

If criminal activity is the lifeblood of terrorist groups, then choking off the blood supply begins with identifying these sorts of similarities and differences. This research does so by couching the distinguishing features of terrorist-oriented criminality in the social learning and routine activity perspectives. For in the end, history shows that the FBI’s most successful terrorism investigations have recognized these criminological implications.

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Case Five: Racketeering

Edwin Sutherland argued that all criminal behavior is learned, and that it is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of interpersonal communication. According to Sutherland, this learning process involves two characteristics: techniques of committing the crime—skill, or criminal trade craft—which can sometimes be very complicated; and ideology, or the specific motives for the offense. Because terrorism is a special form of criminality (arguably, it is the most serious

form of criminality within any society), it requires a third element in a person who is willing to use it as a tactic: fanatical dedication to a cause. The confluence of skill, ideology, and fanatical dedication has been the engine driving most terrorist groups throughout history. Yet in the rarest of cases—reserved only for the followers of Carlos the Jackal, Osama bin Laden and a few others—there has been a fourth dimension of terrorism. And that is charisma, or the power of the gifted.

Max Weber viewed charisma as an inherent gift that evoked the loyalty of people afflicted by a crisis so great as to defy resolution by constituted authorities or institutions. A charismatic person is seen as capable of alleviating the crisis and restoring equilibrium to the community. This person's capabilities are a function of his/her unique talents; indeed, the charismatic leader's authority derives solely from these talents. Psychologist William Freud points out that the characteristics of a leader's talents will always be a function of the nature of the crisis facing the community. Therefore, if the crisis involves spiritual decay, the leader's gifts will be in the area of religion. If the crisis involves disease or famine, the gifts tend to be organizational. If the critical problem involves political conflict, the gifts will be in the realm of oratory. And if that conflict leads to violence, the leader is likely to be gifted in paramilitary tactics.

In practice, most charismatic leaders are endowed with not one, but combinations of these gifts in varying measures. Fidel Castro, one of the most charismatic leaders of modern times, has proven to be an exceptional administrator, an electrifying orator, a fabled paramilitary commander, and a deified social reformer. Castro is not a terrorist in the classic definition of the term, but some of his personal gifts *have* been ascribed to the man who led the near-mythical American neo-Nazi terrorist cell known as the Order. "It was the way he carried himself," remembered a confederate, "sinuously, as though at any moment he were poised to leap—a graceful leap to some strange place."

The Revolutionary

Robert Jay Mathews was born into a hard-working, middle-class family in the small, desolate town of Marfa, Texas, on January 16, 1953. His father, Johnny, ran an appliance store in Marfa and his mother, Una, was a housewife who stayed home to raise "Robbie" and his two older brothers. Research suggests that the formative years of a charismatic leader are marked by such experiences as profound loss, injustice, repeated episodes of failure and/or humiliation, and early exposure to rigid belief systems. It was this final experience that would shape Mathews's leadership style.

The world began to change for the Mathews family in 1957. Hard times had fallen on Marfa and business at Mathews Appliance was in trouble. After selling the store Johnny went into the import-export business, but that failed, too. Then he took a job as an insurance agent, but that also proved to be fruitless. By late 1958 he was broke. Una sold enough of their personal property to stake a road trip and

before Christmas the Mathews family left Texas. Johnny Mathews and his wife had worked hard, risen to prominent stature in the community, and then they were beaten into rank poverty.

They settled in Phoenix where Johnny found work as an accountant. Una went to work in a bank and the boys continued their schooling. Robbie excelled at history and, with his mother's encouragement, became an avid reader of the daily newspaper. In 1964, the biggest news story in Phoenix was the presidential race between Lyndon Johnson and Barry Goldwater, the hard-line conservative who represented Arizona in the U.S. Senate. At the time, Goldwater advocated using small nuclear bombs to defoliate the jungles in South Vietnam. Against this perilous backdrop, Mathews experienced perhaps the most significant change of his early life.

On Sunday, October 25, 1964, the *Arizona Republic* ran a sixteen-page special feature on the John Birch Society. The Birch Society was then waging a media assault against the communist influence—something that resonated deeply among Goldwater supporters. Mathews locked himself in his bedroom and studied the article fully. The thought of Russian communists taking over America seemed to have frightened him severely. Whatever the case, he was hooked. Mathews clipped a coupon for more information and sent it into regional headquarters in Santa Monica, California. Shortly thereafter, Mathews became a card-carrying member of the John Birch Society. He was twelve years old.

Thus began his journey into political extremism. As Mathews entered his teenage years, he rebelled against the fad and fashion of sixties youth subculture by adopting a hard, iconoclastic masculinity. At a time when millions of youth were letting their freak flags fly, Mathews kept his hair short, stayed away from marijuana and LSD, and never even took a drag from a cigarette. Nor did he date. Instead he took up wrestling and weight lifting, trimming off his body fat and leaving him fit as a Marine. In his Birch Society meetings, Mathews learned the skill of public speaking and began to express his feelings about patriotism and the communist menace.

His involvement with the Birch Society coincided with two other pivotal events that contributed to his emerging extremism. First, in 1969 the Mathews family moved to Tempe where Robbie enrolled in a high school dominated by Mormons. Mathews viewed these students as quintessential Americans. Like him, they were clean cut, diligent, and proudly conservative. And second, through contacts made upon joining the Mormon Church in 1970, Robbie began attending tax resistance seminars in nearby Mesa. Here he was taught that paying income taxes was not only illegal, but that doing so actually aided the communists. His enthusiasm for the subject was contagious and Mathews was rewarded by his appointment to the post of Sargent-at-arms for the seminars. At this point, according to Flynn and Gerhardt, "Una and Johnny began to worry that their youngest son was turning into a revolutionary." What began as a hatred of the Soviets was now turning into a

hatred of the United States. This would affect Mathews's educational career and everything that followed.

Robbie began his senior year of high school in 1970. Yet he soon got into an argument with his economics teacher over the efficacy of the Keynesian theory of government intervention in the free market. Through the tax resistance meetings, Mathews had been taught that President Franklin D. Roosevelt's endorsement of Keynesian theory was responsible for leading America into the first stages of socialism. In protest against his teacher's approval of Keynesian theory, Robbie stopped going to class altogether. When informed that this would effect his chances of getting into college, Mathews told his parents that he wasn't going to college because universities were nothing more than "hotbeds of communism."

By the end of 1971, Mathews was adrift. Because he failed to complete his economics course, he was not allowed to graduate from high school. Unemployed, unskilled, and romantically unattached, he drifted further onto the fringes of the extreme right where he came under the influence of an organization called the Minutemen. Founded by Robert Boliver DePugh in Independence, Missouri, in the early 1960s, the Minutemen ultimately became one of the most formidable right-wing groups in America. DePugh's followers carried military-style weapons, were organized into secret cells, and were dedicated to eradicating communist infiltrators working for the U.S. government.

In 1972, nineteen-year-old Robert Mathews assembled a ragtag guerilla army of his own. He drew his followers from the tax resister's group, the Mormon Church, and from gun and motorcycle shops. In all, Mathews recruited some thirty men into a group he christened the Sons of Liberty. And it was here that Mathews began to show the first signs of charismatic leadership.

That summer, Mathews anonymously phoned a Phoenix television reporter and told him that the Sons of Liberty were training for guerrilla war in the desert. Knowing a good story when he heard one, the reporter showed up with a camera crew at a prearranged location at night where he was met by a band of camouflage-masked men with assault rifles and bandoliers of ammunition and grenades strapped to their chests. As the film rolled, one of them stepped forth and proudly said: "We are the Sons of Liberty." The film showed a young white man speaking with confidence and passion. He said that the Sons were made up of army vets who believed that the United States was doomed to collapse under communist infiltration. Twenty-four hours later, after the reporter contacted the FBI and turned over his tapes, a federal investigation was launched to find out the identity of the articulate young man behind the camouflage mask.

By day, Mathews was now working at a Carnation plant making ice cream. By night, he split his time between the Sons of Liberty, the Birch Society, the tax resisters, and the Young Republicans. Through this ambitious political activity, Mathews honed his orator's gift, impressing the older activists with his hatred for communists and tax collectors.

In the fall of 1972, the FBI found a snitch inside the Sons of Liberty who could identify the individual on the news tape. It was a young Mormon tax protestor named Robbie Mathews. Agents then visited Johnny Mathews at his home in Tempe. Robbie had left town, Johnny told the feds, whereabouts unknown.

The Good Lieutenant

Charismatic leaders are only as good as the loyalty they inspire in their followers. For Robert Mathews, no one would prove as loyal as Bruce Pierce. What inspires such loyalty?

Bruce Carroll Pierce was born in Frankfort, Kentucky, on May 14, 1954. His father, Eugene, was a successful carpenter, specializing in wood furniture. Lucilla, Pierce's mother, was a housewife who gave birth to Bruce late in life; she had borne four children some twenty years earlier and now they were raised and living on their own. For all practical purposes, Bruce Pierce was an only child.

Pierce's childhood was marked by intense isolation. With no siblings around, and few neighbors to play with, he spent most of his time alone, exploring the hills around Devils Hollow Road, several miles from the desolate grave of Daniel Boone. The boy dreamed of working with his father in the carpentry shop located near their house, as had his older brothers before him, but that dream vanished in 1967 when an arsonist burned the shop down and Eugene retired from the business. Two years later, Pierce underwent another trial when his parents divorced after years of marital problems.

Bruce was an average student at Frankfort High School, yet at a strapping 6-foot-2 he easily made the varsity basketball team. He also had no trouble with the girls and during his senior year Bruce's girlfriend, Elizabeth Scott, became pregnant. After secretly marrying on April 1, 1972, Pierce exhibited the first signs of a character flaw that would dog him for years to come. Smarting from an argument with Lucilla over Elizabeth's pregnancy, Bruce impetuously dropped out of school before graduation and headed to Atlanta with his young bride.

