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Recent Trends and Future Prospects of Terrorism in the United States

Bruce Hoffman

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Bruce Hoffman

May 1988

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PREFACE

This report presents the final results of the second phase of a two-part study of the spectrum of terrorist individuals and groups that could be considered likely to attempt to take over, steal, or misuse a nuclear weapon within the next 10 to 15 years. This work was carried out under the International Security and Defense Policy Research Program of RAND's National Security Research Division.

The report examines recent trends and future prospects of terrorism in the United States and assesses the implications of those trends for the security of nuclear weapons system, strategic nuclear material, and weapons facilities.

The first phase of the project was documented in RAND Note N-2706, *The Threat of Nuclear Terrorism: A Reexamination*, by Peter deLeon and Bruce Hoffman, January 1988.

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SUMMARY

→ This report examines recent trends and future prospects of terrorism in the United States and assesses their implications for the possibility of a terrorist group attempting an act of nuclear terrorism involving either the theft of a weapons system or strategic nuclear material or an attack on a weapons facility.

While the number of terrorist incidents in the United States is relatively small compared with the number of attacks on Americans overseas—and is statistically insignificant compared with the amount of violent domestic (nonpolitical) crimes—the United States itself is not immune to domestic terrorism, and there exist in this country a variety of groups that are committed to the use of violence in pursuit of their objectives.

The continuing violence perpetrated by Puerto Rican separatists, Jewish radicals, and militant opponents of legalized abortion, the upsurge in activity by right-wing extremists, the involvement of foreign drug dealers in terrorist acts, and the evidence that a black Chicago street gang sought to make a deal with a foreign government to carry out terrorist operations in this country, along with other indications that Middle Eastern elements in the United States have been involved in the planning and execution of terrorist acts, demonstrate that the threat of terrorism can by no means be discounted.

→ An emerging trend of ideologically motivated terrorism by groups espousing white supremacist and anti-federalist beliefs or opposing specific issues such as abortion has largely supplanted the ethnic-centered violence that dominated earlier domestic terrorist activity. Between 1974 and 1984, ethnic separatist or emigre terrorist organizations were responsible for more than 75 percent of the terrorist acts in this country. In 1985 and 1986, however, only 32 percent of the terrorist incidents were carried out by these organizations, whereas right-wing and anti-abortion groups accounted for 53 percent.

— The threat to U.S. nuclear weapons facilities from known terrorist groups in this country cannot be considered high at this time. There is no evidence to suggest that any of the organizations reviewed in this study have *seriously* contemplated a nuclear-related act, nor is there any indication that any group is poised to undertake such an attack in the future. Nevertheless, trends in the terrorist activities of certain groups must be considered in the context of possible operations directed against nuclear weapons sites.

The emergence of right-wing terrorism in the United States during the past two years represents a significant trend, although its implications for the security of nuclear weapons or facilities must be considered speculative at this time. Members of these groups are considerably more skilled with weapons than are other terrorists in this country, they possess large stockpiles of sophisticated weapons, they are well trained in guerrilla warfare and survival techniques, and they possess an apocalyptic vision of the future—factors that make them the most likely domestic terrorists to attempt an act of nuclear terrorism.

In sum, while the volume of annual terrorist incidents in the United States is relatively small, the emerging trends merit intensive and continuing attention. (KT) ←

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The author would like to express his appreciation to Karen Gardela and Geraldine Petty for the invaluable research assistance they provided in the preparation of this report. Similar thanks are due to William Pollack and other officials at the Department of Energy's Office of Threat Assessment, whose advice and suggestions were extremely helpful. A special debt is owed to Mary Morris and E. Allan Lind of the RAND staff, who reviewed an earlier draft of this report. Their incisive comments and detailed suggestions greatly improved the final product. Finally, as has been the case so often in the past, Janet DeLand's masterful editing saved the author from having his many solecisms and literary foibles committed to print.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This report examines recent trends and future prospects of terrorism in the United States and assesses their implications for the possibility of a terrorist group attempting to steal a nuclear weapon or strategic nuclear material or attack a nuclear facility.

Relatively few terrorist incidents occur in the United States each year, compared with the number of attacks on Americans overseas, and terrorism is in fact statistically insignificant compared with the domestic (nonpolitical) violence in this country. Nevertheless, the United States is not immune to terrorism from within its own borders. There are a variety of ethnic/émigré groups and local terrorist organizations that are committed to the use of violence in pursuit of their political objectives.

The continuing violence perpetrated by Puerto Rican separatists, Jewish radicals, and militant opponents of legalized abortion, the upsurge in right-wing extremist activity, the involvement of foreign drug dealers in terrorist acts, and the evidence that a black Chicago street gang sought to make a deal with a foreign government to carry out terrorist operations in this country, along with indications that Middle Eastern elements within this country have been involved in planning and executing terrorist acts, demonstrate that the threat of terrorism can by no means be discounted.

No terrorist group in this country has yet attacked a nuclear weapons manufacturing facility or an in-place weapon system,¹ nor is there any hard evidence of a group actually contemplating such an attack. It cannot be assumed, however, that no U.S.-based terrorist group has ever seriously considered attacking a nuclear weapons facility or system, or that a group may not consider doing so in the future.² Hence, one problem in assessing the terrorist threat to nuclear

¹At 1:30 a.m. on November 28, 1987, a bomb exploded in the parking lot of the Sandia National Laboratories facility adjacent to the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in Livermore, California. The bombing was claimed 32 hours later by a caller purporting to represent a previously unknown group called the Nuclear Liberation Front. It is not yet known whether the caller did in fact carry out the bombing or simply made a false claim after the incident was reported in the press. Moreover, it has yet to be determined whether the Nuclear Liberation Front is a bona fide organization.

²In November 1984, police and federal agents raided a Cleveland safehouse used by a radical leftist terrorist group calling itself the United Freedom Front/Sam Melville-Jonathan Jackson Unit and found the name of a nuclear weapons research laboratory in New York on a list of potential targets. Federal investigators, however, subsequently determined that the laboratory was not a target under "active" consideration. On only

weapons facilities and systems is that evaluations can only be based on the historical record of *conceptually similar* actions.

This study examines the historical background, motivation, modus operandi, targeting patterns, and mindsets of the known U.S. terrorist groups to determine which groups might be more *likely* than others to attack a nuclear facility. Based on this assessment, the threat cannot be considered high at this time. An identical conclusion was reached in a previous RAND report by the author.³ However, trends in the terrorist activities of certain groups are cause for concern and must be monitored in relation to the possibility of anti-nuclear operations. A nuclear terrorist incident is quite possible, and although the terrorist threat to nuclear weapons facilities or systems may be insignificant at present, the situation is always in a state of flux, and sudden changes are always possible.

one occasion that we are aware of was a threat made to attack nuclear *weapons* facilities. In April 1984, the Radical Nuclear Group called for the use of "terrorist violence" against nuclear weapons facilities. Also, Puerto Rican terrorists have twice threatened to attack commercial nuclear *energy* facilities and have issued several warnings that they would detonate radioactive devices.

³See Bruce Hoffman, *Terrorism in the United States and the Potential Threat to Nuclear Facilities*, The RAND Corporation, R-3351-DOE, January 1986.

II. OVERVIEW OF TERRORIST TRENDS IN THE UNITED STATES

While the total volume of international terrorist activity has generally increased, the number of terrorist incidents in the United States has remained relatively constant—in fact, it declined slightly in 1986.¹ The RAND Chronology of International Terrorism recorded 360 incidents in 1983; 386 in 1984; 481 in 1985; and 412 in 1986. The RAND Chronology of Terrorist Incidents in the United States² recorded 49 incidents in 1983; 52 in 1984; 52³ in 1985; and 39 in 1986 (see Fig. 1).

In contrast to the small number of *politically motivated* violent incidents in this country (3 killings in 1986, 3 in 1985, 1 in 1984, and 8 in 1983), more than 1.3 million acts of nonpolitical violence occurred in the United States in 1986, including nearly 19,000 homicides.⁴ Nevertheless, we should not be lulled into thinking that the terrorist activities in this country do not warrant concern.⁵

CHARACTERISTICS OF TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

There are three types of domestic terrorist organizations in the United States:

- Ethnic separatist and émigré groups.
- Left-wing radical organizations.
- Right-wing racist, anti-authority, survivalist-type groups and anti-abortion militants.

¹Complete statistics on incidents in 1987 are not yet available.

²RAND has maintained a detailed chronology of international terrorist incidents since 1968, whereas terrorist incidents in the United States have been systematically recorded only since 1983.

³An analysis presented in Bruce Hoffman, *Terrorism in the United States During 1985*, The RAND Corporation, P-7194, February 1986, reported 24 terrorist incidents. However, this analysis was based on a preliminary examination of 1985 statistics, and information received on additional attacks staged by opponents of legalized abortion later raised the total to 52.

⁴Statistics taken from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), *Uniform Crime Report*, 1986.

⁵See Hoffman, *Terrorism in the United States During 1985*, op. cit.

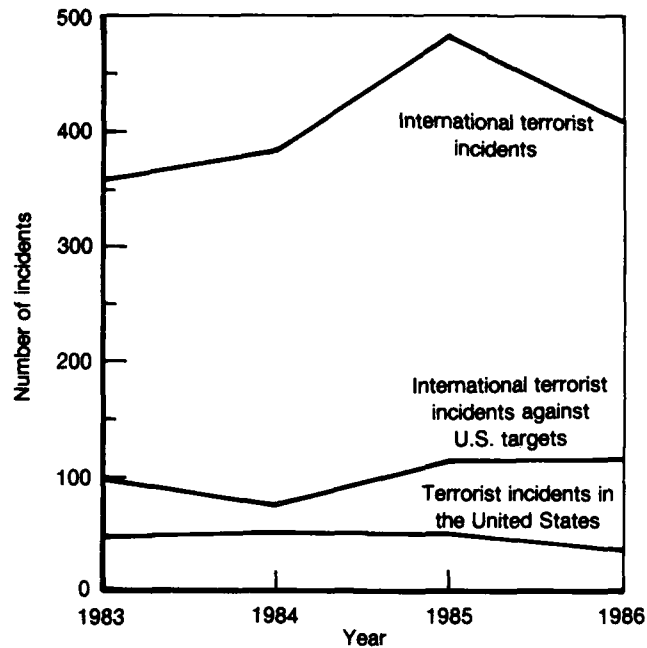


Fig. 1—Total volume of terrorism, 1983–1986

The major organizations that have been active in recent years are listed in Table 1.⁶

In the past, the ethnic/émigré groups have generally been the most persistent and violent (e.g., they have inflicted the most casualties) of the three types of groups. Their causes and grievances often have little or nothing to do with domestic U.S. politics; the United States is simply the battleground where their quarrels are fought. These groups also spawn successor generations of younger terrorists. However, despite their potentially wide appeal within their own communities, these organizations' narrow focus limits their political constituency solely to other ethnic/émigré groups in scattered, tightly knit communities around the country.

In contrast, left- and right-wing groups and other issue-oriented terrorists (such as those opposed to U.S. military involvement in Central America, South Africa's apartheid policy, or legalized abortion) have a

⁶These organizations are analyzed in detail in Hoffman, *Terrorism in the United States and the Potential Threat to Nuclear Facilities*, op. cit.

Table 1
MAJOR TERRORIST GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

Ethnic/Emigré	Left-Wing	Right-Wing
Puerto Rican	Weather Underground	Aryan Nations
Jewish	Black Liberation Army	The Order
Cuban	United Freedom Front/	Bruder Schweigen
Armenian	Sam Melville-Jonathan	Strike Force II
Islamic	Jackson Unit	Posse Comitatus
	Revolutionary Armed	Arizona Patriots
	Task Force	White Patriot Party
		Committee of the States
		The Covenant, the Sword and
		the Arm of the Lord
		Anti-abortionists

much broader constituency. Indigenous, left-wing terrorists and issue-oriented groups at both ends of the ideological spectrum are generally less lethal than their ethnic/émigré counterparts. They engage primarily in symbolic bombings to call attention to themselves and their causes, but they seldom undertake actions that could cause widespread, indiscriminate casualties and that might alienate potential or perceived supporters. Although some of the leftist groups justify their existence and operations with vague references to Marxist-Leninist dicta, others are quite specific in their reactions to contentious political issues.

The right-wing terrorists appear to embrace the respective traits of both the ethnic-separatist and left-wing terrorists. They are extremely violent, have no reservations about killing, spawn successor generations, and are often oriented toward specific political issues. Right-wing groups can be divided into specific, issue-oriented terrorists (e.g., anti-abortion crusaders in amorphous entities like the "Army of God") and traditional hate groups. Several racist and reactionary groups have recently surfaced, including anti-federalists, anti-Semites, racists, survivalists, and Christian fundamentalists. Although related to the Ku Klux Klan and older American Nazi groups, the new organizations—such as the Aryan Nations, The Order, Bruder Schweigen Strike Force II, Posse Comitatus, the Arizona Patriots, the White Patriot Party, and the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord—not only champion the old dogmas of a racially pure, Christian United States with no Jews, blacks, Hispanics, Asians, Communists, Catholics, or atheists, they are also violently opposed to any form of government above the county level, are militantly anti-abortionist, and publicly advocate the overthrow of the U.S. government.

PERPETRATORS OF TERRORIST ACTS IN THE UNITED STATES

While there was little change in the total number of annual terrorist incidents in the United States between 1983 and 1986 (see Table 2), there were significant fluctuations in the numbers of incidents attributed to different types of terrorist organizations. Armenian and anti-Castro Cuban terrorists have had no violent acts attributed to them since 1984, and the number of attacks committed by left-wing terrorists has also declined steadily, from 9 in 1983 to none in 1986. The level of violence perpetrated by militant opponents of legalized abortion in the United States soared in 1984, remained at about the same level in 1985, but declined appreciably in 1986.

The number of incidents attributed to Jewish extremists declined in 1984, increased in 1985, and declined again in 1986. In contrast, the numbers of violent acts committed by both Puerto Rican separatists and right-wing extremists increased dramatically in 1986. Only 5 terrorist incidents were attributed to Puerto Rican groups between 1983 and 1985, but during 1986, these groups were responsible for 10 attacks. Throughout the same period, right-wing extremists committed only 6 terrorist acts, but during 1986 they were responsible for 11 incidents. The distribution of terrorist incidents in this period is shown by type of organization in Fig. 2.

Ideologically motivated terrorism—e.g., terrorist acts by white supremacist and anti-federalist groups or anti-abortion militants—has largely supplanted ethnic-centered domestic terrorist activity. Between 1974 and 1984, ethnic separatist and émigré organizations committed

Table 2

TERRORIST INCIDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1983-1986

Type of Group	1983	1984	1985	1986
Anti-abortionists	0	24	25	11
Jewish	10	1	13	4
Puerto Rican	3	0	2	10
Right-wing	3	2	1	11
Left-wing	9	6	1	0
Armenian	1	0	0	0
Anti-Castro Cuban	6	0	0	0
Drug-related	0	0	1	1
Criminal/asylum seekers	16	2	8	0
Other	1	17	1	2
Total	49	52	52	39

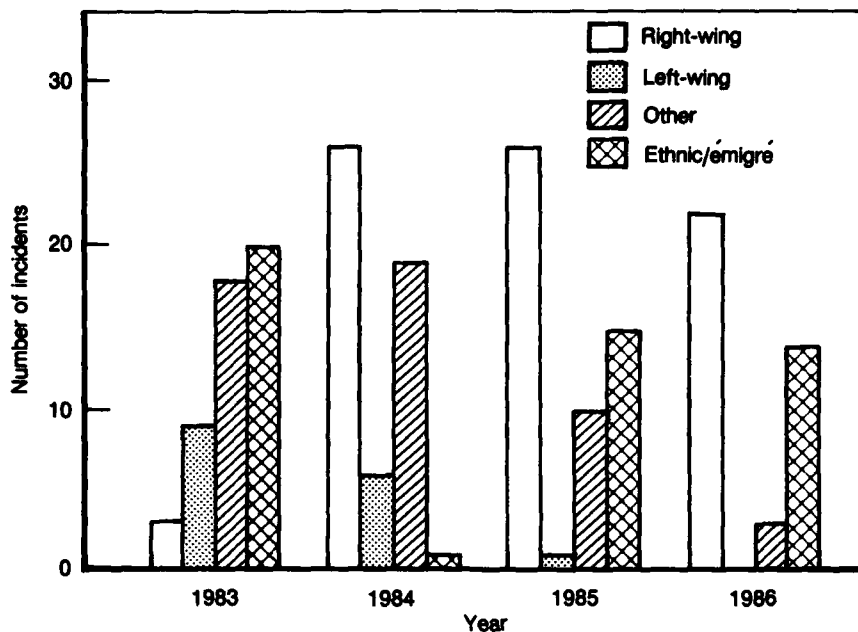


Fig. 2—Distribution of terrorist incidents in the United States, 1983-1986

more than 75 percent of all the terrorist incidents in this country,⁷ whereas during 1985 and 1986, they were responsible for only 32 percent of the incidents. By comparison, right-wing and anti-abortion terrorists were responsible for 53 percent of the terrorist incidents that occurred in the United States in those two years.

The up-and-down incidence of attacks by individual terrorist movements may be explained by the fact that periodic outbursts of concentrated violence are frequently followed by a dramatic decline in terrorist operations because of heightened attention from federal and local law enforcement agencies.⁸ Thus there appears to be a cyclical pattern to terrorism in the United States.

The character and nature of internal group dynamics, however, cannot be discounted as a reason for sudden escalations or declines in terrorist activity. Terrorist groups, like any other type of organization,

⁷Bonnie Cordes et al., *Trends in International Terrorism, 1982 and 1983*, The RAND Corporation, R-3183-SL, August 1984, p. 3.

⁸Hoffman, *Terrorism in the United States During 1985*, op. cit., p. 10.

are motivated by both external and internal stimuli. Some external events leading to declines of terrorist activity are readily apparent (e.g., the arrests of group leaders and members); factors such as attitudinal changes in terrorists' real or imagined constituencies (indicated, for example, by a decrease in financial contributions to aboveground support entities) are often less easy to discern. Yet, a terrorist group's search for new constituencies and increased support may prompt an escalation of terrorist activity and may also expand the range of targets.

