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The Identification of Behavioral, Geographic,
and Temporal Patterns of Preparatory Conduct

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ABSTRACT

**Pre-Incident Indicators of Terrorist Incidents:
The Identification of Behavioral, Geographic, and Temporal Patterns of
Preparatory Conduct**

Findings from the American Terrorism Study (NIJ grant #1999-IJCX-0005 and DHS/MIPT grant #106-113-2000-064) reveal that unlike traditional criminality, terrorists are much less spontaneous, engage in substantial planning activities, and commit ancillary and preparatory crimes in advance of a terrorist incident. Building on these findings, the goals of the current project were to determine whether (1) sufficient open source data exists to examine the temporal and spatial relationships that exist in terrorist group planning, and (2) if such data do exist, can patterns of routinized preparatory conduct be identified.

To accomplish these goals, subject matter experts were selected to identify terrorist groups/incidents that operated or occurred within the United States from four major categories: international; and three types of domestic terrorism -- left-wing, right-wing, and single issue (which was limited to environmental and anti-abortion terrorism). Sixty-seven "cases" were selected for analysis. Of these sixty seven, sixty of the cases were sufficiently fertile to provide some data for analysis. These included 22 right-wing, 9 left-wing, 10 international, and 17 single issue cases. Information on some 200 terrorist "incidents" (right-wing, 41; left-wing, 51; international, 58; and single issue, 50) was extracted from open source data on these cases to create a relational database composed of 265 variables. Geospatial data was recorded on some 515 terrorists' residences, planning locations, preparatory activities, and target locations.

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Due to the exploratory nature of this research, analyses focused upon the identification of general temporal and spatial patterns of activity. On average, the terrorist groups studied existed for some 1,205 days from the date of the first known planning meeting to the date of the actual/planned terrorist incident.¹ This figure, however, should not be taken as indicative of the average “lifespan” of terrorist groups. Some of the groups studied, such as the United Freedom Front and Omega 7, operated for several years, atypical for most terrorist groups. The planning process for specific acts began, on average, approximately 2-3 months prior to the commission of the terrorist incident. Planning and preparatory activities were intermingled during this period. However, on average, a lull in activities occurred during the last three to four weeks prior to the incident. Approximately two and one-half known planning and preparatory behaviors were recorded per incident and these varied by type of terrorist group.

The spatial analysis revealed that terrorists typically live relatively close to the incident target. Nearly one-half of the terrorists resided within 30 miles of the target location. Similarly, approximately one-half of the terrorists engaged in their planning and preparatory activities within this distance of their residences. Finally, a similar percentage of preparatory behaviors took place within 30 miles of the eventual target of the terrorist incident.

The implications for local law enforcement are extremely important. While terrorists may think globally, they act locally. Both preventative efforts and post-incident investigations should focus upon local events and persons as the primary source of information about terrorist activities.

¹ Some incidents were “prevented.” If a planned date for carrying out the attack was known, it was recorded as such.

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Executive Summary

**Pre-Incident Indicators of
Terrorist Incidents:**
The Identification of Behavioral,
Geographic, and Temporal Patterns of
Preparatory Conduct

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March 2006

SUMMARY

PRE-INCIDENT INDICATORS OF TERRORIST INCIDENTS: THE IDENTIFICATION OF BEHAVIORAL, GEOGRAPHIC, AND TEMPORAL PATTERNS OF PREPARATORY CONDUCT

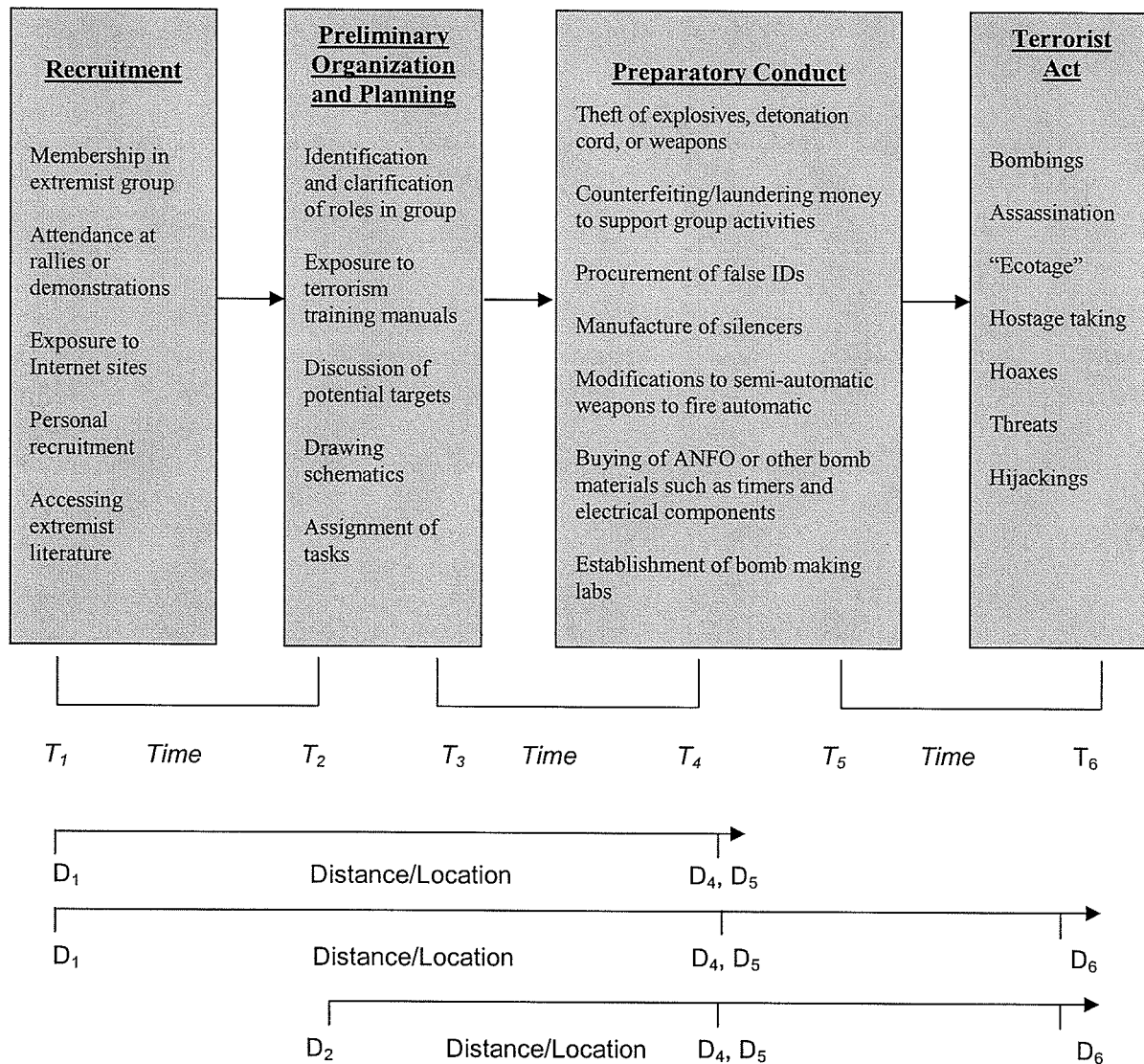
Traditional criminality is characterized by spontaneity, lack of planning, and pecuniary or personal motives. In contrast, terrorism typically involves persons or groups motivated by political or social goals, ideological justification, and considerable forethought and planning. The notion that terrorists engage in a variety of non-terrorist planning activities and criminal conduct prior to the commission of any terrorist act has been noted in previous research (Smith, 1994; Smith and Damphousse 2003). These non-terrorist acts include crimes related to the creation of false identities for group members, thefts to procure funding for the group, thefts of weapons or explosive materials and, frequently, crimes related to the maintenance of internal security. These behaviors ultimately culminate in acts of terrorism. If routinized, these preparatory behaviors may serve as pre-incident indicators that may assist law enforcement agencies in early interdiction and prevention of terrorist incidents.

This research involved an examination of selected terrorist groups/incidents (and preventions) in the United States during the period 1980-2002. The study focused upon the planning processes and behaviors, both criminal and non-criminal, that terrorists engaged in while preparing for terrorist incidents. These behaviors are referred to as “antecedent conduct.”¹ An examination of the antecedent conduct of terrorist group

¹ For the purposes of this research, “preparatory behaviors” are defined as the criminal and non-criminal conduct by members of a terrorist group in preparation for a terrorist incident. “Antecedent offenses” are defined as the totality of non-terrorist crimes committed by a terrorist group. Antecedent offenses may be of two types: preparatory crimes – crimes committed to assist in the preparation of a terrorist incident; and ancillary crimes – crimes committed for order maintenance, internal security or personal reasons.

members places the subsequent terrorist incident in context, providing the potential to identify patterns of conduct that might lead to intervention prior to the commission of actual terrorist incidents. The analysis focuses upon the temporal and geographic distribution of these behaviors.

Figure 1: Flow Chart of Terrorist Group Activity



Terrorist group conduct was examined as occurring along a continuum involving four major activities: (1) recruitment; (2) preliminary organization and planning; (3)

preparatory conduct; and (4) terrorist acts. These general principles and examples of each type of behavior are presented in Figure 1. Throughout the planning process of a terrorism incident or act, meetings take place, phone calls are made, and crimes are committed. These acts take place in locations such as the terrorists' residence, that of a relative or friend, a home base or safe house, or even surveillance of the intended target. These behaviors occur in measurable dimensions of time and space.

METHOD

To accomplish these goals, subject matter experts were selected² to identify terrorist groups/incidents that operated or occurred within the United States from four major categories: international; and three types of domestic terrorism -- left-wing, right-wing, and single issue (which was limited to environmental and anti-abortion terrorism). Because court case data provides a robust record of dates and locations of supposed criminal activity, an initial sample of approximately 45 cases were selected from the American Terrorism Study, a database composed of information from federal indictments resulting from FBI terrorism investigations from 1980-2004. These cases were augmented by twenty or so additional cases identified by the subject matter experts as important terrorism cases that might render the type of information sought for the study. Sixty-seven "cases" were eventually selected for analysis. Of these sixty-seven, sixty of the cases were sufficiently fertile to provide some data for analysis. These included 22 right-wing, 9 left-wing, 10 international, and 17 single issue cases. These "case studies"

² Including Ron Arnold (environmental extremism), Stephen Chermak (militias), Kelly Damphousse (database management), Bill Dyson (left-wing, international groups and incidents), Mark Hamm (right-wing terrorism), and Austin Turk (political violence theory).

rendered information on some 200 terrorist “incidents” (right-wing, 41; left-wing, 51; international, 58; and single issue, 50).

Information on these cases was extracted from several sources: (1) federal criminal court case records (indictments, FBI affidavits, transcripts, etc.); (2) newspapers, books, and print media; and (3) other open source data to include internet searches and other publicly available documents. A relational database composed of 265 variables was created that included geospatial data on some 515 terrorists’ residences, planning locations, preparatory activities, and target locations.

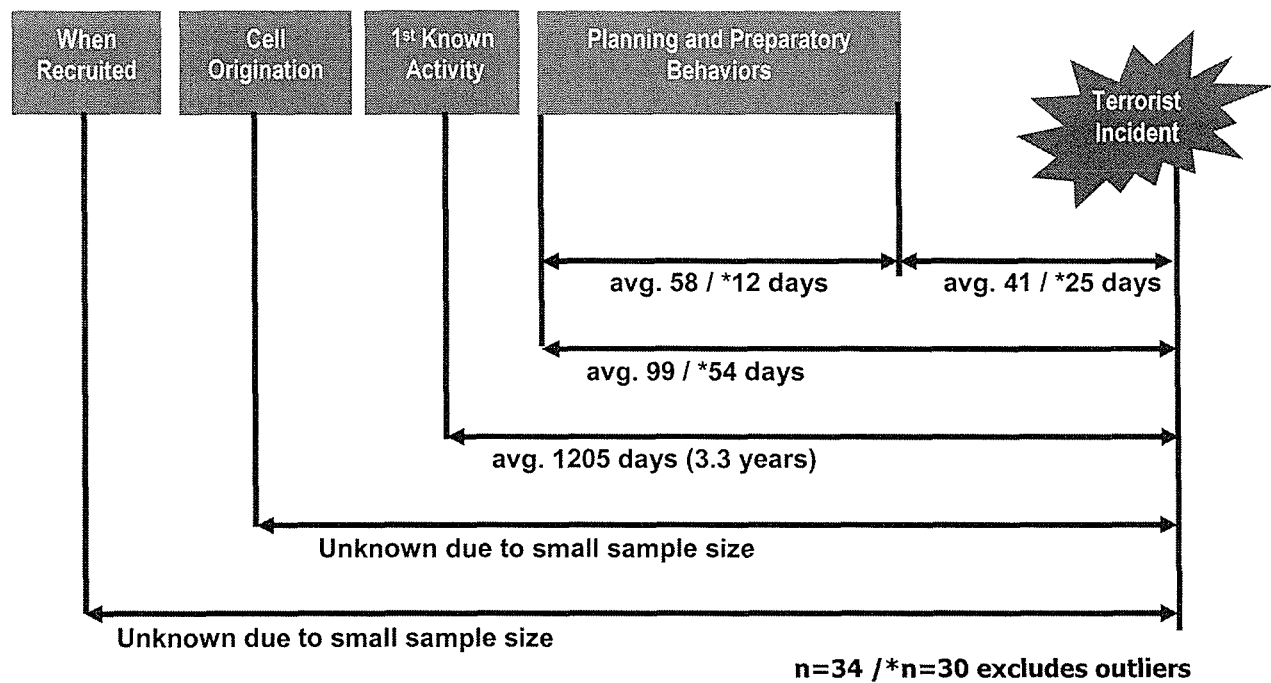
TERRORISM IN TIME AND SPACE

Terrorists and terrorist groups operate within the constraints and boundaries of both time and space. Since September 11, 2001, state and federal expenditures for terrorism response have increased substantially. One criticism of current funding for counterterrorism is that allocations seem to assume that terrorist incidents are random and “can occur anywhere.” While it is true that they “can” occur anywhere, the probability of their occurrence in specific locations varies widely (Davis et al., 2004). In many ways both the indiscriminant and spontaneous nature of terrorism has been overemphasized. Terrorist incidents do not materialize out of “thin air” -- they require time to plan, meet, procure and prepare explosive devices, and travel time to and from the selected target. These events are further constrained by the distances among the residences of the terrorists, where they meet and plan, where they procure or manufacture their explosives, and the distance to the target. In this project, both spatial and temporal issues were examined regarding terrorist group planning and execution.

THE TERRORISTS' TIMEPIECE

How long do terrorist groups typically plan their activities? How much time typically elapses between various phases of terrorist group planning and the eventual commission of terrorist acts? Does this vary by type of terrorist group? Does planning initially begin slowly and then culminate in a frenzy of hurried activity immediately prior to commission of the terrorist act? None of these rudimentary questions have ever been addressed. No empirical literature regarding the length of the terrorists' planning process could be located -- and for good reason. Despite prosecutors' efforts to identify these events in federal indictments, particularly those involving multiple conspirators, temporal data about the terrorists' planning sequence were extremely difficult to identify and verify. However, temporal data were recorded for 191 behaviors and incidents. Those findings are presented in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: Temporal patterns of terrorist group activities



Despite a lack of information regarding recruitment, sufficient temporal data existed to identify basic patterns of preparatory conduct. On average, the terrorist cells held their first planning meetings slightly over 3 months from the time they committed the terrorist incidents studied. This is generally consistent with Rapoport's (1992) notion that terrorist groups have a life expectancy of less than one year. The lifespan of these "cells" ranged from a few weeks to more than three years.

The initial "planning phase" appears to last, on average from between twelve days to approximately two months. It is during this period that law enforcement agencies would have the greatest probability of successful intervention. Planning and preparatory activities cannot be temporally separated. Meetings, preparation, training, and procurement of materials for terrorist incidents are not sequenced independent of each other. Substantial variation among types of terrorist groups (e.g. single-issue, international, etc.) regarding this issue was apparent. However, the limited amount of temporal data available from these case studies precludes further specification than the overall pattern of conduct.

The onset of preparatory behavior typically began about three to four months prior to the planned terrorist incident. Preparatory conduct may include criminal, as well as noncriminal activity. The most common preparatory behaviors included meetings, phone calls, the purchase of supplies and materials, and banking activities, which included everything from bank robbery to fund the planned incident to legitimate withdrawals.