The couple returned to Frankfort a year later where Pierce landed a job as a circulation manager for the *Lexington Herald Leader*. Over the next five years Pierce made friends, drove a sports car, wore fashionable clothing, smoked marijuana, and enjoyed listening to then-popular country rock bands like the Eagles. By 1979, though, he had grown tired of his job and impulsively resigned without employment prospects elsewhere. Having also grown tired of his wife, Pierce began a series of extramarital affairs.

His impetuous nature arose again later that year when Pierce confessed to Elizabeth that he was consumed with a dream of living in the wide-open expanses of the American West. Elizabeth would have no part of it, however, and in August she filed for divorce, leaving Pierce free to move to Missoula, Montana, with his brother Greg.

Bruce found work at a Western Wear store and moved with Greg into a house near the University of Montana. In late 1979, Pierce met a divorcee named Julie Wilson and by early 1980 they were living together with her infant daughter and his son, who had come for a visit with his father and stayed. A year later, the couple married. But things were not so rosy on the employment front.

Pierce left Western Wear and began to bounce from one menial job to the next. By 1981 he realized that the “romantic West” was not all it was cracked up to be. Pierce was a playboy at heart and he missed his sports car, weed, friends and the affairs he had left behind in Kentucky. Now, however, he was trapped in a house trailer with little money, a new wife, and two screaming kids. Things only got worse. In the fall of 1981 Pierce moved his family into a broken down house trailer on a mountainside near the tiny town of Plains, Montana. On November 22, 1982, Julie gave birth to the couple’s third child and Pierce was reduced to drawing food stamps. It was at this low point in his life that Pierce found solace in Christian Identity.

It all happened fortuitously. One day in the fall of 1982, while lifting weights at a Plains gymnasium, Pierce overheard a group of boys quarreling about the Holocaust. One boy maintained that the Holocaust was a hoax, and four others began to berate him. Pierce jumped to the lone boy’s defense and when the argument was over the boy thanked Pierce. A week later, the boy brought his father to the gym and introduced him to Pierce. The man’s name was Jefferson Butler and over the next several months he introduced Pierce to the Identity philosophy.

In March 1983, another Identity convert invited Pierce to join him on a trip to the Church of Jesus Christ Christian at the Aryan Nations compound at Hayden Lake, Idaho. Pierce was introduced to Aryan Nations founder Pastor Richard Butler (no relation to Jefferson Butler) and a number of his followers. In these people, Pierce seemed to have found not only spiritual succor, but an escape from the loneliness that had afflicted him since moving West. Pierce returned to Aryan Nations with Julie and the kids several times and soon he began to wear the blue uniform of an Aryan Nations security guard. The defining event of his life took place that summer.

On June 26, 1983, Butler led an Aryan Nations rally at the Riverfront Park in Spokane, Washington. Because the rally had attracted wide publicity and plans for counter-demonstrations, Butler arranged to have his security detail on hand. Pierce was among them, taking his place with a half dozen men at the base of the speaker’s platform. In the crowd stood some three hundred Aryan Nations supporters and an equal number of counter-demonstrators, police, bystanders, and media people.

As Butler took the stage, protestors began shouting, including one with a bullhorn screaming “Racists!” and “Nazis!” Near the stage a small group of protestors held signs reading “Smash Racism. Build Multiracial Unity.” Some of them started pushing and shoving. Then a woman protestor stepped up to the security detail and kicked one of Butler’s men in the groin. At this point, a muscular guard moved

toward the protestors with his arms outspread. He looked about thirty and was dressed simply in blue jeans and T-shirt. His eyes showed fierce determination. When he reached the protestors, he pointed at them and unleashed a torrent of angry words. Shocked by the sheer force of the man's words, the protestors grew silent. Pierce felt himself drawn to the man's side, and together with the other guards, they linked arms to form a human wall and began forcing the protestors back.

It was a[n] extraordinary experience for Pierce. He had never before engaged in political activism, let alone a small victory like this one; but then again, Pierce had never witnessed such intensity as he saw in that man's eyes. For Pierce, and the other guards at the rally that day, something about this man made a lasting impression. He was someone who clearly put action behind his words. This man was, of course, the charismatic Robert Mathews.

The Plot

Mathews had been in the Pacific Northwest for nearly a decade. He moved there in 1974, in his words, with "only twenty-five dollars to my name . . . and the dream of someday acquiring my own farmland." Mathews found work first in a zinc mine and then at the Lehi Cement Company in Metaline Falls, Washington (population 850). After buying a 53-acre plot of forested land and building a home, Mathews put a personal ad in *Mother Earth News* and thereby met Debbie McGarrity from Jackson, Wyoming. The couple married in 1976 and had a child four years later. The rest of the Mathews clan—Johnny, Una and his two brothers—moved onto the property in 1977.

During this period, Mathews continued his voracious reading of history. One book, *Which Way, Western Man?* by the racist William Gayley Simpson, introduced Mathews to the idea that white Christians were in danger of losing their racial identity because of affirmative action and interracial marriage. The book's publisher, William Pierce (no relation to Bruce Pierce) of the Virginia-based National Alliance, also had a decisive influence on Mathews's thinking. In fact, Mathews worshiped William Pierce. Not only was he the author of *The Turner Diaries*, but Pierce was responsible for introducing Mathews to Aryan Nations in 1982. A month after his show of leadership at the 1983 Spokane rally, Mathews attended the Aryan World Congress where he met James Ellison and the other racists who were about to begin their mythical conspiracy to topple the federal government.

Bob Mathews and Bruce Pierce formed the Order, also known as *Bruders Schweigen* or the Silent Brotherhood, at Mathews's home in September, 1983. They were accompanied by two Aryan Nations activists: Randy Duey, a thirty-two-year-old Air Force veteran and history student at Eastern Washington University, and a twenty-nine-year-old former Marine and ex-convict from Arizona named Gary Lee Yarbrough. "The unifying thread binding them together," write Flynn and Gerhardt, "was their own brand of superpatriotism, based on their vision of America's mean-

ing.” This vision formed the cultural myth of the Order and created a social space that allowed Mathews’s charisma to flourish.

Organization

It was in this way, then, that Robert Mathews embarked upon one of the most profitable crime sprees in American history. More than anything, this required the creation of an effective criminal enterprise, something traditional racists had never been particularly good at. Most scholars assert that the Order achieved their criminal syndicate by integrating neo-Nazism with Christian Identity and the fantastic possibilities of *The Turner Diaries*. As one member told undercover journalist Peter Lake at the dawning of the Order, “Read *The Turner Diaries*. It’s all there.” Lying beneath the surface, though, was a more precise criminal sensibility.

The Order was comprised of men who had come of age in the crucible of Vietnam, yet none of its inner circle had made a personal appearance on the battlefield. As adults, they came to view America as a land beset with dark forces of chaos in the form of immigration, drugs, crime, and Ronald Reagan’s “trickle down” economy. Since these hot-button issues were seeded with race and gender considerations, it became morally imperative for some powerless white men to transform their personal rage into a political cause. Masculinity and whiteness became entwined as never before—to be a “real” white man was to be hyper-masculine. Paramilitary mythology became the path to redemption.

This process of criminality was displayed in many ways. It was demonstrated in the behavior of men like Duey, Yarbrough and Randall Radar, all of whom liked to play war but wanted no part of the real thing. It was also displayed in the Order’s cultural orientation to everyday life. One of Mathews’s favorite films was Charles Bronson’s *Death Wish II*, the story of a vigilante who avenges his wife’s death in a post-apocalyptic New York by killing a gang of street thugs. “That is what is wrong with society today,” Mathews said of the fictional murders. “We have to do that because the government won’t. Our police state doesn’t do that. We have to cleanse the land ourselves.” Through these sorts of processes, then, the men of the Order were reborn as Aryan warriors.

As he had done a decade earlier with the Sons of Liberty, Mathews recruited his followers from different sources—Aryan Nations, National Alliance, CSA, and the Klan. Because these were national organizations, Mathews was able to assemble some of the most dangerous white militants in America. “We were all a bunch of lost souls,” said Order operative Tom Martinez in an interview for this research. “Our parents were all fucked up.” While the Order would eventually include some fifty members, its “action group” consisted of nine men. In addition to Mathews, Pierce, Duey, and Yarbrough, they included:

- Andrew Barnhill, a twenty-seven-year-old former seminarian from Plantation, Florida, who was introduced to Ellison’s CSA through his involvement in the Ameri-

can Pistol and Rifle Association. After Ellison anointed himself King of the Ozarks, Barnhill left the CSA and moved to Missoula where he became a poker dealer. He was recruited into the Order in 1983 by Bruce Pierce during a visit to Aryan Nations.

- Richard Kemp, a twenty-year-old former high school basketball star from Salinas, California, who met Mathews at a 1981 National Alliance convention in Virginia.
- David Lane, a forty-three-year-old champion amateur golfer from Aurora, Colorado. During the late 1970s, Lane was an organizer for David Duke's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; in 1981 he became the Colorado organizer for Aryan Nations. A year later, Lane moved to Hayden Lake where he met Mathews who later appointed him minister of propaganda for the Order.
- Denver Parmenter, a thirty-one-year-old former soldier with a drinking problem from Brownwood, Texas. After his honorable discharge from the Army, Parmenter became an administrator at Eastern Washington University. There he met Randy Duey who introduced him to Mathews. Parmenter would later testify that he was an "unstable person" before joining the Order, but that Mathews had given him a purpose in life. "I thought we were fighting the second American revolution," said Parmenter. "Our goal was to take the government down."
- Richard Scutari, a thirty-six-year-old former Naval officer, deep sea diver, and martial arts expert from Port Salerno, Florida. In 1979, Scutari met Minutemen founder Robert DePugh at a conference in Fort Lauderdale, and later joined the American Pistol and Rifle Association. Through APRA, he met Virgil Barnhill, Andrew's father. Andrew Barnhill then introduced Scutari to James Ellison who, according to Flynn and Gerhardt, dispatched Scutari to South America to provide security at a CSA-owned gold mine. In early 1984, Andrew Barnhill invited Scutari to Metaline Falls where he was introduced to Mathews. Scutari would eventually become Mathews's closest confidant. But more importantly, Scutari's criminal skills would play a major role in the Order's reign of terrorism.