Terrorist groups are also influenced by internal stimuli such as internecine struggles for power and leadership and disputes about strategy, tactics, and targets. All of these factors can create deep schisms within an organization that may produce new, and often more militant or extreme, factions which then embark on independent campaigns to achieve the movement's overall aims.

It is often difficult to separate the external and internal stimuli affecting a terrorist group. A combination of factors may be responsible for abrupt changes in the group's level of activity. The search for new constituencies and support to sustain a group's momentum or attract recruits may thus be a product of both external and internal considerations. These can lead to changes in tactics and targeting, the championing of new issues, or bids to regain predominance through the escalation of terrorist operations. Many of these factors appear to account for the fluctuations in the activity of individual terrorist groups in the United States between 1983 and 1986.⁹

TACTICS USED BY TERRORISTS IN THE UNITED STATES

As shown in Table 3, bombings accounted for 47 percent of the terrorist incidents in the United States between 1983 and 1986. Armed attacks and acts of arson were the second most common tactic, accounting for 32 percent of the incidents during this period. Whatever tactic is used, however, most terrorist attacks are "symbolic," i.e., intended primarily to draw attention to the terrorists and their causes. This is further evidenced by the small number of persons killed by terrorists in the United States. Most terrorist operations in this country have been directed against structures—government offices, military installations, businesses, airline or tourist offices, and the like—and not against people.

⁹These fluctuations are discussed in detail in Sections III and IV.

Table 3
TACTICS USED BY TERRORISTS IN THE UNITED STATES,
1983-1986

Tactic	1983	1984	1985	1986
Kidnapping	1	0	0	0
Attacks, arson	5	27	22	8
Hijackings	14	2	1	0
Bombings	25	19	24	24
Barricade/hostage	0	0	0	0
Shooting	4	2	4	3
Significant threats	0	2	2	3

The reliance on bombing by terrorists in this country is not surprising: Bombings account for approximately 50 percent of all the terrorist attacks committed annually throughout the world.¹⁰ They provide a dramatic, yet relatively easy and risk-free, means of drawing attention to the terrorists and their causes. Preference for bombings usually indicates that a terrorist group is at an early stage in its development and lacks the organizational expertise, logistics, or knowledge to engage in more complicated operations. Few skills are required to manufacture a crude bomb, surreptitiously plant it, and then be miles away when it explodes.

This is certainly true for the Armenian, anti-Castro Cuban, left-wing, anti-abortion, and Jewish terrorist groups. The lone terrorist incident attributed to Armenian radicals in 1983, for example, was an attempted bombing, as were 5 of the 6 attacks carried out by anti-Castro Cuban terrorists in 1983 (the sixth was a death threat). All 16 of the incidents attributed to left-wing radicals between 1983 and 1985 were bombings. Since 1983, militant opponents of legalized abortion in the United States have staged 27 bombings.¹¹

The majority of bombing and arson attacks attributed to Jewish extremists during the same period also required little manufacturing or placement skill. Three bombings by these groups in 1985, however, were deliberate attempts to assassinate specific persons. These attacks were considerably more sophisticated than the other terrorist operations attributed to Jewish extremists.

¹⁰Data from The RAND Corporation Chronology of International Terrorism.

¹¹Anti-abortion militants were responsible for 16 bombings, 6 acts of arson, and 1 act of vandalism in 1984; they were responsible for 5 bombings, 7 attempted bombings, 1 shooting, 1 act of vandalism, and 10 acts of arson and 1 of attempted arson in 1985, and for 6 bombings, 2 attempted bombings, 3 acts of arson, and 1 act of vandalism in 1986.

At the same time, however, in the bombings committed and attempted by right-wing extremists and Puerto Rican separatists during 1986, the construction and placement of the explosive devices themselves seems less significant than the characteristics and prior activities of the perpetrators. Indeed, these two terrorist movements have demonstrated an ability to mount more complex and sophisticated terrorist operations than many of their domestic counterparts. They have carried out meticulously planned paramilitary-type assaults and armored-car robberies, as well as assassinations. In 1983, Puerto Rican separatists and right-wing extremists each staged two armored-car robberies, and since 1983, each has been responsible for two assassinations. Moreover, the weapons skills and training in guerrilla warfare of the right-wing groups, coupled with their racial and religious intolerance and their apocalyptic vision, bring to bear a potential not only to engage in more sophisticated types of terrorist operations, but to undertake attacks that deliberately cause widespread casualties and destruction.

III. THE DECLINE IN TERRORIST ACTIVITY OF SOME GROUPS

The main reason for the overall decline in terrorist incidents in the United States during 1986 is the decrease in activity by many previously highly active terrorist organizations, including anti-Castro Cuban, Armenian, and left-wing groups between 1983 and 1985 and Jewish and anti-abortion groups in 1986.

ANTI-CASTRO CUBAN TERRORISTS

At one time, anti-Castro Cuban militants were among the most active terrorists in the United States.¹ Between 1968 and 1983, some 56 anti-Castro Cuban exile terrorist organizations² claimed credit for 155 terrorist acts in this country. The general aims of these organizations were the disruption of Cuban diplomatic and commercial activities, the thwarting of progress toward the "normalization" of diplomatic relations between Cuba and other countries, and the intimidation of countries, businesses, or individuals that trade with Cuba, arrange travel or cultural exchanges with it, or are sympathetic toward the Castro regime. The terrorists maintained an unswerving belief in the effectiveness of violence in keeping the anti-Castro cause alive and continued their attacks to obtain publicity that would attract attention to it.

By 1980, however, only one Cuban exile terrorist organization, Omega-7, remained active in the United States. The other anti-Castro groups suspended operations largely because of their lack of success: After more than a decade of struggle, Cuba had not been liberated, Castro remained firmly entrenched in power, and the terrorists had been unable to disrupt diplomatic, trade, and cultural relations between Western countries and Cuba. This had a significant impact on the support and financial contributions the terrorists had traditionally received—or forcibly extorted—from other Cubans in the large exile communities established in the United States after the Cuban revolu-

¹For a more detailed examination of this movement, see Hoffman, *Terrorism in the United States and the Potential Threat to Nuclear Facilities*, op. cit., pp. 16-18; and Bruce Hoffman, "The Cuban Anti-Castro Movement," *TVI Journal*, Spring 1984, pp. 15-22.

²The five principal Cuban terrorist organizations were Alpha-66, Brigade 2506, the Cuban Nationalist Movement, the FLNC (*Frente de Liberacion Nacional Cubana*, or Cuban National Liberation Front), and Omega-7.

tion. As the possibility of overthrowing Castro became increasingly remote, the support and funds provided by Cuban-Americans to the terrorist organizations declined commensurately. Moreover, as the members of these exile communities became more acclimated to their new lives in the United States, prospered in their commercial activities, and assumed positions of leadership in local business and political associations, their interest in the terrorists' goals declined accordingly.

Confronted by this new situation, the remaining terrorists turned to drug smuggling and narcotics trafficking to raise funds to sustain their struggle. And as the terrorists became more involved in the financially lucrative drug trade, the political goals of the anti-Castro movement were increasingly subverted by personal avarice. In 1982, six key members of Omega-7 were arrested. The following year, the group's founder and leader, Eduardo Arocena, was apprehended. During Arocena's arraignment, it was revealed that he had been an FBI informant for over a year. He had decided to inform on his compatriots because he believed that they had become "Communist sympathizers" and were more interested in trafficking in drugs than in prosecuting the war against Castro. The arrest and conviction of Arocena and the other members of Omega-7, coupled with the attitudinal changes of the Cuban exile community toward the terrorists and their struggle, resulted in a complete suspension of all anti-Castro Cuban terrorist activity after 1983.

THE ARMENIAN TERRORIST MOVEMENT

A similar combination of arrests and diminished community support undermined the Armenian terrorist movement in the United States.³ Between 1980 and 1982, Armenian extremists were responsible for 10 bombings, 2 attempted bombings, and 2 assassinations in the United States—all part of a worldwide campaign to avenge the "events of 1915" (when many Armenian inhabitants of eastern Turkey perished during their expulsion from the Ottoman Empire) and compel the present Turkish government to acknowledge the alleged genocide and make reparations to the survivors and their families. The real and perceived sympathy of the Armenian community, both in the United States and abroad, has been a crucial part of the terrorists' struggle.

³The three main Armenian terrorist groups are the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), the Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide (JCAG), and the Armenian Revolutionary Army (ARA), an offshoot of the JCAG. For a more detailed examination of this movement, see Hoffman, *Terrorism in the United States and the Potential Threat to Nuclear Facilities*, op. cit., pp. 18-19; and Bonnie Cordes, "Armenian Terrorism In America," *TVI Journal*, Spring 1984, pp. 22-27.

Although the majority of the Armenian terrorist operations in the United States were directed against Turkish diplomatic, commercial, or cultural targets, attacks were also carried out against the property or interests of other foreign governments that had imprisoned Armenian terrorists in their countries.⁴ The terrorists' campaign reached its peak in 1982, when Kemal Arikan, the Turkish Consul-General in Los Angeles, and Orhan Gunduz, the honorary Turkish Consul in Boston, were assassinated. Five young Armenians were later arrested in Boston while en route to Philadelphia to bomb the office of the honorary Turkish Consul, Kanat Arbay. Since 1982, the only incident connected to Armenian terrorism was the discovery in January 1983 of nine sophisticated pipebombs in an Armenian-owned bakery in Anaheim, California.

The lack of any further Armenian terrorist operations in the United States is in part a result of the harsh prison sentence handed down to Hampig Sassounian, the young Armenian-American who was convicted of Arikan's murder. Sassounian received a life sentence with no possibility of parole. During his trial, the defense focused on Sassounian's political motivations, but Sassounian was judged no differently from any other individual convicted of committing a violent criminal act. In this respect, his sentence had a significant impact on the large Armenian community that has established a commercially successful and politically influential diaspora in the United States. Despite expressions of sympathy and understanding of the terrorists' goals and motivations, the Armenian community has offered no explicit support of their violent actions. The outcome of Sassounian's trial underscored not only the way in which terrorist acts are judged in this country, but also the negative connotations and associations of such violence for the law-abiding Armenian-American community.

LEFT-WING TERRORIST ACTIVITY

Unlike ethnic/émigré terrorists, domestic left-wing radicals have always had trouble recruiting new members to their organizations. Most of the left-wing organizations active in the United States during the 1980s were simply recycled versions of radical groups that surfaced in the late 1960s and early 1970s to oppose U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. In an attempt to broaden their base of support and appeal to new constituencies, the surviving leftist groups embraced new

⁴Four of the bombings were against Swiss targets in the United States, and an attempt was made to bomb a Canadian Airlines cargo terminal in Los Angeles.

controversial causes such as U.S. involvement in Central America and South Africa's apartheid policy.

In March 1983, a group calling itself the United Freedom Front (UFF) claimed credit for bombing an Army Reserve Center in Uniondale, New York. Nine more bombings in the New York metropolitan area were carried out by the group during the succeeding 18 months. Targets included U.S. armed forces recruiting stations and reserve depots, manufacturing facilities of defense contractors, the offices of multinational corporations doing business with South Africa, and a South African Airways office. Only after members of the group were arrested in November 1984 and April 1985 was it discovered that the UFF was in fact a rechristened version of the decade-old Sam Melville-Jonathan Jackson Unit.⁵ The apprehension of the seven terrorists effectively neutralized the UFF—the last action claimed by the group occurred in September 1984, just two months before the first wave of arrests.

The abortive hold-up of a Brinks armored truck in Nyack, New York, in October 1981 had previously brought to light evidence that two of America's most notorious 1960s-era revolutionary groups, the Weather Underground and the Black Liberation Army, had joined forces in a new terrorist organization called the Revolutionary Armed Task Force (RATF).⁶ Five terrorists were captured near the scene of the attempted robbery, including Kathy Boudin, a member of the Weather Underground who had gone into hiding in 1970 following an explosion at a townhouse in the Greenwich Village section of New York City in which the group manufactured bombs. Boudin was subsequently convicted on charges connected to the Brinks robbery and was sentenced to 20 years to life in prison.

In May 1985, federal authorities arrested Marilyn Jean Buck, one of a handful of Brinks robbery suspects who were still at large. Evidence discovered in the safehouses used by Buck linked her and two accomplices to 16 bombings in the New York and Washington, D.C., areas since 1982, including a bombing at the U.S. Capitol building in November 1983. These attacks had been variously claimed in the name of the United Freedom Fighters (not to be confused with the United Freedom Front), the Armed Resistance Unit, and the Revolutionary Fighting Group, pseudonyms used by the RATF. As in the

⁵The group took its name from Sam Melville, a white 1960s radical who was killed during the 1971 uprising in Attica Prison (New York), and Jonathan Jackson, a black radical who was killed in a 1970 shootout with police in California after kidnapping a judge.

⁶For a more detailed examination of this organization, see Hoffman, *Terrorism in the United States and the Potential Threat to Nuclear Facilities*, op. cit., pp. 26-32.

case of the United Freedom Front, targets included South African interests and property in this country as well as the offices of American multinational corporations with investments in South Africa. Explosives, timers, weapons, cash, false identity papers, and stolen vehicles were found during the raids, along with plans for future terrorist attacks against at least a dozen federal buildings in Washington, D.C., including the Old Executive Office Building (where the Vice President's office is located) and the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland.⁷

Finally, in February 1986, the alleged leader of the Brinks robbery group, Mutulu Shakur (also known as Jeral Wayne Williams), was apprehended in Los Angeles by the FBI and members of a joint FBI-New York City Police Department anti-terrorism task force. Shakur was, in fact, the thirty-fourth person arrested in connection with the robbery. (The lone suspect from the Brinks incident who is still at large is Cheri Laverene Dalton.⁸)

These arrests had a particularly devastating effect on the leftist groups, which are unable to replenish their ranks easily. Hence, it is not surprising that there has been a dramatic decline in left-wing terrorist activity in this country. The only attack credited to a left-wing group since 1984 was the February 1985 bombing of the Police Benevolent Association offices in New York City by a previously unknown group, the Red Guerrilla Defense.

JEWISH TERRORISM

For more than a decade, Jewish extremists were among the most active terrorists in the United States. They used terrorism to call attention to the plight of Soviet Jewry and, in more general terms, to protect Jews and Jewish interests worldwide. Thus, the vast majority of their terrorist operations were directed against Soviet targets—Soviet diplomatic installations, personnel, and their property; Soviet travel and airline offices; Soviet dance troupes and performers; and persons and businesses either sponsoring these sorts of cultural events or having trade relations with the Soviet Union. Jewish terrorism was intended to embarrass the USSR, to disrupt Soviet cultural performances and exchanges, to undermine Soviet international trade and commercial activities, and to create tension in Soviet-American relations to end the persecution of Soviet Jews and enable them to emigrate to Israel.

⁷*New York Times*, June 2, 1985.

⁸*Ibid.*, February 13, 1986.

According to the FBI, Jewish extremists were responsible for 37 acts of terrorism between 1977 and 1984.⁹ However, as previously noted, the number of terrorist incidents attributed annually to Jewish extremists has varied considerably since 1983. This is in large measure a reflection of external factors, such as increased attention from federal and local law enforcement agencies; however, internal factors, such as the rivalries and power struggles that have recently plagued the Jewish Defense League (JDL), the principal Jewish extremist group, have also played a role.¹⁰ The intense scrutiny focused on Jewish extremists by the FBI and local police as a result of the 1985 bombing-murders of Tscherim Soobzokov, an alleged Nazi war criminal, and Alex Odeh, the West Coast Director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, as well as the attempted murder of Elmars Sporgis, an accused World War II concentration camp guard, also contributed to the decline in terrorist activity.

Although JDL spokespersons have vigorously denied responsibility for the bombings, FBI Assistant Executive Director Oliver Revell told the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice of the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee that "Jewish extremist elements" are suspected of committing the attacks. He went on to note, however, that it could not be proved "that the suspects were acting on behalf of a particular organization."¹¹ Indeed, the FBI's annual report on terrorism in the United States for 1985 noted that "although certain evidence leads to suspicion of elements of the JDL, final attribution to any one specific group must await further investigation."¹²

The difficulty in affixing responsibility for these incidents to the JDL is in large measure a reflection of both the group's unique character and its long-standing terrorist *modus operandi*. Although the FBI has long classified the JDL as a terrorist organization,¹³ the group is in fact a perfectly legal entity, incorporated under New York State law and enjoying tax-exempt status as a registered political action group. Thus, in order to preserve its legality, the JDL has rarely claimed credit for terrorist acts committed by group members.

⁹*Orange County Register* (Santa Ana, California), November 18, 1985.

¹⁰For a more detailed study of this group, see Hoffman, *Terrorism in the United States and the Potential Threat to Nuclear Facilities*, op. cit., pp. 11-16; and Bruce Hoffman, "The Jewish Defense League," *TVI Journal*, Spring 1984, pp. 10-15.

¹¹*Los Angeles Times*, July 17, 1986.

¹²*Washington Post*, July 17, 1986.

¹³See, for example, Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Terrorist Research and Analytical Center, FBI Analysis of Terrorist Incidents in the United States, 1983*, Washington, D.C., March 1984, p. 17.

Typically, an anonymous caller has claimed responsibility for a specific terrorist act for either the JDL or one of its alleged subgroups,¹⁴ only to have an official JDL spokesman deny the claim the following day. In this manner, the JDL is able to deny association with the perpetrators and avoid prosecution on conspiracy charges. Nevertheless, over the past decade at least 50 indictments have been handed down to JDL members, of whom at least 30 have been convicted in U.S. courts of committing or conspiring to commit terrorist offenses.