Terrorist groups engaged in an average of 2.3 known behaviors per incident. Further examination, however, revealed that one-fourth (115 of 453; 25.3%) of the these

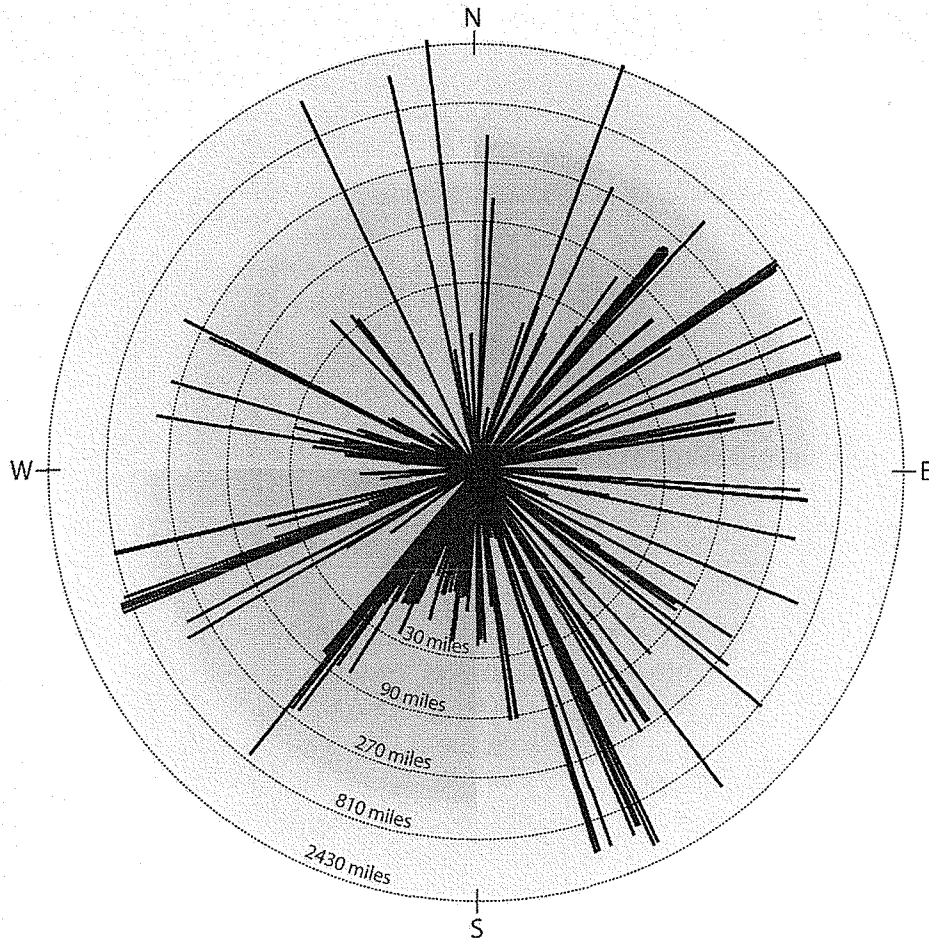
activities were “ancillary” – predominately criminal conduct associated with the terrorist group that could have been used as a “pre-incident indicator,” but which was not directly related to the planning of the eventual terrorist incident. Of the 453 behaviors recorded, nearly one-third (145 of 453; 32.1%) involved a criminal offense. The most common of these crimes was involving acquiring, manufacturing, or testing bombs (24 of 145; 16.6%). Conspiracies do not frequently become known to law enforcement agencies until after the completion of the act or other arrests are made. Consequently, non-overt acts of conspiracies, such as meetings and phone calls, may not come to the attention of local law enforcement agencies. However, three-fourths of these crimes involved “observable” offenses which might lead the police to suspicion more sinister activities. Robbery (21 of 145; 14.4%), and murder (9 of 145; 6.1%), and training (9 of 145; 6.1%) constituted the remaining most common preparatory and ancillary offenses committed.

Once preparations for the terrorist act have been completed, the overall analysis suggests a lull between final acts of preparation and commission of the terrorist act. On average, the terrorist incident occurred or was scheduled to occur between three and six weeks following the final known act in preparation. In fact, this average time would have been much shorter except for the existence of a few outliers where preparatory behaviors near the time of the incident were not known. Among cases where preparatory acts were measured, nearly two-thirds (65.2%) of the terrorist incidents involved a preparatory act on the day of the incident and another nine percent of the groups committed their last preparatory act the day prior to the incident.

While generalizations based these data are risky due to low representativeness and small sample size, the overall pattern appears to be that the planning process is relatively short- three to four months prior to the commission of an incident. Planning and preparation occur concurrently during this period and seems to be characterized by surveillance and meetings. Known preparatory behaviors conclude three to six weeks prior to the incident, followed by a lull in activity prior to the date of the incident.

TERRORISTS “THINK GLOBALLY, ACT LOCALLY”

Because of incidents like the September 11, 2001 attacks, there is a tendency to think of terrorists as operating from afar and selecting targets great distances from where the terrorists reside or have been indoctrinated. While this may be true to some extent regarding the September 11 attackers, most terrorism occurring on American soil has been conducted by persons who have resided here in the United States for some time. Although terrorist groups have a “world view” or ideology that encompasses more than their local communities, results from this project suggest strongly that, in general, terrorists targeted facilities or persons relatively close to their places of residence. While we cannot determine the causal sequence from the data -- whether the terrorists selected the target and then moved their residence to be near the target or whether they lived near the target and then selected it because of its proximity, most terrorists resided for at least a short time within thirty to fifty miles of the eventual target.

Figure 3. Linear Distance Analysis of Terrorists' Residences to Terrorist Incidents**Table 1. Statistics for residence-to-incident rose diagram using all terrorist incidents**

Statistics	Logarithmic Scale: Log10	Natural Breaks
n = 426	46% are 0 - 30 miles	47% are 0 - 38 miles
Minimum: 0 miles	8% are 31- 90 miles	7% are 46 - 103 miles
Maximum: 2,570 miles	9% are 91 - 270 miles	13% are 114 - 410 miles
Mean: 394 miles	9% are 271 - 810 miles	6% are 440 - 985 miles
Std. dev: 514	28% are 811 - 2570 miles	27% are 1077 - 2570 miles

Figure 3 shows the overall distribution of the terrorists' residences and their target locations. Due to the large number of targets within 30 miles, coupled with targets in excess of 1,000 miles of their residences, the data is presented using a logarithmic scale. The overall resident-to-target pattern is bimodal. Terrorists either lived very close to the target or very far from it. Three-fourths of the terrorists either resided within thirty miles of the target or in excess of 800 miles. This pattern was apparent among all the group types except left-wing terrorists. It was most prominent among international terrorists (see Table 2), where nearly 90% of the residence-to-incident measurements were either within 30 miles or more than 811 miles. In contrast, right-wing terrorists tended to live farther from their targets. Most live in rural areas, while targeting the "pollutants of urban life" by bombing gay bars, porn shops, and abortion clinics in nearby cities.

Table 2. Natural breaks statistics for residence-to-incident rose diagram by terrorist ideology

International n = 262	Single Issue n = 68
50% are 0-18 miles	43% are 1.26 – 28 miles
3% are 78-114 miles	15% are 46 - 82 miles
7% are 192-289 miles	16% are 144 - 447 miles
39% are 924-1098 miles	25% are 732 - 2570 miles
Left Wing n = 33	Right Wing n = 71
52% are 0-15 miles	32% are 0-38 miles
18% are 44-130 miles	20% are 51-103 miles
24% are 211-309 miles	17% are 233-394 miles
6% are 1656-2134 miles	10% are 457-481 miles
	21% are 712-877 miles

If preparatory behaviors can serve as pre-incident indicators to local law enforcement agencies, it is important to know the relationship between where these acts occur and the location of the residence of the terrorist and the target location. Once again, approximately one-half of the terrorists live within a thirty mile radius of where they commit their planning activities (figure and statistics not shown). The same pattern persists when examining the relationship between the location of preparatory behaviors and the target location (see Figure 4 and Table 3).

Figure 4. Linear Distance Analysis of Terrorists Incident-to-Preparatory Acts

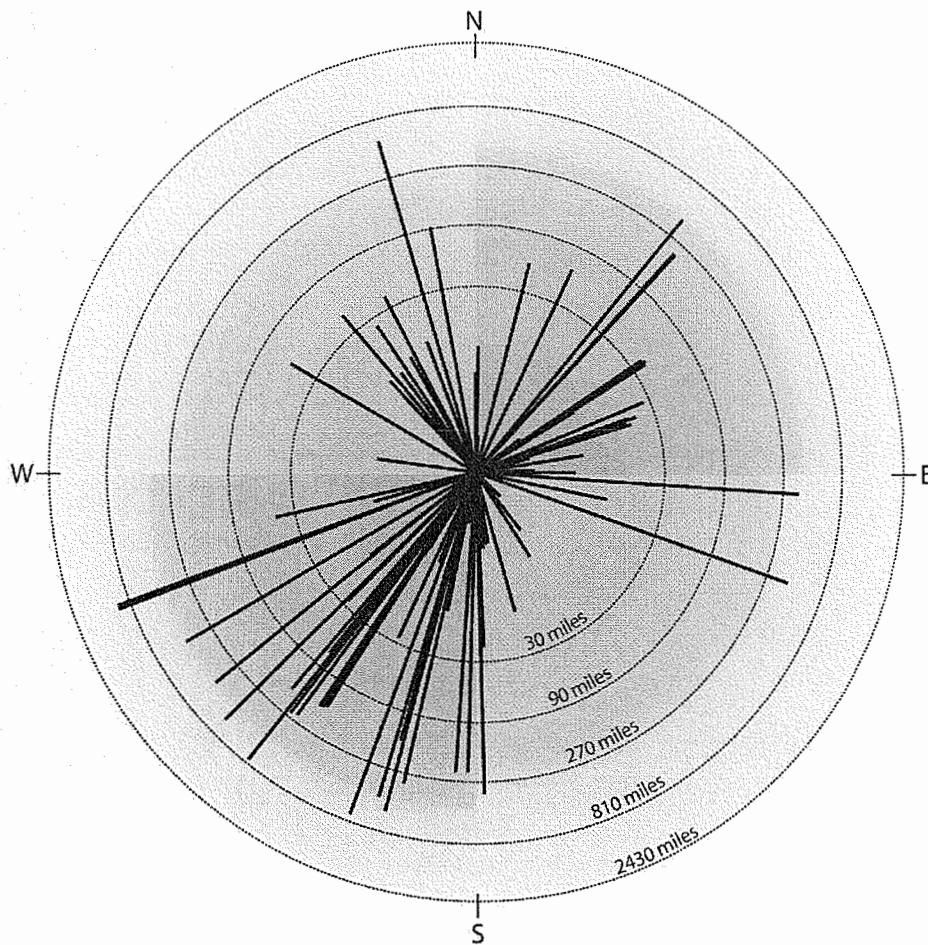


Table 3. Logarithmic statistics for incident-to-preparatory acts rose diagram using all terrorist incidents

Statistics	Logarithmic Scale: Log ₁₀
n = 134	61% are 0- 29 miles
Minimum: 0 miles	10% are 30-89 miles
Maximum: 1093 miles	12% are 90-269 miles
Mean: 129 miles	13% are 270-809 miles
Std.dev: 239	4% are 810-2356 miles

Over 60% of the preparatory behaviors measured occurred within this same 30 mile radius of the target. This pattern was most apparent among international and single-issue terrorists (Table 4), where 76% of the preparatory acts of international terrorists occurred within 28 miles. The reasons these offenders do not venture far from their residences may be related to new immigration status, lack of transportation, lack of knowledge of the urban landscape, an attempt to minimize attention or a variety of other reasons. Among single issue terrorists, 71% occurred within 12 miles and 92% of the preparatory acts occurred within 28 miles of the target. This is probably due to the use of “uncoordinated violence” approaches by environmental and anti-abortion extremists, which results in local targeting by “lone wolves” sympathetic to these causes.

Table 4. Natural breaks statistics for incident-to-preparatory acts rose diagram by terror type.

International n = 49	Single Issue n = 14
76% are 0-28 miles	71% are 0-12 miles
6% are 70-75 miles	21% are 24-28 miles
10% are 336-760 miles	7% are 628 miles
8% are 1082-1093 miles	
Left Wing n = 23	Right Wing n = 47
35% are 0.5-28 miles	49% are 0-10 miles
26% are 39-61 miles	13% are 25-52 miles
39% are 160-224 miles	6% are 94-160 miles
	30% are 233-465 miles
	4% are 533-812 miles

CONCLUSIONS

This exploratory study breaks new ground by examining the temporal and spatial distribution of terrorist group activities. The findings demonstrate the potential uses of geospatial methodologies using open source data on terrorism. The study revealed a bi-modal spatial distribution of terrorist planning and targeting. About one-half of the terrorists in the study resided, planned, and prepared for terrorism relatively close to the eventual target. Another one-fourth lived and planned their acts a distance of several hundred miles from the terrorist target. These two patterns reflect operational variations among terrorist groups. In particular, the latter strategy reflected the use of air transportation for planning and operational activities or the use of postal services as a means of weapons delivery. This bi-modal pattern existed for all three of the most

prominent types of American terrorism since 1990 – right wing, single issue, and international.

For law enforcement intervention, the implications of these geospatial patterns are two-fold. The “long distance prong” of this bi-modal pattern can be addressed by airport and mail delivery security systems. Improved airport security will not only prevent the use of airliners as weapons delivery systems, it can also disrupt travel by terrorists engaged in long range planning activities. Similarly, improved scanning and security at mail facilities will disrupt the major source of weapons delivery among terrorists who select targets outside their local communities.

The “local prong” of this distribution of terrorist activities should be of considerable concern to local officials. For local law enforcement, knowledge that most terrorists “act locally” can be an important mindset as investigative agencies seek to prevent terrorism or apprehend the perpetrators of these acts. These local patterns may be used by agencies to more efficiently patrol known, high risk target areas and gather intelligence on suspected activities within a specific range from potential targets.

The temporal data identified through this project are less revealing. Although average lengths of time in the planning process can be calculated, they are less reflective of consistent patterns of conduct than they appear. Temporal data was difficult to obtain and the groups studied varied widely in their utilization of time. Even more ominous is the finding that the type of terrorism (environmental) projected to be the most prevalent form of American terrorism over the next decade (Jarboe, 2002) was also the type of group that committed the fewest number of preparatory acts per incident. By definition, the implementation of uncoordinated violence tactics implies an increase in “lone wolf”

and individual “direct actions.” Neither do these tactics necessarily preclude the use of weapons of mass destruction, which are commonly believed to require multiple participants to develop and utilize. One only need recall the bombing of the Murrah Federal Building to comprehend the difficulty this tactical approach presents to interdiction efforts. Additional information on group processes, particularly data on the temporal sequencing of preparatory activities, may reveal patterns useful to local and federal counterterrorism efforts.

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I. INTRODUCTION

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

This report is divided into five major sections. In addition to the rationale, Section I includes a list of major objectives of the project. Section II includes a brief literature review of the issues related to the temporal and spatial study of terrorist incidents as well as our research questions. Section III describes the methodology and methodological issues that emerged during the course of the project. The results from the project are provided in Section IV. To make the report as “readable” as possible, major findings are provided in charts and maps embedded in the text. Additional findings, including results using alternate measurement methods and analyses of some subgroup categories are provided in Appendix A. Section V provides a discussion of these findings, identifies strengths and weaknesses of the study, and draws some conclusions regarding the utility of the data and the implications of these findings for counterterrorism efforts. Data extracted from open source materials that form the basis of the statistical and spatial analyses in this report were compiled into case studies of the groups and incidents sampled. These narratives are provided in Appendix C.

RATIONALE

Terrorists engage in a variety of non-terrorist criminal conduct prior to the commission of any terrorist act (Smith, 1994; Smith and Damphousse 2003). These non-terrorist acts include crimes related to the creation of false identities for group members, thefts to procure funding for the group, thefts of weapons or explosive materials and, frequently, crimes related to the maintenance of internal security. These behaviors

ultimately culminate in acts of terrorism. Previous empirical research on terrorism, however, has focused almost exclusively on the terrorist incident itself. Most terrorism databases are “incident-driven,” with data singularly focused on the characteristics of the terrorist incident or on the actors. Consequently, these databases contain little information about other crimes committed by terrorist groups or the behaviors, both criminal and non-criminal, committed in preparation for the terrorist incident. Currently, police officers receive little more than a cursory discussion of pre-incident indicators in most training programs. This is primarily due to a lack of empirical data from which to base any generalizations or recommendations.

This research involved an examination of selected terrorist groups/incidents (and preventions) in the United States during the period 1980-2002. The study focused upon the planning processes and behaviors that terrorists engaged in while preparing for terrorist incidents. The study included both criminal and non-criminal conduct. These behaviors are referred to as “antecedent conduct.”¹ An examination of the antecedent conduct of terrorist group members places the subsequent terrorist incident in context, providing the potential to identify patterns of conduct that might lead to intervention prior to the commission of actual terrorist incidents.