Most members of the Order were adherents of Christian Identity, though Mathews himself was an Odinist (a theological reconstruction of Viking-era Norse mythology). And like the fictitious guerrilla army in *The Diaries* (known as "The Order" or simply "The Organization"), the real-life Order began by drawing up a list of Jewish assassination targets. These included former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Baron Elie de Rothschild of the international Jewish banking family. The Order would finance its cause through armed robbery, thereby creating a "war chest" to support a campaign of violence against what propagandist David Lane termed "a coalition of blacks, browns, yellows, liberals, Communists, queers, race mixing religious zealots, race traitors, preachers, teachers and judges."

At the suggestion of Denver Parmenter, Mathews created cells for each operation and implemented security procedures to guard against informants—beginning with the requirement that each member take a loyalty oath in a ceremony where inductees held hands in a circle around a white infant that symbolized the future of the Aryan race. In his *Politics of Righteousness*, terrorism scholar James Aho describes this oath as a "ritual ordination into the cult":

I, as a free Aryan man, hereby swear an unrelenting oath there upon the green graves of our sires, upon the children in the wombs of our wives, upon the throne of God Al-

mighty, sacred be his name, to join together in holy union with those brothers in this circle and to declare forthright from this moment on I have no fear of death, no fear of foe, that I have a sacred duty to do whatever is necessary to deliver our people from the Jew and bring total victory to the Aryan race.

The Order wrote the book on living in the white underground. Most importantly, each member was trained in the acquisition of false identity documents. This involved visiting cemeteries and locating tombstones showing the birth and death of an infant. Members would then use that information to apply for a death certificate. From the death certificate they would apply for a birth certificate. Once they had that in hand, they would apply for drivers' licenses and motor vehicle registrations. They were also given code names. Pierce, for instance, was known as "Brigham" or "Logan" (good Mormon names). Yarbrough was called "Yosemite Sam" or "Reds" because of his long red beard. Scutari was known as "Mr. Black." And Mathews went by "Carlos"—in honor of the Jackal (more on this in the final case study). Operating on a need-to-know basis, most Order members knew each other only by these code names, thus making the identification of accomplices impossible in the event of arrest by law enforcement.

Mathews eventually set up safe houses around the country—in Philadelphia, Boise, Idaho, and other small towns in the Northwest—and instructed his men to move frequently from location to location. The houses were rented under assumed names and paid for in cash, thus leaving no paper trail. Each member was also instructed in the use of disguises. They often wore wigs, fake beards and mustaches; some dyed their hair and others dressed as women. They bought cars in cash using false names, were armed at all times, and were required to periodically submit themselves to one of Richard Scutari's voice stress analyzer tests. "The Order," said an FBI agent familiar with the case, "was the most organized group of terrorist-type people ever to have operated in the United States."

The Attacks

In her controversial work on the American neo-Nazi movement, *A Hundred Little Hitlers*, Elinor Langer notes that "the Order is undoubtedly the best-known chapter in the history of the American racist movement in the 1980s." This is unquestionably true and it is so by virtue of the outstanding research contained in Flynn and Gerhardt's *The Silent Brotherhood*. Within the terrorism literature, it is a book without peer. Yet previous writers, including Flynn and Gerhardt, have not systematically examined the Order's crimes committed in support of a terrorist agenda. That was not their purpose; but it is mine.

These crimes began with a haphazard plan to rob drug dealers and pimps in Spokane. Around mid-October 1983, Mathews and two associates combed the downtown area for cocaine dealers and hookers. For the Order, these people stood for everything that was wrong about America. After several hours, they found a dealer

and accosted him in an alley. For some unknown reason, though, the dealer proved too tough and the three Aryan warriors backed down.

So Mathews turned his attention to robbing a pornography store. On October 28, Mathews, Pierce, and Duey entered Spokane's World Wide Video Store disguised as Mexicans, and armed with pistols and knives. They bound and gagged two clerks with duct tape, and rifled the till, making off with a mere \$369. The "revolution" was off to a poor start; in fact, it nearly imploded on take off.

Ten days later, Mathews, Pierce, Duey, Kemp, Parmenter and two others loaded their cars with firearms and drove to Seattle where they conducted surveillance on armored vehicles. They scouted these trucks for several days, taking note of security arrangements and timing getaway routes. During this time, two key events transpired.

First, Pierce saw a newspaper story about an upcoming lecture at a Seattle synagogue by Baron Elie de Rothschild—one of the Order's assassination targets. This led to a split in the Order (which at this point was only weeks old). Contrary to the lore that has grown up around the Silent Brotherhood, Mathews's gang was not an authoritarian organization but a democratic one. Reflecting those roots, Pierce led one faction that wanted to jettison the armored truck heist in favor of a plot to assassinate de Rothschild. In their discussions, Pierce's group talked about the possibility of conducting a suicide mission in which one of them would strap on a bomb and detonate it inside the Olympic Hotel, killing the Baron and anyone who got in the way. Equally important, and also a "first-ever" in the white underground, while conducting research on explosives at the University of Washington, Denver Parmenter attempted to forge a coalition with UW's Arab American Student Association. Mathews led the faction opposing Pierce, arguing that assassinations would come later, once the group had built up its war chest. Unable to reach a consensus, the Order abandoned both plans and returned to Metaline Falls on November 12.

Meanwhile, Yarbrough and Lane were involved in criminal activities that were also unique for their time. Today, there is mounting evidence of terrorists' involvement in the lucrative underworld of counterfeiting. In 1996, for example, the FBI confiscated 100,000 counterfeit T-shirts bearing fake Nike "swoosh" and Olympic logos that were intended to be sold at the 1996 summer Olympic games. The operation reportedly generated millions of dollars and was run by the followers of Sheik Omar Abel Rahman—who was later sentenced to prison for plotting to bomb New York City landmarks. But in 1983, counterfeiting among terrorist groups in the United States was unheard of.

Yarbrough and Lane set up their racket at Aryan Nations, using the church's printing press. But their foray into counterfeiting was an abject failure. Most counterfeiters press \$20 bills and pass them with small purchases. Yarbrough and Lane began by printing \$200,000 worth of phony \$50 bills which were then dried and treated with coffee grounds to make them look older.

On December 23, Pierce and Lane spent the day passing the poorly made bills at stores in Union Gap, Washington. A clerk became suspicious of one of the bills

and called the police, leading to Pierce's arrest. He was turned over to the Secret Service (the agency responsible for investigating counterfeiting in the U.S.) and charged with passing counterfeit money and carrying a concealed weapon. Not only that, but during his interrogation Pierce voluntarily revealed his affiliation with Aryan Nations, thus bringing the heat down on Pastor Butler.

Pierce was held on \$25,000 bail, which neither he or Mathews had. Posing yet another security threat, Pierce began calling other Order members from jail, thus linking them to a known counterfeiter. In response, several men contemplated leaving the group and even Mathews considered pulling the plug. The entire operation, he told a confidant, was "going down the toilet." It was then that Mathews decided to "stand up like a man and fight."

On December 20, Mathews armed himself with a handgun and entered the Innis Arden Branch of the City Bank in Seattle. He told a female clerk to stuff his bag full of cash and ordered several other women employees into the vault. Just then, a snowstorm hit Puget Sound; remarkably, it was Seattle's only snowstorm of the year. As Mathews left the bank, a security device exploded a dye pack inside the bag. The explosion stained the money, showered Mathews in red dye, and knocked him to the ground. Stunned, Mathews slowly drove away in the snowstorm carrying \$25,900 in tainted money. The robbery was distinguished only by its lack of criminal sophistication.

The purpose of the robbery was to raise bail for Pierce. And on that score it was a failure. Before Mathews could clean the money—using Zip Strip that discolored the bills creating what is called "blue backs"—Julie Pierce persuaded the judge to lower her husband's bail to \$2,500. Pierce's brother posted a \$250 surety bond and on December 23 Bruce Pierce walked out of jail. Three weeks later, on January 30, 1984, Pierce and Yarbrough robbed the Washington Mutual Savings Bank in Spokane, making off with \$3,600. Prior to the robbery, they placed a fake bomb in nearby store as a diversionary tactic.

By February, the Order was in dire straits. After three insignificant armed robberies and a bungled counterfeiting operation—crimes that undermined both the morale and security of the group—the Order had stolen less than \$30,000, much of it useless blue backs. With no other visible means of support (Mathews and the others had given up their day jobs by now), the core members of the group began to pawn their belongings.

Around this time David Lane distributed a *Bruders Schweigen* manual designed to improve the Order's criminal effectiveness. Those tactics began with covert operations. "Sometimes you are a sheep," wrote Lane, "and then you change to a wolf. Until you can sit at a table or in a bar with a beautiful white woman and her nigger boyfriend or husband and convince them you are overflowing with brotherly love and affection, you are not yet a completed agent of the white underground." Lane's manual also gave instructions on bank robbery, communications, disguises, and diversionary tactics. The Order was instructed to use police scanners to monitor locations; to wear gloves during all operations (to avoid leaving fingerprints);

to always carry at least \$500 cash; and to use factory-produced ammunition rather than home-made bullets.