The fractious nature of internal JDL politics makes definitive attribution of responsibility even more difficult. The contending factions appear to be grouped around Irv Rubin, who was selected as the group's National Director after Rabbi Meir Kahane suddenly announced in August 1985 that he was severing ties with the organization to devote his attention to domestic Israeli politics (Kahane is a member of Israel's parliament), and Vincent Vancier (also known as Chaim Ben Yosef), who was appointed the JDL's East Coast Director by Kahane the following December. While the mainstream JDL organization under Rubin has generally espoused a policy of demonstrations and confrontation, the more militant faction directed by Vancier has continued to rely on acts of terrorism to publicize the group's aims and objectives. In an interview published in the *Village Voice* in May 1986, Vancier boasted, "If you think the Shiites in Lebanon are capable of fantastic acts of suicidal terrorism, the Jewish underground will strike at targets that will make Americans gasp, 'How could Jews do such things?'"¹⁵ Yet another source of contention is a miniscule JDL splinter group, the Jewish Defense Organization, led by Mordechi Levy, who, according to Rubin, "had a habit of launching violent actions on his own."¹⁶

Overshadowing the struggle for power within the JDL is the organization's decline in membership and dwindling financial resources. During the early 1970s, the JDL had some 15,000 members and an estimated budget of between \$70,000 and \$150,000.¹⁷ By 1986, the JDL's membership had dropped to well below 1,000, and it had less

¹⁴The names used by Jewish terrorists to claim credit for attacks have included the Jewish Armed Resistance, Jewish Action Movement, Jewish Direct Action, United Jewish Underground, Jewish Defense Organization, and, *HaTikvah Le'umi* ("National Hope").

¹⁵Quoted in Robert I. Friedman, "The Return of the JDL: Nice Jewish Boys with Bombs," *Village Voice* (New York), May 6, 1986.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷Mel Ziegler, "The Jewish Defense League and Its Invisible Constituency," *New York Magazine*, April 19, 1971, p. 31.

than \$3,000 in its national treasury.¹⁸ It was reported that

Although the JDL is back in the news because of last year's bombings, it is not only [financially] broke, but also in total disarray. Kahane's prolonged absences from the U.S. have created a vacuum that over the years has nurtured the growth of competing bands of right-wing Jewish warlords, who are united only by the rabble-rousing rabbi's legacy of violence and Jewish machismo. It is a legacy that has ultimately turned the JDL into a fratricidal movement, in which its members spend more time plotting against each other than against their gentile enemies.¹⁹

During the past ten years, as JDL membership and influence declined, the threat posed by the group appeared to be primarily symbolic. The JDL used terrorism to draw attention to itself and its causes, to maintain momentum, and to perpetuate its image as an "action-oriented," non-traditional, Jewish pressure group. The number of terrorist incidents attributed to Jewish extremists increased in 1985, however, indicating not only an escalation in the level of violence, but a significant change in targeting patterns and tactics as well.

Whereas Soviet property and diplomatic personnel were previously the terrorists' primary targets, only 2 of the 13 attacks in 1985 were connected with the Soviet Union. The group's primary focus shifted to a variety of organizations and individuals perceived as hostile to Jewish interests. Admittedly, this was not an entirely new development. As far back as 1976, the JDL had begun to expand the scope of its activities to include Iraqi, Iranian, Egyptian, Palestinian, Lebanese, French, and German targets. But these operations were isolated and infrequent and were consistently overshadowed by the group's preoccupation with the issue of Soviet Jewry.

During 1985, however, attacks were directed against alleged former Nazis and war criminals, Palestinian and Arab individuals and institutions, and persons and so-called research centers promoting views about the Holocaust that minimized the dimensions of Jewish suffering. Moreover, 3 incidents involved assassination or attempted assassination. This change in targets and tactics may have been part of an effort to appeal to a wider constituency and impress potential supporters, e.g., American Jews who are concerned with issues such as the Arab-Israeli conflict and the presence of alleged Nazi war criminals in the United States.

These terrorist operations also occurred against a background of growing unease felt by Jews in the United States as a result of anti-

¹⁸Friedman, "The Return of the JDL," op. cit.

¹⁹Ibid.

Semitic insinuations and proclamations issued by the Reverend Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Black Muslim Nation of Islam; the growing evidence of a widespread network of right-wing and neo-Nazi extremists in the United States; the hijacking of a TWA aircraft in June 1985 by radical Shi'as in which Jewish passengers were separated from Gentiles; and the murder of Leon Klinghoffer, an American Jew who was a passenger on the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro*, which was seized by Palestinian terrorists in October 1985. All of these events alarmed Jews and may have convinced the terrorists that the Jewish public had become more amenable to and supportive of militant Jewish activity.

In 1986, however, the number of terrorist acts committed by Jewish extremists declined, and the focus of the movement was reoriented back to Soviet, or Soviet-related, targets. Each of the 4 incidents recorded in 1986 was connected with the Soviet Union: a crude bomb was discovered in a rubbish bin outside of Boston Gardens just before a hockey game between the Boston Bruins and a visiting Soviet team; a tear-gas bomb that injured 30 people was set off just five minutes after a Russian dance troupe concluded a performance at New York City's Metropolitan Opera House; a firebomb exploded outside a stage door at Lincoln Center in New York, where the Moscow State Opera was performing; and a Pan Am World Airways trucking facility at New York's John F. Kennedy Airport was fire-bombed to protest the resumption of flights to the Soviet Union by the airline.

The renewed concentration on Soviet or Soviet-related targets is a reflection of the fact that 3 of the 4 incidents have been conclusively linked to the JDL faction led by Vancier, who bluntly declared his intention to use terrorism to pressure the Soviet Union to remove the restrictions imposed on Jews wishing to emigrate from that country: "If the Soviets are afraid that their diplomats in the U.S. will be killed, will be blown up, and that we'll take other actions," he explained, "then they'll realize that they are better off letting the Jews go."²⁰ In May 1987, Vancier and three of his followers—Jay Cohen, Sharon Katz, and Murray Young—were arrested and charged with committing at least 6 terrorist attacks between February 1984 and October 1986.²¹ A search of Young's home the previous month had uncovered a cache of 17 weapons, including rifles, an Uzi submachine gun, a silencer-equipped pistol, stun guns, bomb-making tools, canisters of tear gas and Mace, and stink bombs, as well as the minutes of JDL meetings and "detailed records about bombings directed at organizations affili-

²⁰Friedman, "The Return of the JDL," op. cit.

²¹*New York Times*, May 9, 1987.

ated with the Soviet Union."²² In addition, evidence was found linking the four to the firebombing of a car that belonged to a dissident JDL member.²³

As part of a deal worked out with federal prosecutors, Vancier and his collaborators pleaded guilty to racketeering charges involving acts of bombing, arson, extortion, and fraud.²⁴ They were charged only with the firebombing of Lincoln Center; the charges related to the attacks at the Metropolitan Opera House and the Pan Am facility, the firebombings of the dissident member's car, and a "scam" that had been run to raise funds for the group (in which several members posed as a campaign committee for the reelection of New York Governor Mario Cuomo) were dropped. One of the defendants, however, pleaded guilty to the tear-gas incident at the Metropolitan Opera House.²⁵ In October 1987, Vancier was sentenced to ten years in prison.²⁶ Young received a five-year sentence, and Katz was given a suspended three-year prison sentence with the provision that she serve out six months of house arrest during a five-year probationary term. In September, Cohen had committed suicide by taking an overdose of prescription drugs.²⁷

Whether the conviction and incarceration of Vancier and his small band of followers will lead to a further decline in Jewish terrorism and an end to the internecine bickering that has afflicted the JDL remains to be seen. Further arrests of Jewish militants who were responsible for the 1985 terrorist incidents may be forthcoming, as grand juries are presently sitting in Brooklyn, New York, and Los Angeles investigating the Odeh murder and related Jewish terrorist activity. However, the internal disputes that have beset the JDL could also lead to an escalation of terrorist activity as various contending factions or leaders attempt to take control of the movement through a demonstration of their violent capabilities.

²²*Long Island Newsday*, April 2, 1987. See also *The Guardian* (London), April 3, 1987; *Risks International*, *Weekly Risk Assessment*, Vol. 4, No. 34, August 21, 1987; and *Washington Post*, August 14, 1987.

²³*Washington Post*, August 14, 1987.

²⁴*New York Times*, October 27, 1987.

²⁵*Washington Post*, August 14, 1987. See also *Risks International*, *Weekly Risk Assessment*, Vol. 4, No. 34, August 21, 1987; and *Risks International*, *Executive Risk Assessment*, Vol. 9, No. 9, September 1987.

²⁶Vancier had served 21 months in a federal prison following his conviction in 1979 for attempting to bomb the Egyptian National Tourist Office in New York City the previous year.

²⁷*New York Times*, October 27, 1987.

ANTI-ABORTION TERRORISM

Anti-abortion terrorism is a relatively new phenomenon.²⁸ During the early 1980s, militant opponents of legalized abortion in the United States, angered by the failure of organized fundamentalist Christian groups, their representatives in Congress, and their religious and political leaders to enact legislation or a constitutional amendment banning abortion, embarked on a campaign of terrorist violence. Many opponents of legalized abortion feel intense personal frustration; one analysis observed that they are often "naive, distraught and deeply religious."²⁹ This is certainly true of the four persons convicted of the bombings of three abortion clinics in Pensacola, Florida, on Christmas Day, 1984, who testified at their trial that they had been "told by God to destroy the clinics."³⁰ One of them described the bombings as "a gift to Jesus on his birthday."³¹ A former U.S. Marine pyrotechnics expert who was responsible for the bombings of three abortion clinics in Manhattan and the attempted bombing of another in Queens, New York, during 1986 was described by his attorney as "a man torn between patriotism, heroism, devotion to country and opposition to abortion, which he equated with killing."³²

Although police and federal law enforcement officials have stressed that there is no evidence of an organized network of local anti-abortion terrorist cells, the militants use similar names in claiming credit for their attacks, calling themselves the Army of God, or God's Army, or the Armies of the Living God.

In the mid-1980s, the anti-abortionists were among the most active terrorist movements in the United States. In 1984 and 1985, they were responsible for 46 percent and 48 percent, respectively, of all terrorist incidents recorded in the United States. During 1986, however, their proportion of the national total declined to 28 percent.

Six of the anti-abortionist attacks in 1986 were bombings, 2 were attempted bombings, 3 were acts of arson, and 1 involved vandalism. The majority of these incidents were symbolic in that their purpose was not to kill or injure people, but to express frustration over legalized abortion and to draw attention to the anti-abortion campaign. The arson and vandalism incidents in particular demonstrated a lack of technical sophistication, but they did succeed in getting public

²⁸For a more detailed examination of this terrorist movement, see Hoffman, *Terrorism in the United States and the Potential Threat to Nuclear Facilities*, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

²⁹James Ridgeway, "Unholy Terrorists," *Village Voice*, January 25, 1985.

³⁰*New York Times*, April 24, 1985.

³¹Quoted in *Time*, January 14, 1985.

³²Quoted in *New York Times*, September 3, 1987.

attention and generating fear. Moreover, they caused considerable destruction. A fire set in an abortion clinic in St. Louis resulted in \$100,000 in damage, while another at a Planned Parenthood Clinic in Kalamazoo, Michigan, caused about \$750,000 in damage.

The anti-abortionist bombers used simple devices that involved little risk to the people placing them. An incendiary bomb that exploded at a Women's Health Services clinic in Louisville, Kentucky, was planted in a vacant room three floors below the clinic. A pipebomb that caused between \$50,000 and \$100,000 in damage was placed outside a Wichita Women's Health Care Service clinic.

At the end of 1985, a new—and particularly disturbing—trend appeared: For the first time, anti-abortion bombers deliberately sought to kill or injure persons using or working at the clinics. In December 1985, a small bomb exploded in a New York City abortion clinic that was full of patients and staff. A last-minute warning call to the police allowed the building to be evacuated shortly before the explosion took place. Later that month, a large bomb concealed in a parcel that was designed to explode upon being opened was mailed to a Portland, Oregon, clinic. An employee who had been instructed to look for suspicious packages alerted the police, who safely defused the device. Postal authorities in Portland subsequently found three other mail bombs addressed to two abortion clinics and a Planned Parenthood clinic (which did not perform abortions).

On November 11, 1986, a bomb timed to explode at 2:00 p.m. was found and defused in a Queens, New York, abortion clinic. The bomber, who was later identified as Dennis Malvasi, had apparently felt some concern about causing an explosion in the middle of the afternoon, when the clinic would be occupied by patients and staff, and he telephoned the police to warn them about the bomb. The following month, however, Malvasi demonstrated no such concern when he posed as a prospective tenant to meet a rental agent at a building in Manhattan that housed the offices of the Planned Parenthood Federation. After being admitted to the building, Malvasi handcuffed the rental agent to a bathroom pipe and broke into the clinic, where he planted 15 sticks of dynamite. The dynamite, however, fizzled after it set off the sprinkler fire-alarm system. If it had exploded, the rental agent would probably have been killed. Moreover, according to agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, the device was "one of the largest and potentially most damaging bombs yet to be planted in an abortion clinic."³³ The third "non-symbolic" bombing occurred on December 4, 1986, when a clinic in a Detroit suburb was safely

³³*New York Times*, December 16, 1986.

evacuated just 15 minutes before a bomb discovered there was set to explode.

The decline in the number of attacks against abortion clinics in 1986 may be related to the arrests and highly publicized trials and convictions of anti-abortion activists in Pensacola, Florida, and the Washington, D.C., area.³⁴ In April 1985, James Simmons, his wife Kathren, Matthew Goldsby, and Goldsby's fiancée Kay Wiggins were convicted of bombing 3 Pensacola abortion clinics. The men were sentenced to ten years in prison, and the women to five years' probation.³⁵ They were also ordered to pay \$353,073 in restitution.³⁶ In July 1985, Michael Bray, Thomas S. Links, and Kenneth Shields were convicted of bombings at 10 abortion clinics in the Washington area between February 1984 and January 1985 which caused an estimated \$1 million in damages.³⁷ The bombings were described by the presiding judge, Alex Harvey, as "among the most cowardly and vicious of all criminal acts."³⁸ Although Bray's conviction was subsequently overturned on a technicality, in February 1987 he again pleaded guilty to the attacks rather than having to face a second trial. He now could be sentenced to up to ten years in prison and forced to pay up to \$43,782 in restitution.³⁹

The decline of attacks on abortion clinics may also have been influenced by a public plea made to Malvasi by New York's Cardinal John O'Connor, who termed the bombings "completely contradictory to the fundamental teachings of our Catholic faith."⁴⁰ As part of a deal worked out with federal prosecutors, Malvasi subsequently pleaded guilty to one of the Manhattan bombings and to the attempted bombing of the Queens facility (the charges in the two other bombings were dropped), and on September 2, 1987, he was sentenced to seven years in prison. At his sentencing hearing, Malvasi declared that he would never again use violence to express his opposition to legalized abortions "because of his loyalty to the Roman Catholic Church and to John Cardinal O'Connor."⁴¹

³⁴Ibid., December 9, 1985.

³⁵*International Herald Tribune* (Paris), June 1, 1985.

³⁶*Los Angeles Times*, May 31, 1985.

³⁷Ibid., July 3, 1985; *Los Angeles Times*, May 30, 1985; and *Washington Post*, February 17, 1987.

³⁸Quoted in *New York Times*, July 3, 1985.

³⁹*Washington Post*, February 17, 1987.

⁴⁰*Los Angeles Times*, February 25, 1987; *New York Times*, December 9, 1986, and June 14, 1987.

⁴¹*New York Times*, September 3, 1987.

Although the future course of anti-abortion terrorism cannot be predicted, the sentences handed down to persons convicted of attacks on clinics, coupled with the fines and restitution penalties and the strong words of condemnation of a leading religious figure, may cause such activity to continue to decline.

IV. THE INCREASE IN TERRORIST ACTIVITY OF OTHER GROUPS

Any optimism that might be engendered by the decrease of activity among some terrorist movements must be tempered by the increases recorded in the activity of others. The growing violence of right-wing extremists and Puerto Rican separatists, the contract killing of a federal informant by Colombian "hit-men" employed by drug traffickers in that country, and reports that a Chicago street gang sought to make a deal with Libya to perpetrate terrorist attacks in the United States in return for money are all cause for concern.

Despite widespread arrests of right-wing and Puerto Rican terrorists in 1985, the threat posed by these groups has not abated. Right-wing extremists carried out only 4 terrorist attacks between 1983 and 1985, and Puerto Rican separatists committed only 3. But during 1986, right-wing extremists were responsible for 11 terrorist attacks or attempts, and Puerto Rican separatists carried out 10 attacks. Right-wing groups accounted for the largest share of terrorist incidents in 1986 (29 percent), followed by Puerto Rican groups (which accounted for 26 percent).

RIGHT-WING TERRORISM

The growth of right-wing extremism in the United States has prompted increased concern among federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies, government officials, racial and religious minority groups, and civil rights organizations.¹ Organized hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and different incarnations of Hitler's National Socialist (Nazi) party have existed in this country for decades, but extremist, white supremacist paramilitary groups oriented toward "sur-

¹In December 1984, U.S. federal attorneys from Alabama, California, Colorado, Idaho, and Oregon attended a conference in Seattle to work out a common strategy to coordinate their efforts against extremist groups. During 1985 and 1986, federal grand juries were empaneled in Denver, Colorado, and Fort Smith, Arkansas, to investigate right-wing group activities. Attention has also been drawn to these groups by private research institutions such as the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Center for Democratic Renewal, and the Southern Poverty Law Center.

vivalism," outdoor skills, guerrilla training, and outright sedition are a new phenomenon.²

Although these groups have relatively few *active* members (a recent report by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith estimates membership in these groups to be between 400 and 450 persons³), they have an estimated constituent base of 15,000 to 20,000 supporters.⁴ Moreover, the magnitude of the threat the groups pose is clearly demonstrated by the wide-ranging geographical dimensions of the movement, the diversity of its adherents' causes, and their overlapping agendas. The right-wing extremists are not, for the most part, full-time terrorists, as their leftist counterparts often are.⁵ Rather, they see themselves as "minutemen"—the heirs of the tradition of the American Revolution. Therefore, estimates of the number of active members tell only part of the story. The movement has constituents, followers, and sympathizers from Idaho, California, and Arizona in the west to North Carolina and Georgia in the east; they are found from Texas to Canada and in the Midwestern states as well.⁶

The aims and motivations of right-wing extremists span a broad spectrum of anti-federalist and seditious beliefs and racial and religious hatred, masked by a transparent veneer of religious precepts. They are bound together by their shared hostility to any form of government above the county level; their vilification of Jews and non-whites as children of Satan; their obsession with achieving the religious and racial purification of the United States; their belief in a conspiracy theory of powerful Jewish interests controlling the government, banks, and the media; and their advocacy of the overthrow of the U.S. government, or the ZOG (Zionist Occupation Government), as they call it.