¹ For the purposes of this research, “preparatory behaviors” are defined as the criminal and non-criminal conduct by members of a terrorist group in preparation for a terrorist incident. “Antecedent offenses” are defined as the totality of non-terrorist crimes committed by a terrorist group. Antecedent offenses may be of two types: preparatory crimes – crimes committed to assist in the preparation of a terrorist incident; and ancillary crimes – crimes committed for order maintenance, internal security or personal reasons.

OBJECTIVES

The project had three primary objectives:

- 1. The compilation of data (case studies) relating to the “antecedent conduct” of terrorist groups.** This effort began with an examination of indictments, sentencing memoranda, and other federal court records, resulting from FBI investigations into “terrorism or terrorism-related activities” from 1980 through August, 2002. Court records were accessed through data compiled as part of the “The American Terrorism Study” (ATS), a project previously funded by NIJ from 1999 to 2000 (Grant # 1999-IJCX-0005) and currently funded by the Oklahoma City National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism (MIPT) (Grant # 106-113-2000-064) and available online at www.tkb.org. The case studies were compiled by the Center for Information Research, Analysis and Training (CIRAT) at Mercyhurst College under the direction of Mr. Robert Heibel.
- 2. The creation of a quantitative dataset linking preparatory behavior to terrorist targeting.** As the Center for Domestic Preparedness noted in its curriculum for law enforcement first responders, *“historically, recognizing indications of terrorist activity has not been a concern in domestic law enforcement”. Addressing this issue is critical if local law enforcement is to play a proactive role in homeland security*” (Center for Domestic Preparedness, 2002). A primary objective of the research was to rectify this deficiency. Final products include a Microsoft Access relational database as well as a GIS integrated database with robust expansion capabilities.

3. **The identification of patterns of antecedent criminal conduct to help local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies preempt the activities of extremist groups before the commission of actual terrorist incidents.** Analyses focused upon the identification of general temporal and spatial patterns associated with terrorist group planning. The findings provided in the report demonstrate the potential for using open source data to identify “time lines” for law enforcement intervention, the most common types of conduct that may elicit police attention, and geographic patterns relative to the residential abodes of terrorists, the locations of preparatory activities, and eventual targets.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

RELEVANT LITERATURE

This study required attention to the literature in two specific areas: (1) research on the political (primary) targets of terrorist groups, and (2) research on antecedent or ancillary criminal conduct. Empirical research in both of these areas is scant. The scarcity of quantitative data on terrorism has been the Achilles heel of efforts to improve the quality of terrorism research (Turk, 1979; Crenshaw, 1992; Hoffman, 1992; Wardlaw, 1989; Blumstein, 1996). Despite this scarcity, some theoretical literature has emerged during the past twenty years on “targeting” by terrorist groups. For discussion on antecedent and ancillary criminal conduct, extrapolation was made from the general criminological and organizational theory literature.

Generalization from the general criminological literature, it should be noted, is somewhat risky. The demographic characteristics of traditional offenders are substantially different from those persons indicted for terrorism related crimes here in the United States. Some terrorist groups tend to include a disproportionately higher percentage of females and white persons than non-terrorist criminals. Terrorists also tend to be slightly better educated and they include more persons from middle and upper class backgrounds than the conventional criminal population (Smith and Morgan, 1994; Smith, 1994). Most importantly, they are significantly older than traditional offenders, indicating a pattern of career criminality uncharacteristic of common criminals. These demographic variations reflect the motivational differences between terrorists and traditional criminals (Schafer, 1974). In other words, the causes of traditional criminality

appear to be fundamentally different from the causes of terrorism, thereby making generalizations from one to the other tenuous at best.

Target-specific literature: Despite this, some theoretical efforts have been made to predict the targets of terrorism. Most of these efforts focus upon *ideology* as a predictor of terrorist group activity (Drake, 1998). Crenshaw (1988), however, notes that other factors may be equally as important. Specifically, she contends that terrorist groups are, in practice, organizations advocating political change and that the “fundamental purpose of any political organization is to maintain itself” (Crenshaw, 1988:19). From this perspective, the selection of terrorism targets is analyzed not as ends in themselves (i.e., to attain specific political goals), but as the outcome of efforts to maintain the integrity of the terrorist organization. Rapoport (1992) suggested that well over 90 percent of terrorist organizations have a life expectancy of less than one year. Crenshaw contends that the longer a terrorist group survives, the more likely its targets will reflect a concern for maintaining the group and its organizational structure. These assertions have important implications not only for the spatial distribution of ancillary and preparatory terrorist crimes, but also for the temporal characteristics of terrorist planning.

A dominant theme that has emerged in the evolution of the terrorism literature is the acknowledgment that the criminality of terrorists is more widespread and complex than previously discussed (Smith, 1994). Crenshaw’s (1988) expansion of terrorist targeting to include “organizational maintenance” crimes and Hoffman’s (1998) argument that the overriding tactical imperative of many terrorist groups “has been the deliberate tailoring of their violent acts to appeal to their perceived constituencies” (Hoffman, 1998:158) are

particularly intriguing when applied to the study of environmental and international terrorist groups, both of which have experienced substantial structural change over the past decade.²

General Criminological Literature Relative to Spatial and Temporal Patterns:

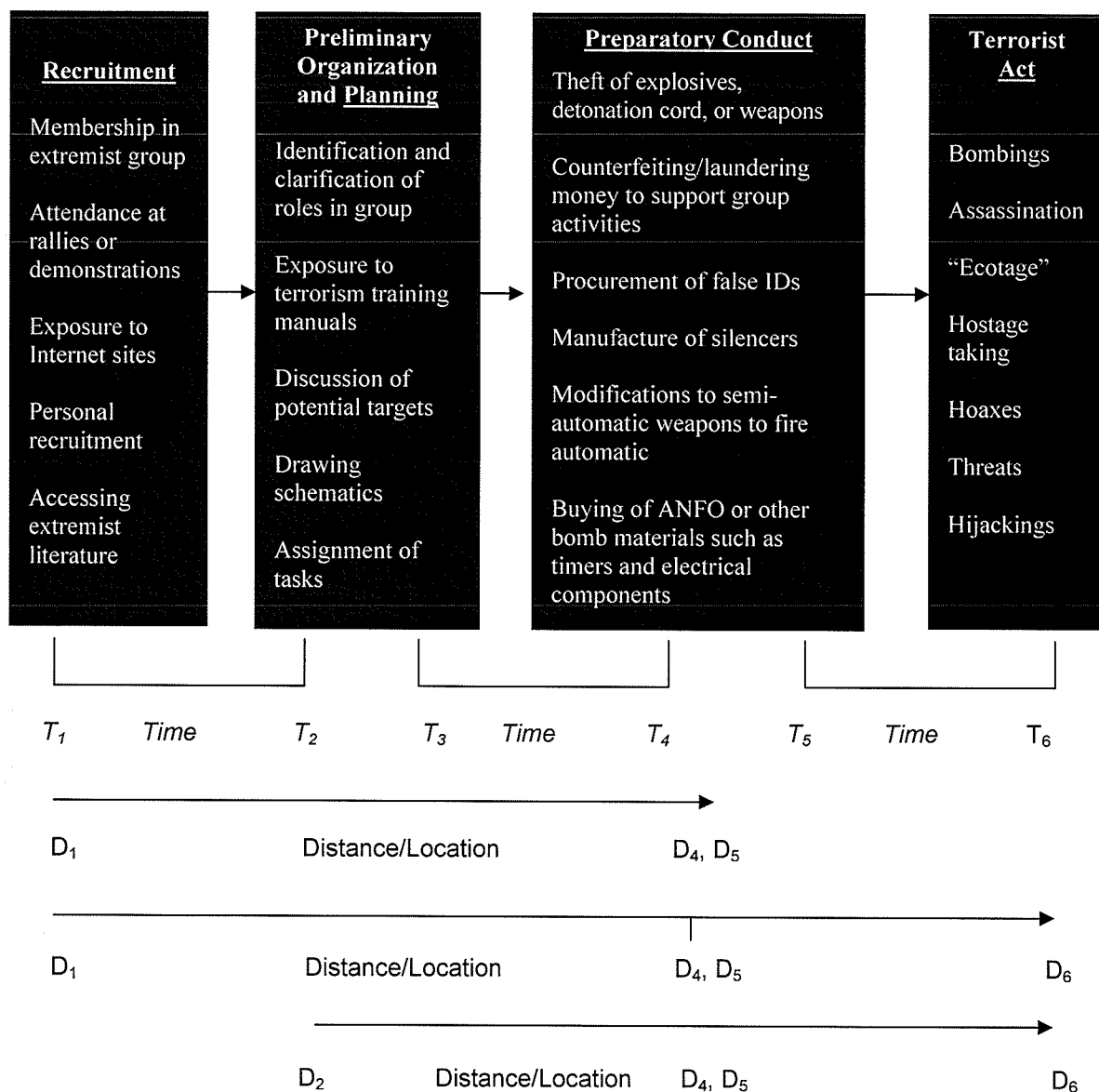
Studies of traditional criminality link a variety of antecedent crimes to the ultimate objectives of many types of offenders. The literature on drug use is replete with links to the use of antecedent preparatory crimes to fund an offender's addiction (e.g., Inciardi, Horowitz, and Pottieger, 1993; Kaplan, 1995). Wright and Decker's (1997) analysis of armed robbers characterizes armed robbery as an antecedent to the procurement of illicit drugs and alcohol. Similarly, the organized crime literature is saturated with descriptions of both legitimate and illegitimate ancillary activities related to the maintenance of crime cartels (Abadinsky, 2000; Albanese 1996). Importantly, numerous studies indicate that traditional offenders commit the overwhelming majority of their offenses within a short distance from their place of residence. Reppetto (1974) noted, for example, that eighty percent of burglaries occurred within five miles of the offenders' homes. Wright and Decker (1997) implied similar patterns regarding armed robbers.

These issues led us to consider terrorist group conduct as occurring along a continuum involving four major activities: (1) recruitment; (2) preliminary organization and planning; (3) preparatory conduct; and (4) terrorist acts. These general principles and examples of each type of behavior are presented in Figure 1. Throughout the planning process of a terrorism incident or act, meetings take place, phone calls are made, and

² Brent L. Smith, "Homegrown Terror," presentation to *Confronting Terrorism* Conference, Los Alamos National Laboratory, March 28, 2002.

crimes are committed. These acts take place in locations such as the terrorists' residence, that of a relative or friend, a home base or safe house, or even surveillance of the intended target. These behaviors occur in measurable dimensions of time and space. Consequently, patterns of preparatory conduct may exist that could assist law enforcement in early intervention.

Figure 1. Flow chart of terrorist group activity



RESEARCH QUESTIONS

If terrorism is not typically spontaneous violence, do temporal and spatial patterns of behavior exist that might assist intelligence agencies, law enforcement, and prosecutors in developing early intervention strategies? This question formed the basis of our exploratory examination into terrorist group planning. There are several supplementary questions subsumed under this main question. For example, can we identify patterns of preparatory criminal conduct that will increase the probability of successful early intervention before actual terrorist incidents occur or at least improve our chances for arrest and prosecution?

Similarly, entry into terrorist cells or groups is frequently associated with a required “initiation” offense – some ancillary crime not usually labeled as terroristic but which will “weed out” undercover law enforcement agents as well as reduce the ability of the initiate from leaving the group once the crime has been committed. What types of crimes are most likely to be associated with these efforts to maintain security? When discovered, can they reveal patterns of criminal conduct suggestive of the existence of a terrorist cell or group operating in a given locale?

Equally as important, we were interested in determining whether temporal patterns might be identified. For example, how long do terrorist groups typically plan a terrorist incident before actually committing it? A “preparatory act,” in addition to discussion of the commission of a terrorist act, is typically required to initiate a conspiracy. Do terrorist groups vary in the length of time they take in preparation for an incident depending upon the organizational or tactical structure of the group? For example, right-

wing white supremacy groups modified their tactics in the early 1990s to minimize civil and criminal liability of group leaders. The move to an “uncoordinated violence” strategy (in this case, “leaderless resistance”) was intended to reduce the ability of law enforcement agents from infiltrating terrorist groups and cells. Tactical changes of this nature affect the number of meetings, interactions, and, perhaps, even the number of preparatory crimes committed by each member of a conspiracy (Damphousse and Smith 2004). In addition to modifications in the structure of terrorist groups, are terrorists also modifying the length of time in preparation as a tactical measure to avoid detection?

In particular, we specifically addressed the following questions relative to the identification of temporal and geographic patterns of terrorist group planning.

Temporal Issues

- How long do terrorist groups typically plan their activities? How much time typically elapses between various phases of terrorist group planning and the eventual commission of terrorist acts (depicted as Time₁ through Time₆ in Figure
- Does this vary by type of terrorist group?
- Does planning initially begin slowly and then culminate in a frenzy of hurried activity immediately prior to commission of the terrorist act?
- Do these suggested patterns of behavior vary depending on the type of terrorism planned? If so, in what way?

Infiltration of terrorist groups has been one of the most perplexing problems facing law enforcement agencies. The time necessary to place effective operatives inside a

terrorist group has frequently been too long, thereby negating the ability for early intervention when specific threats are discovered.

Geographic Issues

Are terrorist groups or cells more likely to emerge near the locations where recruitment and indoctrination occur? The Order, for example, was organized and carried out most of its activities near its source of origin – the Aryan Nations compound in Hayden Lake, Idaho. In contrast, patriot groups that turned to violence in the late 1990s were more widely dispersed across the United States.

Once terrorist groups emerge in a given locale, do they commit their preparatory acts near their “home base” or select other jurisdictions to avoid drawing attention to their group?

How far from the epicenter of the terrorist groups’ organizational and planning activities are most of the terrorists’ targets? As a corollary, do terrorist groups commit their preparatory acts in remote locations far from the actual terrorist target?

If terrorists behave like traditional offenders, we would expect both preparatory crimes and eventual terrorist acts to be committed within a relatively close distance from each other (Wright and Decker, 1997; Reppetto, 1974), as well as being relatively close to where the terrorists reside and meet. In the section which follows we describe the method used to examine each of these questions.

III. METHODOLOGY

TERRORISM DATA

Empirical data on terrorists, terrorist activities, and terrorism incidents is greatly lacking for spatial analysis of terrorism. In order to combat this problem, this research involved the collection of empirical data on which to conduct analysis. In order to know what to analyze however a basic data source was needed to lay the foundation for empirical study. The American Terrorism Study (ATS) provided the foundation that was needed. The ATS began in 1988, was later funded by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) under grant #1999-IJCX-0005 and is currently funded by the Oklahoma City National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism (MIPT) under grant #106-113-2000-064. Access to the ATS data is provided through MIPT's Terrorism Knowledge Base at <http://www.tkb.org>. The information in this database results from the examination of indictments, sentencing memoranda, and other federal court records from FBI investigations into terrorism (Smith 2003a). The project started in 1988 at the University of Alabama under the direction of Dr. Brent L. Smith and is being continued by the staff at the Terrorism Research Center in Fulbright College at the University of Arkansas and in collaboration with Dr. Kelly Damphousse at the University of Oklahoma.

The ATS database contains demographic variables for almost all federally indicted terrorists over the last two decades. In addition to basic demographic and legal information, spatial variables, including known operational bases and primary and secondary targets, are found in the database. These data provide a starting place for the selection of case studies for inclusion in this research. The database contains information on 500 individuals from over 60 terrorist groups.

Utilization of this database as the primary data source mandates that the definition of terrorism used in the project be synonymous with that of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The FBI, in turn, adheres to the definition of terrorism provided in the Code of Federal Regulations (28 C.F.R. Section 0.85). This document defines terrorism as “the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives” (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1999:1).

However, to obtain a sample of cases with sufficiently fertile data large enough for analysis, additional cases or incidents beyond those investigated under official FBI terrorism investigations were needed. These additional cases were selected based on criteria that were included as salient characteristics of the FBI definition: (1) that the behaviors (incidents) were unlawful; (2) that the incident involved the use of force or violence against persons or property; and (3) that the act committed by the individual or group was politically motivated. In addition, politically motivated protests that turned violent, such as riots or other actions that resulted in damage or injury to persons, were excluded.