With these new procedures in place, the Order went back to work. Returning to Seattle on March 16, Mathews, Pierce, Yarbrough, and Duey set their sites on a Continental Armored Transport truck—identified in their surveillance the previous November—making pickups at a Fred Meyer department store in a shopping mall. Shortly before the Continental truck arrived at its target location, once again the Order placed a fake bomb in a nearby store as a diversionary tactic.

When a security guard walked out of Fred Meyer pushing a shopping cart loaded with bags of money, Duey blocked the aisle leading to the door. Pierce then drew his gun and stopped the guard as Mathews came up from behind and took his weapon away. At this point Yarbrough pulled a battered old Dodge Dart to the curb—a car so decrepit that its reverse no longer worked. The others grabbed the money bags and loaded them into the car. In less than two minutes, the gang made off with \$43,345 in untainted bills. After fits and starts, the Order was finally off and running.

Mathews's organizational skills then began to coalesce. He re-booted the counterfeiting operation, put each member of his action group on salary, and bought them life insurance policies so that their families would be covered in the event of death. Yet his greatest achievements lay in the execution of armored truck robberies and the ascended authority those robberies gave him within the organization. As one Order member recalled, "Money gave Mathews power."

On April 19, the Order returned to Seattle for another heist. After checking his men into a Motel 6, Mathews split them into three teams. Mathews led the first one, responsible for conducting surveillance on a Continental Armored Transport truck at the Northgate Mall. Pierce's team was responsible for buying two cars for the robbery (a Ford van and a Chrysler sedan). And Yarbrough group was responsible for bombing a porno theater as a diversionary tactic. Though successful, the robbery was not executed with the military precision that would mark later operations.

After building a small explosive device in his motel room, on April 22 Yarbrough led his crew to the Embassy Theater, a pornographic movie house located in a seedy part of the city. They placed the bomb under a seat in a vacant section of the theater and set the timer. The powerful blast occurred around 5:00 p.m., blowing shards of debris and smoke through the lobby, causing panic but no serious injuries.

Around noon the next day, April 23, as the gang approached the Northgate Mall, Richard Kemp unloaded several boxes of roofing nails in a highway tunnel, hoping to create a massive traffic jam caused by flat tires. An hour earlier, a phone call had been made to the Embassy Theater, warning that another bomb was about to go off. This call was intended to further divert police from the Mall and add to the confusion. Yet these tactics had no impact at all. Despite the nails, tunnel traffic proceed as usual; the Embassy staff ignored the bomb threat and started showing movies as usual. The threat, as it turns out, was made hours too early.

At about 3:00 p.m. (four hours after the bomb threat) the armored truck arrived at the Northgate Mall. Pierce and Duey, armed with semi-automatic pistols, posed as window washers at a Mall store. When the armored vehicle pulled to a stop, a courier got out and walked to the rear compartment. Pierce calmly walked up and pressed the barrel of his gun to the courier's head. (Coincidentally, it was the same Continental guard he had robbed five weeks earlier.) Yarbrough then drove up in the Ford van and Mathews jumped out holding a sign up to the driver reading: "Get Out or You Die." Parmenter and Barnhill, wearing masks and brandishing shot-guns, pulled up in the Chrysler. The Continental driver and courier were forced into the back of the truck while Pierce began throwing money bags into the van. Moments later, the bandits left the scene with more than half a million dollars. Again, the entire robbery had taken less than two minutes.

Strategy

The Northgate robbery was a turning point for the Order. Even though Mathews had to burn some \$300,000 in checks taken in the heist, the gang still made off with more than \$200,000 in unmarked bills. Mathews put \$85,000 into reserve for future operations and gave Yarbrough \$40,000 for a donation to Aryan Nations (Butler would turn it down, however). The rest of the money went into stipends for the action group (\$24,000 a piece), incentives for new recruits, a printing press for the counterfeiting operation, computers to access the newly established Aryan Nations Liberty Net bulletin board, and firearms. One of these purchases—the April 26 acquisition of a Smith & Wesson 9mm semi-automatic pistol from a Missoula gun shop by Andrew Barnhill (who had failed to acquire fake IDs)—would ultimately have severe repercussions.

The Order's terrorism also began in the wake of the Northgate job. On April 26, three days after the robbery, a bench warrant was issued for Bruce Pierce after he failed to appear for sentencing on the counterfeiting charges. Now a federal fugitive, Pierce moved his family into a converted school bus camper and prepared for a major attack. Following directions in a terrorist manual, Pierce built a small bomb made out of dynamite, electrical blasting caps, a battery, and timer. On April 29, Pierce and Kemp tested the device on the Congregation Ahavath Israel Synagogue in Boise. This "act of war," as Pierce would later describe it, was intended to serve "a greater good." The blast did little damage, however, but more importantly the bombing was condemned by Mathews as an "unauthorized" action, thereby contributing to an unfolding rift between Mathews and his top lieutenant.

Internal conflict wasn't the Order's only problem at this point. Despite the instructions in Lane's *Bruders Schweigen* manual, the group was still saddled with a good deal of criminal incompetence. After Pierce failed to appear for sentencing, sheriffs deputies visited Mathews's home looking for him. Failing to find Pierce, the sheriff issued a press release asking the public to be on the lookout for the "Aryan counterfeiter." Mathews reacted with an angry reply in the local newspa-

per, vowing that he and Pierce would stand strong for the white race “even if it costs us our lives.” Rarely do terrorists go public with their intentions. When they do, it is almost certain that ideology has trumped criminal skill.

This became even more apparent in May when deputies received a tip on a vehicle matching Pierce’s parked at Randy Duey’s safe house in Newport, Washington. Inside, officers found Duey, Lane, and a professional counterfeiter named Robert Merki standing at a printing press (used to produce counterfeit \$10 bills) and a phone bill listing the number of Bob Mathews in Metaline Falls. Duey panicked and moved the operation to Merki’s home in Boise on May 15. There, Merki eventually manufactured thousands of bills which were transported by Lane to Philadelphia for passing by other operatives.

After these slip-ups, Mathews hired Richard Scutari to provide internal security. “Bob wasn’t street smart,” recalled Tom Martinez. “He was very impatient. He took tips from Scutari, Mr. Black. He was the brains behind the whole thing.” With that move, the Order became more effective in both its criminal operations and its terrorist actions.

Around this time, Mathews learned that there was a problem at Aryan Nations. Walter West, an unemployed recovering alcoholic, was hanging out in bars around Hayden Lake and saying things about Yarbrough’s involvement in armed robberies. To shut him up, Mathews asked Randy Duey to murder Walter West. On May 27, Duey and Kemp, along with two young Aryan Nations activists—Randy Evans and David Tate—lured 42-year-old West into a national forest near Hayden Lake. As they walked through the woods, Kemp came up behind West and smashed his skull with a sledgehammer. After a second blow failed to bring him down, West looked at Duey and cried, “What’s going on Randy?” Duey then blew the top of his head off with a mini-14 semi-automatic rifle, scattering his brains on the ground. West and his brains were buried in an unmarked grave that has never been found. Kemp later bragged to a friend: “I put him so far back in the woods that only God knows where he is.” Walter West’s murder would go unnoticed, but the Order’s next action would make a statement to the world.

That summer, Mathews added three names to the assassination list. The first was Morris Dees of the Southern Poverty Law Center. Dees was a well-known civil rights attorney who had recently bankrupted South Carolina’s Ku Klux Klan over their involvement in the lynching of a black youth. (The Order incorrectly assumed that Dees was Jewish.) The second was television producer Norman Lear, creator of such popular programs as *All in the Family* and *The Jeffersons*, both of which portrayed African Americans in a positive light. The third target was Alan Berg, a controversial Jewish radio talk show host from Denver. Berg had recently castigated the publisher of Colorado’s *Primrose and Cattlemen’s Gazette* for making anti-Semitic remarks in his newspaper. The publisher filed an \$8 million defamation suit against Berg, but the case was dismissed. Plagued by debts incurred in the lawsuit, the publisher closed the newspaper and laid off his employees. One of these employees was David Lane. Then in June 1983, Lane debated Berg on his

radio show and Berg humiliated the Klansman by calling him “a sick and pathetic human being.” It was an experience that Lane would never forget.

The Order’s assassination of Alan Berg has received wide attention. It has been the subject of several books, a news documentary, and two Hollywood movies. Yet typically overlooked in this coverage is the degree to which Mathews was able to use his charisma to build people’s sense of outrage over perceived injustices until they felt they had no choice but to act violently. “Mathews had a baby face,” an Order member once said to a reporter for the news program *Turning Point*, “so what came out of his mouth seemed acceptable.” This seems to have been especially true for the women in Mathews’s life. No one demonstrated this better than Jean Craig—mother of Mathews’s mistress, twenty-year-old Zillah Craig—of Laramie, Wyoming. In 1984, Jean Craig was a 51-year-old overweight grandmother with health problems. Although she had never committed a crime in her life, Mathews seduced her into his assassination plot.

In early June, Mathews asked Craig to create an “intelligence folder” on Berg by visiting Denver and monitoring his movements. Posing as a “writing student” from the University of Wyoming, Craig walked into the offices of KOA radio and asked for background information on Berg. After being handed a promotional package on Berg, Craig photographed the exterior of the building, including its surveillance cameras. By mid-June, she had tracked Berg’s every move. Based on her intelligence, Mathews and Scutari were able to learn what Berg looked like, the model of car he drove, where he lived, when he left for work and departed the station, and what restaurants he ate in.

On the balmy afternoon of June 18, Mathews, Pierce, Lane, and Scutari checked into a Motel 6 in east Denver which had been reserved by Pierce under the name Joseph Shelby. They went over Scutari’s plan. It was not complicated: The hit squad would simply follow Berg from the radio station to his condominium where they would kill him.