The unifying thread in this patchwork ideology is the so-called Christian Identity movement.⁷ The basic tenets of the Identity movement include the beliefs that Jesus Christ was not a Jew, but an Aryan;

²For detailed descriptions of many of these groups, see Hoffman, *Terrorism in the United States and the Potential Threat to Nuclear Facilities*, op. cit., pp. 37-52.

³Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Civil Rights Division, *The Hate Movement Today: A Chronicle of Violence and Disarray*, New York, June 1987, p. 2.

⁴See Lynora Williams (Executive Director of the Center for Democratic Renewal), "Klansman Without Robes," *The Guardian* (New York), November 25, 1987.

⁵The group known as The Order appears to have been the main exception.

⁶The Center for Democratic Renewal estimates that more than 150,000 people regularly attend so-called "Christian patriot meetings" and Klan rallies or buy literature and contribute money. (See Williams, "Klansman Without Robes," op. cit.)

⁷The Identity movement is based on the "Anglo-Israelism" movement that emerged in Great Britain during the mid-19th century. Anglo-Israelism was based on the belief that the ten lost tribes of ancient Israel were composed of Anglo-Saxons, not Jews. In contrast to the present-day Identity movement in the United States, however, Anglo-Israelism was a pacifist movement.

that the Lost Tribes of Israel are not composed of Jews but of blue-eyed Aryans; that white Anglo-Saxons and not Jews are the true Chosen People; and that the United States is the Promised Land. In this context, Jews are viewed as imposters and children of Satan, who must be exterminated. "At its core," a recent report published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith observes, "the Identity movement offers theological rationalization for racial and religious bigotry, and among the members of Identity groups are some of the most militant haters to be found in this country."⁸

Unlike the isolated, technically unsophisticated, crude pipebomb manufacturers who have dominated most of the U.S.-based terrorist groups in the past, the right-wing extremists are well-trained in the use of arms and explosives, they are skilled armorers and bomb-makers, and they are adept at guerrilla warfare techniques and outdoor survival. Their skill and sophistication was demonstrated in the 1983 robberies of a Brinks armored car near Ukiah, California, and a Continental armored transport in Seattle, both perpetrated by members of the group known as The Order.⁹ The robberies were executed in sophisticated, paramilitary style: The robbers carried automatic weapons, undertook detailed reconnaissance of their targets, and laid well-planned, effective ambushes of both vehicles.

The following year, members of the same group stalked and murdered a prominent Jewish radio talk show host, Alan Berg. Testimony presented during the trials of 23 members of The Order during 1985 revealed that the group had also discussed staging a suicide bombing attack of a Seattle hotel where Baron Rothschild (who also is Jewish) was staying. Property seized by federal agents at the arrest of Order members in 1984 and 1985 included computers, programmable radio scanners, transceivers, voice-stress analyzers, and other high-tech equipment not usually found in the possession of terrorists.¹⁰

The Aryan Nations

At the center of the right-wing extremist movement is an organization called the Aryan Nations (see Fig. 3), an extremist, anti-Semitic, Neo-Nazi group of white supremacists, survivalists, and militant tax

⁸Anti-Defamation League, *The Hate Movement Today*, op. cit., p. 2.

⁹The Order at times has also used the names Bruder Schweigen (German for "Silent Brotherhood"), White American Brotherhood of the White Bastion, and the Aryan Resistance Movement.

¹⁰U.S. District Court, Western District of Washington at Seattle, *United States of America v. Bruce Carroll Pierce, et al.*, No. CR85-001M, July 18, 1985.

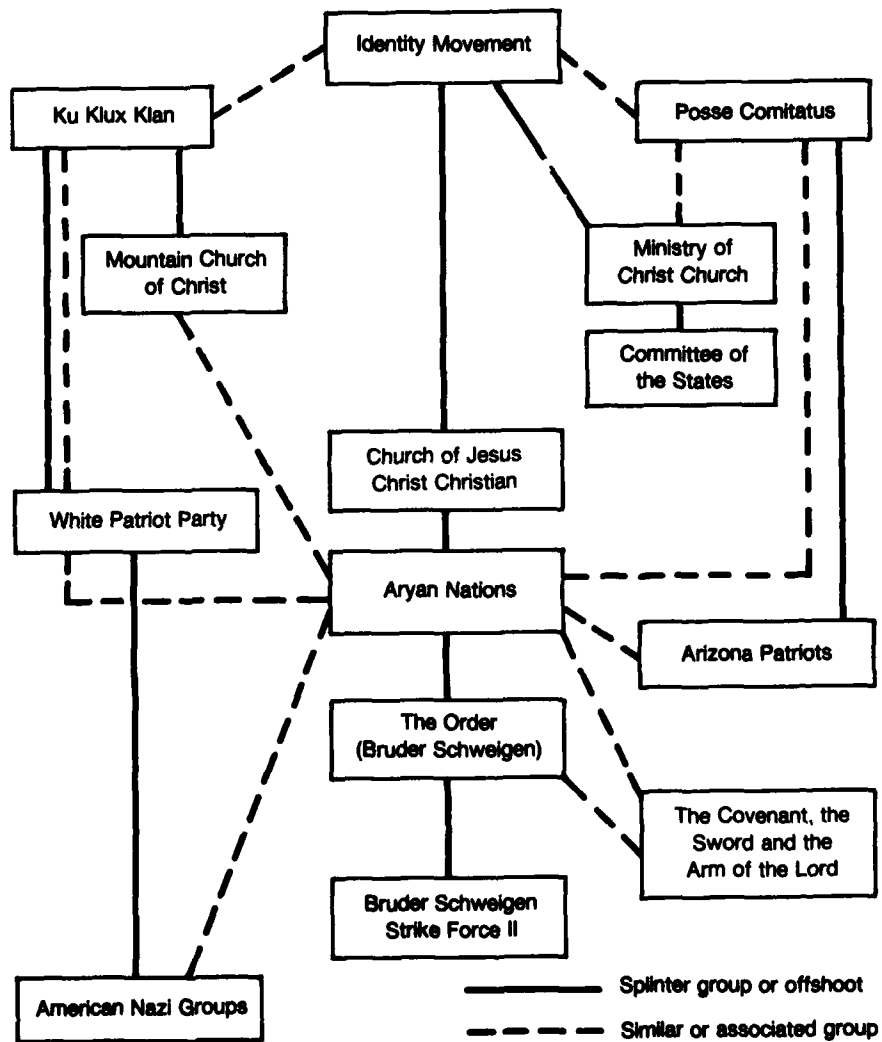


Fig. 3—Major right-wing terrorist groups

resisters.¹¹ Its headquarters is on a secluded, fenced-in 40-acre site at the edge of the Coeur d'Alene National Forest in Hayden Lake, Idaho. The group was founded in 1974 by Richard Girnt Butler, a 69-year-old former aeronautical engineer from California who moved to Idaho in 1973. Butler is also head of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, which has its headquarters on the Aryan Nations compound. The church is based on the white supremacist dogma and aggressive anti-Semitic beliefs espoused by the Identity movement. Indeed, its name specifically reflects the movement's belief that Jesus Christ was not a Jew, but an Aryan.¹² Butler was a disciple of the Reverend Wesley Swift, a prominent exponent of Identity theology, who led a small congregation in Lancaster, California, during the 1950s and 1960s. Upon Swift's death in 1970, Butler claimed leadership of the church for himself.¹³

The ideology espoused by the the Aryan Nations is a mixture of racist and seditious dicta. In a 1982 newsletter, the group proclaimed its desire to "make it clear to ourselves and our enemies what we intend to do: We will have a national racial state at whatever price is necessary. Just as our forefathers purchased their freedom in blood, so must we."¹⁴ The statement goes on to decry "the leadership of malicious, bastardizing politicians . . . [in] modern, decadent America [where] millions of whites watch in abject dismay and hopelessness as their great culture, heritage and civilization evaporates in the steaming, stinking, seething milieu of so many alien races, cultures and gods."¹⁵

The Aryan Nations is an umbrella-type entity that coordinates a variety of different, but similarly oriented, organizations. One of its purposes is to further the ties between members of various like-minded hate groups. To this end, Aryan Nation congresses have been held every year since 1973, with the exception of 1985, when widespread arrests of members of The Order dealt a stunning, albeit temporary, blow to the white supremacist movement.¹⁶ The congresses bring together members and representatives from white supremacist, anti-Semitic, racist, anti-federalist, and survivalist organizations throughout the United States and Canada. Among the 300 to 400 persons who

¹¹International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), *Terrorist Trends: The Quarterly Intelligence Reporter*, 1985, p. 13.

¹²Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, *Hate Groups in America: A Record of Bigotry and Violence*, New York, 1982, pp. 54-55.

¹³Anti-Defamation League, *The Hate Movement Today*, op. cit., p. 2.

¹⁴Quoted in IACP, *Terrorist Trends*, op. cit., p. 14.

¹⁵*Aryan Nations Newsletter*, No. 42, 1982, quoted in Anti-Defamation League, *Hate Groups in America*, op. cit., p. 58.

¹⁶United Press International, July 20, 1986.

attended the July 1986 congress were Robert Miles of the Mountain Church in Cohoctah, Michigan; California Ku Klux Klan leader Bill Albers of Modesto; Pastor Thom Robb of the Church of Jesus Christ of Harrison, Arkansas; Canadian Aryan Nations leaders Terry Long of Alberta and John Ross Taylor of Toronto; Tom Metzger of Fallbrook, California, leader of the White Aryan Resistance; Jerry Radford of Raleigh, North Carolina, of the White Patriot Party; Greg Withrow of the White Student Union of Sacramento; National Alliance leader William Pierce (author of *The Turner Diaries*, the so-called "bible" of The Order) of Mill Point, West Virginia; and Stan Witek of Los Angeles, a leader of the National Socialist Party.¹⁷

According to one newspaper account, the congress "involved two days of speeches, Nazi-style salutes and a cross-burning." Security was maintained by "young men in camouflage uniforms, wearing mesh masks . . . [and] armed with AR-15 [semi-]automatic rifles. Several wore swastika armbands." The dominant themes of the meeting were the establishment of a white, male-dominated homeland in the Northwest and the promotion of cooperation and unity within the white supremacist movement.¹⁸ Butler told the conferees, "You know yourself that today a white male is considered a third-class citizen by the de facto government, therefore, as the posterity of those who founded this country, it is our duty to reclaim our heritage." He later explained to reporters, "We're basically working toward a return to the kind of country our forefathers wanted when they came over on the Mayflower." This aim is being realized, Butler explained, as more white families emigrate to the Pacific Northwest states in order to establish a whites-only homeland in the region.¹⁹

Butler proclaimed the 1986 congress "an overwhelming success" in terms of unifying the white supremacist movement. A cross-burning ceremony was held by the Aryan Nations three months later at the farm of one of its members, John Miller, in Jerome, Idaho. Butler again addressed the participants, urging them to work for the creation of a racially pure nation, and saying that the overwhelming flood of the alien had driven white people to the Northwest.²⁰

Beyond any doubt, the Aryan Nations congresses and related ceremonies and events do cement ties among a variety of like-minded right-wing extremists and fuel the seditious campaign for the establishment of an independent white homeland in the Pacific Northwest.

¹⁷United Press International, July 20, 1986.

¹⁸*New York Times*, July 14, 1986.

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰*New York Times*, October 20, 1986.

Their legacy is perhaps most clearly borne out by the activities of The Order during 1983 and 1984 and the fact that during the following year, members of that group were arrested in 12 different states, where they had sought refuge and assistance from persons affiliated with similarly oriented groups.

Bruder Schweigen Strike Force II

Six of the terrorist incidents attributed to right-wing extremists in 1986 were perpetrated by a radical splinter group of the Aryan Nations called the Bruder Schweigen Strike Force II. This group was responsible for a series of bombings in Coeur d'Alene, just a few miles from the Aryan Nations compound in Hayden Lake, between August and September 1986. The most serious incident was the nearly simultaneous explosion of four bombs at a department store, a restaurant, the local federal building, and an armed forces recruiting station.

Despite initial denials that any of its members were involved, three persons belonging to the Aryan Nations—David Dorr (the “chief of security”), Edward Hawley, and Robert Pires—were arrested four days later and charged with the attacks.²¹ Dorr, Hawley, and Hawley's wife Olive were also charged with conspiring “to manufacture, possess and pass counterfeit money.”²² According to court records, on October 1, Pires “approached the F.B.I. for protection saying that he feared for his life.”²³ Pires admitted that he had not only carried out one of the bombings, but had also been responsible for the murder in August of Kenneth Shray, with whom he had traveled to Idaho to join the Aryan Nations.²⁴ He explained that Shray had been executed by members of the Bruder Schweigen Strike Force II because he was suspected of being a police informant.²⁵

Pires described a conspiracy orchestrated by Dorr to terrorize local residents and opponents of the Aryan Nations in Coeur d'Alene into leaving the area. He explained that Dorr hoped that such an exodus would lower property values and therefore “make it easier for white

²¹Traces of the explosive materials used in six bombings were discovered by the police in a raid on Hawley's home.

²²*New York Times*, October 4, 1986.

²³*New York Times*, February 5, 1987.

²⁴United Press International, February 5, 1987. Shray was the second member of the Aryan Nations to be murdered by his comrades in three years. According to testimony given during the trial of members of The Order in 1985, Walter West, a member of both The Order and the Aryan Nations, was executed for having told a friend in the Aryan Nations about a bank robbery planned by The Order and for using cocaine (*New York Times*, October 15, 1985).

²⁵*Associated Press*, May 15, 1987.

supremacist families to move" to the region. Robert Matthews,²⁶ the founder and leader of The Order, had embarked on an independent terrorist campaign three years before, and Dorr similarly believed that Butler and the mainstream Aryan Nations were not "militant enough" to realize the white supremacists' goals. Moreover, according to Pires, Dorr had compiled a "hit list" that marked federal judges, FBI agents, community leaders—and even Butler himself—for assassination. Pires decided to turn himself in and inform on his colleagues after they had "talked of more violent crimes and executions."²⁷ He apparently feared that his reluctance to participate in these plans would bring him a fate similar to Shray's.

As part of a deal worked out with federal prosecutors, Pires agreed to testify in future cases related to counterfeiting and bombing charges against other suspected white supremacists, in exchange for receiving protection under the federal witness protection program. In addition, by cooperating with the authorities, Pires escaped a possible death sentence for the murder of Shray.²⁸ At his trial, Pires revealed that the four bombings were in fact diversionary attacks designed to draw attention away from a planned assault on a National Guard armory and the robbery of two banks in Coeur d'Alene. With the weapons and money they hoped to obtain, the group planned to escalate and sustain their terrorist campaign. However, there were too many police and witnesses near the scene of the intended targets for the terrorists to carry out their plans.²⁹

In February 1987, Pires was convicted on federal charges stemming from the bombings, as well for illegal weapons possession and counterfeiting, and was sentenced to twenty years in prison. Pires was also tried separately on state charges for the other bombings and the murder of Shray. In May 1987, he was sentenced to life imprisonment for murder and an additional ten years for the bombings (as part of the plea bargain made with prosecutors, the federal and state sentences will be served concurrently).³⁰ That same month, Dorr and Edward and Olive Hawley were convicted of conspiring to print and pass \$27,000 in counterfeit \$20 bills.³¹ Dorr was sentenced to six years in

²⁶Matthews was killed in December 1984, after police and federal agents surrounded the cottage in which he had barricaded himself on Whidbey Island in Puget Sound, Washington.

²⁷United Press International, October 1, 1987; Associated Press, October 2, 1987.

²⁸United Press International, February 5, 1987.

²⁹Ibid., October 1, 1987; Associated Press, October 2, 1987.

³⁰United Press International, February 5, 1987; Associated Press, May 15, 1987.

³¹The three had originally pleaded not guilty to these charges, but subsequently reversed their plea "after it became apparent that . . . Pires had agreed to testify against them" (*New York Times*, February 5, 1987).

prison, Edward Hawley received a four-year term, and his wife was given a suspended sentence and placed on four years' probation.³² In October 1987, Dorr and Hawley pleaded not guilty in a federal district court in Coeur d'Alene to charges involving five bombings.³³

The convictions of Pires, Dorr, and the Hawleys on counterfeiting charges demonstrate the critical role that this activity plays in financing the white supremacist movement. Counterfeiting has long figured prominently as a means to fund their revolution and also to undermine the Federal Reserve, one of the rightists' main causes. The Order, for example, sought to create a "war chest" through counterfeiting and robbery to support the activities of other white supremacist groups throughout the country.³⁴ According to federal prosecutors, Dorr and his followers were raising money to finance a race war. Bogus bills were sent to a Ku Klux Klan leader in California, who was to pass it to employers to pay illegal aliens.³⁵ Dorr is alleged to have told a federal informant that he planned to finance a second Order movement, more violent and dangerous than the first.³⁶

The Posse Comitatus and the Arizona Patriots

The Posse Comitatus³⁷ and its offshoot, the Arizona Patriots, both have ties with the Aryan Nations. These groups reject any form of government above the county level and specifically oppose federal and state income taxes, the existence of the Federal Reserve system, and the supremacy of the federal judiciary over local courts. They decry federal and state income taxes as "Communist and unconstitutional" and advocate a return to the gold standard and the abolition of the Federal Reserve Bank.

Throughout the 1970s, local chapters of the Posse Comitatus were founded in almost every state in the country. According to one observer, "The group maintained a low profile, concentrating on passive tax protest activities, such as providing legal counsel for tax evaders and prompting constitutional justification for local county rules and powers." However, in recent years, the Posse Comitatus has become more violent, particularly in the Midwest and the far

³²United Press International, May 2, 1987; March 6, 1987; March 19, 1987; and September 28, 1987.

³³Ibid., October 1, 1987, and October 17, 1987; Associated Press, October 2, 1987.

³⁴New York Times, September 13, 1985, and October 3, 1985.

³⁵United Press International, February 5, 1987.

³⁶Ibid., September 28, 1987.

³⁷The Latin phrase is translated as "Power of the County."