The FBI further divides terrorism into two main categories: domestic and international. Domestic terrorism is further divided into left-wing, right-wing, and single-issue terrorism. For consistency, our project retained these distinctions. For most of the cases studied, the FBI had already categorized these incidents into these groupings in listings provided to the American Terrorism Study. New cases selected for analysis were placed into these categories, utilizing the FBI’s practical application of “left-wing,” “right-wing,” “single issue” as closely as possible. While these categories are not mutually exclusive (e.g., single issue terrorists such as abortion

clinic bombers may also be characterized as “right wing”), the distinctions provides a commonly understood conceptual framework from which to initiate analysis. The breakdown of terrorist groups into categories is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Terrorism categories and number of known groups

Right-Wing	Left-Wing	International	Single Issue
24	9	21	2

CASE STUDY SELECTION

In order to establish which terrorism incidents to analyze, a list of terrorist groups and specific terrorism incidents was compiled by a panel that included subject matter experts (SME's) and Terrorism Research Center personnel. These experts included Austin Turk, political violence; Stephen Chermak, militias; Mark Hamm, white supremacy groups; Ron Arnold, environmental extremism; Bill Dyson, leftist terrorism; and Kelly Damphousse, database management and domestic terrorism. These SME's provide knowledge on specific incidents for data collection and synthesis of analysis on the groups. The original plan was to select cases that were currently in the American Terrorism Study database (i.e., cases that had previously been defined by the federal government as terrorism incidents). The SME's suggested a number of cases that were not in the ATS database (e.g., Theodore Kaczynski) but were “commonly known” to be acts of terrorism and for which there was a great deal of open source material available. Regarding “international” terrorism events, we restricted our analyses to cases that reflected attacks against the United States by foreign nationals within the US borders. This decision was largely based on (1) the availability of open source data about the events and (2) the

ability to geocode locations. We recognize that these sample selection statistics have consequences relative to our ability to generalize to “all” terrorism. Indeed, we know that many international terrorism attacks against the US occur on foreign soil. Clearly, caution should be taken in attempting to infer our findings to the population of terrorism attacks.

A total of 67 case studies were selected for the Pre-Incident Indicators of Terrorist Activities project. For this research report, 60 of those cases studies have been completed and are included in the analysis. The case studies are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Case study areas of activity for incidents

Single Issue
Kopp Amherst Assassination
Hill FL Assassination
Dr. Robert Goldstein
Unabomber-Theodore Kaczynski
Griffin Florida Assassination
Coronado MSU Arson
ELF Long Island Arsons
Fairfield Snow Bowl
Free Critter Eugene Arson
Santa Cruz 2
Sherman OR Firebombing
Vance Assassination
Wisconsin Mink Release
Clayton Lee Wagner
Ellerman Utah Bombing
Nebraska Golf Vandals
EcoRaider Tucson Vandalism

Table 2 Con't. Case study areas of activity for incidents

CASE STUDY
International
Abu Nidal Organization
Omega 7
Japanese Red Army
New York City Conspiracy 1994
World Trade Center 1993
New York City Subway Bombing
Millennium Conspiracy
Lackawanna Six
Hezbollah
Provisional Irish Republican Army
Left Wing
Yahweh
M19CO
United Freedom Front
EPB Macheteros
New African Freedom Fighters
El Rukns
United Freedom Front
FALN
Nyack Armored Car Robbery

Table 2 Con't. Case study areas of activity for incidents

CASE STUDY
Oklahoma Constitutional Militia
Order
Phineas Priests
Jewish Defense League
KKK
Covenant, Sword and Arm of the Lord
Oklahoma City Bombing
Woodring Homrich
Up the IRS
Bixby SC
Washington State Militia
Felton Chase
Third Continental Congress
Ohio Unorganized Militia
Minnesota Patriots Council
Krar IDC
Seace Conspiracy
Aryan Nations
Aryan Peoples Republic
White Patriot Party
Ruby Ridge
West Virginia Mountaineer Militia

VARIABLE SELECTION

Collecting data on terrorism incidents requires a set of variables for the coding of information pertaining to the specific incidents. A large set of variables was needed to encompass the many aspects of terrorism incidents and precursor activity leading up to the incidents being studied.

For the purpose of this research 265 variables were selected for coding of information into

relational database tables. Each table provided a storage place for inputting information that would enable spatial analysis of the incident. The database tables are listed in Table 3.

Table 3. Number of variables for each table

Data Table	Number of Variables
Person	89
Event (preparatory activity, planning, incidents)	84
Organization (terrorist groups, terrorist cells, above ground organizations)	32
Source	60
Total	265

The Incident variables consist of basic information about the terrorism incident such as name of the incident target, address of the target of the incident, and whether the incident was prevented or occurred. A large number of terrorists are captured prior to the execution of a terrorism incident and thus some incidents in this study did not occur, but information is known on the location and time of the events that were planned. These incidents are coded as such in order to allow selection for analysis. In addition, the names of the individuals involved in the terrorism incident are included as well as information on destruction of property, and persons killed or wounded.

The Activity variables consist of information on precursor activity conducted by terrorists prior to the terrorism incident. This activity includes both criminal and non-criminal conduct. Research conducted as part of the American Terrorism Study shows that terrorists commit scores of crimes such as identity theft and theft of property and money in order to carry out a terrorism

incident. The precursor activity is broken down into three types—planning, preparatory, and ancillary. Planning activity is defined as events that involve planning for the upcoming incident and includes events concerning meetings and phone calls. Preparatory activity is defined as actual acts carried out by a terrorist as part of the planning process of a terrorism incident. This activity may include both criminal and non-criminal conducts. It may include robberies, identity thefts, surveillance etc. Ancillary activity is activity carried out by a terrorist, but not in direct preparation for an incident. This activity may include the murder of an informant in order to protect the secrecy of the plot, robbery to sustain an underground lifestyle, or other order/maintenance crimes. For the purposes of this research the Event table was coded for defining what type of an event took place. This division of the data into different types of events resulted from the need to measure the temporal and spatial differences in the terrorist planning process. Coding all of the events into one table allows a timeline to be created of the events that took place prior to the terrorism incident. This also allows for divulgence of events previously thought to be incidents, but were instead pre-cursor activity to a larger event.

The Person table contains basic demographic variables on each individual involved in the terrorism incident. The known address or multiple addresses, if available, are included in the variables in this database. Demographic information such as age, race, gender, education, income, profession, and marital status provide an in depth look at the individuals responsible for terrorist acts.

The Organization table contains information on organizations that were linked to the case study or whose terrorists were related to in some manner. Cell variables consists of data that relate to the group of individuals who carried out the terrorist incident. There is not always a

terrorist cell involved in an incident so this database is only for inclusion if a cell is present.

Terrorists that commit a terrorism incident may be a part of a larger terrorist group, but act as a smaller unit for the execution of plans for a terrorism incident. The information in this table describes the structure and dynamic of this group. The Group table consists of variables that specify what known terrorist group(s) the individual(s) that carried out the terrorism incident may have been affiliated. The majority of the terrorists in this study are members of a larger terrorist group through which they carry out the agenda of the organization. A few of the terrorists are considered "lone wolves." No group information is included in this table for those occurrences. The Above Ground Organization variables exists to link the terrorists to possible legal organizations that could be providing ideological, psychological, or even financial support in some way. The information collected could be important in understanding basic ideological issues of terrorism behavior. For a complete list of variables see Appendix B.

DATA COLLECTION

Data collection for this research focused on a case study of a terrorist group or incident. If the case study consisted of a terrorist group, then one or more incidents may have been selected for collection of data. If the case study was a single incident then only information on that incident was collected. This was due to the fact that some terrorism incidents were carried out by individuals that had no formal ties to a terrorist group. In some cases, however, the terrorist groups studied conspired to commit a series of terrorist incidents.

The case studies and collection of data on the terrorism incidents were conducted by staff at the Mercyhurst College Institute for Intelligence Studies (MCIIS) in Erie, Pennsylvania. MCIIS personnel under the direction of Mr. Robert Heibel collected data from open source materials

such as federal court records, books, newspaper articles, and interviews. Staff at the University of Arkansas created the structure of the relational databases and instructed the Mercyhurst staff on coding of variables and the methodologies associated with the research. Terrorism Research Center staff also work directly with Mr. Heibel and his research group in order to collect additional data, provide support on methodological issues and implementation of procedures.

The data collection focused around three main areas of investigation: residences, preparatory activities, and incidents. The data resulting from this investigation was input to a Microsoft Access relational database. Two of the tables in the relational database were primarily utilized for containing data for spatial and temporal analysis. First, data on the terrorism incident were compiled in the D_EVENT table. This included information such as the incident's geographic location, time of occurrence, incident type, and the person(s) involved. Secondly, data on the person(s) involved in the incident were acquired in the D_PERSON table. These included basic demographics, places of residence, prior criminal history, etc. Finally, acts that the individuals performed or were associated with were also recorded in the D_EVENT table. These included meetings and trips for information gathering, as well as preparatory and ancillary acts. The acts of individuals not indicted, but associated with the incident, were also studied. An example of this is a person who was known to have played a part in the incident and for whom information was available, but who may have never been apprehended. The temporal aspect of the case study included all activity beginning with the known time of occurrence for the terrorism incident and going back to the earliest activity that could be identified relating to the incident. This time period should encompass the extent of planning by the terrorist or terrorists.

DATABASE AND GIS DEVELOPMENT

The spatial and temporal data from the activities of the terrorists in the case studies were input into a Microsoft Access relational database and then integrated into a Geographical Information System (GIS). The data from the case studies was managed using Microsoft Access, which allows for seamless integration into ESRI ArcGIS and Intergraph GeoMedia software through the geodatabase format. The ArcGIS 9 and GeoMedia platforms allows for efficient data management and analysis through their unique architecture system that allows integration of the Access data into the GIS environment. The software looks at the spatial data in tabular form and displays the data based on a determined field in a graphic format. This allows analysis of distances between points and an output for presenting the data in an efficient and easy to understand manner.

The tabular data in the Microsoft Access relational database was integrated into ESRI's ArcGIS software as a geodatabase. Once imported into ArcGIS, the spatial information was geocoded using the StreetMap USA geocoding service that comes with the ArcGIS software. This geocoding service is based upon TIGER data which is the most commonly used in geocoding for crime incidents in the U.S (Leipnik and Albert 2003). The geocoding process assigns an "x and y" value for each spatial point representing an event leading up to the terrorism incident. This "x and y" value is placed on a map using a predetermined coordinate system that allows for the measurements of distance in a specified unit. For the purposes of this research, a Geographic Coordinate System using the National American Datum of 1983 was used because of its level of accuracy for measuring distances within the United States. The results of the geocoding process were managed by the geodatabase as features. These features were then displayed graphically on a base map such as a map of a city or county. The base map allowed

for the overlay of layers that contained information such as roads, rivers, and buildings. This allowed for presentation of these data so that a person would be able to recognize the location where an incident takes place. The software allows for overlay of a large number of layers.

Once the data were geocoded it was possible to integrate the spatial data into the Intergraph Geomedia software. This allowed integration of the Access database spatial data for linear distance analysis. Due to the functional attributes feature of Geomedia and its dynamic “on-the-fly” calculations, linear distance analysis was conducted between related points. This was done by creating look-up tables that let the software know points between which distance was to be calculated. The Point Distance measurement was developed in conjunction with the staff at the Center for Advanced Spatial Technologies and allowed for the measurement of the linear distance between one point and many other points that are located in different tables. This process alleviated the manual calculation of the linear distance between each point providing a savings in time and accuracy of the measurements. The results were outputted as a field in the table of the specific terrorism incident being analyzed. Once this distance had been calculated the field was then added to the geodatabase so that these measurements were available in the ArcGIS 9 platform. The ArcGIS 9 platform environment provides a means for managing, analyzing, and presenting the linear distance analysis of the terrorism incidents.

DATA ANALYSIS

The primary unit of data collection for this research was a case study, but the primary unit for analysis was a terrorism incident. Some case studies were split into multiple incidents that may involve similar events or persons, but these were split into separate incidents for analysis. An example would be a series of bombings that a group carried out over the course of several years.

Each bombing was an incident with its own precursor activity. Some of the precursor activity may have been related to more than one incident and thus could be analyzed for each incident that it relates. The incident provided the basis for the case study which encompassed information about the precursor activity leading up to the terrorism incident. Each terrorism incident consisted of a single act of terrorism such as a bombing or hijacking. Almost all of these incidents involved one or more individuals who had been indicted under federal law and deemed “terrorists” as prescribed by the Attorney General Guidelines for FBI Terrorism Investigations.

The precursor activity leading up to the terrorism incident is found in the Activity database. This database provided for spatial analysis of preparatory and ancillary activity as described above. The linear distance was calculated between the terrorism incident and all activities that were uncovered through investigation of the incident and inputted into the Activity database. This calculation allowed for determination of distances between the location of the terrorism incident and precursor activity. In addition, the residences of the terrorists involved in the terrorism incident were included in the spatial analysis in order to divulge potential relationships between the location of the terrorism incident, precursor activity, and terrorist residences or operational activity centers. Once linear distance was calculated for all of the incidents in the case studies then potential patterns could be divulged which could have direct policy implications in the detection and prevention of terrorists and their acts. The number of case studies selected for analysis is shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Case study breakdown

Category	Number of Case Studies Collected
International	10
Single Issue	15
Right wing	27
Left wing	8
Total	60

For the purposes of this research, 200 incidents from the selected case studies were analyzed to determine if spatial patterns existed. The breakdown of incidents by category type is as follows: Right Wing- 41, Left Wing- 51, International- 58, and Single Issue- 50. The method for choosing case studies for analysis was based on the amount of open source materials available for data collection. Case studies that could potentially yield large amounts of spatial data were chosen by looking at the amount of information available on each incident in order to provide enough data for comparison within and between the designated categories.

Incidents selected for final analysis included those where a specific geographic location could be identified for the occurrence or planned occurrence of the terrorism incident. For a few of the incidents an address could not be found. In these cases, the centroid of the zipcode of the city that the event was located was used in calculating distances. Since using these city centers potentially could skew the data, a method was established for determining when a city center could or could not be used. For example, if the diameter of the city for which the location of the incident was placed in its center was greater than 10% of the distance being measured then the

incident was not included for analysis. By using this 10% rule, the potential for skewed data is greatly lessened and still allows for meaningful results and comparison.

The spatial analysis consists of Exploratory Spatial Data Analysis (ESDA) using standard spatial statistical methods. Anselin (2000:26) describes this methodology as “a collection of techniques to describe and visualize spatial distributions; identify atypical locations or spatial outliers; discover patterns of spatial associations, clusters, or hot spots; and suggest spatial regimes or other forms of spatial heterogeneity.” The methods include the analysis for patterns in spatial variance among related activities. The distribution of incidents across the United States yields vital information as to where concentrations of terrorism incidents have occurred in the past. Such questions as whether terrorism incidents are concentrated in rural or urban areas are easily answered. On a larger scale patterns within cities are possible to determine by looking at the spatial distribution of all the points involved in a given terrorism incident. By displaying all of the available points on the map derived from spatial data housed in the relational databases, a terrorist “routine activity” space is possible to determine for the time period of the incident planning process. For the purposes of this research, basic patterns are divulged through the analysis of the linear distances between points within a specific incident, a specific category, or terrorism incidents as a whole.

The spatial analysis from which relationships and patterns can be derived consists of the measurement of the linear distance between points that represent terrorist activities, residences, and the location of the terrorism incident itself. Three different calculations of linear distance were taken for each incident. First, the linear distance from the terrorist incident to the terrorist residence was calculated. For incidents that involved more than one individual the distance was

measured to each terrorist residence that was involved in the terrorism incident. The linear distance from incident to residence was then calculated and the mean distance from all residences to the incident was recorded. This value was used in representing the incident-residence measurement for analysis. The second measurement is the incident to activity linear distance. The same methodology as stated above applies to instances where more than one activity occurred relating to a terrorism incident. The mean was once again used as the value to represent the incident-activity value for analysis. The third major measurement is the linear distance calculation between terrorist residences and activities. In this case it often occurs that there are multiple residences and multiple activities that relate to a specific incident. In these cases, the measurement was calculated from each point of residence to each activity and vice versa. This allows for averaging the values to derive a mean distance for the residence-activity analysis.

Problems encountered in both the coding and analysis of residence data is the reliability of the information. In cases where multiple addresses were found for individuals such as homes, apartments, staying with friends, hotels, campgrounds etc. These locations present a methodological problem for determining which is to be used for the residence to incident measurement. If it was known that an individual was staying at a particular location in accordance with a specific incident then that location was used. If multiple locations exist for a terrorist residence and information was not found pertaining to when the individual was staying at the residence then problems arise. Without specific court documentation or interviews with the individuals, it cannot be known for certain which location the individual was staying. This could induce error into the process of analysis. This issue was addressed by giving the residence locations a descriptive name and using the most likely location given the data available. By

coding these residences as such lends to the ability for more study of this matter in the future if/when more information becomes available. This also allows other researchers to recode and explore the possible differences.

DATA PRESENTATION

The results of this research are available in a variety of formats. Due to the nature of ArcGIS software, interactivity with the data is possible. The Pre-Incident Indicators GIS allows a user to graphically portray the data in a variety of visual formats allowing for analysis and presentation. These data can be accessed and displayed on a map through spatial or attribute queries. For example, a user can choose to look at and analyze patterns for all of the terrorism incidents in a specific state or region of the country through a spatial query. By using an attribute query, a user can display all of the Right Wing incidents, or choose a specific case study and view only the incidents pertaining to the specific case.