Around 9 o’clock that evening, Lane wheeled a dark blue Plymouth sedan to the curb near Berg’s home and turned on his police scanner. Lane was wearing a shoulder-length wig, a fake mustache, and plastic framed glasses. Mathews sat in the passenger seat, Pierce was in the back, and Scutari was waiting in a backup car several blocks away. In his hands, Pierce held a case carrying an Ingram MAC-10 automatic machine pistol—purchased by the Order’s Andrew Barnhill from CSA’s Randall Rader several months earlier. Unloading the weapon from its case, Pierce slipped a silencer over the barrel and jammed a thirty-round magazine into the clip.

At about 9:15, Berg pulled his shiny black Volkswagen into the driveway. Lane started the Plymouth, drove up behind Berg’s car, and parked sideways across the driveway. As Berg opened the door and swivelled to get out, Mathews jumped from the Plymouth and opened the rear door for Pierce who ran up the short driveway and trained his gun on Berg’s torso. Then he opened up, sending a dozen .45 caliber slugs into Berg’s chest and face. Bruce Carroll Pierce, the impetuous criminal novice from the Kentucky hollers, had now crossed a moral divide.

The Great Heist

While the Northgate robbery had advanced the Order's agenda, funds were now running low and there were more projects on the horizon. These included plans to bomb the Boundary Dam in northwest Washington (a huge power plant) and sabotage shipping lanes in Puget Sound. This need for additional capital led to one of the most electrifying crimes in the annals of American crime and justice. It began with a man named Charles Ostrout.

Back in 1982, Mathews had placed an ad in the ultra-right magazine, *The Spotlight*, calling for the establishment of a "White American Bastion." His intent was to promote the Pacific Northwest as a natural territory for white families. The ad offered an invitation to visit the Northwest and meet Mathews who would act as a local guide. Among those who replied was Charles Ostrout, a money room supervisor at the Brinks Security agency in San Francisco. During his visit, Ostrout lamented the fact that he had been passed over for promotion in favor of blacks because of the company's affirmative action policies. Mathews commiserated by welcoming Ostrout into his home and giving him \$50. Two years later, Mathews began to pump Ostrout for inside information about Brinks security arrangements.

In late June 1984, Mathews and Parmenter met with Ostrout in San Leandro, California. Ostrout talked about a Brinks run on California Highway 20 between Eureka and Sacramento, about a hundred miles north of San Francisco. He gave Mathews a map of the run and pointed out a location near the small town of Ukiah where the armored truck had to climb a steep and winding hill. At that point, where the highway rises 350 feet in less than a mile, the six-cylinder Brinks truck would be traveling at less than twenty miles an hour. With this, Mathews identified the ideal location for the Order's next robbery.

By July 4th, Pierce and Duey had joined Mathews and Parmenter at a Motel 6 in Santa Rosa, fifty miles south of Ukiah, where they began planning the robbery. Pierce and Duey bought three vehicles for the operation: two Ford pickups and a Fleetside sedan. They also visited the incline on the scheduled day that the armored truck made its run from Eureka; to time the operation, Mathews followed the truck up the hill, clocking its speed. After a week of planning, Mathews sent a message to the rest of the action group: They should come to California at once.

Seven new arrivals, including Richard Scutari, checked into various motels in Ukiah and Santa Rosa on the weekend of July 14. After Mathews went over the plot, Scutari pointed out that they had failed to design an escape plan, the most important part of a successful robbery. After deflecting several hair-brained schemes offered by Pierce, Scutari convinced the others that they should make a fast getaway, switch cars in a secluded area, and then separately go into hiding. This would require no less than three sets of vehicles: One for the robbery, one for the money switch, and another for the getaway. By mid-week, Duey had purchased two more vehicles—a 1971 white Ford van and a 1973 Buick Rivera. Scutari located a spot in the Palmo Recreational area near Lake Medocino to make the switch. After

clearing a swatch of land in a heavily wooded area down a steep hillside, Scutari brought in food, water, and other supplies in case the gang had to make their getaway on foot. Not only had Scutari designed a comprehensive getaway plan, but he had built in a contingency as well.

Once everything was in place, Mathews called a meeting to lay out the mission's primary rule: "We come for the money," he said. "No one is to get hurt." It is a testament to the Order's discipline, and Mathews's leadership, that this would come to pass. It would do so by dint of a force multiplier: Each man would be armed and several of them would carry heavy-fire power. This overwhelming show of force would compel the security guards to give up without a fight, thus expediting the robbery so that the gang could make its getaway.

On the morning of July 19, after more than two weeks of meticulous preparation, the counterfeiter Robert Merki drove to the small town of Willits, California, where he pulled into a McDonald's parking lot to wait for the Brinks truck to pass on its way to Ukiah. Merki's Cutlass was outfitted with a CB radio to relay messages to Scutari. Merki was armed with a Ruger .357 Magnum revolver and was disguised as an old woman—complete with a grey wig, skirt, blouse, panty hose, bra and falsies. The rest of the gang were waiting in Mathews's hotel room in Santa Rosa. All eleven men were dressed plainly in ball caps, blue jeans, and T-shirts with bandanas tied around their necks. After applying Krazy Glue to their fingertips, they slipped on surgical gloves to conceal fingerprints. Their final act of preparation was spiritual. As the room fell silent, Scutari recited the 91st Psalm, which ends with the words: "Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor the arrow that flieth by day."

Around 9:00 a.m., they climbed into the two Ford pickups and made their way to a staging area along Highway 101. Scutari, armed with an assault rifle, drove a green pickup equipped with a CB radio and a police scanner tuned to the local sheriff's office. Beside him was Mathews, carrying the 9mm Smith & Wesson purchased by Barnhill in Missoula after the Northgate raid. Pierce was in the truck bed, armed with a Heckler & Koch .308-caliber semiautomatic rifle loaded with armor piercing bullets. Next to him was Parmenter, holding a fake bazooka and manning a box of roofing nails. Yarbrough drove a blue pickup and carried the MAC-10 used to kill Alan Berg. Duey sat besides him with an Israeli 9mm Uzi. Barnhill, armed with an H&K .308, was in the bed along with Randy Evans and Richard Kemp, both armed with shotguns.

Shortly after noon, Merki radioed Scutari with a coded message indicating that the Brinks truck was on its way. Moments later, the truck rumbled past the staging area and into the history books of routine activity theory.

Scutari pulled out followed by Yarbrough. They caught up with the armored truck just as it turned onto Highway 20 and began lumbering up the steep incline. Scutari moved his pickup into the left lane and passed the Brinks truck, followed by Yarbrough who stayed alongside the Brinks. Then Scutari jammed on the brakes, forcing the heavy Brinks truck to a stop.

The men in the pickups stood up and trained their weapons on the guards. All had bandannas over their faces except for the ever-erratic Pierce who brazenly showed his face. One of them held up a sign reading: "Get Out or Die."

Mathews ran to the passenger side, yelling "Get out, now!" Yet the guards didn't move. As they sat there in stunned silence, Parmenter pointed what appeared to be a rocket launcher at them and after ten seconds without a reply, Pierce jumped onto the hood of the Brinks truck and blistered the top of the bullet-proof windshield with four shots, showering the guards with glass. They jumped out with their hands in the air, shouting "We'll give you anything you want!"

"Shut up," Pierce snarled.

At this point, the Brinks truck started rolling backward; in his haste to get out the driver had failed to set the emergency brake. Evans and Kemp turned their shotguns on the rear tandem and blew the tires flat, bringing the truck to a cock-eyed stop. Mathews ordered the guards to lie face down on the shoulder of the road then he tried to open the doors of the cab so he could trip a switch unlocking the rear compartment. But the doors were locked. Mathews tried to enter the truck from the backdoor but it was locked, too. Still sitting in back was a third guard, a young African American woman. When she stood up, Evans fired his shotgun through a side window. Badly shaken, she opened the side door, locking it behind her, and surrendered. Now the truck was locked with no one inside. The only way to enter the rear compartment was by tripping the unlock switch in the cab.

Scutari was manning the police scanner and calling out the timing of the robbery every thirty seconds as Duey directed traffic on Highway 20 with his rifle. By now, the Order had been on the road for ten long minutes and Scutari expected to hear the robbery called out over his scanner at any moment. Mathews got in the woman's face and screamed, "Open that door! Get that door open now!" Then Pierce aimed his weapon at her head. The force multiplier worked. She pulled the keys from her pocket and opened the cab, allowing Mathews to trip the unlock switch.

After Scutari backed up to the rear of the Brinks truck, Mathews jumped in the back of the Brinks and took his place at the front of a bucket-brigade, passing one bag of money after another to the other men who stacked them in Scutari's bed. After passing a few bags, Mathews felt his pistol digging into his waist. To relieve the pressure, he shoved the gun down his pant leg. After Mathews passed several more bags, the gun fell on the floor and was covered by debris.

Once the bed was filled, Scutari pulled away following Yarbrough. The roofing nails were then tossed onto the road behind the fleeing vehicles. When the pickups were several hundred feet away, the female guard got off the ground; Pierce fired off a round over her head, forcing the woman to hit the ground.

Within minutes, the pickups arrived at the Palmo Recreational area where the gang quickly transferred everything into the white van—the money, guns, gloves, CB radio, and scanner. Then each man put on a different shirt and piled into the van

and the Riviera. The switch cars pulled onto the highway where they easily blended into the routine traffic flow. Several minutes later, the switch cars pulled into two other areas where the money, guns, and equipment were transferred to several get-away cars. The robbers left those areas just as police cars screamed by in the opposite direction responding to the robbery.

In less than twenty minutes, the Order had stolen \$3.6 million and, on Mathews's explicit instructions, no one had been hurt in the process. It was, at the time, the most successful overland robbery ever committed on American soil.

Aftermath

The gang met up in Reno, Nevada, where they cleaned the inside of the van and ditched it. From there the Order headed to Merki's home in Boise, arriving on July 21, where they counted out the robbery money and discussed plans for the future. Despite their success, this discussion deepened the inter-group conflict and again it centered on Pierce's simmering feud with Mathews.