Northwest.³⁸ Members of the group have attacked local, state, and federal law enforcement officers attempting to serve subpoenas and have filed "frivolous" and harassing lawsuits against arresting officers, Internal Revenue Service (IRS) agents, and agents from the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. An attempt to serve a subpoena on Posse Comitatus member Gordon Kahl in May 1983 resulted in a shoot-out in which Kahl killed two federal marshals before he himself was killed.

The seventh and eighth terrorist incidents attributed to right-wing extremists during 1986 were directly related to Kahl's death three years before. On August 20, a pipebomb was discovered in a package mailed to the home of U.S. Federal District Judge Paul Benson in Fargo, North Dakota. A few days earlier, a similar device had exploded at a local post office, causing minor injuries to four employees. Judge Benson had presided over the trials of several members of the Posse Comitatus, including Kahl, and presumably had been targeted for assassination by other members of the group.

It would be a mistake to view either the Posse Comitatus or the Arizona Patriots as simply militant anti-federalist or extremist tax-resistance organizations. The ideology of both groups incorporates the anti-Semitic, white supremacist beliefs promulgated by the Identity movement. Appeals based on a combination of facile political and religious explanations and rationalizations are specifically directed at financially depressed farmers and ranchers in the West and Midwest, who are especially susceptible to theories that their predicament was created by secret cabals of Jews, bankers, and the federal government.

The mixture of sedition and racial/religious hatred was apparent in the ninth terrorist incident attributed to right-wing extremists in 1986. In December 1986, six members of the Arizona Patriots were indicted on charges of plotting to bomb an IRS office in Ogden, Utah, the Los Angeles FBI office, the Simon Wiesenthal Center (the Jewish Holocaust research center), and two offices of the Jewish Defense League, also in Los Angeles, as well as a synagogue in Phoenix. They were also charged with conspiring to rob a Wells Fargo armored car carrying casino receipts between Laughlin and Las Vegas, Nevada. Automatic weapons, plastic explosives, and mortars were found in their possession.³⁹ Information later uncovered by the authorities led to the arrest of two other members of the group who were charged in connection with the proposed armored-car robbery.⁴⁰

³⁸David Audsley, "POSSE COMITATUS," *TVI Journal*, Summer 1985, p. 13.

³⁹*New York Times*, December 17, 1987; *Los Angeles Times*, January 19, 1987.

⁴⁰United Press International, June 15, 1987.

The indictments capped a two-year FBI investigation of the Arizona Patriots.⁴¹ Tape-recorded conversations between an FBI informer who infiltrated the group and Foster Thomas Hoover, an Arizona rancher who was among the six persons indicted,⁴² contained repeated references to Hoover's hatred of the IRS and his desire to destroy IRS facilities. Hoover allegedly planned to use a car bomb or a mail truck packed with explosives to blow up the IRS office in Utah.⁴³ The armored-car robbery, on the other hand, was intended to obtain money with which to build a white supremacist compound in Arizona. In May 1987, three members of the group pleaded guilty to conspiring to rob the armored car. They face prison terms of up to five years as well as a maximum \$250,000 fine. A fourth Arizona Patriots defendant had previously been convicted of illegal possession of a mortar and was sentenced to five years in prison. The remaining defendants pleaded guilty to conspiracy charges involving the planned bombings. They now await sentencing.⁴⁴

The White Patriot Party

The tenth right-wing incident of 1986 occurred on the East Coast and involved the White Patriot Party, another group linked to the Aryan Nations. Three members of this group—Stephen Miller, Robert Jackson, and Anthony Wydra (Jackson's half-brother)—were arrested in North Carolina and charged with plotting to rob a fast-food restaurant to obtain money with which to purchase explosives. The explosives were to be used to bomb the offices of the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, Alabama.⁴⁵ Two other members of the organization, Wendell Lane and Simeon Davis, were also subsequently arrested and charged in the plot.⁴⁶

One of the most militant offshoots of the Ku Klux Klan,⁴⁷ the White Patriot Party was founded in 1985 by Frazier Glenn Miller (no relation to Stephen Miller), a former U.S. Army Green Beret who

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²The others were Jack Maxwell Oliphant, Patrick Henry Schlect and his wife Rita, David Emerson Gumaer, and Steven Christiansen. Gumaer had previously been arrested in 1985 when he was charged with selling eight Uzi submachine guns to an undercover federal agent (*New York Times*, December 17, 1986). Oliphant was also indicted on robbery charges as were Monte Ross and Daniel Arthur (United Press International, June 15, 1987).

⁴³*New York Times*, December 17, 1986.

⁴⁴United Press International, June 15, 1987.

⁴⁵*New York Times*, September 30, 1986, and January 9, 1987; United Press International, May 6, 1987.

⁴⁶Risks International, *Weekly Risk Assessment*, Vol. 4, No. 3, January 16, 1987.

⁴⁷James Ridgeway, "All in the Klan," *Village Voice*, February 17, 1987.

served two tours in Vietnam and was a "longtime activist" in the National Socialist Party of America (also known as the American Nazi Party).⁴⁸ Miller also led the Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. He was among the members of this group who were responsible for a 1979 shootout in Greensboro, North Carolina, during a demonstration of the Communist Workers Party, in which five protesters were killed. During the early 1980s, Miller transformed his Klan group into a paramilitary force and renamed it the White Patriot Party.⁴⁹ Although he later claimed that the party had 5,000 members, federal authorities estimate that its active membership was never more than 50 persons.⁵⁰

As a result of a civil suit instituted by the Southern Poverty Law Center and its director, Morris Dees, a court injunction was lodged against Glenn Miller in 1985⁵¹ prohibiting him from either "operating a paramilitary organization" or having any communication with members of the White Patriot Party. Stephen Miller, the group's so-called "chaplain,"⁵² publicly took over as leader, but the Southern Poverty Law Center uncovered evidence the following year showing that Glenn Miller was still actively involved in paramilitary training.⁵³ This information led to his conviction in July 1986 of violating the court injunction.⁵⁴ He was also convicted on illegal weapons possession charges after a convicted illegal-arms dealer testified that he sold \$50,000 worth of mines stolen from U.S. military stockpiles to Miller.⁵⁵

According to the indictment, which was handed down in a U.S. District Court of North Carolina, Stephen Miller and his four associates "conspired to obtain stolen military material so as to maintain, train and equip a paramilitary force and otherwise further the goals of white supremacy." Three of the defendants, one of whom was reported to be

⁴⁸Originally based in Chicago, where it gained national notoriety in 1977-78 for its plans to hold a rally in the predominantly Jewish suburb of Skokie, Illinois, the NSAP relocated to Raleigh, North Carolina, in 1980. See Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, *Extremism on the Right: A Handbook*, New York, 1983, pp. 35-36; Anti-Defamation League, *Hate Groups in America*, op. cit., p. 63; Anti-Defamation League, *The Hate Movement Today*, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

⁴⁹Anti-Defamation League, *The Hate Movement Today*, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

⁵⁰United Press International, May 1, 1987. However, several marches held by the White Patriot Party in North Carolina during 1984 attracted over 300 participants. (See Anti-Defamation League, *The Hate Movement Today*, op. cit., p. 8.)

⁵¹Ridgeway, "All in the Klan," op. cit.

⁵²*New York Times*, January 9, 1987; *Risks International*, *Weekly Risk Assessment*, Vol. 4, No. 3, January 16, 1987.

⁵³Ridgeway, "All in the Klan," op. cit.

⁵⁴*New York Times*, January 9, 1987.

⁵⁵*Risks International*, *Weekly Risk Assessment*, Vol. 3, No. 35, September 5, 1986.

a member of the U.S. Army,⁵⁶ were also charged with receiving military equipment stolen from a federal armory at Wadesboro, North Carolina.⁵⁷ They are alleged to have sought to stockpile an array of weapons, including missiles, rockets, plastic explosives, and automatic weapons from the armory,⁵⁸ which were to be used to attack the Southern Poverty Law Center offices and to assassinate Dees in reprisal for the role that the Center played in bringing the civil suit against Glenn Miller the previous year.⁵⁹ The indictments also revealed that the five conspirators simultaneously belonged to the White Patriot Party, the Carolina Klan, and The Order.⁶⁰ According to the (subsequently recanted) testimony of Order member Bruce Carroll Pierce, Glenn Miller had been given \$300,000 of the money amassed by The Order from the two armored car robberies carried out in 1983.⁶¹

On April 13, 1987, Stephen Miller was convicted of the conspiracy charges in part as a result of testimony provided by Lane and Davis, who were granted immunity in return for giving evidence on behalf of the prosecution. Wydra, however, was acquitted of all charges.⁶² The remaining defendant, Jackson, failed to appear at the trial, and a warrant was issued for his arrest.⁶³

Related Right-Wing Extremist Activities in 1986

In July 1986, an IRS office outside of Chicago was bombed. Although no person or group claimed credit for the blast, law enforcement officials believe that right-wing terrorists may have been responsible. Although not classified as terrorist incidents as such, five related occurrences involving white supremacists indicate a disturbing escalation of right-wing violence.

In Cokeville, Wyoming, in May 1986, two Aryan Nations members, Doris and David Young, seized a local elementary school and held its teachers and students hostage. Seventy children were injured when a bomb the couple had placed in a classroom accidentally exploded. Doris Young was killed in the blast, after which her husband shot himself to death. Documents found in the Youngs' possession connected

⁵⁶Risks International, *Weekly Risk Assessment*, Vol. 4, No. 3, January 16, 1987.

⁵⁷*New York Times*, January 9, 1987.

⁵⁸Risks International, *Weekly Risk Assessment*, Vol. 4, No. 3, January 16, 1987.

⁵⁹*New York Times*, September 30, 1986, and January 9, 1987.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, September 30, 1986.

⁶¹Ridgeway, "All in the Klan," *op. cit.*

⁶²United Press International, May 6, 1987; Risks International, *Weekly Risk Assessment*, Vol. 4, No. 17, April 24, 1987.

⁶³United Press International, September 16, 1987.

them with the Posse Comitatus, and a diary belonging to David Young revealed their membership in the Aryan Nations. The purpose of the seizure of the school, authorities believe, was "to foment a revolution and create a new white supremacist homeland." To this end, the Youngs had demanded a ransom of \$2 million for each child, a sum that would have yielded close to \$300 million.⁶⁴

In August, a bank in the small rural town of Rossville, Illinois, was robbed by two masked gunmen who made off with \$44,000. With police in pursuit, the robbers pulled off a road outside of the town and ambushed their pursuers, riddling the police car with bullets. Having crossed the state line into Indiana, the two men abandoned their vehicle and set fire to it. They then changed cars and escaped. From evidence discovered in the abandoned vehicle, FBI agents determined that one of the culprits was Thomas Harrelson, an ex-convict and parole violator who is known to be a member of the Aryan Nations. The car was registered to Harrelson's fiancée, Marion Miles, the daughter of Robert Miles, the "Ambassador" of the Aryan Nations.⁶⁵

Harrelson was arrested on February 20, 1987, after robbing another bank, in Drayton, North Dakota, and seizing several hostages. He and his two accomplices surrendered when they were stopped at a police roadblock outside of the town.⁶⁶ Harrelson had previously been convicted of robbing a bank in Sacramento, California, in 1981. While in

⁶⁴New York Times, October 5, 1986.

⁶⁵Ibid., August 18, 1986. Miles is a former Grand Dragon of the Michigan Realm of the United Klans of America, the largest Klan group in the United States. A vocal opponent of school integration, Miles and four accomplices were convicted of bombing ten school buses in 1971 in Pontiac, Michigan. He was also convicted of additional charges involving the tarring and feathering of a local school principal. Sentenced to a nine-year prison term, Miles was paroled in 1979 after serving six years. At present, he is the head of an extremist organization with religious overtones, the Mountain Church of Jesus Christ the Saviour. This organization, based in Cohoctah, Michigan, is closely linked with the Aryan Nations (see Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, *Extremism on the Right*, op. cit., pp. 112-113). During the early 1980s, Miles was instrumental in developing the "Fifth Era" strategy embraced by the most militant elements of the Ku Klux Klan. This strategy held that "the Klan should be an underground organization [that would] fight for supremacy through violence while shunning publicity" (*Arkansas Gazette*, April 25, 1987). Miles was the Fifth Era's most active proponent, drumming up support for it at conventions held by extremist groups such as the National States Rights Party and the Western Guard (a Canadian neo-Nazi organization). He was also the keynote speaker at several white supremacist/survivalist conferences sponsored by the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord at its Mountain Home, Arkansas, compound and by the Christian Patriots Defense League. In 1982, Miles addressed the annual Aryan Nations Congress in July and was among the Ku Klux Klan leaders who attended a major Klan unity meeting at Stone Mountain, Georgia, during the Labor Day weekend (Anti-Defamation League, *Extremism on the Right*, op. cit., p. 113). He is also cited as "a principal organizer" of the 1986 Aryan Nations Congress (*New York Times*, August 18, 1986).

⁶⁶Associated Press, February 20, 1987.

prison, he reportedly "signed an oath of allegiance to the Aryan Nations, which operates a nationwide prison ministry under the auspices of . . . [the] Church of Jesus Christ Christian." Federal authorities suspect that Harrelson's robberies—like those later staged by The Order and the Bruder Schweigen Strike Force II—were undertaken to obtain funds for a white supremacist revolution in the United States.⁶⁷ In June 1987, Harrelson pleaded guilty to charges of robbing a total of nine banks in North Dakota, Minnesota, Arkansas, Illinois, and Ohio. He was sentenced to 34 years in prison.⁶⁸

In October 1986, the Reverend William Potter Gale and six associates were arrested on charges of making death threats to IRS agents and a judge in Nevada.⁶⁹ Gale, who is described as a "leading organizer" of the Posse Comitatus, is also alleged to have conducted paramilitary training near Mariposa, California,⁷⁰ where his Ministry of Christ Church is located. Gale, a retired colonel in the U.S. Army who served on General MacArthur's staff during World War II, has long been involved in white supremacist activities in the United States. An expert on guerrilla warfare (he has written five books on this subject as well as a guerrilla warfare manual for the Posse Comitatus), he formerly belonged to the extreme right-wing John Birch Society and is regarded as one of the leading proponents of the Christian Identity movement.⁷¹ Following the teachings of Swift, Gale founded his own ministry based on "Identity tenets." It was Gale, in fact, who first introduced Richard Girnt Butler to the Identity movement.⁷² He was among those honored in a 1980 Aryan Nations publication as one of "our true Aryan Racial Comrades in the battle for the Resurrection of Our Nation."⁷³

Throughout the 1970s, Gale was particularly active in organizing Posse Comitatus chapters in the Northwest and the Midwest. According to one account, he was an instructor at a Posse Comitatus-led survival school in Weskan, Kansas, whose participants included militant farmers. He reportedly presented lectures with racial and anti-Semitic overtones and gave instruction on the proper explosives needed to

⁶⁷New York Times, August 18, 1986; United Press International, June 16, 1987.

⁶⁸United Press International, June 16, 1987, and August 26, 1987.

⁶⁹Los Angeles Times, March 15, 1987.

⁷⁰Ridgeway, "All in the Klan," op. cit.

⁷¹Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, *Extremism on the Right*, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

⁷²Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, *Hate Groups in America*, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

⁷³Quoted in Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, *Extremism on the Right*, op. cit., p. 87.

demolish roadways, dams, and bridges.⁷⁴ On July 4, 1984, Gale sponsored a meeting at his Mariposa, California home at which "delegates" (including Butler) were invited to establish a new anti-federalist group called the Committee of the States. The name came from the eighteenth century Articles of Confederation, which was the predecessor of the U.S. Constitution. The Articles of Confederation "provided that Congress appoint such a committee, with one delegate from each state, to execute certain Congressional powers when Congress was in recess."⁷⁵ Gale and his followers decided not only that they should form that committee, but also that the U.S. Constitution is illegal and that the country should be governed under the Articles of Confederation.⁷⁶ To this end, the group issued a series of "indictments," charging the U.S. Congress with a variety of unlawful acts.⁷⁷

In October 1987, Gale and five members of the Committee of the States⁷⁸ were convicted on charges of conspiracy, mailing threatening communications, and attempting to interfere with the administration of Internal Revenue laws. One of the IRS agents testified that he received a letter labeled "Constructive Notice," which stated that "any interference or attempt to interfere with the functions and activities of this Committee of the States or its delegate by any person or agency of the government shall result in the death penalty being imposed upon conviction by said committee sitting as the Congress of the United States." The agent was also warned not to make any further efforts to collect tax payments from any member of the Committee.⁷⁹ The defendants face prison terms of up to thirty-four years each.⁸⁰

The next incident was a racially motivated riot at a state prison in Florence, Arizona, in which one black prisoner was killed and eight others were injured (three seriously). The riot was sparked by the murder of a white prisoner, Paul Engle, who was a member of the white prison gang known as the Aryan Brotherhood, which has close

⁷⁴Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, *Extremism on the Right*, op. cit.

⁷⁵*New York Times*, September 15, 1987.

⁷⁶United Press International, October 3, 1987.

⁷⁷Quoted in Anti-Defamation League, *The Hate Movement Today*, op. cit., p. 13.

⁷⁸Including Fortunato Parrino, an assistant at Gale's Ministry of Christ Church, Richard Van Hazel of Arizona, and Patrick McCray, his brother George McCray, and Gary Dolfen, all of Nevada. Two others, Angelo Stefanelli and Susan Kieffer, also from Nevada, pleaded guilty to lesser charges. The signatures of four of the defendants (Gale, Van Hazel, and both McCray brothers), as well as Butler's, appear on a list of "delegates" who were present at the 1984 meeting (*New York Times*, September 15, 1987).

⁷⁹Quoted in United Press International, September 17, 1987.