IV. RESULTS

Terrorists and terrorist groups operate within the constraints and boundaries of both time and space. Since September 11, 2001, state and federal expenditures for terrorism response have increased substantially. One criticism of current funding for counterterrorism is that allocations seem to assume that terrorist incidents are random and “can occur anywhere.” While it is true that they *can* occur anywhere, the probability of their occurrence in specific locations varies widely (Davis et al., 2004). In many ways both the indiscriminant and spontaneous nature of terrorism has been overemphasized. Terrorist incidents do not materialize out of “thin air” -- they require time to plan, meet, procure and prepare explosive devices, and travel time to and from the selected target. These events are further constrained by the distances among the residences of the terrorists, where they meet and plan, where they procure or manufacture their explosives, and the distance to the target. In this project, both spatial and temporal issues were examined regarding terrorist group planning and execution. Although the dimensions of time and space are related, for clarity and simplicity, these two issues are presented separately in this section.

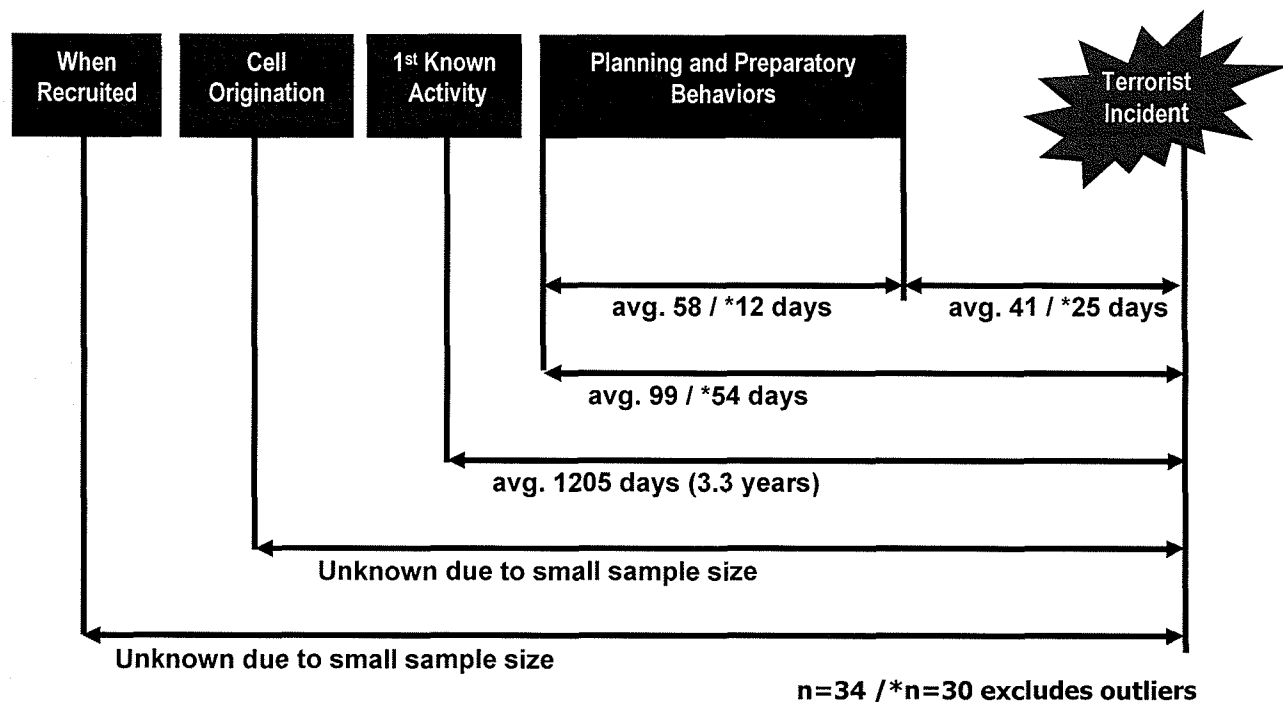
TEMPORAL PATTERNS OF AMERICAN TERRORISM

Temporal measurements were made at four points during the planning process: (1) when the terrorist(s) were recruited as members into the terrorist group; (2) when the terrorist “cell” originated, usually measured as a function of the first planning meeting; (3) when preparatory acts occurred; and (4) when the actual terrorist incident occurred or, if it was preempted or prevented, the date that it was planned to occur. Temporal measurements proved to be the most difficult to identify. Although 191 temporal measurements were obtained, some events were substantially more difficult to measure than others. For example, temporal information regarding

when various members joined specific terrorist groups was, in large part, non-existent. If this information was located, it was frequently provided in units of measurement that were so large (e.g., years) that calculations were unreliable. The basic findings are presented in Figure 2.

Despite a lack of information regarding recruitment, sufficient temporal data existed to identify basic patterns of preparatory conduct. On average, the terrorist cells held their first planning meetings slightly over 3 months from the time they committed the terrorist incidents studied. This is generally consistent with Rapoport's (1992) notion that terrorist groups have a life expectancy of less than one year. The lifespan of these "cells" ranged from a few weeks to more than three years.

Figure 2: Temporal patterns of terrorist group activities



Of significant interest in these temporal patterns is the finding that there tends to be a substantial lull between the conclusion of the preparatory conduct and the actual incident. The initial “planning phase” appears to last, on average from between twelve days to approximately two months. It is during this period that law enforcement agencies would have the greatest probability of successful intervention. Initial analyses suggested that once preparatory behaviors begin, the process toward terroristic violence is relatively swift. Subsequent analysis suggests, however, that planning and preparatory activities cannot be temporally separated. Meetings, preparation, training, and procurement of materials for terrorist incidents are not sequenced independent of each other. Substantial variation exists among types of terrorist groups (e.g. single-issue, international, etc.) regarding this issue was apparent. However, the limited amount of temporal data available from these case studies precludes further specification than the overall pattern of conduct. While it was disappointing not to be able to clearly distinguish patterns regarding “planning” and “preparation” activities, the collection of additional data may improve our predictive capabilities.

Preparatory conduct may include criminal, as well as non-criminal activity. The most common preparatory behaviors included meetings, phone calls, the purchase of supplies and materials, and banking activities, which included everything from bank robbery to fund the planned incident to legitimate withdrawals. A summary of these activities (both planning and preparatory) is included in Table 5.

Table 5. Summary of activities

Category	Preparatory	Planning	Ancillary	Total Acts
International	59	97	30	186
Single Issue	22	2	9	33
Right Wing	65	55	49	169
Left Wing	7	31	27	65
Total	153	185	115	453

Terrorist groups engaged in an average of 2.3 known preparatory, planning, and ancillary behaviors per incident. This average is affected by incidents for which data collection was not very successful. Each of these behaviors could serve as “pre-incident indicators” to analysts monitoring such activities. However, many of these behaviors, such as buying legally obtainable bomb making components or conducting surveillance on a target, are not illegal. The problems associated with utilizing “reasonable indication” or the existence of a “criminal predicate” (the standards used to determine whether to open an FBI terrorism investigation) may preclude the monitoring of such conduct in the absence of ongoing intelligence investigations. Furthermore, terrorist groups engage in much conduct that is merely “ancillary” – behaviors that may or may not be criminal, but they were conducted for the purpose of order maintenance, improving morale or group solidarity, and other activities not directly related to the planning and preparation for the terrorist incident studied. These behaviors, however, may attract the attention of the police and could be utilized as pre-incident indicators of terrorist group activity.

Table 6 shows a breakdown of the planning and preparatory behaviors by type of terrorist group and whether these behaviors were associated with “planning and preparatory” behaviors or

whether they were merely “ancillary” activities. Nearly one-fourth (115 of 453; 25.3%) of the activities were ancillary.

Finally, Table 7 provides a summary of whether these behaviors were criminal or non-criminal. With the exception of the right-wing cases studied, about two-thirds (320 of 453; 70.6%) of the behaviors recorded by these groups were non-criminal. This is unfortunate in that such conduct may not attract the attention of authorities. Furthermore, these behaviors might not rise to the level of “reasonable indication” or serve as a “criminal predicate” that would allow the FBI to open a terrorism intelligence investigation.

Table 6. Breakdown of major planning and preparatory behavior by type

Category	International	Single Issue	Right Wing	Left Wing	Total
Acquiring Bomb Materials	16	0	14	0	30
Attend Gun Show	0	0	3	0	3
Conspiracy	4	0	3	2	9
“Fatwah”	0	0	0	3	3
Procurement of Funds	13	1	0	0	14
Illegal U.S. Entry	3	0	0	0	3
Larceny/Theft	4	0	10	0	16
Meeting	30	1	49	16	96
Motor Vehicle Theft	0	0	6	0	6
Parking Violation	3	0	0	0	3
Phone Calls	89	3	4	14	110
Travel by Air	1	0	0	3	4
Robbery	2	2	12	15	29
Smuggling	3	0	0	0	3
Standoff	0	0	5	0	5
Surveillance	3	5	8	0	16

Table 6 Con't. Breakdown of major planning and preparatory behavior by type

Category	International	Single Issue	Right Wing	Left Wing	Total
Threat	0	0	2	0	2
Training	4	1	3	0	8
Transport Purchase	2	1	3	0	6
Transport Rental	10	0	2	0	12
Travel by Car	12	0	6	0	18
Weapons Violations	0	0	1	0	1

Table 7. Breakdown of activities into crimes/ non crimes

Category	Crimes	Non-Crimes	Total Acts
International	25	161	186
Single Issue	13	20	33
Right Wing	79	90	169
Left Wing	28	37	65
Total	145	308	453

Despite this, 145 planning preparatory behaviors were recorded that reflected criminal conduct. A summary of these crimes is provided in Table 8. The most common of these crimes was involving acquiring, manufacturing, or testing bombs (24 of 145; 16.6%). Conspiracies do not frequently become known to law enforcement agencies until after the completion of the act or other arrests are made. Consequently, non-overt acts of conspiracies, such as meetings and phone calls, may not come to the attention of local law enforcement agencies. However, three-fourths of these crimes involved "observable" offenses which might lead the police to suspicion

more sinister activities. Robbery (21 of 145; 14.4%), and murder (9 of 145; 6.1%), and training (9 of 145; 6.1%) constituted the remaining most common preparatory and ancillary offenses committed.

Table 8. Breakdown of activities by crime type

Category	International	Single Issue	Right Wing	Left Wing	Total
Arson	0	0	1	0	1
Conspiracy	0	0	2	1	3
Standoff	0	0	2	0	2
Forcible Rape	0	0	1	0	1
Illegal U.S. Entry	3	0	0	0	3
Larceny/Theft	2	0	5	0	7
Motor Vehicle Theft	2	0	6	0	8
Murder/Manslaughter	0	0	4	5	9
Parking Violation	3	0	0	0	3
Purchasing Materials	1	0	2	0	3
Robbery	0	0	8	13	21
Smuggling	2	0	0	0	2
Threat	0	0	2	3	5
Training	4	1	3	1	9
Weapons Violations	0	1	6	0	7
Money Laundering	2	0	0	0	2
Bomb Materials Manufacturing/Testing	4	8	8	4	24

The number of preparatory behaviors varied according to the type of terrorist group (table not shown). The older, leftist groups studied, such as the United Freedom Front and the FALN averaged the most preparatory behaviors per incident (7.00). The incidents studied involving international groups were also above the mean (4.18). In contrast, incidents involving right-wing groups and single-issue terrorists were below the mean (3.00 and 2.50 preparatory behaviors per incident, respectively). This finding is consistent with changes in terrorist group tactics in the 1990s. Both the extreme right and single-issue terrorists adopted “unorganized” or “uncoordinated” violence models in the early 1990s.

Following the siege at Ruby Ridge, Idaho in the summer of 1992, members of the extreme right were encouraged to adopt the concept of “leaderless resistance.”³ In addition, violent anti-abortion activists began posting “hit lists” of abortion clinic doctors and clinic addresses on websites within the next three years. Similarly, violent members of extremist environmental groups, particularly the Earth Liberation Front and Animal Liberation Front, began posting “direct actions” on their websites as well as “suggestions” regarding future targets.⁴ All of these actions were intended to limit recruitment to the “true believers,” reduce the possibility of infiltration by undercover law enforcement operatives, and minimize the risk of civil and criminal liability of group leaders. Smaller numbers of known meetings and preparatory activities have resulted among these groups as they conduct terrorist operations. This is consistent with other findings that indicate that a decrease in group size and an increase in the number of “lone wolves” among single issue and right wing terrorist groups make it more

³ Publicly advocated in a speech by Louis Beam to leaders of the extreme right at a conference to address concerns about federal intervention at Ruby Ridge; Estes Park, Colorado, 1992.

⁴ In 1992, Earth Liberation Front leaders publicly suggested that, from henceforth, they would leave the “dirty work to the elves,” a reference to underground leaderless groups/individuals.

difficult for law enforcement agencies to engage in prevention or early intervention (Damphousse and Smith, 2004).

Once preparations for the terrorist act have been completed, the overall analysis suggests a lull between final acts of preparation and commission of the terrorist act. On average, the terrorist incident occurred or was scheduled to occur between three and six weeks following the final known act in preparation. In fact, this average time would have been much shorter except for the existence of a few outliers where preparatory behaviors near the time of the incident were not known. Among cases where preparatory acts were measured, nearly two-thirds (65.2%) of the terrorist incidents involved a preparatory act on the day of the incident and another nine percent of the groups committed their last preparatory act the day prior to the incident.

While generalizations based these data are risky due to low representativeness and small sample size, the overall pattern appears to be that the planning process is relatively short- three to four months prior to the commission of an incident. Planning and preparation occur concurrently during this period and seems to be characterized by surveillance and meetings. Known preparatory behaviors conclude three to six weeks prior to the incident, followed by a lull in activity prior to the date of the incident.

Additional examination of the sequencing and spacing of these behaviors is needed to verify these patterns however. Variations among types of terrorist groups were substantial however. Environmental groups, for example, seem to engage in a shorter planning process than international groups than international groups. Consequently, the temporal “patterns” we have identified should be viewed as “averages” until more data can be collected to confirm these findings.

SPATIAL PATTERNS OF AMERICAN TERRORISM

In this section, we review the spatial patterns of terrorism behavior resulting from the analysis of the data using The Mapworks Inc. MATLAB7, ESRI's ArcGIS, and Intergraph's GeoMedia 6 software. Our initial concern was the availability of geocodable data on residences, planning locations, preparatory activities, and terrorism incidents. As it turned out, our research team was able to geocode over one half of all activities. As shown in Table 9, however, there was great variability in the quality of the available data which affected our ability to geocode each category of activities.

Table 9. Geocoding success rate for each type of activity

Types of Data Collected	Records Collected	Records Geocoded	Records Geocoded
Residences	415	165	40%
Planning Locations	184	54	29%
Preparatory Activities	179	122	68%
Incidents	246	190	77%
Total	893	515	58%

The easiest activity to geocode was the location of the “incidents” – over three-quarters of incident locations were geocoded. This was to be expected since targets are often described in explicit detail in open records like indictments. In addition, we were able to find addresses for almost one-half of the residences and preparatory activities. Unfortunately, we were less successful with mapping “planning” activities. Again, this is not so surprising. Open source records commonly reported that “a meeting took place” but there was no record of where the meeting occurred. Rather than trying to estimate these locations or to impute any of these

missing values, we treated them all as missing data and assumed that they are missing completely at random, thereby minimizing any error. We show the geocoded locations of each of the residences, planning locations, preparatory act locations, and incident locations in Figures 3-6. In Figure 7, we show a map with all geocoded locations presented. Please note that these maps do not represent all terrorism incidents in the US during this period. Instead, these maps show the locations of the case studies that were selected into the project. In Figures 8 and 9, we show examples of how we measured linear distances between geocoded locations. In Figure 8, for example, we show several examples that demonstrate the wide range of spatial dispersion between planning acts, preparatory acts, and incidents. In Figure 9, we show the linear distances between terrorist residence and the planning acts, preparatory acts, and incidents.