When Mathews said that he wanted to divide the money among other white power groups, Pierce began bitching that he wanted more say in the Order's structure and direction. The Identity Christians sided with Pierce. Tempers flared and a shoving match ensued between the Yarbrough and Mathews. Once civility was restored, Mathews agreed to a reorganization plan. From now on, Pierce would lead a break-away cell responsible for "procurements [sic]," or future robberies. Mathews would remain the overall coordinator, concentrating on strategy and the recruitment of new soldiers. Duey would take responsibility for indoctrination; Yarbrough would handle assassinations; and Scutari would continue as head of security.

So that's the way it was. Pierce organized his own cell and Bob Mathews became a roving ambassador for the American radical right, spreading his largesse far and wide. After a brief visit with Zillah Craig in Laramie—where he dramatically changed his appearance by dying his dark brown hair blond—Mathews loaded hundreds of thousands of dollars in the trunk of a used Pontiac and began donating money to Identity preachers, Ku Klux Klan members, and neo—Nazis. Most of it was earmarked for recruiting youth into the movement. In Columbus, Ohio, Mathews gave a racist college professor an undetermined amount of cash to start a white power rock band that would appeal to America's emerging skinhead movement. He donated \$300,000 to Tom Metzger of the White Aryan Resistance in Fallbrook, California; Metzger used these proceeds to support his communications system of racist teen magazines, telephone hotlines, computer bulletin boards, a cable access television program, and white power rock concerts. In Arlington, Virginia, Mathews gave William Pierce \$50,000; Pierce bought a 364-acre farm and began writing *Hunter*, his sequel to *The Turner Diaries*. In Angier, North Carolina, Mathews donated \$200,000 to the Grand Dragon of the Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which he used to open an all-white Christian school for Klan children. In

perhaps his most audacious attempt to secure the future of the Aryan race, Mathews established a surrogate mother program in Portland. Here, the robbery money was used to support a sperm bank for the “siring” of future Aryan warriors.

Mathews also used the Ukiah windfall to secure the loyalty of his inner circle. Each robbery participant received \$40,000. Duey was also given nearly half a million dollars to start his indoctrination center in Bluecreek, Washington. His Aryan Academy was soon outfitted with a television, videodisc player, loud speakers, and cassette decks. Scutari received more than a hundred thousand dollars and began spending money like a drunken sailor, buying police scanners, wiretap detectors, telephone scramblers, walkie-talkies, and a radio frequency detector—a device that could pick up radio signals and detect FBI informants wearing a wire. Lane was given \$310,000 for his propaganda program and Pierce was given \$642,000 to support his splinter group. He immediately went to work identifying robbery targets in San Francisco. Totally obsessed with his role as an Aryan warrior, Pierce envisioned a scheme to hit a Brinks cash vault and then rob an incoming air shipment of Brinks money at the San Francisco Airport. The expected take: \$20 million. But the Order’s most ambitious plans were for terrorist training. This included a plan to forge an alliance between the Order and an official of the Syrian government. Any enemy of the Jews, Mathews reasoned, was a friend of the Order.

At the center of this new initiative was the ever-skillful Randall Rader. Less than a week after the Ukiah robbery, Scutari traveled to Gentry, Arkansas, where he met Rader and offered him \$145,000 to set up two paramilitary training bases. Rader’s talents in this area were, according to Flynn and Gerhardt, “second to none.” Rader, then unemployed and adrift from the CSA, jumped at the chance. He began by amassing supplies ranging from combat boots, backpacks, and paramilitary uniforms to flares, tents, and camping gear. In September, Rader left his wife and relocated to the Northwest with a nominally talented cook named Nash. After scouting the area, Rader paid \$88,000 for 110 acres of rural property near Priest River, Idaho—a place of breathtaking beauty—and began converting the land to a training camp. (A 160-acre parcel in Shannon County Missouri was later purchased for a second camp.) Rader’s crew cleared the land, dug foxholes, set up a mess tent, and surrounded the area with machine gun nests. As a cover, Rader formed the Mountain Man Supply Company for the purpose of buying equipment for the camp. On shopping sprees to Las Vegas and Reno, Rader spent more than forty-thousand dollars on radio towers, a base station, chainsaws, all-terrain vehicles, snowmobiles, generators, a trailer, and surveillance cameras along with dozens of firearms and tons of ammunition. It is worth remembering that all of this took place years before Osama bin Laden established his first terrorist training camp in the mountains of Afghanistan.

Yet the training and re-organization created more heat than light. As the Order set out to develop more sophisticated skills for the future, the FBI was taking advantage of the gang’s mistakes of the past.

Evidence as Totem

The primary goal of this research is to identify the distinguishing features of terrorist-oriented criminality. The FBI's investigation of the Brink truck robbery revealed such a distinction. And like all terrorism, this distinction was located in the varieties of criminality associated with deviant subcultures.

When the CSA's Richard Snell was found with a .22-caliber pistol following his killing of an Arkansas state trooper—the same gun Snell previously used to murder a pawnshop owner—he was not simply showing a lack of judgement. Nor was he exhibiting the sort of criminal stupidity we've so far witnessed with the international jihadists. This was something entirely different. Instead, Snell was demonstrating a fundamental characteristic of the American radical right. Rather than concealing incriminating evidence, American terrorists actually hold onto this evidence, thereby recasting it as a symbol of their struggle. The terrorist's ends (bombing targets, assassination victims, etc.) are always symbolic. And so are the means to those ends. For Snell, the .22-caliber pistol was far more than physical evidence worthy of capital punishment. For him, it was proof of a noble performance.

This facet of domestic terrorism is all about individual reputation, or the prospect of generating stories that cast the terrorist as brave, loyal to confederates, and fearless to a fault. In these stories, the terrorist assumes a heroic identity that becomes a permanent part of their biography. Terrorists use evidence gained in battle, then, to create stories that reveal themselves as admirable to present and future audiences. Why do terrorists consider evidence to be venerated emblems of their crimes? "Beats me," said the FBI's Danny Coulson. "It's kind of like the Sioux when they slaughtered Custer's troops at Little Big Horn. They cut off fingers of dead soldiers and wore them as necklaces. To them, it was totem."

Manhunt

Within days of the Ukiah robbery, FBI agents from San Francisco traced the 9mm Smith & Wesson pistol found in the Brinks truck to Andrew Barnhill of Laclede, Idaho. This information was passed on to the special agent in charge of the investigation, Wayne Manis of the FBI office in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho. When Manis and two agents kicked in Barnhill's door several days later, they discovered evidence indicating that the Ukiah heist was not a conventional armed robbery. Along with racist material tying Barnhill to Aryan Nations, the agents discovered totem in the form of a newspaper article about the Continental armored truck robbery at the Northgate Mall in Seattle. "The article was neatly folded," said Manis in my interview with him. "It was in a stack of personal items, including Barnhill's baby teeth. It was being preserved and we knew that it was very personal to him."

The article was just the beginning of evidence linking Barnhill to a broader conspiracy. A background check revealed that on June 19, 1984, Andrew Barnhill

(again using his own name) had been arrested in Madras, Oregon, on weapons charges. Arrested with him was Randy Evans, who also gave his real name to police. When officers asked Evans for his car registration, he handed over a title and registration issued to Denver Parmenter. That caused the FBI to take another look at Randy Duey, Parmenter's former roommate in Newport, Washington, who—along with David Lane and Robert Merki—had been questioned in May by deputies looking for Bruce Pierce.

Barnhill's failure to use a fake ID when purchasing the Smith & Wesson in Missoula was the thread that unraveled the conspiracy, yet Barnhill was not the only one who exhibited a slipshod criminality. The Order's greatest failing was in the area of communications.

Back in January 1984, Mathews instructed Robert Merki's wife, Sharon, to set up a communications system in the couple's basement at their home in Boise. Known as the "Bear Trap," a separate telephone line served as a message center and all contact between Mathews and the others was to be made through this center using code names only. This way, operatives would never have to phone Mathews directly. Instead, they would phone the Bear Trap and Sharon Merki would log in the call and relay the message to Carlos. Yet this system was not used for ordinary calls to family members, and that was straw that broke the Order's back.

Following the Brinks robbery, agents in Santa Rosa interviewed several people who sold cars to the robbery suspects (agents located these people by tracing license numbers from the vehicles after they'd been abandoned by the Order near the robbery site). The seller of the Buick Riviera told agents that the car was sold to a Caucasian man who said he was staying at the Motel 6 on Cleveland Street. Agents then began checking toll call records from pay phones in the Cleveland Street area made prior to the robbery. Knowing that a man from Idaho (Barnhill) had purchased the abandoned gun in the Brinks truck, investigators narrowed the vast volume of toll records to ten telephone calls from pay phones around Cleveland Street to various locations in the Montana-Idaho-Washington area.

Among these was a call to a number belonging to "Gary Olbu" in Sandpoint, Idaho. Several months earlier, Wayne Manis quietly began investigating allegations of an armed robbery committed by an Aryan Nations security guard named . . . Gary Lee Yarbrough. Following the leads provided by the check of phone records in Santa Rosa, on September 5, 1984, Manis set up a stakeout in a strip mall near the home of "Gary Olbu." To his amazement, Manis saw Gary Yarbrough leave that house, get on his motorcycle, and drive to a pay phone. "I knew this was unusual," Manis recalled, "because I'd just phoned his house sixty seconds earlier and the phone was working fine. So, why was he going to a pay phone?" A search of that pay phone record showed that Yarbrough had called a number belonging to Suzanne Stewart in Boise—Sharon Merki's daughter.