⁸⁰Associated Press, October 2, 1987; *New York Times*, October 4, 1987.

ties to the Aryan Nations.⁸¹ According to a recent report, the Aryan Nations "is enjoying some success in recruiting hardened criminals in prison."⁸² Robert Matthews and Gary Lee Yarborough, one of his chief lieutenants, had in fact both served time in the Florence facility and had been recruited into the Aryan Nations while imprisoned there.⁸³

The final incident concerns a reported clandestine training session for "a secret army of 25 neo-Nazis" held in December 1986 in northern Idaho. According to a confidential police memorandum obtained by the *Spokesman-Review Spokane Chronicle*, "a masked instructor"—believed to be a police officer or a former police officer with detailed knowledge of SWAT (Special Weapons and Tactics) team operations—gave lessons on how to rob banks and armored cars and stage elaborate ambushes of pursuing police. The attendees were also urged to obtain CB radios and programmable police scanners and to arm themselves with LAW rockets, an antitank weapon used by the U.S. military. Several electronic stores in the region were burglarized after the training sessions, and CB radios and programmable scanners were among the items stolen. Even more alarming than the training session and subsequent thefts is the fact that some of the session's participants claimed that other police officers from the Denver area also belonged to their group.⁸⁴

PUERTO RICAN SEPARATISTS

For more than 30 years, Puerto Rican separatists have waged a sporadic, but persistent, terrorist campaign against U.S. possession of their island. Most of this activity has been carried out by either the FALN (*Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional*, or Armed Forces of the National Liberation), which is based in the continental United States, or by the *Ejercito Boricua Popular* (Popular Army of Borica, the island's name before Spanish colonization), more commonly known as the *Macheteros* (Spanish for "machete-wielders"), which thus far has operated only in Puerto Rico.

Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, the FALN was responsible for more than 125 bombings, primarily in New York, Chicago, and

⁸¹*New York Times*, October 25, 1986.

⁸²Risks International, *Executive Risk Assessment*, Vol. 8, No. 8, August 1986.

⁸³*Washington Post*, December 26, 1984.

⁸⁴*Spokesman-Review Spokane Chronicle*, May 10, 1987. The substance of the article was confirmed by both federal and local law enforcement agencies.

Puerto Rico, which killed 5 persons.⁸⁵ Targets included U.S. government offices, military installations and recruiting stations, police stations, courthouses, energy facilities, banks, department stores, hotels, and other commercial establishments. The group's most notorious operation was the January 1975 bombing of the historic Fraunces Tavern near Wall Street, in which 4 persons were killed and 63 were wounded. The most recent FALN attack occurred on New Year's Eve 1983, when a series of bombs exploded at police headquarters, FBI offices, a prison, and a federal courthouse in New York City (a police officer was seriously injured in one of the explosions).

The FALN suffered what appears to have been a serious blow in 1985, when 17 key members of its organization and the *Macheteros* were arrested. In July 1986, a plot to free the group's leader, Oscar Lopez, from the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, was broken up by an undercover federal agent who had infiltrated the group. Three members were arrested and charged with attempting to rescue Lopez and a convicted murderer, Grailing Brown, by setting off a series of bombs as diversions and then sweeping in with a helicopter to pick up the two prisoners.⁸⁶

The *Macheteros* first surfaced in 1979, when they carried out 8 bombing attacks in Puerto Rico in coordination with 4 FALN bombings in New York and Chicago. The *Macheteros* subsequently embarked on a largely independent campaign of terrorism against U.S. military targets in Puerto Rico. In December 1979, a *Macheteros* unit ambushed a Navy bus, killing two U.S. sailors and wounding ten others; in March 1980, *Macheteros* attempted to assassinate three Army officers attached to the ROTC program at the University of Puerto Rico; and in January 1981, in one of the most destructive terrorist attacks in history, they destroyed nine jet fighters and caused over \$40 million in damage at the Muniz Air National Guard Base. Unlike earlier Puerto Rican terrorists who used stolen U.S. military M-16 automatic weapons or commercially purchased AR-15s, the *Macheteros* used Soviet-bloc-manufactured AK-47 assault rifles in the attack on the Navy bus and highly sophisticated explosive devices to destroy the jet planes.

The *Macheteros* were responsible for 9 of the 10 terrorist incidents attributed to Puerto Rican separatists during 1986. On October 28, the group bombed two U.S. military facilities in Puerto Rico and an Army recruiting station, where one person was injured. Additional explosive devices were discovered and defused the same day at six other military

⁸⁵Risks International, *Weekly Risk Assessment*, Vol. 3, No. 28, July 11, 1986.

⁸⁶Ibid.

targets on the island. Less than a week later, on November 4, a pipe-bomb placed at a National Guard office was dismantled by police after a warning call was received from someone purporting to represent the group. The caller explained that the bombings were part of a *Macheteros* campaign to protest reported government plans to train Nicaraguan "contras" in Puerto Rico.⁸⁷

By targeting military personnel and installations, Puerto Rican terrorists (particularly the *Macheteros*) have sought to create the impression that they are waging "a war of national liberation" against U.S. possession of their homeland. In this context, the U.S. military presence in Puerto Rico is portrayed by the terrorists as an oppressive, "colonial" force serving the interests of American business and facilitating the economic exploitation of the island and its people. In claiming responsibility for the *Macheteros* attacks in 1986, a spokesman proclaimed, "We attack today a series of enemy military objectives throughout our occupied country."⁸⁸ The Puerto Rican terrorist acts are thus calculated to (1) focus attention on the terrorist movement and its cause; (2) publicize grievances; and (3) "educate" fellow Puerto Ricans about the alleged political, economic, and social inequities forced upon them by U.S. domination.

The remaining terrorist incident attributed to the Puerto Rican separatists in 1986 was the assassination of a former police undercover agent, Alejandro Gonzalez Malave, by the Volunteer Organization for the Revolution (OVRP). This group, which also participated in the *Macheteros* attacks on the Navy bus and the airbase, claimed responsibility for the murder. Malave had been involved in the 1978 deaths of two young Puerto Rican revolutionaries who were attempting to blow up a power-line transmission tower. Subsequent investigations revealed that the two had been "executed" by police officers who arrived at the scene after the revolutionaries had surrendered. Ten of the police officers accused of the murders are presently serving sentences for perjury before the federal grand jury that investigated the case, although Malave was acquitted of charges connected with the incident. In calls to the media, OVRP spokesmen vowed that the group was going to kill all of the policemen involved in the 1978 murders.⁸⁹

⁸⁷A press release issued by the *Macheteros* also claimed that the attacks were in protest of the U.S. National Park Service's announced plan to permit commercial logging operations in the National Rain Forest at El Yunque, one of Puerto Rico's main tourist attractions (*New York Times*, October 29, 1986).

⁸⁸Quoted in *Washington Post*, October 20, 1986.

⁸⁹*New York Times*, May 1, 1986; *Risks International*, *Weekly Risk Assessment*, Vol. 3, No. 19, May 9, 1986.

Although the *Macheteros* attacks were considerably less sophisticated than previous group operations (indeed, 7 of the 9 attacks failed), the fact that the group had carried out only one operation during 1985 (the firing of a hand-held antitank grenade at the building that houses the offices of the U.S. Marshals Service and other federal agencies in Hato Rey) suggests that the arrests of group members had no lasting effect on the *Macheteros*.⁹⁰ The 1986 incidents demonstrate that the group remains viable and capable of carrying out terrorist operations. Similarly, although the OVRP has been largely inactive in recent years, the assassination of Malave and the group's vow to murder the other police officers indicate that it too is also still alive and may be poised to escalate its violent campaign for independence.

DRUG-RELATED TERRORISM AND TERRORISM FOR HIRE

Two other terrorist incidents that occurred in 1986 are cause for concern. In February, a three-man Colombian hit-team, directed by drug dealers from that country, surreptitiously entered the United States and murdered Adler (Barry) Seal, a former TWA pilot who had been working for the Drug Enforcement Agency for nearly three years. Testimony given by Seal in a number of narcotics trafficking trials in the United States had implicated several leaders of the so-called Medellin cartel (which is believed to control more than 70 percent of the cocaine traffic in the United States). Seal's testimony had also drawn attention to the involvement of senior Nicaraguan government officials in the drug trade.⁹¹

The three members of the hit-team—Miguel Velez, Luis Carlos Quintero-Cruz, and Bernardo Antonio Vasquez—were alleged to have been offered \$500,000 to murder Seal to prevent him from testifying against Jorge Orchoa, the reputed leader of the cartel, who was then contesting a Spanish court order to extradite him to the United States to face trial on drug trafficking charges. (Orchoa eventually won the case and was released.) On May 13, Velez, Quintero-Cruz, and Vasquez were convicted of murder. One prosecution witness, convicted Miami drug dealer Max Mermelstein, testified that he too had

⁹⁰Fourteen *Macheteros* were among the 17 Puerto Rican terrorists arrested in September 1985 (Risks International, *Quarterly Risk Assessment: Executive Summary*, April-June 1986).

⁹¹*New York Times*, May 14, 1987.

been offered a \$1 million bounty to kidnap Seal and bring him to Colombia alive or \$500,000 to simply kill him.⁹²

The second incident came to light as a result of police raids in August 1986 on two buildings used by a black Chicago street gang known as *El Rukn* (Arabic for "military support"). Four gang members were arrested and charged with conspiring to commit terrorist acts on behalf of Libya. Found in their possession were letters from Libyan government officials showing that some gang members had traveled to Central America to meet with Libyan officials (it was not clear that the meeting actually took place), along with a cache of automatic weapons, pistols, hand grenades, and an M-72 rocket launcher.⁹³

The gang, which is believed to have some 350 hardcore members⁹⁴ and a total membership of 500 to 1,000 persons,⁹⁵ was founded in 1968 by Jeff Fort.⁹⁶ It was then called the Blackstone Rangers, and it later became The Black P Stone Nation.⁹⁷ During the 1960s, the group was reported to have been involved in street violence and drug dealing which terrorized Chicago.⁹⁸ Fort, however, fostered an image of the Blackstone Rangers as a community organization seeking to promote racial harmony. Through this ruse, the gang was able to receive federal community development funds, which were also channeled to the leader of the radical black group Move in Philadelphia⁹⁹ and were used to finance the appearance of Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan in Philadelphia in September 1984.¹⁰⁰

Fort and other members of the gang were subsequently convicted of using \$1 million of the community grant money to buy drugs and were imprisoned in the federal penitentiary in Joliet, Illinois. Fort is presently incarcerated in a Texas prison on cocaine trafficking charges, but law enforcement officials believe that he continues to control the

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³*Washington Times*, August 11, 1986. The cache consisted of 32 pistols, rifles, and shotguns; 3 machine guns, 1 of which was equipped with a silencer; a rocket launcher; and an unspecified quantity of hand grenades and drugs (*New York Times*, October 31, 1986).

⁹⁴Estimate of the Chicago Police Department, cited in the *Washington Times*, August 11, 1986.

⁹⁵*New York Times*, October 31, 1986.

⁹⁶*Washington Times*, August 11, 1986.

⁹⁷*New York Times*, October 31, 1986.

⁹⁸Risks International, *Weekly Risk Assessment*, Vol. 3, No. 33, August 15, 1986.

⁹⁹The Move headquarters in Philadelphia was bombed by a police helicopter during an assault in May 1985 that killed 11 people and set fire to 61 houses in the area adjacent to the headquarters building.

¹⁰⁰Risks International, *Executive Risk Assessment*, Vol. 8, No. 8, August 1986.

activities of *El Rukn* from his jail cell.¹⁰¹ Indeed, although Fort and other *El Rukn* members portray themselves as a Sunni Muslim religious community, some observers believe the religious image is used as a cover for drug trafficking and other illegal activities.¹⁰²

The gang's connection with Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam is particularly significant. Farrakhan openly supports Libya's Qaddafi¹⁰³ and has reportedly visited Libya on at least three occasions to meet with him.¹⁰⁴ In February 1985, Qaddafi addressed the Nation of Islam's annual convention in Chicago via a satellite hook-up. Qaddafi called on black servicemen in the U.S. Army to leave the military, create their own army, and fight their "racist oppressors" to establish a separate black nation in the United States. He declared that the United States is an "imperialist country [that] must be destroyed" and vowed to fight "shoulder to shoulder." In response, Farrakhan stated, "It would be an act of mercy to end the white man's world because your world is killing you and us and all of humanity," although he later qualified his statement, insisting that he was "not trying to overthrow the United States."¹⁰⁵ Three months later, Farrakhan announced that the Nation of Islam had been granted a \$5 million interest-free loan from Libya.¹⁰⁶ The creation of a separate black nation within the United States is, in fact, one of the aims of the Nation of Islam.¹⁰⁷

In a 1985 radio broadcast, Farrakhan described *El Rukn* as "born warriors for true liberation, waiting for the voice of the messiah." Members of the gang have, in fact, been recruited into the Nation of Islam, have served as bodyguards for Farrakhan, and have instructed

¹⁰¹ *Washington Times*, August 11, 1986.

¹⁰² *Risks International, Weekly Risk Assessment*, Vol. 3, No. 33, August 15, 1986.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Two other Nation of Islam members met with Qaddafi in Libya in April 1983. The meeting, according to U.S. intelligence specialists, was called to determine "ways and means that Libya could provide direct support to liberation fighters within the United States" (*Washington Times*, August 11, 1986).

¹⁰⁵ Quoted in *Washington Post*, February 25, 1985.

¹⁰⁶ *New York Times*, May 4, 1985.

¹⁰⁷ In this respect, there are a number of striking parallels between the Nation of Islam and white supremacist groups in the United States. Both movements agree that whites and blacks are separate nations and therefore should live apart in their own countries, under their own governments. Both ascribe all sorts of evil intentions and actions to Jews and argue that powerful Jewish interests have taken control of the country and are at the root of America's problems. Links have, in fact, been forged between the Black Muslims and white supremacists. In October 1985, Tom Metzger, the head of the California-based White Aryan Resistance, led a delegation of white supremacists attending a Nation of Islam rally in Los Angeles. (See Hoffman, *Terrorism in the United States and the Potential Threat to Nuclear Facilities*, op. cit., p. 49; *Los Angeles Times*, October 11, 1985; *New York Times*, October 3, 1985; and *Washington Times*, August 11, 1986.)

other security force personnel in martial arts and weapons use. Whether the contacts established between *El Rukn* and the Libyans were facilitated by the gang's close relations with Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam is not clear. What is known, however, is that the gang reportedly offered to carry out terrorist operations in the United States on behalf of Libya in return for money. According to a federal grand jury indictment handed down in Chicago, seven members of *El Rukn*, including Fort (who allegedly participated in the conspiracy by telephone from his Texas prison), contacted, met, and dealt with representatives of the government of Libya in an effort to obtain money in exchange for the commission of a violent act or acts in the United States.¹⁰⁸ For these acts, the group sought to obtain as much as \$2.5 million.¹⁰⁹ Conversations between Fort and other gang members that were tape-recorded by federal wiretaps revealed that the gang had also proposed shooting down a commercial airliner to impress the Libyans.¹¹⁰

In November 1987, Fort and four of his followers were convicted of conspiring to bomb government buildings and attack airline targets.¹¹¹ Throughout the trial, the defense sought to portray the gang as a community/religious organization "that planned no violence and had met with the Libyans only to raise money for a mosque." The conviction was obtained after another defendant, Trammell Davis (who had served as the gang's "security chief"), entered into a plea bargain in which he agreed to testify for the prosecution. Fort faces a maximum sentence of 260 years in prison. His four codefendants could each be sentenced to between 25 and 190 years in prison.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸*New York Times*, October 31, 1986, and November 25, 1987.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, November 25, 1987.

¹¹⁰*Risks International, Weekly Risk Assessment*, Vol. 3, No. 45, November 7, 1986.

¹¹¹The four are Leon McAnderson, Reico Cranshaw, Alan Knox, and Roosevelt Hawkins. Another gang member included in the October 1986 indictments, Melvin Mayes, is believed to have fled to Libya (*New York Times*, November 25, 1987).

¹¹²*Ibid.*; also *Los Angeles Times*, November 25, 1987.

V. SOURCES OF CONCERN AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

Despite the overall decline in domestic terrorism in 1986, several trends are cause for concern. Foremost is the continued activity of right-wing extremists and Puerto Rican separatists, together with the possibility of terrorist attacks being committed by Islamic elements in this country on behalf of either radical Middle Eastern countries or militant Palestinian terrorist organizations.

RIGHT-WING TERRORISM

The most serious threat is undoubtedly posed by the right-wing extremist groups. Although one might be inclined to dismiss the members of these groups as intemperate hot-heads, country bumpkins, or mentally unstable alarmists, they have demonstrated that they are serious in their beliefs and dedicated to their causes—and that they are willing to use violence in pursuit of their goals. Moreover, under the Aryan Nations umbrella, the first truly nationwide terrorist network has been established in this country.

The right-wing terrorist movement has also demonstrated remarkable resiliency to withstand pressure from heightened attention by federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies, to rebound from setbacks (such as the widespread arrests of members), and to continue to try to carve out a whites-only homeland in the Pacific Northwest. Only two years ago, the arrests of 23 members of The Order were heralded as a major setback, yet in September 1986, the Bruder Schweigen Strike Force II emerged to carry out a series of bombings, and in April 1987, Glenn Miller issued a call to arms for a new campaign of violence and sedition.

After an appeals court upheld his conviction in April 1987, Miller jumped bail and went underground, accompanied by Robert Jackson, whose own trial was scheduled to begin within a few days, and Douglas Sheets, of the White Patriot Party, who had been subpoenaed to testify at the trial. While on the run, Miller sent a letter to members of the White Patriot Party and other like-minded white groups throughout the country, calling on his followers to launch a "total war" against their common "enemies," broadly defined as prominent Jews,

minority-group leaders, civil rights advocates, government officials, and judges.¹

Perhaps more significantly, the letter also invoked the name of The Order and again called for the use of Matthews's "point system" for the elimination of "enemies."² The letter provided instructions for Miller's funeral and burial should he perish in the pursuit of his goals. Miller had also reportedly taken out a life insurance policy for \$100,000 (which was canceled by the insurer before it took effect).³ "Both the tone and the substance of his letter," U.S. Attorney Sam Currin told reporters, "bother us a great deal. The fact that he indicates in the letter that he is a member of The Order . . . and that he apparently is also still claiming to be the leader of the White Patriot Party were of great concern to us. . . . [Miller] seems to be almost suicidal." This point was also made by U.S. Marshal William Berryhill, who said, "We think that [the insurance policy] makes him a more dangerous individual because he may be walking around right now thinking he's worth more dead than alive. If he thought he was going to declare war on Uncle Sam, die a martyr and leave his family well-heeled, he needs to know that that's not the case."⁴

On April 30, 1987, Miller and his two accomplices were captured in Ozark, Missouri. Contrary to his previous declaration and presumed intentions, Miller surrendered after being surrounded by federal agents and local police. A variety of illegal weapons—including fragmentation grenades, C-4 plastic explosives, gas masks, automatic weapons, and pistols—were found in Miller's trailer and van.⁵ In September 1987, as part of a deal whereby he agreed to provide testimony against other members of his organization and information on other related criminal activities, Miller pleaded guilty to federal charges of mailing threatening communications. He is also expected to enter a guilty plea in connection with the charges brought against him for illegal weapons possession. In exchange for his cooperation, federal prosecutors have indicated that they will recommend that he receive separate five-year prison terms for both offenses. Miller faced a ten-year prison sentence and a maximum \$25,000 fine if convicted on the weapons charges. Jackson, meanwhile, will stand trial on conspiracy charges for his part

¹United Press International, May 6, 1987.