Figure 3. Location of terrorists' residences

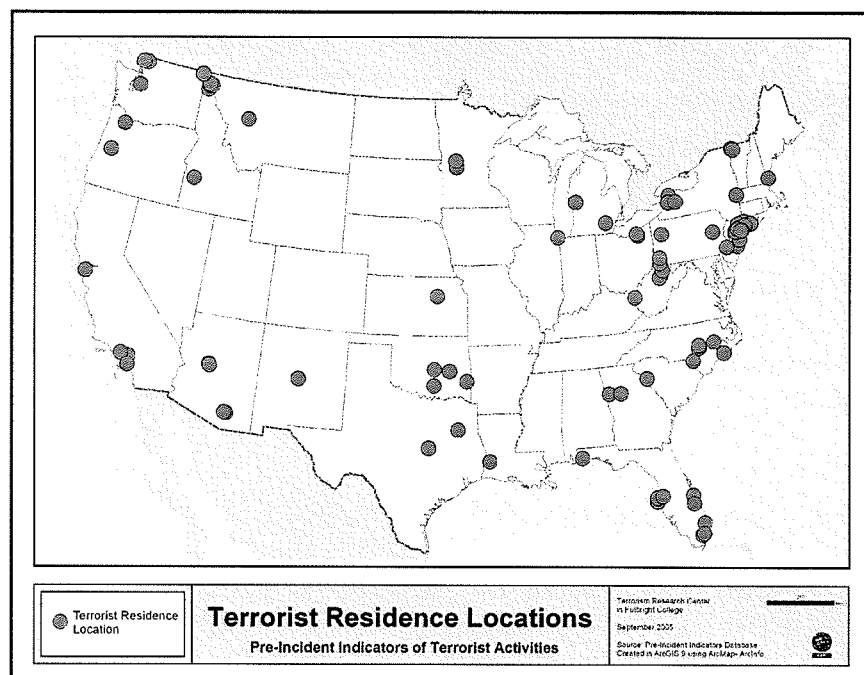


Figure 4. Location of terrorists' planning acts

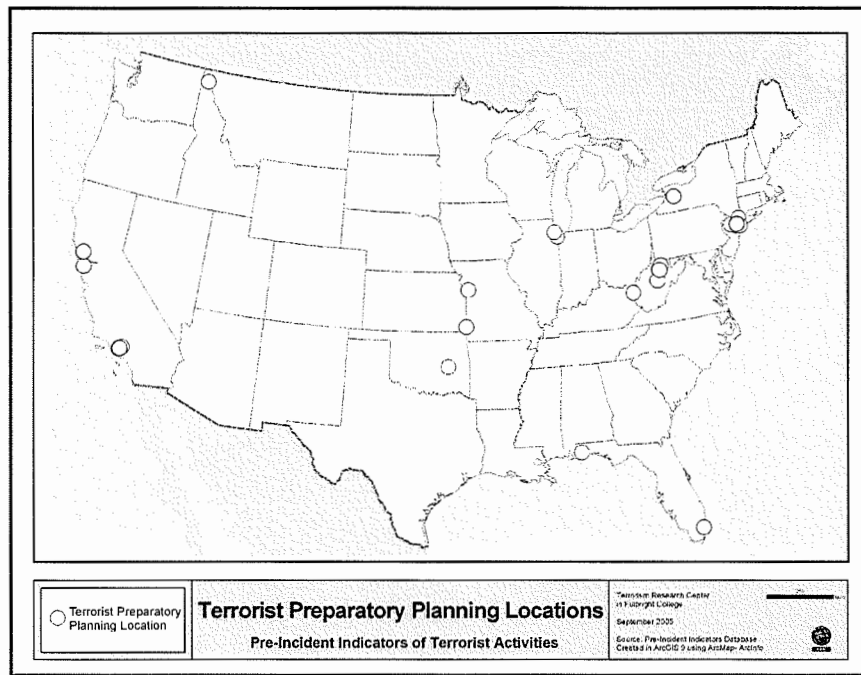


Figure 5. Location of terrorists' preparatory acts

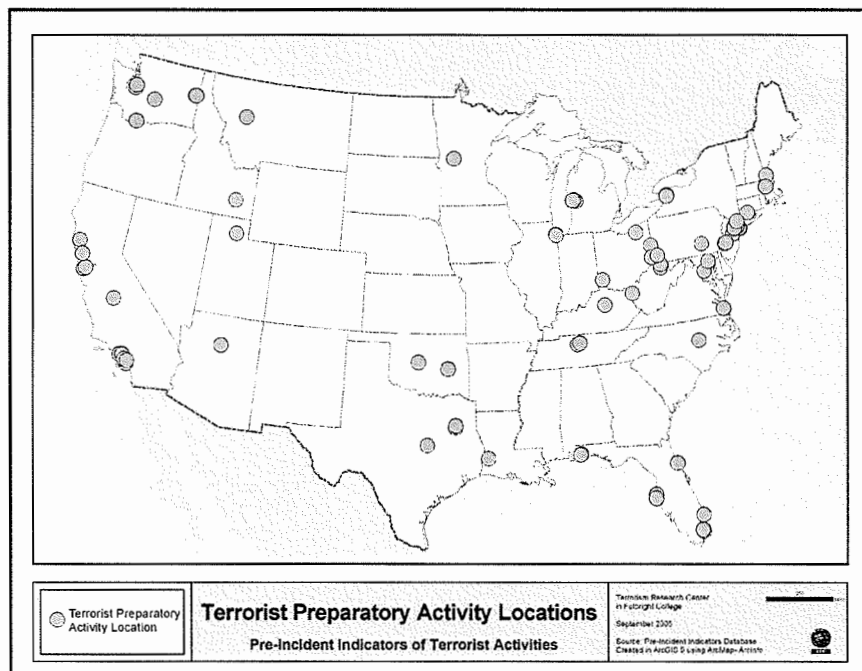


Figure 6. Location of terrorists' incidents

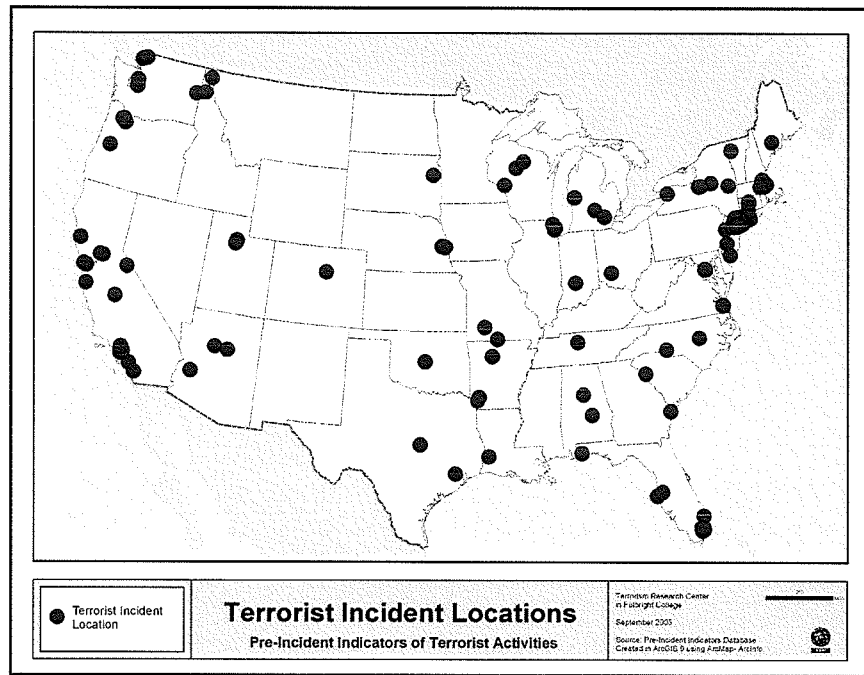


Figure 7. Location of terrorists' residences, planning acts, preparatory acts, and incidents

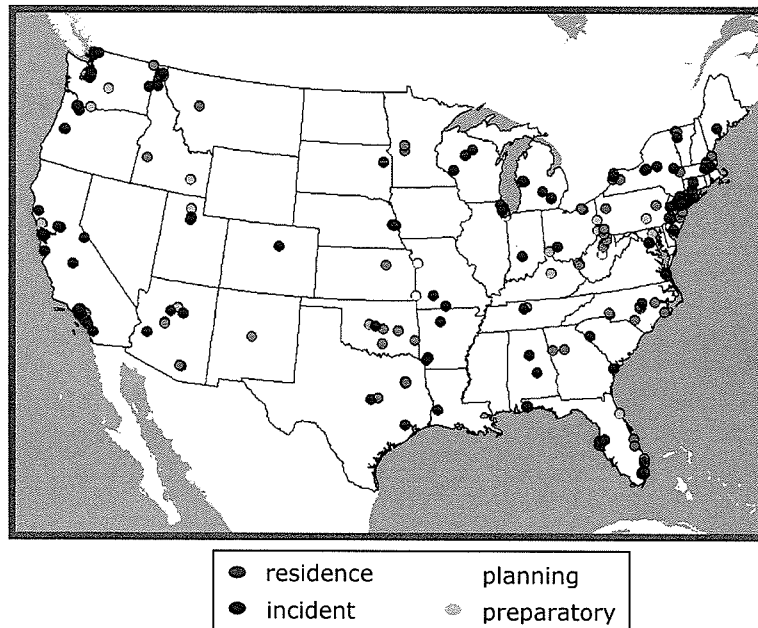


Figure 8. Linear distance measurements between planning, preparatory acts, and incidents

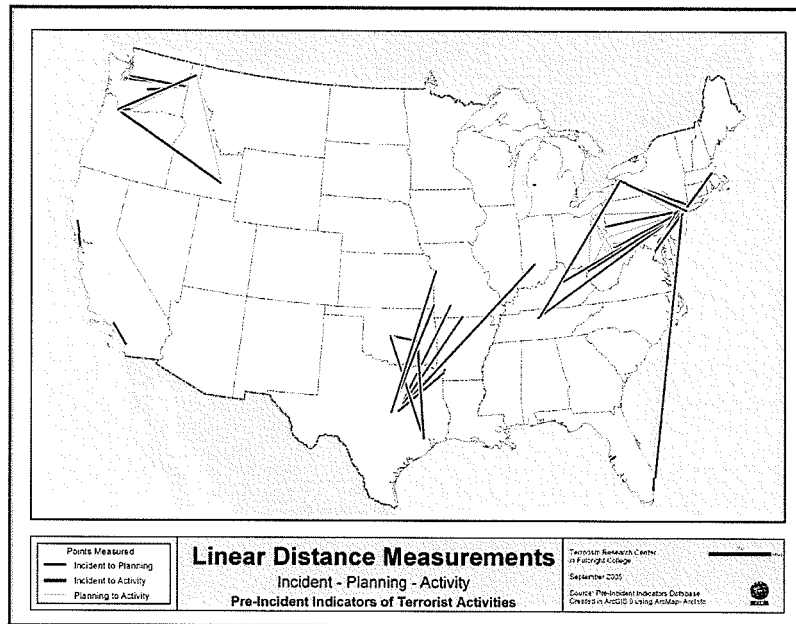
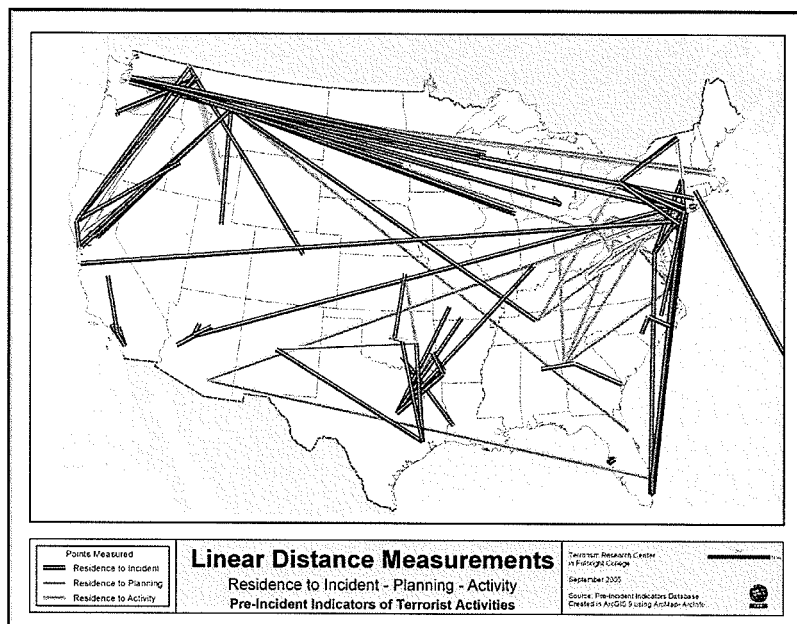


Figure 9. Linear distance measurements between terrorists' activity



Once we completed our efforts to gather all of the geocoded information possible, we experimented with several different ways to present the data. We settled on the use of “rose diagrams,” a technique that allows the user to plot distance and direction from multiple points of the same type.

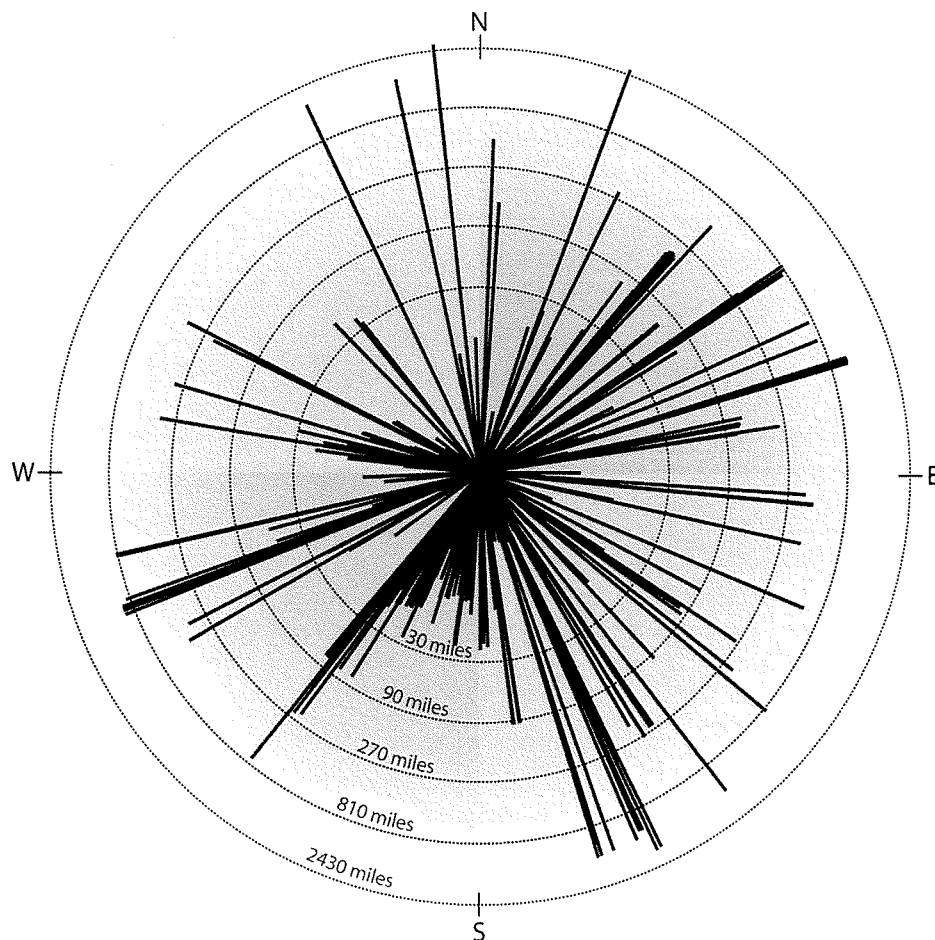
Using the rose diagram technique allowed us to visualize any spatial patterns concerning distance and direction for all of the incidents in our case studies. Our first step was to create a circular figure with all of the “incidents” represented by the convergence of the lines in the center of the circle. The circle then was oriented such that the top of the circle (“12 o-clock”) is north and the bottom of the circle is south. If one of the residences for terrorist Group A was located 20 miles to the west of the incident, then we drew a line 20 “units” away from the center (i.e. “incident”) to the left (i.e., “west”). If a residence of terrorist Group B was found to be located 90 miles to the south of the incident, then we would draw a line 90 “units” away from the center in the “6 o-clock position (i.e., “south”). Each line represents the direction and distance from an incident to a terrorist residence. By representing the measurements from incidents to terrorist residences in this way, we can visualize patterns involving directions or distances. One “distance” was measured between each residence that corresponded with an incident, planning location, or preparatory act.. In the following sections, we assess spatial relationships between each of these four variables.

DISTANCE FROM INCIDENTS TO TERRORISTS’ RESIDENCES

In Figure 10, we present the first of a series of rose diagrams that plot distances and directions away from a central location. In this case, we are showing the distances between incidents (represented by the center of the diagram) and the residences (represented by the

endpoint of the lines extending from the center of the diagram) for all 426 terrorist residences to incident measurements. In cases where members of a terrorist group lived in multiple locations, then a distance was calculated from the incident to each person's residence (i.e., several distances were calculated). This resulted in replicating several incidents in cases where we had multiple "residence" data for an incident. Because there are some extreme outliers, we converted all of the distances using a Log_{10} transformation. Using this transformation, the concentric circles represent distances of 30 miles, 90 miles, 270 miles, 810 miles, and 2,430 miles from the terrorist incidents. This allows for quick visualization of where the terrorists were living or staying prior to the commission of the incident.

Figure 10. Linear distance analysis from incidents to terrorists' residences



Preliminary inspection of the diagram suggests that the majority of residences are either located to the northeast or the southwest of each terrorist incident. In future analyses, especially after outliers are removed, we will employ further spatial analytical techniques that will allow us to more fully explore any directional patterns. For now, *direction* is not as important to our research focus as *distance*.