There were also calls made from the Santa Rosa pay phones to the homes of Denver Parmenter's wife in Cheney, Washington; Zillah Craig in Laramie; Charles Ostrout in San Leandro; and Robert Mathews in Metaline Falls. But perhaps the

most important call was made to the home of Sandra Glee in Troy, Montana. For “Sandra Glee,” as it turns out, was an alias used by Bruce Pierce’s wife, Julie.

On September 8, Manis left his surveillance of Yarbrough house to supervise the execution a search warrant on Pierce’s home in Troy. Finding the house empty, Manis searched the grounds where he came across a plywood silhouette target of a police officer shot full of holes. Buried in some nearby trees, he discovered numerous slugs from a .45-caliber weapon. Ballistics tests showed that they came from the Ingram MAC-10 automatic machine pistol used to kill Alan Berg.

Essentially, the FBI now had the Order dead to rights, primarily because of their inattention to the security of communications. “Most of them were not seasoned criminals,” said Manis. “They thought they were dealing with a toothless dog [in the FBI] at the time. They thought the phones would be safe, but, of course, they weren’t. The records gave us leads to discover the whole organization.” Had the Silent Brotherhood lived in the age of cell phones, the investigation may never have gone beyond the leads associated with Barnhill’s purchase of the gun found in the Brinks truck. But the fact of the matter was that Mathews’s gang was not burdened by one loose cannon; rather, the Order was comprised of nothing but loose cannons. Their incompetence was about to play itself out in the Berg investigation as well.

In many ways, selecting David Lane as the wheel man in the Berg assassination was the dumbest decision ever made by Mathews and Scutari. Back in 1981, Lane was pulled over on a routine traffic stop in Denver and police discovered a batch of Aryan Nations material in his trunk. The media were called in and the next day Lane’s picture was splashed across the front pages of the newspapers. Also, Lane had debated Berg on the radio in June 1983, so there were publicly available tapes of that program. Not surprisingly, then, following the Berg assassination Denver police announced that Lane was wanted for questioning, and again his picture appeared in the newspapers. When Lane learned of it, he wrote an open letter to the Denver media denying his involvement in the Berg murder. Investigators got another break in the case when they checked registrations at Denver hotels. Near the Motel 6 in east Denver, where “Joseph Shelby” and three other men stayed prior to Berg’s murder, records showed that calls were made from pay phones to Mathews’s home in Metaline Falls, and to a number in Fort Lupton, Colorado, that was situated around the corner from an occasional residence used by David Lane.

It would take months for the FBI to make the arrests, however. Because Bureau officials believed that the evidence was not yet strong enough, Manis and his investigators were instructed to remain in “intelligence-gathering mode” by placing the suspects under surveillance. By the end of September, 1984, some forty FBI agents had joined the surveillance. They staked out Mathews’s home in Metaline Falls, Craig’s house in Laramie, Parmenter’s apartment in Seattle, the Merki’s bungalow in Boise, and, of course, Yarbrough’s home in Sandpoint. This final stakeout set in motion a series of events that would bring the case to a close.

On the morning of October 18, three FBI agents, dressed in blue jeans and with no identifying insignias, drove a U.S. Forest Service vehicle down a dirt road leading to Yarbrough's rented house, passing a "no trespassing" sign he had posted at the edge of his property. As the truck neared the house, Yarbrough pulled on a military fatigue jacket, grabbed his .45-caliber pistol, and ran toward the moving vehicle. Then, from about one hundred feet away, Yarbrough opened fire. The bullet cracked over the vehicle and then Yarbrough fired again. The shooting, he would later claim, was a "stupid thing" on his part, intended only to scare the agents away. That, of course, made little difference to the agents on the morning of October as Yarbrough escaped into the dense woods, the agents made their way back to town where they summoned the FBI's Hostage Rescue Team. Nine hours later, the agents obtained a search warrant and returned to Yarbrough's house. Meanwhile, other agents were dispatched to nearby Samuels, Idaho, where Yarbrough's brother, Stephen, lived. By this time, Gary Yarbrough had made his way to Stephen's house and he saw the agents coming in the dead of night. Rather than making a break for it, though, Yarbrough rolled into a ditch, pointed his gun at the house, and pretended to be an undercover agent himself. Remarkably, no one questioned him. After awhile Yarbrough saw his chance to escape and, for the second time that day, disappeared into the tree line.

As this was going on, Manis led the search of Yarbrough's home in Sandpoint. In the bedroom, agents found a copy of Kenneth Goddard's *Balefire*, about a terrorist strike on the Los Angeles Olympic Games, with key sections outlined in red. Firearms and ordinance were spread throughout the residence, including pistols, shotguns, assault rifles, thousands of rounds of ammunition, along with wigs, ski masks, brass knuckles, switch blades, a commando crossbow, plastic explosives, dynamite, and tear gas grenades. Next to a mantle piece was a large portrait of Adolf Hitler, surrounded by black crepe paper and candles, and nearby was a picture of Jesus Christ. On the floor was a brown case, and inside was an Ingram MAC-10 automatic machine pistol.

Agents also came across a document labeled *Bruders Schweigen*, which set forth a national command structure headed by someone named "Carlos," along with a roster of dozens of operatives responsible to him. Further hinting at the gang's sophistication, the document contained information on local law enforcement officers including computer printouts with their names, home addresses and phone numbers, vehicle license plates, along with photographs of these officers and other pertinent information. But even that paled in comparison to the totem discovered.

Among Yarbrough's papers, Manis found receipts for equipment delivered to the Mountain Man Supply Company at Priest River. "I assigned two agents to go to the camp," Manis recalled with a tone of regret, "but I was told [by higher-ups] that there was a shortage of manpower. Had we gone to Priest River, we could have got them all, right then. Everything else could have been avoided."

Last Call

By now, Yarbrough had made his way to a pay phone where he contacted Carlos via the Bear Trap, indicating that he had been shot during the raid (which turned out to be a lie in order to gain sympathy). Mathews, in turn, put out a message saying that “Gary has been shot by the FBI.” This call led to a gathering of the Order at the Priest River camp two days later.

At 8:00 p.m. on the cold night of October 21, Mathews stood inside the mess tent before twenty members of his Silent Brotherhood—the largest gathering of the organization ever—and attempted to regroup after the Sandpoint raid. First and foremost, Mathews instructed Duey to travel to Washington, D.C., and meet with his Syrian contacts. Mathews’s goal was to form an Aryan-Islamic alliance capable of mounting a campaign of urban terrorism, focusing on the assassination of FBI agents. The campaign would begin with a strike against the FBI office in Sandpoint to retrieve the documents taken from Yarbrough. The plan to establish a confederacy of American neo-Nazis and Middle Eastern jihadists was, and remains to this day, a unique development in the history of worldwide terrorism—one that goes far beyond the revolutionary screed of *The Turner Diaries* or any other anti-government tract of the era.

Cooler heads would prevail, however. After delivering his battle cry, Mathews was taken aside by Scutari and Rader who persuaded him that the others were not up to a commando war against the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This was especially so for Rader’s crew, which included Barnhill, Parmenter, Kemp, and half a dozen others. Rader’s training camp may have preceded bin Laden’s, but the Order was no al-Qaeda. Having grown tired of the camp’s primitive living conditions, Nash’s poor cooking, and the driving Idaho snow storms, Rader’s cell had fractured within a matter of weeks. Three of his men were drinking heavily, one had a drug problem, and another was being held in disciplinary custody for spending too much money, gossiping, and running home to his mother. There was talk of mutiny. Their leader, Randall Rader—the maniacal neo-Nazi munitions expert who once ate his own dog—had become lost in a netherworld of delusion and paranoia. Rader came to believe that his camp was being monitored by a coven of witches living down the road, so he was conducting surveillance on the place. He also became more ruthless than ever by cracking down on his men with reminders of Walter West’s brutal murder. Moreover, as a defense attorney would later say in court, at this point the Order’s likelihood of mounting a war against the FBI was akin to “the Three Stooges trying to conduct brain surgery.”

Mathews, it seems, had lost his charisma. One man at the Priest River summit later recalled that Mathews had aged ten years since the Berg assassination. Rader testified that Mathews had “flipped out at this point, he was really losing it.” Another said that Carlos had gone “cuckoo.” Others—including Barnhill, Kemp, and even Rader himself—left the Order shortly after Mathews’s call to arms. Though Mathews was ready for battle, only a handful of his kinsmen were still willing to

follow him. So Carlos closed down the Priest River camp, divvied up roughly \$1.5 million in remaining loot, and his warriors went their separate ways. Mathews and his closest remaining allies—Scutari, Yarbrough, and a new recruit from California named Frank Silva—would head to Portland.

The Martyrdom of Robert Jay Mathews

Tom Martinez was one of the Order operatives responsible for passing counterfeit bills in Philadelphia. He was arrested on June 29, 1984, after passing some phony tens at a liquor store near his home. After being released on bail, Martinez called Mathews to discuss his legal problems, and Mathews convinced him to skip bail and go underground. Shortly thereafter, however, Mathews initiated a plan to murder the liquor store merchant who was the primary witness in the Martinez case. In order to avoid that murder, Martinez made the decision to cooperate with the FBI in its investigation of Mathews's secret army. By this point, the FBI had identified the Order as the most serious terrorist threat in the nation.

Martinez flew to Portland on November 23 where he was met at the airport by Mathews and Yarbrough. "I liked Mathews a whole lot," said Martinez. "But he'd become a weird bird by then. And Yarbrough: he had two grenades in the back seat and talked about nothing but finding some prostitutes to fuck up."

Through Martinez's cooperation, the FBI tracked the three men to the Capri Motel— Martinez to Room 14 on the ground level and Mathews and Yarbrough to Room 42 on the second floor. After Yarbrough checked the walls (and Martinez) for hidden microphones, they met in Room 42 where Mathews laid out Martinez's new role. "I was supposed to meet with David Lane in Mobile, Alabama," he said, "and then assassinate Morris Dees." (By now, Jean Craig had already been in Birmingham, Alabama, where she'd conducted surveillance on Dees's home and office.) "Mathews was crazy," Martinez recalled, "I could see it in his eyes."