²Under this system, "points" could be accrued for the murder of Jews, blacks, homosexuals, government officials, and "white race traitors." Dees, it should be noted, had been named on Matthews's hit list as well as Miller's (Associated Press, April 21, 1987).

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.; also April 23, 1987.

⁵United Press International, May 6, 1987.

in the 1986 White Patriot Party plot as well as on charges of interstate flight to avoid prosecution.⁶

These developments appear to have had little impact on Miller's followers. Although the White Patriot Party was formally disbanded following his arrest, two of its members, Dave Holland and Cecil Cox, have since established successor entities known as the Southern White Knights and the Southern National Front.⁷

The Fort Smith and Denver Indictments

It is too soon to assess the impact of the indictments handed down in April 1987 by a federal grand jury in Fort Smith, Arkansas, against the 15 white supremacists⁸ whose plans to establish an all-white republic were allegedly conceived between mid-1983 and early 1985 and discussed during the Aryan Nations' annual congresses in 1983 and 1984. The indictments specified conspiracy to carry out assassinations and bombings, destroy utilities, establish guerrilla camps, pollute water supplies, and procure false identification. These activities were to be financed through armed robberies and counterfeiting.⁹

With the exception of Louis Beam, all of those indicted either surrendered to federal authorities or were arrested shortly after the indictments were handed down. Beam had already disappeared and presumably went underground in 1985 following the arrest and indictment of members of The Order. In July 1987, he was placed on the FBI's 10 Most Wanted list.¹⁰ A former Vietnam veteran and Grand Dragon of the Texas Ku Klux Klan, Beam is described as a leading proponent of the Fifth Era strategy for underground Klan activity advocated by Miles. To this end, he established the so-called Texas Emergency Reserve, composed of both former and active-duty U.S. servicemen, as the Texas Klan's paramilitary arm. During 1981, Beam

⁶Ibid., September 16, 1987.

⁷Anti-Defamation League, *The Hate Movement Today*, op. cit., p. 4; and Ridgeway, "All in the Klan," op. cit.

⁸Those charged were Richard Girnt Butler (who suffered a heart attack shortly after being taken into custody), Robert Miles, Louis Beam, Richard Scutari, Bruce Carroll Pierce, Andrew Barnhill, Ardie McBreaty, Lambert Miller, William Wade, his son Ivan Wade, David McGuire, David Lane, Robert Smalley, Richard Snell, and Jean Craig. Butler, Miles, Beam, Smalley, Lane, McBreaty, Pierce, Scutari, Barnhill, and Snell were indicted on charges of sedition and conspiring to overthrow the U.S. government. Snell, the two Wades, Miller, and McGuire were also charged with conspiring to murder federal officials (*New York Times*, April 25, 1987).

⁹Risks International, *Weekly Risk Assessment*, Vol. 4, No. 18, May 1, 1987. See *Arkansas Gazette*, April 27, 1987, for the details of the charges.

¹⁰Press Release, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, July 14, 1987; Associated Press, July 14, 1987; and United Press International, July 14, 1987.

led a campaign of sometimes violent intimidation against Vietnamese fishermen in the Galveston area. He subsequently became active in the Aryan Nations, serving as its Ambassador and creating a nationwide computer bulletin board known as the Aryan Nations Liberty Net.¹¹ Beam is also credited with establishing the aforementioned point system for eliminating enemies. In November 1987, Beam was arrested in Guadalajara, Mexico, after a shootout with Mexican police, in which a police officer was critically wounded. He was returned to the United States, where he will be tried along with the 14 other white supremacists indicted by the Fort Smith grand jury.¹²

In April 1987, David Lane, Richard Scutari, Bruce Carroll Pierce, and Jean Craig, four of the persons indicted at Fort Smith, were charged in a Denver federal district court for the June 1984 murder of Alan Berg.¹³ Because the evidence against them was circumstantial, the four were indicted, not on state murder charges, but under federal statutes arising from the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1968.¹⁴ After a three-week trial, during which more than 80 witnesses (including three former members of The Order) testified, Pierce was convicted of murdering Berg, and Lane of driving the getaway car. They were sentenced to prison terms of 150 years each.¹⁵ Scutari, who was alleged to have served as lookout while the murder was carried out, and Craig, who was accused of having gathered information on Berg for use by the killers, were acquitted.¹⁶ The four are already serving prison sentences ranging from 40 to 100 years on federal racketeering charges stemming from The Order's violent and seditious activities between 1983 and 1985.¹⁷

The 1987 Aryan Nations Congress

The arrest of Butler and Miles appeared to have no effect on Aryan Nations plans to hold its annual congress in Hayden Lake in July 1987. Just weeks after the indictments were handed down, letters announcing the event were mailed to white supremacists throughout

¹¹*Arkansas Gazette*, April 25, 1987.

¹²*Risks International, Weekly Risk Assessment*, Vol. 4, No. 46, November 13, 1987. Beam's wife, Sheila Marie Toohey, was also arrested and was charged by Mexican authorities in the shooting of the policeman. The charges against her were subsequently dropped and she was released from custody and allowed to return to the United States.

¹³*New York Times*, April 25, 1987.

¹⁴This was one of the first attempts to use the 1968 civil rights laws protecting the rights of minorities to prosecute people accused of killing a Jew (*Ibid.*, October 31, 1987).

¹⁵*Ibid.*, December 4, 1987.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, November 18, 1987.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, November 14, 1987.

the United States and Canada. Richard Masker, a self-described "conspiratologist," and Terry Long, the head of the Aryan Nations organization in Canada, had "consented to take charge" of the 1987 Aryan Nations Congress in Butler's absence.

Two hundred persons attended the congress, considerably fewer than in previous years. Masker nevertheless termed the event a success. He told reporters that the white supremacist movement "is still alive and well."¹⁸ Indeed, approximately 200 white supremacists attended a weekend-long follow-up strategy session at Robert Miles's Cohoctah, Michigan, farm in October.¹⁹

Aryan Nations Recruitment Efforts

The Aryan Nations has embarked on an ambitious campaign to attract new recruits and supporters. In September 1987, Butler announced that a new regional "missionary/political outreach" center (in addition to those in Thompson Falls, Montana, Toronto, and Alberta, Canada) would be opened in Salt Lake City, Utah, and that it would soon be followed by others in Texas and Washington. Salt Lake City had been selected, he explained, because of Utah's large, predominantly white, Mormon population. The Mormons were described by Butler as persons who "are still proud of their race" and thus, presumably, amenable to the white supremacist goals of the Aryan Nations.²⁰

Although Mormon Church officials were quick to disavow any sympathy with these goals—one spokesman stated that he could not imagine any member of the church having anything to do with the Aryan Nations²¹—Butler's hopes of attracting new sources of support may not prove unfounded. In November, a controversial Salt Lake City radio station personality, Dwight McCarthy (who pays for his one hour of air time per week), announced that he was changing the name of his show from the Counter-Marxist Hour to The Aryan Nations Hour and that the show would include broadcasts of taped sermons by Butler as well as discussions of white supremacist issues. "I think quite frankly," McCarthy told reporters, "that there's more fertile ground here [for white supremacy] than people think."²²

¹⁸Quoted in United Press International, July 8, 1987; also July 11, 1987, and July 13, 1987.

¹⁹Ibid., October 5, 1987.

²⁰Quoted in Ibid., September 23, 1987.

²¹Quoted in Ibid.

²²Quoted in *New York Times*, November 15, 1987; see also *Los Angeles Times*, November 24, 1987.

Another new constituency that has been targeted for recruitment by the Aryan Nations and related white supremacist organizations is the membership of so-called "skinhead" gangs,²³ loosely-organized groups of violently inclined, shaven-headed, tattooed youths.²⁴ Although the number of skinhead activists is at present small (there are no more than several hundred of them nationwide), the Anti-Defamation League reports that their ranks are growing. Moreover, their glorification of violence, affinity for Nazism, and racist and anti-Semitic attitudes have attracted the attention of mainstream white supremacists, who see in them a new source of recruits.²⁵

Like the Identity movement, the skinhead phenomenon originated in Great Britain. During the early 1970s, "gangs of menacing-looking, shaven-headed and tattooed youths wearing combat boots began to be seen" on British streets. Their militant patriotic, anti-immigrant views dovetailed well with the ideology of established British neo-Nazi groups, such as the National Front, which began to recruit skinheads into their ranks. The skinheads soon acquired a reputation for violence and mayhem, engaging in "football hooliganism" (violence between fans of rival soccer teams),²⁶ random attacks on Pakistani and other Asian immigrants, and firebombings of immigrants' homes and shops. In addition, skinhead gangs provoked violent street fights with minority groups in London and other British cities.²⁷

The ideology of the American skinheads is similar to that of their British counterparts, involving a mixture of xenophobia, racial and religious bigotry, and an affinity for Nazism. However, hard-core skinhead doctrine is more openly anti-Semitic in the United States than it is in Britain.²⁸ American skinheads have been responsible for a number of violent acts against Jews, blacks, and other minority

²³*Christian Science Monitor*, August 14, 1987.

²⁴The major skinhead gangs include Chicago-based Romantic Vision; Detroit's SS-Action Group, the White American Skin Head (WASH) organization in Cincinnati, the San Francisco Bay Area Skin Head gang known as BASH, and the Aryan Youth Movement-White Student Union, which, although based in Sacramento, California, has about 30 chapters of some 300 members scattered throughout the country. Smaller bands of skinheads have also appeared in Florida, Portland, Los Angeles, Dallas, and Denver. (See Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Civil Rights Division, "Shaved for Battle": Skinheads Target America's Youth, New York, November 1987, pp. 2-4; *Christian Science Monitor*, August 14, 1987; and *People Magazine*, September 21, 1987.)

²⁵Anti-Defamation League, "Shaved for Battle," op. cit., pp. 1, 4-5.

²⁶Skinheads were reported to have participated in the riot at a 1985 soccer match between the British and Belgian national teams in which 38 persons were killed (*Ibid.*, p. 2).

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸*Ibid.*

groups,²⁹ and members of these gangs have been arrested on charges of assault, vandalism, arson, robbery, and narcotics violations in Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, Texas, Florida, and California.

As in Britain, links are being forged between various skinhead groups and white supremacist organizations. In 1985, Chicago skinheads participated in a protest march staged by the American Nazi Party; skinheads from the Detroit area regularly attend meetings and conferences held by Robert Miles at his farm; and skinhead representatives were present at the 1986 and 1987 Aryan Nations congresses.³⁰

This confluence of interests between skinheads and white supremacists is especially disturbing, given the growing membership of skinhead gangs and the potential recruitment pool they afford the white supremacists. Indeed, as the Anti-Defamation League report concluded,

The skinhead connection . . . offers the neo-Nazis something they have rarely enjoyed in the United States: a base of support from which to recruit. . . [In the past,] neo-Nazi groups have operated in virtually total isolation from any broader institution or segment of American society. In consequence, when past growth has occurred, it has usually been at the rate of one-convert-at-a-time. The skinhead gangs, however, may provide the neo-Nazis with a pool of prospective members, as they have done in Great Britain.³¹

Finally, the Aryan Nations has also expanded its activities in the prisons. In June 1987, the first issue of *The Way*, the bimonthly newsletter of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, was published. Its

²⁹During 1987, skinheads in San Jose, California, threatened a black woman with lynching; a former skinhead leader was viciously beaten by his ex-comrades on two occasions, in the second of which he was crucified against a plank of wood and had his throat slit; and a black man was beaten up by skinheads outside of an Orlando, Florida, music club (Ibid., p. 1; *Christian Science Monitor*, August 14, 1987; *Los Angeles Times*, July 30, 1987, and August 12, 1987; *Newsweek*, September 7, 1987; *New York Times*, October 31, 1987; *People Magazine*, September 21, 1987; and United Press International, July 29, 1987, and October 23, 1987).

³⁰Anti-Defamation League, "Shaved for Battle," op. cit., p. 4; *Christian Science Monitor*, August 14, 1987. One of the featured speakers at the 1986 Congress was Greg Withrow, the leader of a skinhead group known as the Aryan Youth Movement-White Student Union. (Withrow has since renounced violence and left the organization). In an impassioned speech, he declared, "Men, women and children, without exception, without appeal, who are of non-Aryan blood shall be terminated or expelled. The next line of leadership shall be a generation of ruthless predators that shall make past Aryan leadership and warriors seem pale by comparison." (Quoted in Anti-Defamation League, *The Hate Movement Today*, op. cit., pp. 18-19). A member of that same organization was arrested at the 1987 Congress and charged with illegal weapons possession and parole violations. (See Anti-Defamation League, "Shaved for Battle," op. cit., p. 4; and United Press International, July 14, 1987.)

³¹Anti-Defamation League, "Shaved for Battle," op. cit., pp. 5-6.

purpose, an editorial statement explained, is "to provide a good source of Bible study into the ISRAEL IDENTITY message and its related histories and politics for interested convicts, while also providing news and happenings of concern to our chained brothers and sisters."³² Scriptural interpretations and explanations are presented, along with legal advice and membership information. Articles are solicited specifically from prisoners; the first two issues contained articles by imprisoned members of The Order, David Tate and David Lane.³³

Increased Ku Klux Klan Activities

Rather than curtailing extremist activities, the April indictments provided the Aryan Nations with attention and publicity, which the group is exploiting for its own ends. Publicity generated by unrelated events—such as the confrontation between civil rights marchers and Ku Klux Klan members in Forsyth County, Georgia, on January 17, 1987—has also been exploited by the Klan in a bid to attract new supporters.

The January incident was precipitated by a demonstration honoring the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr., in the all-white community of Cumming, Georgia. The 75 marchers who assembled were assaulted by some 400 Klansmen and approximately 600 supporters. Outraged by the attacks, 25,000 civil rights activists gathered in Cumming the following week to protest the disturbances. They were confronted by a crowd of about 2,300 racist counterdemonstrators, among whom were several prominent national Klan leaders. Moreover, during the following weeks, civil rights activists who participated in the demonstrations received numerous death threats, property belonging to them was vandalized, and a racially integrated church in Georgia was bombed.³⁴

These events also set in motion a chain of Ku Klux Klan demonstrations that continued throughout the year. In February, about 100 Klansmen and supporters held a march in College Park, Georgia.³⁵ In June, separate demonstrations organized by the Klan as part of a self-described "freedom and recruitment drive" were staged in Greensboro and Durham, North Carolina (150 Klan members took part in the

³²Church of Jesus Christ Christian, *The Way: A Prison Outreach Newsletter* by the Church Of Jesus Christ Christian, Issue No. 1, June 1987, p. 1.

³³Ibid.; and No. 2, September-October 1987. Tate was convicted of murdering one Arkansas state policeman and seriously wounding another in April 1985.

³⁴Ridgeway, "All in the Klan," op. cit.; Anti-Defamation League, *The Hate Movement Today*, op. cit., p. 7; *New York Times*, February 8, 1987, and February 11, 1987.

³⁵*New York Times*, February 8, 1987.

Greensboro march, and 63 were present in Durham).³⁶ That same month, a Klan rally in Ray, Ohio, undertaken to dramatize the plight of economically depressed farmers in that state, attracted some 60 persons.³⁷ And in September, still another Klan rally was held in Maine.³⁸ This resurgence of Klan militancy has seemingly led to increasingly bold acts of Klan violence or attempted violence. In November, it was reported that a radical Klan splinter group, called the Sir Knights of Camilla, had plotted to assassinate Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson.³⁹

Future Prospects of Right-Wing Terrorist Activity

Shortly after Glenn Miller's arrest and the Fort Smith indictments, U.S. Attorney Sam Currin announced that supremacist groups had been dealt a fatal blow.⁴⁰ However, given the diverse constituencies of white supremacists and the nationwide network of supporters, sympathizers, and adherents, the blow may not prove to be "fatal" at all. In fact, it may well incite increased terrorist activity in reprisal. This already occurred in March 1987, when a federal office building in Laguna Niguel, California, was attacked with a homemade mortar. The IRS had offices in the building, and federal and local law enforcement personnel concluded that the attack was made by the Arizona Patriots to protest the arrest of William Potter Gale the previous October.⁴¹ Hence, increasing pressure from law enforcement agencies may drive right-wing extremists to commit increasingly bold, and potentially more lethal and destructive, attacks. Further terrorist operations may be mounted in the future against government targets, depending on the outcome of the Butler and Miles trials. Aryan Nations publications have already described the indictments as "the work of the Commu-Zionist Jews and their . . . [gentile] stooges," thus setting the stage for possible reprisal attacks against government officials, law enforcement personnel, Jews, and other minority groups.

³⁶Quoted in *Risks International, Weekly Risk Assessment*, Vol. 4, No. 24, June 12, 1987; *New York Times*, June 16, 1987.

³⁷*New York Times*, June 30, 1987.

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹Report on National Public Radio, "All Things Considered," November 19, 1987; *New York Times*, November 17, 1987.

⁴⁰United Press International, May 1, 1987.

⁴¹United Press International, March 11, 1987; *Los Angeles Times*, March 12, 1987, and March 15, 1987.

PUERTO RICAN SEPARATISTS

The arrest and imprisonment of Puerto Rican separatist movement members and leaders has had only an ephemeral effect on the overall level of their terrorist activity and little, if any, effect on their commitment to the use of "revolutionary" violence. Two Puerto Rican terrorist groups, the *Comandos Armados de Liberacion* (Armed Commandos of Liberation) and the *Movimiento de Independencia Revolucionario en Armas* (Armed Independence Revolutionary Movement), were crushed in the 1960s, but the FALN arose in the early 1970s. And in spite of inroads made against the FALN and the *Macheteros* in recent years, at least four other inactive terrorist organizations currently exist in Puerto Rico (*Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Popular*, or Armed Forces of Popular Resistance, FARP; *Comando Revolucionario del Pueblo*, or People's Revolutionary Commandos, CRP; (*Comite Patriotico Anti-Anexionista*, or Patriotic Anti-Annexation Committee, COPPAAN); and *Movimiento de Accion Revolucionario*, or Armed Revolutionary Movement, MAP), along with OVRP.