More details about distances are available in Table 10. On average, terrorist residences are located 397 miles away from the incidents with the maximum distance being 2,570 miles. Almost half (46%) are within 30 miles. In later analyses, we will delete the extreme outliers (e.g., Unabomber and Omega 7) to present more precise tables and maps. It is still useful, however, to use these data to examine these unique spatial patterns.

Table 10. Statistics for incident-to-residence rose diagram using all terrorist incidents

Statistics	Logarithmic Scale: Log10	Natural Breaks
n = 426	46% are 0 - 30 miles	47% are 0 - 38 miles
Minimum: 0 miles	8% are 31- 90 miles	7% are 46 - 103 miles
Maximum: 2,570 miles	9% are 91 - 270 miles	13% are 114 - 410 miles
Mean: 394 miles	9% are 271 - 810 miles	6% are 440 - 985 miles
Std. dev: 514	28% are 811 - 2570 miles	27% are 1077 - 2570 miles

One important question that we had was whether there were differences by terrorist group type in the distances from the incident to the residence. These data are presented in Table 11. Here, we observe some interesting results. Clearly, international terrorists have a strikingly bimodal pattern. One-half of the international terrorists' residences were located within 18 miles of the incident while more than one-third of their residences were 900 miles away from the incident. Left-wing terrorists during the 1970s and into the 1980s traditionally engaged in urban

terrorism, so it is not unexpected that their incidents are also very close to their residences. Indeed, over one-half of all left-wing terrorist acts took place within 15 miles of the group's residence. On the other hand, right-wing terrorist incidents present a much different picture. Only about one-third of all right-wing terrorism residences were within 38 miles of the incident.

Table 11. Natural breaks statistics for incident-to-residence by terrorist type

International n = 262	Single Issue n = 68
50% are 0-18 miles	43% are 1.26 – 28 miles
3% are 78-114 miles	15% are 46 - 82 miles
7% are 192-289 miles	16% are 144 - 447 miles
39% are 924-1098 miles	25% are 732 - 2570 miles
Left Wing n = 33	Right Wing n = 71
52% are 0-15 miles	32% are 0-38 miles
18% are 44-130 miles	20% are 51-103 miles
24% are 211-309 miles	17% are 233-394 miles
6% are 1656-2134 miles	10% are 457-481 miles
	21% are 712-877 miles

Direct comparison between international and right-wing terrorists is difficult because the distance intervals in Table 11 are not standardized. These intervals were created based on “natural” breakpoints in the data. To standardize these comparisons, we created a Log_{10} transformation of the data similar to the rose diagram and the data are presented in Table 12. This standardization of the distance cutoffs makes the *between-terror type* comparisons more straightforward. Even with these transformations, the differences are quite stark. Clearly, except for outliers (e.g., Omega 7), international terrorists tend to live much closer to their target than right-wing terrorists. This suggests that right-wing terrorists might be more mobile and find getting around the country to be easier. In contrast, it may reflect their traditional rural base of

operation, reflecting their ideological goal of targeting “the pollution of urban life” (Smith, 1994). This would necessitate greater travel distances from their rural homes to targets in nearby cities.

Table 12. Log₁₀ statistics for incident-to-residence by terrorist type

International n = 262	Single Issue n = 68
50% are 0-30 miles	43% are 0-30 miles
2% are 31-90 miles	16% are 31-90 miles
5% are 91-270 miles	3% are 91-270 miles
3% are 271-810 miles	21% are 271-810 miles
39% are 811-2430 miles	18% are 811-2430 miles
Left Wing n = 33	Right Wing n = 71
52% are 0-30 miles	27% are 0-30 miles
6% are 31-90 miles	20% are 31-90 miles
24% are 91-270 miles	13% are 91-270 miles
12% are 271-810 miles	32% are 271-810 miles
6% are 811-2430 miles	8% are 811-2430 miles

DISTANCES FROM INCIDENTS TO PLANNING ACTIVITIES

In the following sets of analyses, we examine the spatial relationship between the planning acts, preparatory acts, and the terrorist incidents. In Figure 13, for example, we present the rose diagram comparing the distances between terrorism incidents (represented by the center of the diagram) and all 65 terrorist planning activities (represented by the endpoint of the lines extending from the center of the diagram). Note that there are fewer planning incidents mapped here than in earlier figures because we have fewer “matches” between planning addresses and incident addresses. As before, we converted all of the distances using a Log₁₀ transformation

resulting in standardized concentric circles represent distances of 30 miles, 90 miles, 270 miles, 810 miles, and 2,430 miles from the incident location.

Visual examination of the rose diagram reveals that a large majority of the terrorist planning activities are either located to the northwest or to the southeast of the terrorist incidents and that most planning acts took place within 30 miles of the incident. As shown in Table 19, terrorist planning activities occurred about 122 miles away, on average, from the terrorist incident groups with the maximum distance being 576 miles. Almost half (46%) of planning acts occur within 30 miles of the incident while about 41% of the planning activities are more than 90 miles away from the incident.

Figure 11. Linear distance analysis of incident-to-terrorist planning activities

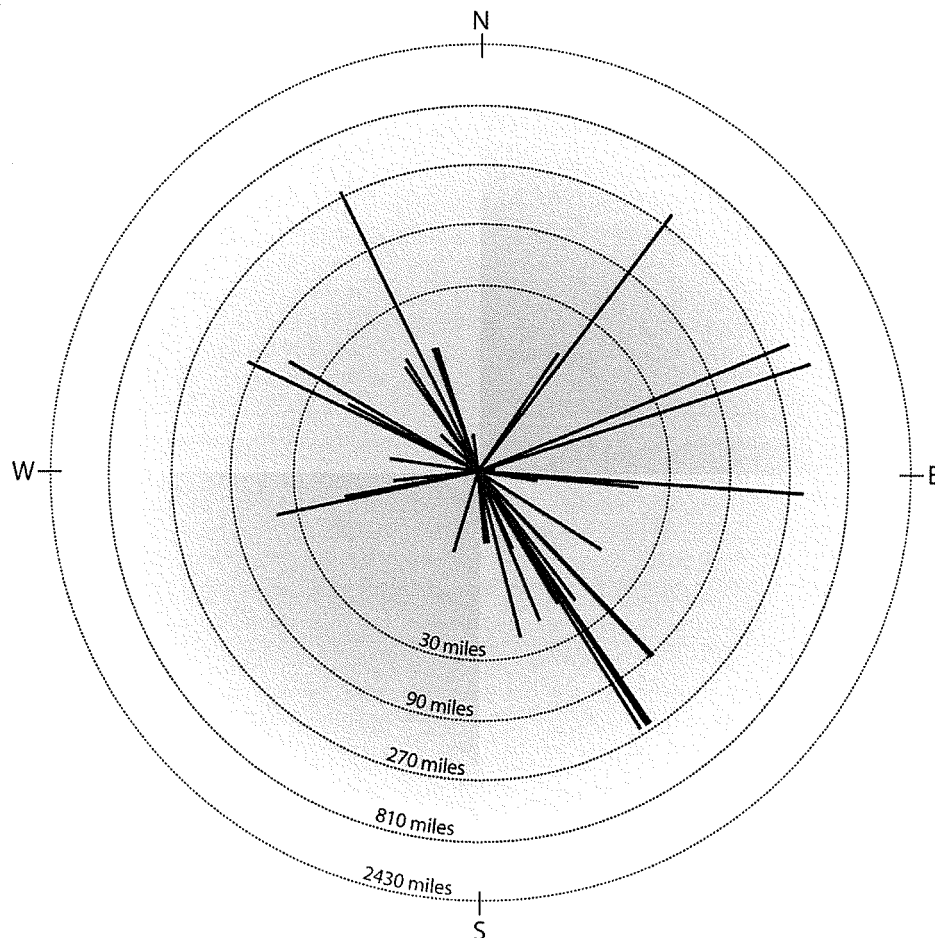


Table 13. Statistics for incident-to-planning acts using all terrorist incidents

Statistics	Logarithmic Scale: Log10
n = 65	46% are 0- 29 miles
Minimum: 1.04 miles	5% are 30-89 miles
Maximum: 576 miles	32% are 90-269 miles
Mean: 122 miles	9% are 270-809 miles
Std.dev: 142	0% are 810-2356 miles

We examine differences in the distances from incident to planning activities by terrorist group type in Table 20 (with the Log₁₀ transformation data presented in Table 21). The number of points to map is severely constricted here, so interpretation of the findings is uncertain. That said, it appears that there is no difference in the distances between incidents and planning acts for any of the categories of terrorists. That is, about one half of all planning acts occur very close to the incidents regardless of terror type.

Table 14. Natural breaks statistics for incident-to-planning acts by terrorist type

International n = 39	Single Issue n = 2
54% are 1-23 miles	50% are 3 miles
46% are 260-262 miles	50% are 289 miles
Left Wing n = 2	Right Wing n = 22
50% are 0- 1.5 miles	55% are 14-19 miles
50% are 43 miles	9% are 54 miles
	14% are 103-104 miles
	23% are 350-576 miles

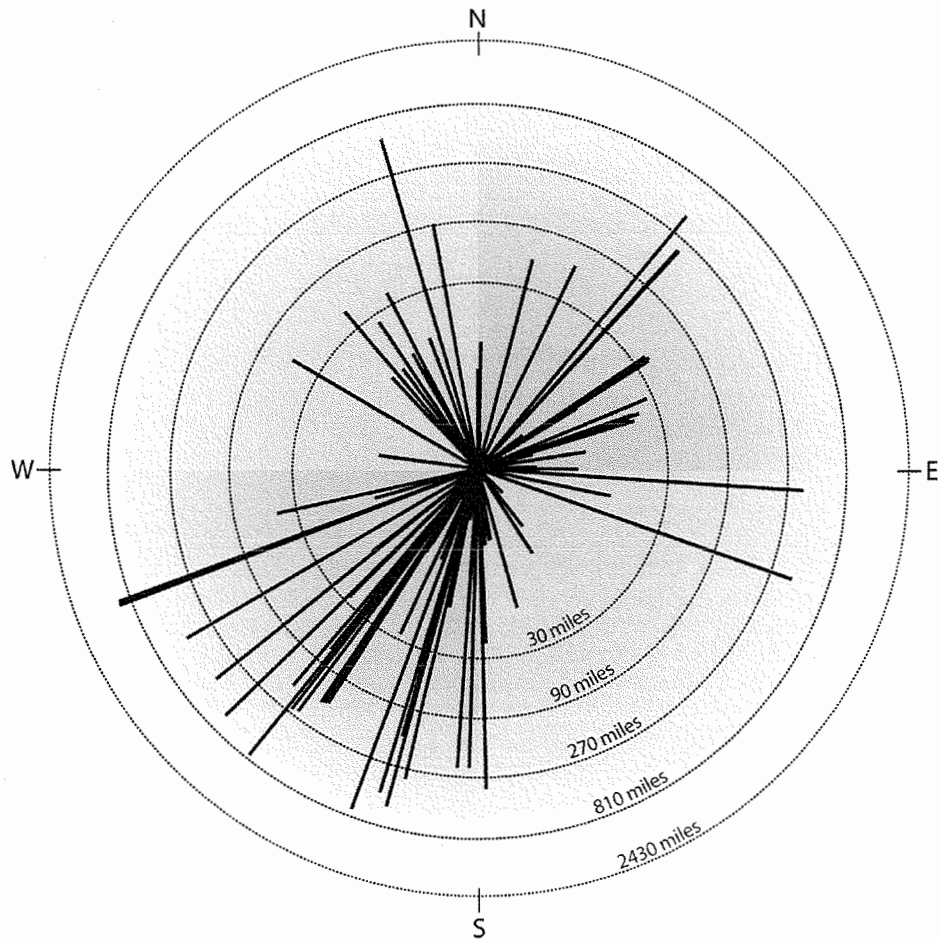
Table 15. Log₁₀ statistics for incident-to-planning acts by terrorist type

International n = 39	Single Issue n = 2
54% are 0-30 miles	50% are 0-30 miles
0% are 31-90 miles	0% are 31-90 miles
46% are 91-270 miles	0% are 91-270 miles
0% are 271-810 miles	50% are 271-810 miles
0% are 811-2430 miles	0% are 811-2430 miles
Left Wing n = 2	Right Wing n = 22
50% are 0-30 miles	55% are 0-30 miles
50% are 31-90 miles	9% are 31-90 miles
0% are 91-270 miles	14% are 91-270 miles
0% are 271-810 miles	23% are 271-810 miles
0% are 811-2430 miles	0% are 811-2430 miles

DISTANCES FROM INCIDENTS TO PREPARATORY ACTIVITIES

Having examined the relationship between incidents and planning activities, we now turn to preparatory activities. Figure 14, where we present a rose diagram comparing the distances between terrorism incident (represented by the center of the diagram) and all 134 terrorist planning activities (represented by the endpoint of the lines extending from the center of the diagram).

The directional pattern shows that the majority of terrorist preparatory acts are either located to the northeast or to the southwest of the terrorist incidents. In Table 22, we observe that terrorist preparatory acts occur about 129 miles away from the terrorist incident groups with the maximum distance being 239 miles. Almost two-thirds (61%) of preparatory acts occur within 30 miles of the incident.

Figure 12. Linear distance analysis of terrorists' incident-to-preparatory acts**Table 16. Statistics for incident-to-preparatory acts using all terrorist incidents**

Statistics	Logarithmic Scale: Log10
n = 134	61% are 0- 29 miles
Minimum: 0 miles	10% are 30-89 miles
Maximum: 1093 miles	12% are 90-269 miles
Mean: 129 miles	13% are 270-809 miles
Std.dev: 239	4% are 810-2356 miles

Finally, we examine differences in the distances from incident to preparatory acts by terrorist type in Table 23 (with the Log_{10} transformation data presented in Table 24). It appears that international (76%) and single issue (71%) terrorist groups are much more likely to conduct their preparatory acts close to the terrorist target, while left-wing (35%) and right-wing (49%) terrorist groups are more likely to separate their preparatory acts from their targets.

Table 17. Natural breaks statistics for incident-to-preparatory acts by terrorist type

International n = 49	Single Issue n = 14
76% are 0-28 miles	71% are 0-12 miles
6% are 70-75 miles	21% are 24-28 miles
10% are 336-760 miles	7% are 628 miles
8% are 1082-1093 miles	
Left Wing n = 23	Right Wing n = 47
35% are 0.5-28 miles	49% are 0-10 miles
26% are 39-61 miles	13% are 25-52 miles
39% are 160-224 miles	6% are 94-160 miles
	30% are 233-465 miles
	4% are 533-812 miles

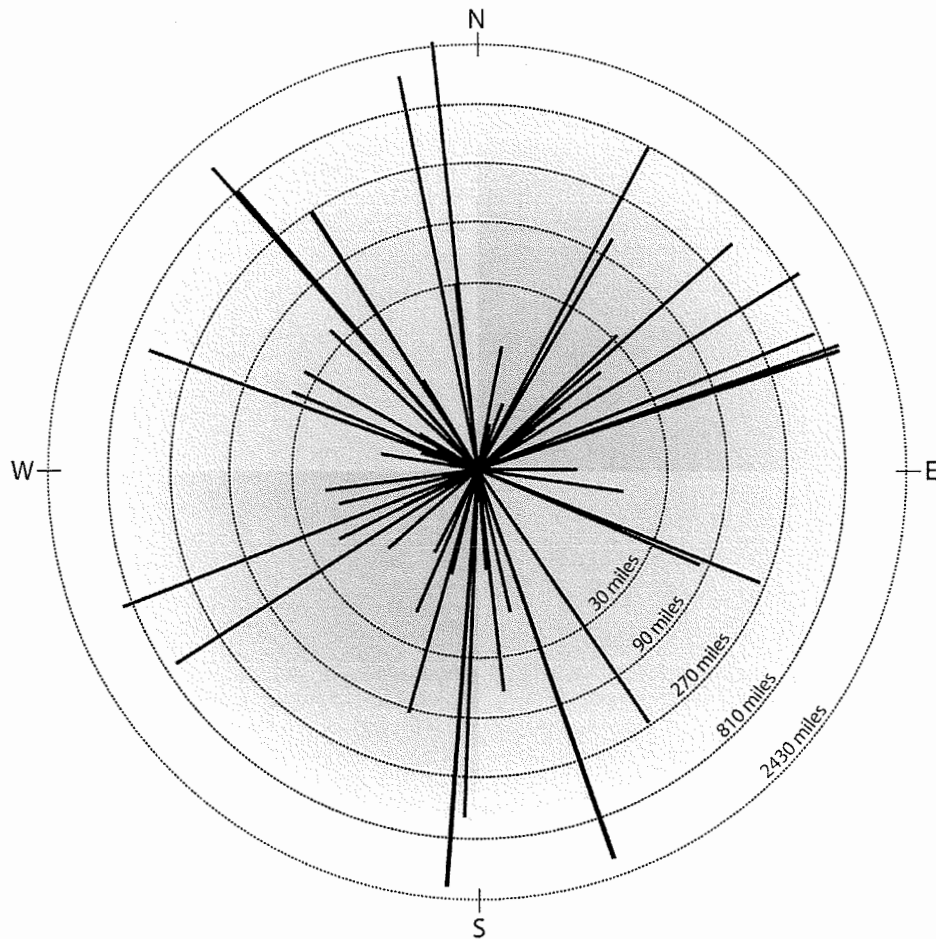
The reason for this pattern among the international terrorists is likely due to their relatively limited mobility. Among single issue terrorists, on the other hand, we are probably observing the use of “uncoordinated violence” approaches by environmental and anti-abortion extremists, which results in local targeting by “lone wolves” sympathetic to these causes. Data are being collected on a series of indictments involving environmental extremists that may alter this finding.