By 4:00 a.m., the Capri was surrounded by twenty FBI agents, including a SWAT team. Their primary target was Yarbrough—not only because he had shot at one of their own back in Sandpoint, but because agents had discovered a perfect match between the firing pin of the MAC-10 found at Yarbrough's house and the shell casings taken from the Berg murder scene in Denver. Yarbrough, the only career criminal in the Order, had apparently learned little in his criminal career. Investigators never expected to find the murder weapon, assuming instead that it was corroding at the bottom of a lake somewhere. "Incredibly," writes Coulson, "Yarbrough had preserved the best possible evidence short of a confession." But that is a rather polite accounting of events. When I asked Manis about Yarbrough's possession of the gun, he replied: "It was one of the stupidest things I've ever seen." Coulson was even more adamant in his interview: "What an idiot! Yarbrough wasn't even at the Berg murder. He had nothing to do with it." That's one way of looking at it. Another is that Yarbrough could not avoid the temptation of gathering totem.

When the sun came up, Manis evacuated all of the guests from the Capri, except

for those in Rooms 14 and 42. Around 8:40 a.m., Mathews appeared on the catwalk outside his room. He was carrying a clipboard in his hands, a wad of robbery money in his pocket, and a 9-mm pistol in his belt. As he began walking down the stairs on his way to Martinez's room, Mathews caught a glimpse of someone hiding in the bushes near the parking lot.

He bolted down the stairs and an agent fired at him; yet the bullet missed and ricocheted into the motel office injuring the manager. Mathews ran across the parking lot, down the street, and around a corner. Agents followed shouting, "Stop Mathews!" "Halt, FBI!" and "Freeze, you bastard!" Outrunning them, Mathews found cover behind a concrete wall, drew his gun, and waited. Hearing the commotion, Yarbrough jumped from the bathroom window of his room into some bushes where he was instantly surrounded by Uzi-toting agents and taken into custody.

When one of the agents reached the wall, Mathews squeezed off two rounds, hitting him in the foot and leg. Another agent fired back with a shotgun, blasting the pistol out of Mathews's right hand and tearing a chunk of flesh from it. In searing pain, Mathews bolted down the street, jumped a fence, and disappeared down an alley.

Several blocks away, he met two workers installing a burglar alarm on a house and persuaded them to take him to the emergency room of a nearby hospital. On the way, Mathews spotted a car with skis mounted on top sitting at a Union 76 gas station. Presuming the car was headed to the ski resort on Mount Hood, Mathews told his driver to stop and then he ran up to the car and asked for a ride. A half hour later, Mathews was let out in the small community of Brightwood where, coincidentally, Silva and Scutari had recently rented a safe house. Through nothing but his own sheer determination, Mathews had eluded the dragnet.

Scutari tended to Mathews's wound by cutting the torn flesh off his hand with a hunting knife—sans painkillers. After Mathews explained what had happened at the Capri, Scutari made the case for leaving for Arizona at once. Mathews, though, favored a move north—to safe houses Duey and Merki had rented on Whidbey Island, a vacation resort located in the middle of Puget Sound near Everett, Washington, north of Seattle.

Mathews and Silva left immediately for Whidbey Island. They were joined there a day later by Scutari, Duey, and Robert and Sharon Merki, who helped Mathews settle into a two-story cedar home on a cliff overlooking the Sound. Based largely on articles published in William Pierce's *National Vanguard*, Mathews then began writing a "Declaration of War on ZOG," awkwardly scrawling out thoughts with his left hand. On November 25, after hearing about the shootout in Portland, Bruce Pierce—who had been living with his cell in a trailer park in Pahrump, Nevada—arrived on the Island along with Randy Evans.

Pierce and Mathews buried the hatchet and embraced one another. Pierce congratulated Mathews for showing his mettle in Portland and then filled his comrade in on what he'd been up to during the past few months. Before hitting the Brinks vault in San Francisco, Pierce said his cell had plans to re-rob the armored truck in Ukiah. With that money, they would fund the bombing of three major power lines

in Los Angeles (Pierce had already gathered ammonium nitrate fertilizer for the bomb and had stored it in a Texas rental locker). Amid the ensuing bedlam, they would unload a barrel of cyanide into the L.A. water supply. Consistent with *The Turner Diaries*, this would trigger an urban race war. "The niggers'll be in the streets in an hour," Pierce predicted, "and the cops'll be shooting."

Mathews handed Pierce a typed copy of his eight-page Declaration, indicating that the Order was "in a full and unrelenting state of war with those forces seeking and consciously promoting the destruction of our faith and our race." The document was then signed by Mathews, Pierce, Duey, Scutari, Evans, Silva, and Robert Merki. Pierce left with Evans the following day to rejoin his group in Nevada. On December 1, Duey ferried to the mainland and had a thousand copies of the Declaration made for distribution to the nation's biggest newspapers.

Then, on December 7, one of Mathews's confidants went to a payphone on Whidbey Island and called the FBI office in Seattle. This person—whose identity has never been revealed—told the FBI that Mathews was staying in one of three houses the Order was renting on the Island, and went on to identify those addresses.

The previous day, December 6, Scutari and Silva had left the Island to locate safe houses in the Southwest. They tried to persuade Mathews to come along, but he declined, preferring, in his words, to "go out in a blaze of glory." Shortly after receiving their December 7 tip, FBI agents took the Merki into custody without incident. Duey was also arrested, as he ran from the backdoor of his house with a fully loaded submachine gun in one hand and a loaded 9 mm pistol in the other. Inside agents found two copies of the Declaration of War along with eleven copies of *The Diaries*, ten thousand dollars in cash, and a letter to an unnamed Syrian authority stipulating terms of financial assistance to the Order.

Mathews was now in his safe house along with Merki's son, Ian Stewart. Mathews had one good hand, a 9mm. Uzi machine gun, a gas mask, and several thousand rounds of ammunition.

On the afternoon of December 7, approximately one hundred FBI agents surrounded the safe house, causing Stewart to surrender. Danny Coulson telephoned Mathews and attempted to coax him out, but that came to no avail. After several attempts, Mathews quit answering the phone. Then, shortly after sundown, a gunshot rang out from the house, followed by a mournful wail.

The next morning, SWAT teams began pumping CS gas into the house in order to drive out any living person. Mathews, they assumed, was dead. At midday—after pumping more than 250 rounds of tear gas into the second floor—agents threw flash bang grenades into the ground floor and stormed inside. Suddenly, through the ceiling above them came a torrent of machine gun fire. The agents retreated and took cover behind some trees. Then Mathews opened up again, causing the agents to fire back in a thunderous clank of firepower that went on for fifteen minutes.

At sundown, an FBI gun ship flew in and cast a huge searchlight on the house. Hovering three feet from the roof, the helicopter immediately took on gunfire as

Mathews ran across the upper floor shooting round after round through the ceiling. As the chopper pulled away, a SWAT team sent a volley of shots into the second floor. Again Mathews retaliated with a ferocious barrage of machine gun fire, driving the agents back. Then he opened fire on a second SWAT team and drove them off the perimeter as well.

At this point, a command decision was made to burn the house to the ground. Sometime on the evening of August 8, agents fired a round of phosphorescent flares through a ground floor window. Within seconds, an intense fire erupted that was aggravated by the explosion of ammunition inside the house. As the flames raged upwards two hundred feet into the blackened sky, still Mathews rained down automatic gunfire from his second floor perch. Then, finally, the shooting stopped.

The next morning, after the debris had cooled enough to start the search for evidence, investigators found a scorched bathtub that had fallen from the second floor. Lying beside it were the burned remains of Mathews's body. Buried in his chest cavity was a piece of molten gold. Still legible was a diagram of a shield with a Roman cross and two German words printed across the center: *Bruders Schweigen*—the Silent Brotherhood.

* * *

Approximately one year after Mathews's death, the U.S. Justice Department completed its successful prosecution of the Order. The trial, which cost over \$1 million and featured the presentation of 1,538 pieces of evidence and the appearance of 280 witness, brought to light sixty-five crimes ranging from robberies, arson, bombings, counterfeiting, and murder to conspiracy to rob affecting interstate commerce, and transporting stolen property across state lines. Together, these crimes constituted 176 overt acts fitting the definition of "racketeering activity" specified in the federal RICO statute (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organization Act), originally designed to prosecute organized crime figures. The inner circle received the harshest punishments. Bruce Pierce (captured in Rossville, Georgia, on March 26, 1985) was sentenced to 250 years in prison. Randy Duey received a one-hundred-year sentence. Gary Yarbrough was sentenced to eighty years; Andrew Barnhill drew forty years; Richard Kemp and Richard Scutari were both sentenced to sixty years. David Lane received a life sentence. Randall Rader turned state's evidence and became a key witness against both the Order and the CSA. He entered the Witness Protection Program in 1986, as did Tom Martinez.

And Robert Jay Mathews became a revolutionary role model for the white supremacy movement. He had an especially deep effect on racist skinheads throughout the world. Mathews became their martyr, a fallen hero immortalized in countless underground publications and white power rock anthems. The date of his killing at the hands of ZOG became, in fact, an international memorial day for the white power world, a day to commemorate not only Mathews but all "white warriors who have fallen in battle." Thus, December 8—known in the movement as the Day of Martyrs—ultimately took its place alongside April 19 (the "Date of Doom" com-

memorating the FBI's deadly 1993 raid on the Branch Davidians at Waco, Texas) and April 20 (Hitler's birthday) in the pantheon of Aryan mythology. Wherever white supremacists would gather in the years after Mathews's death, the Order was held up as the supreme example of racial integrity. That others would seek to emulate their terrorism was inevitable. . . .

Note

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