A hitherto unknown group calling itself the Guerrilla Forces for Liberation claimed responsibility for planting eight pipebombs (three of which did not explode) in banks, a post office, and other public buildings throughout the island on May 25, 1987. An anonymous caller declared that the bombings were carried out in protest of 89 years of United States domination over the island.⁴² The threat posed by the separatist terrorist movement in Puerto Rico has not abated and is likely to persist, as it has done, for many years.

ISLAMIC ELEMENTS

There are indications that Islamic elements may be preparing to carry out terrorist attacks in the United States for anti-American Middle Eastern countries or Palestinian terrorist organizations.⁴³ Although such attacks have not materialized, at least four state-sponsored incidents have allegedly taken place in this country at the behest of either Libya or Iran, and a purported terrorist plot by foreign nationals with Middle East connections was recently thwarted.

⁴²*New York Times*, May 26, 1987.

⁴³Middle Eastern terrorist leaders who have threatened to launch attacks on the United States include Abu Abbas, the mastermind behind the 1985 seizure of the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro* and the commander of the Palestinian Popular Liberation Front; George Habash, the leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine; Abu Nidal, the head of the Fatah Revolutionary Council, which was responsible for the attacks on the Rome and Vienna airports in December 1985; and Said Rajaie Khorasani, Iran's Ambassador to the United Nations.

In July 1980, Ali Tabatabai, who served as press attache for the Shah of Iran before the 1979 revolution that brought Khomeini to power, was murdered in Washington, D.C., by David Belfield (also known as Daoud Salhudin), an American Black Muslim with known ties to the Islamic Guerrillas in America, a pro-Khomeini group. Belfield later fled the country and is believed to have gone to Iran. Less than two weeks later, another Iranian opponent of Khomeini, Shah Reis, was shot to death in Los Angeles. American Black Muslims are also suspected in his murder. In October 1980, a Libyan graduate student and opponent of the Qaddafi regime was seriously wounded in a Libyan-government-instigated contract killing attempted by a former U.S. Special Forces soldier. The following July, another Libyan student was murdered in Utah by a fellow Libyan, who was arrested as he attempted to return to Libya.⁴⁴

Continuous monitoring of Libyan nationals residing in the United States has probably prevented further acts of state-sponsored terrorism. Two Libyan students were arrested in 1984 when they attempted to purchase silencer-equipped small arms from undercover FBI agents. The following year, a grand jury heard evidence concerning a plot to assassinate three Libyan opponents of the Qaddafi regime living in the United States. Shortly after the grand jury was empaneled, a diplomat in the Libyan delegation to the United Nations was deported for being involved in planning the assassination of Libyan dissidents in this country.⁴⁵

Indications that other Middle Eastern nationals may be involved in planning terrorist acts within the United States surfaced in connection with the arrest of a naturalized American citizen of Palestinian extraction who had been living in Puerto Rico. In May 1987, Mahmoud Atta (also known as Mahmoud el-Abed Ahmad) was arrested by Venezuelan police in Caracas and flown to the United States.⁴⁶ He is presently fighting an extradition request from Israel, which wishes to try him for an April 1986 attack on a civilian bus in that country. The attack was claimed by the terrorist group led by Abu Nidal, which recently issued a statement from its offices in Beirut threatening retaliation against the United States if Atta is extradited.⁴⁷

Atta has "vigorously denied" that he is a terrorist, but his membership in the Abu Nidal group, his role as a recruiter for that organi-

⁴⁴Hoffman, *Terrorism in the United States and the Potential Threat to Nuclear Facilities*, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 21-22.

⁴⁶*New York Daily News*, May 7, 1987; *New York Post*, May 7, 1987; *Wall Street Journal*, October 15, 1987.

⁴⁷*Wall Street Journal*, October 15, 1987.

zation, and his involvement in the bus attack were revealed during the trial of a cousin and former resident of Puerto Rico, Salah Hariz.⁴⁸ Hariz was captured by Israeli troops at the scene of the attack and was sentenced to life imprisonment by an Israeli court for his part in the 1986 incident.⁴⁹ Moreover, according to U.S. intelligence sources, Atta was a covert agent for the Abu Nidal group in the United States, recruiting "embittered Palestinians living in America" and laying the groundwork "to carry the group's bloody terrorist campaign against the U.S. to these shores."⁵⁰ Atta's arrest, according to U.S. intelligence officials, "has brought Abu Nidal's plans for a Western Hemisphere operation to at least a temporary halt" and has led to an FBI investigation of the activities of other Palestinians in Puerto Rico and New York who are believed to have been recruited by him.⁵¹

The U.S. Congress has recently mounted efforts to close down the Palestine Information Office, which serves as the PLO's information agency in the United States, as well as the PLO's Observer Mission at the United Nations. On October 9, the U.S. Senate passed Senate Bill No. 1203, the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987. An identical bill, House Bill No. 2587, has been introduced in the House of Representatives, and a joint Senate/House Conference Committee is currently negotiating the final details of the proposed legislation.⁵² In September, the U.S. State Department ordered the closure of the information office, on the grounds of the PLO's long record of involvement in terrorism. The Congressional bills, however, also call for revoking the PLO's right to maintain a mission at the United Nations.⁵³ These developments may lead to retaliatory terrorist attacks being carried out by Palestinian terrorist groups in the United States.

At the same time, the intense scrutiny focused on Libyans, Iranians, and nationals of other Middle Eastern countries living in the United States may well lead to further offers by individual criminals or criminal groups to sell terrorist services to foreign governments. The overtures of *El Rukn* to the Libyans were motivated by avarice and not by any ideological affinity to "Libya's revolutionary objectives."⁵⁴ Thus, other apolitical criminal elements may also attempt to make deals with either foreign governments or terrorist organizations.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid.; *New York Daily News*, May 7, 1987; *New York Post*, May 7, 1987.

⁵⁰*Wall Street Journal*, October 15, 1987.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²*The Guardian*, October 28, 1987.

⁵³Ibid., and September 30, 1987; *New York Times*, September 16, 1987; *Risks International, Quarterly Risk Assessment, Executive Summary*, April-June 1987.

⁵⁴*Risks International, Weekly Risk Assessment*, Vol. 3, No. 45, November 7, 1986.

VI. THE POTENTIAL TERRORIST THREAT TO U.S. NUCLEAR WEAPONS FACILITIES AND SYSTEMS

On the basis of current trends, the threat posed by known terrorist groups to nuclear weapons facilities in this country cannot be considered high at this time. There is no evidence to suggest that any of the terrorist organizations reviewed in this study have *seriously* contemplated a nuclear-related act. At the same time, however, trends in the activities of certain groups are cause for general concern and should be considered in the context of possible operations against nuclear weapons sites. The clearest threat appears to come from right-wing extremists.

Most analyses of the possibility of nuclear terrorism have tended to discount it because (1) few terrorists know anything about the technical intricacies of nuclear weapons or how to overcome their elaborate defense mechanisms; (2) it is very difficult to obtain the processed nuclear material needed to make a bomb; and (3) the internal dynamics and decisionmaking processes of terrorist groups tend to inhibit sudden escalations in either tactics or level of violence.

Political, moral, and practical considerations also affect terrorist decisionmaking. There are few realistic demands that terrorists could make by threatening to explode a nuclear device. More important, however, "simply killing a lot of people has seldom been one terrorist objective. . . . Terrorists operate on the principle of the minimum force necessary. They find it unnecessary to kill many, as long as killing a few suffices for their purposes."¹ Terrorists have demonstrated repeatedly that their goals and objectives can be accomplished by using the same "low-tech" tactics and off-the-shelf weapons they have traditionally relied upon.

These arguments are supported by the general pattern and characteristics of terrorism in the United States. Bombing continues to account for the majority of terrorist operations here as elsewhere, and most of the bombs are not particularly innovative. Most of them are made of commercially purchased or stolen dynamite or plastic explosives procured or stolen from military stockpiles. Moreover, terrorist activity in this country has primarily consisted of symbolic bombings

¹Brian M. Jenkins, *The Likelihood Of Nuclear Terrorism*, The RAND Corporation, P-7119, July 1985, p. 6.

designed to call attention to political causes. The infliction of mass, indiscriminate casualties would represent a significant and dramatic deviation from past terrorist *modus operandi*. Finally, terrorists in the United States have consistently avoided attacking *defended* sites, and they are not likely to turn to targets that are as heavily defended as nuclear weapons facilities.

This is not to say that domestic terrorist groups pose no threat. The evidence merely indicates that none of the terrorist groups examined in this study appear likely to venture into the nuclear domain in the near future. Ethnic/émigré groups would probably have neither the motivation nor the inclination to attack a nuclear weapons facility unless they were hired by an outside patron state or intent on black-mail. Leftist groups might be expected to attack facilities to destroy weapons or to attract attention to the nuclear arms race and the need to rid the world of tools of mass destruction, but such groups have committed very few attacks since 1984, and it is unlikely that they will pose any significant nuclear threat in the near future.

Right-wing terrorists in this country, however, bear watching. There is no indication that they possess the technical capabilities to build a nuclear device or to surmount the defense mechanisms of an acquired nuclear weapon, nor is there any evidence that they have *seriously* considered staging an attack to obtain one. But their skills and weaponry make them the domestic terrorist element most likely to attempt an attack against a well-defended site, such as a nuclear weapons facility.

Right-wing fanatics also do not appear to exhibit any of the political, moral, or practical considerations that seem to constrain most other terrorist groups from venturing into the nuclear domain. Their ideology is based on a visceral hatred of Jews, blacks, and other minorities and an avowed commitment to destroy the U.S. government. Like the Islamic Shi'a fanatics in the Middle East, the right-wing extremists not only sanction violence, they view it as a divine duty. Hence, the killing of persons they describe as "race traitors" becomes a sacramental act. The elimination of whole segments of society is a major objective of the white supremacists, who view violence as both morally justified and an expedient toward the attainment of the religious and racial "purification" of the United States.

Evidence has come to light that at least some elements of the white supremacist movement have already laid plans to engage in indiscriminate, mass killing.² The detonation of a nuclear device would certainly be one means of attaining this objective. Their technical

²The federal grand jury indictment handed down in Fort Smith referred to plans to "carry out assassinations of federal officials, politicians and Jews, as well as bombings and polluting of municipal water supplies" (*Arkansas Gazette*, April 27, 1987).

proficiency, weapon skill, and expertise in guerrilla warfare and assault tactics that right-wing terrorists have already demonstrated, together with their goals and seeming lack of moral compunction about killing, make them the most likely terrorist adversary in the United States to either attempt the theft of a nuclear weapon or attack a nuclear weapons facility.

Such a scenario, in fact, is detailed in *The Turner Diaries*, a novel written by William Pierce, the head of the Virginia-based National Alliance, under the pseudonym Andrew MacDonald.³ The book was first published in 1978, and second editions were issued in 1980 and 1985. *The Turner Diaries*, which has been called "the Bible" of the white supremacists,⁴ describes a chain of events that begins in 1991, when legal possession of firearms is outlawed in the United States,⁵ and culminates two years later in "an all-out race war," a worldwide nuclear conflagration, and the destruction of the U.S. government, perpetrated by members of a white revolutionary group called The Organization. The story is narrated by "Earl Turner," a white supremacist revolutionary. The terrorist spearhead group of The Organization—called The Order—stockpiles automatic weapons and plots and carries out terrorist attacks, assassinations of public officials, and bombings of public utilities. Several prominent Jews are murdered, commercial airliners are shot down, and the FBI headquarters building in Washington, D.C., is demolished by a truck bomb. (Interestingly, the novel was first published in 1978, before the spate of car and truck-bombings that were directed against U.S. diplomatic and military targets in Lebanon and Kuwait.) The U.S. Capitol building is bombed, the U.S. nuclear arsenal is seized, and several American cities are destroyed with the weapons, which are then fired against targets in the Soviet Union and Israel. The nuclear strikes against the Soviet Union in turn precipitate a retaliatory nuclear attack on the United States.

As far-fetched as the events in *The Turner Diaries* may seem,⁶ the strategy pursued by Robert Matthews and the real-life Order (which took its name from the book) was in fact based on the battle plan detailed in the novel. Furthermore, the same apocalyptic vision is a

³Andrew MacDonald, *The Turner Diaries*, Arlington, VA: The National Alliance/National Vanguard Books, 1985. During the trial of members of The Order in 1985, it was revealed that Pierce received \$50,000 of the estimated \$4 million amassed by the group from the robberies of banks and armored cars (*New York Times*, September 13, 1985, and October 3, 1985).

⁴*New York Times*, December 27, 1984.

⁵*The Turner Diaries* is frequently marketed in gun magazines and newsletters and sold at national gun shows and conventions.

⁶Turner's tale is in many ways like Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, which was not taken seriously when it was published, but was turned into terrible reality ten years later.

part of the beliefs of many white supremacists today. Whereas most people harbor deep fears of a nuclear war, many white supremacists appear to welcome the prospect, since a nuclear war would eliminate their avowed "enemies" and permit the fulfillment of their objectives to create a new world order championed by the white race.

The self-described purpose of the Mountain Home, Arkansas, compound of the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord (CSA) is "to build an Ark for God's people during the coming tribulations on the earth."⁷ Accordingly, the 100 or so people living in the compound prepare themselves for the coming Armageddon by stockpiling weapons, food, and valuables, and by training in survivalist techniques and guerrilla warfare. The CSA's founder and former leader, James Ellison, ran a survival training school that instructed members in such skills. The CSA journal describes the impending apocalypse as a limited nuclear war launched against the U.S. by "Russia and possibly China and Japan."⁸

Some white supremacists have demonstrated their willingness to give up their lives in the commission of acts of violence designed to further their goals. In 1983, Posse Comitatus member Gordon Kahl died in a shootout with police and federal agents after he refused to surrender. The following year, Robert Matthews was killed after a flare dropped by a helicopter inadvertently set fire to the cottage on Whidbey Island in which he had barricaded himself. Matthews chose to die rather than surrender to the FBI agents who had surrounded the cottage. There was also an alleged plot by Matthews and other members of The Order to stage a suicide bombing attack in a crowded hotel reception area in Seattle. Finally, Glenn Miller's application for a life insurance policy just before he issued his call for "total war" suggests suicidal intent.

Against this handful of incidents, however, must be balanced the obvious fact that the great majority of right-wing terrorists have neither carried out suicide operations nor chosen to die rather than surrender. Just as not every Shi'a terrorist is inherently suicidal, neither is every right-wing terrorist. Nonetheless, the suicidal element among at least some of them cannot be completely discounted.

A new right-wing terrorist group could emerge in the future that would emulate the strategy and tactics of both the fictional and actual Order and embark on the same campaign of violence and revolution. The damage done to the white supremacists by the recent arrests of

⁷Quoted in Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, *Hate Groups in America*, op. cit., p. 52.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 51.

key leaders and members could, in fact, lead to the commission of more desperate and extreme acts of terrorism by those still at large.

In any event, we do not really know why no extremist group from the right has staged an attack against a nuclear weapons facility. The fact that they have not shown themselves to be particularly innovative may, for the time being at least, mitigate against their attempting to acquire a nuclear weapon.

Writing nearly 12 years ago on the possibility of nuclear terrorism, Brian Jenkins observed,

In the name of some vague objective—the launching of a simultaneous worldwide revolution, the creation of a new world on the ashes of the old, the ignition of a race war, the creation of a master race (of survivors)—it is conceivable that a small band of conspirators might entertain the notion of carrying out some extreme act of violence based upon the possession of nuclear material or weapons.⁹

Certainly, the “ignition of a race war” and “creation of a master race (of survivors)” would be in keeping with the right-wing extremists’ stated objectives. Indeed, this fact alone demands that continued attention be focused on these groups and their seditious proclamations and activities.

⁹Brian M. Jenkins, *Will Terrorists Go Nuclear?*, The RAND Corporation, P-5541, November 1975, p. 7.

VII. CONCLUSION

The increase of terrorism worldwide and of attacks against American targets overseas has focused attention on the threat posed by international terrorist organizations to U.S. interests, citizens, and government and military personnel. At the same time, however, the United States is not immune to politically motivated violence within its own borders. Indigenous terrorist organizations are active in this country, and they are committed to the use of violence to achieve their political objectives. The targets of their attacks are other American citizens and residents, American businesses, and U.S. government and military personnel and property. The dangers of complacency are all too apparent, given the the periodic eruptions of violence by ethnic and émigré groups in this country, the continuing attacks against abortion clinics and family planning services by opponents of legalized abortion, and the increasing scope and dimensions of right-wing terrorist activity.

The emerging predominance of right-wing terrorism in this country during the past two years represents a significant trend in domestic terrorism. While the implications of this trend for the likelihood of a terrorist attack against a nuclear weapons installation or production facility must be considered speculative rather than definitive, white supremacist extremists constitute the most likely element in the United States to engage in nuclear terrorism.

The continuing incidents perpetrated by organizations that are committed to the use of violence in pursuit of their objectives, along with the evidence that one criminal street gang has sought to make a deal with a foreign government to carry out terrorist operations in this country and other indications that Middle Eastern elements here have been involved in the planning and execution of terrorist acts, demonstrates that the threat of terrorism in this country can by no means be discounted.

POSTSCRIPT

After this report was completed, the 14 white supremacists standing trial in Fort Smith, Arkansas, were acquitted of charges that they conspired to overthrow the U.S. government. The seven-week-long trial ended on April 7, 1988, when, after four days of deliberation, the jury announced that it was unable to convict the defendants based on the evidence presented at the trial. In particular, the prosecution's case had rested on the testimony of James Ellison, the former leader of the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord, who is currently serving a 20-year prison term stemming from his own involvement in white supremacist violence. The jury apparently regarded Ellison as an unreliable witness seeking to trade testimony for a reduction of his sentence.

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