Table 18. Log10 Statistics for incident-to-preparatory acts by terrorist type

International n = 49	Single Issue n = 14
76% are 0-30 miles	93% are 0-30 miles
6% are 31-90 miles	0% are 31-90 miles
0% are 91-270 miles	0% are 91-270 miles
10% are 271-810 miles	7% are 271-810 miles
8% are 811-2430 miles	0% are 811-2430 miles
Left Wing n = 23	Right Wing n = 47
35% are 0-30 miles	50% are 0-30 miles
26% are 31-90 miles	10% are 31-90 miles
39% are 91-270 miles	15% are 91-270 miles
0% are 271-810 miles	23% are 271-810 miles
0% are 811-2430 miles	2% are 811-2430 miles

DISTANCE FROM PLANNING ACTIVITIES TO TERRORISTS' RESIDENCES

In Figure 11, we present the rose diagram showing the distances between planning locations (represented by the center of the diagram) and the terrorists' residences (represented by the endpoint of the lines extending from the center of the diagram) for all 173 terrorist planning locations to incidents. As before, we displayed all of the distances using a Log₁₀ transformation. The concentric circles represent distances of 30 miles, 90 miles, 270 miles, 810 miles, and 2430 miles from the terrorists' planning activities.

Figure 13. Linear distance analysis of planning activities-to-terrorists' residences

Directional analysis suggests that the majority of terrorist planning activities are either located to the north and northeast or the south and southwest of the terrorist residences. When we examine the data in Table 13, we see that, on average, terrorist planning activities occur 271 miles away from the residence of terrorist groups with the maximum distance being 2595 miles. The high average, however, is due to several large outliers at around 800 miles. As the left side of Table 13 suggests, however, most of the recorded planning acts were conducted close to home. Over half (70%) of the planning acts took place within 30 miles of the terrorist residences. This is logical since planning activities, unlike preparatory acts, are more likely to

involve meetings, phone calls, and other explicitly non-criminal conduct. Consequently, terrorists do not seem to feel compelled to avoid the use of their own residences or nearby facilities for their activities. As we shall demonstrate, however, terrorists tend to venture farther out when the preparatory phase begins.

Table 19. Statistics for planning-to-residence using all terrorist incidents

Statistics	Logarithmic Scale: Log ₁₀
n = 173	70% are 0- 29 miles
Minimum: 0 miles	6 % are 30-89 miles
Maximum: 2595 miles	3% are 90-269 miles
Mean: 271 miles	8 % are 270-809 miles
Std.dev: 557	14% are 810-2595 miles

We examine differences in the distances from residence to planning activities by terrorist group type in Table 14. As with the residence-to-incident data, we observe striking differences between international terrorists and right-wing terrorists (the sample size for left-wing and single issues terrorists is too small to warrant discussion). For international terrorists, all but two planning activities occurred within 19 miles of the residence. For right-wing terrorists, on the other hand, almost half of all recorded planning activities occurred more than 30 miles from the residence. Again, this suggests far greater mobility (and perhaps a more widespread network) on the part of the right-wing terrorists compared to international terrorists. The Log₁₀ transformations of the data are presented in Table 15. Even with these transformations, we see the same variation observed in Table 14. International terrorists are more likely to conduct the majority of their planning acts close to home while right-wing terrorists tend to engage in planning activities further from home.

Table 20. Natural breaks statistics for planning-to-residence by terrorist type

International n = 15	Right Wing n = 57
87% are 0-19 miles	56% are 0-30 miles
6% are 260 miles	5% are 60-131 miles
6% are 272 miles	7% are 346-593 miles
	12% are 758-810 miles
Left Wing n = 5	Single Issue n = 2
60% are 1.5 miles	50% are 259 miles
20% are 8 miles	50% are 293 miles
20% are 15 miles	

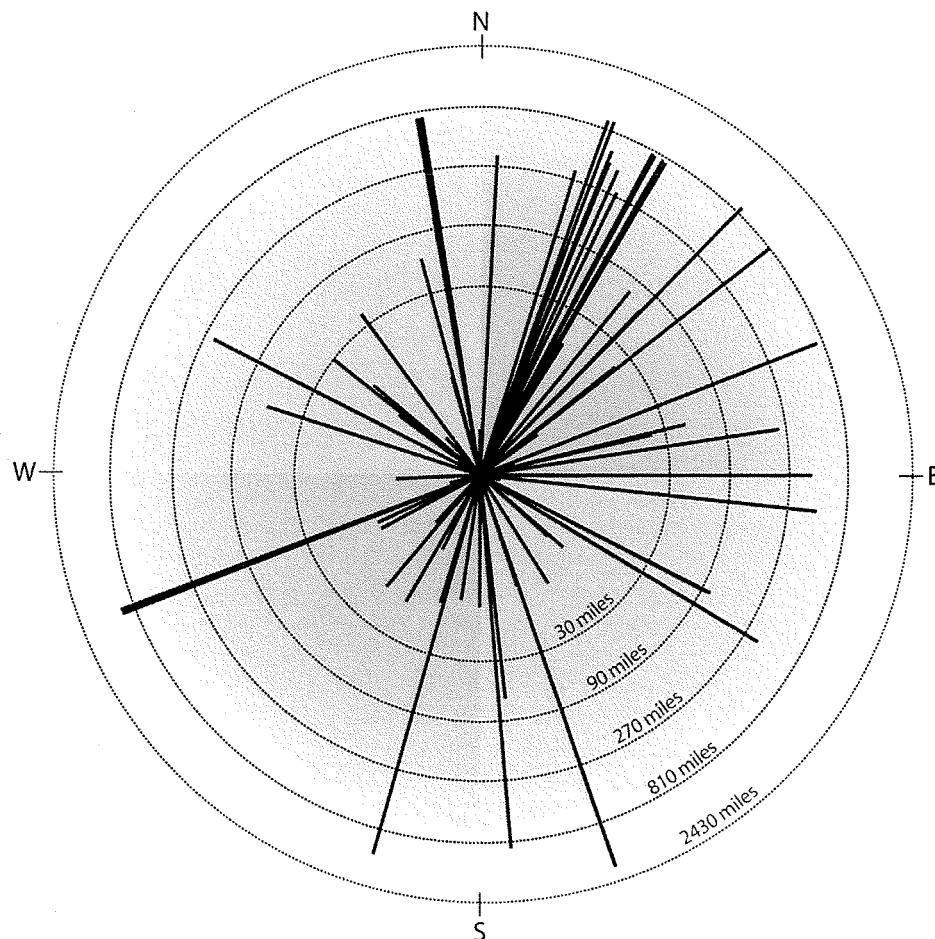
Table 21. Log₁₀ statistics for planning-to-residence by terrorist type

International n = 15	Single Issue n = 2
86% are 0-30 miles	0% are 0-30 miles
0% are 31-90 miles	0% are 31-90 miles
7% are 91-270 miles	100% are 91-270 miles
7% are 271-810 miles	0% are 271-810 miles
0% are 811-2430 miles	0% are 811-2430 miles
Left Wing n = 5	Right Wing n = 57
100% are 0-30 miles	51% are 0-30 miles
0% are 31-90 miles	7% are 31-90 miles
0% are 91-270 miles	2% are 91-270 miles
0% are 271-810 miles	39% are 271-810 miles
0% are 811-2430 miles	0% are 811-2430 miles

DISTANCE FROM PREPARATORY ACTIVITIES TO TERRORISTS' RESIDENCES

In Figure 12, we present the rose diagram showing the distances between preparatory activity locations (represented by the center of the diagram) and the terrorists' residences (represented by the endpoint of the lines extending from the center of the diagram) for all 102 terrorist preparatory activities to residences measurements. Once again, we created concentric circles that represent Log_{10} transformation distances of 30 miles, 90 miles, 270 miles, 810 miles, and 2,430 miles from the terrorists' preparatory activities.

Figure 14. Linear distance analysis of preparatory activities-to-terrorists' residences



Although directional issues may be an artifact of the data, it is interesting that the majority of terrorist preparatory activities are either located to the northeast or the southwest of the terrorist residence. This pattern also appeared in other rose diagrams. More details about distances are shown in Table 16. On average, terrorist preparatory activities occur 268 miles away from the residence of terrorist groups with the maximum distance being 1897 miles. Almost than (49%) of preparatory acts occur within 30 miles of the residence.

Table 22. Statistics for preparatory acts-to-residence using all terrorist incidents

Statistics	Logarithmic Scale: Log10
n = 102	49% are 0- 29 miles
Minimum: 0 miles	12% are 30-89 miles
Maximum: 1897 miles	8% are 90-269 miles
Mean: 268 miles	19% are 270-809 miles
Std.dev: 420	12% are 810-2356 miles

We examine differences in the distances from residence to planning activities by terrorist group type in Table 17. As with the previous data comparing residence to incident, international terrorists commit more than one-half (53%) of their preparatory acts within 24 miles of their residence. Similarly, all of the left-wing terrorists committed their preparatory acts within 3 miles of their residence – not surprising given the prevalence with which they engaged in urban terrorism. Note, however, that we only were able to geocode 8 such acts. In comparison, less than 40% of right-wing terrorists and 30% of single issue terrorists conducted *their* preparatory acts close to home. Log₁₀ transformation data are presented in Table 18 with similar interpretations.

It is interesting to compare these findings with the residence-to-incident and residence-to-planning data. For the most part, it appears that planning activities take place close to the terrorist homes. As the group moves closer to the actual terrorist incident, they begin to engage in preparatory acts but these acts tend to take place further from home. This may be an attempt to minimize the likelihood of detection or (as in the case of rural right wing terrorists) it may be because the preparatory acts require “secondary targets” that are located in locations in cities some distance from their home. In any case, there seems to be a “natural” progression from planning close to home, to conducting preparatory acts a little further away from home, and then traveling even further away from home to conduct the terrorist act itself.

Table 23. Natural breaks statistics for preparatory acts-to-residence by terrorist type

International n = 45	Single Issue n = 33
53% are 0- 24 miles	30% are 0- 11 miles
7% are 71-76 miles	20% are 114-285 miles
11% are 337-762 miles	24% are 366-811 miles
29% are 1090-2130 miles	27% are 1866-2082 miles
Left Wing n = 8	Right Wing n = 102
100% are 0-3 miles	39% are 0- 39 miles
	31% are 49-71 miles
	6% are 104-120 miles
	19% are 205-311 miles
	6% are 417-736miles

Table 24. Log₁₀ statistics for preparatory acts-to-residence by terrorist type

International n = 45	Single Issue n = 33
53% are 0-30 miles	30% are 0-30 miles
7% are 31-90 miles	0% are 31-90 miles
0% are 91-270 miles	12% are 91-270 miles
11% are 271-810 miles	27% are 271-810 miles
27% are 811-2430 miles	30% are 811-2430 miles
Left Wing n = 8	Right Wing n = 102
100% are 0-30 miles	36% are 0-30 miles
0% are 31-90 miles	34% are 31-90 miles
0% are 91-270 miles	10% are 91-270 miles
0% are 271-810 miles	20% are 271-810 miles
0% are 811-2430 miles	0% are 811-2430 miles

DISTANCE FROM PREPARATORY ACTIVITIES TO TERRORISTS' PLANNING ACTIVITIES

In Figure 15, we present the rose diagram comparing the distances between terrorism preparatory activities (represented by the center of the diagram) and all 140 planning activities (represented by the endpoint of the lines extending from the center of the diagram). As before, we converted all of the distances using a Log₁₀ transformation. While many of the planning acts occur within 30 miles of the preparatory acts, there is also a lot of dispersion of the acts with many more than 90 miles apart. It appears that the majority of terrorist planning acts are either located to the northeast, to the north, or to the southwest of the terrorist preparatory acts. In Table 25, we note that terrorist planning activities occur about 156 miles away on average from the terrorist incident groups (maximum distance = 225 miles). Less than half (44%) of planning

activities occur within 30 miles of the preparatory acts while almost one-third of planning activities are between 90 and 279 miles from the preparatory acts.

Figure 15. Linear distance analysis of preparatory acts-to-terrorist planning

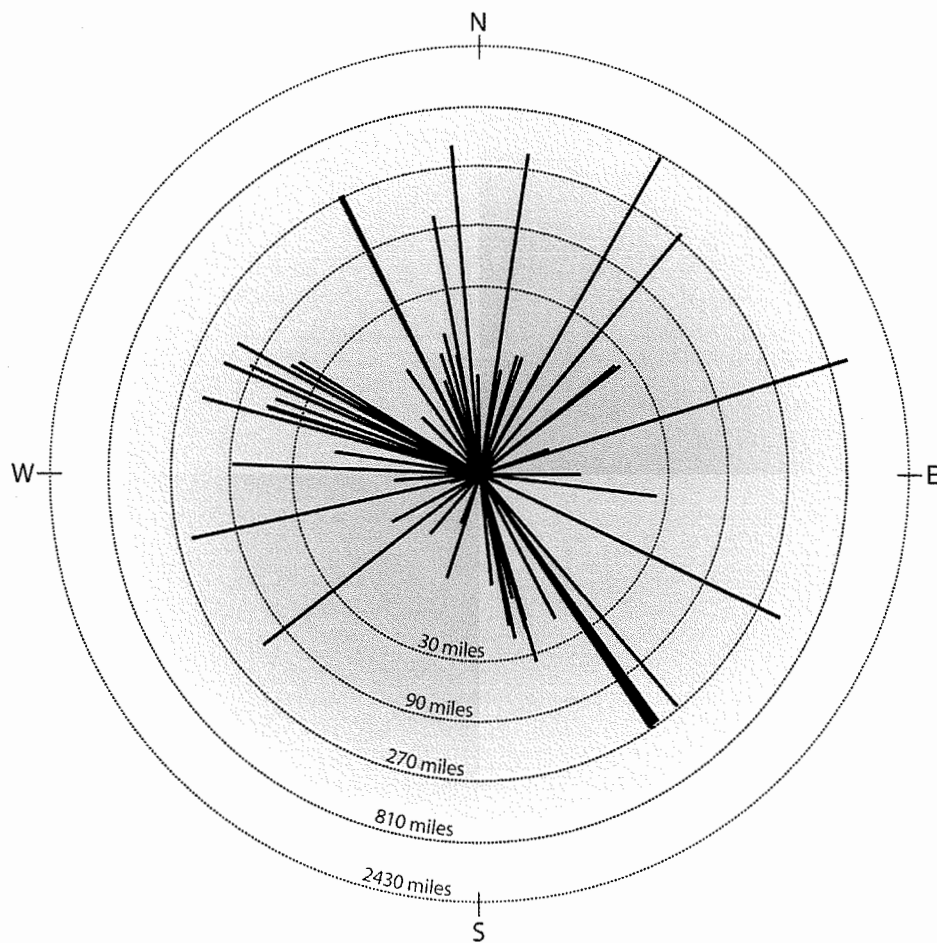


Table 25. Statistics for preparatory acts-to-terrorist planning using all terrorist incidents

Statistics	Logarithmic Scale: Log₁₀
n = 140	44% are 0- 29 miles
Minimum: 0 miles	10% are 30-89 miles
Maximum: 1094 miles	30% are 90-269 miles
Mean: 156 miles	12% are 270-809 miles
Std.dev: 225	4% are 810-2356 miles

We examine differences in the distances from preparatory acts to terrorist planning activities by terrorist ideology in Table 26 (with the Log₁₀ transformation data presented in Table 27). It appears that more than half of international terrorist groups (59%) conduct their preparatory acts within 36 miles of their terrorist planning acts. That compares with only 16% of right-wing groups. The sample size for single issue and left wing terrorist groups is too small to warrant discussion. In future analyses, we will standardize the distance intervals to make comparison between the groups easier.

Table 26. Natural breaks statistics for preparatory -to-terrorist planning by terrorist type

International n = 83	Single Issue n = 5
59% are 0-36 miles	80% are 289-300 miles
34% are 258-274 miles	20% are 768 miles
6% are 1093-1094 miles	
Left Wing n = 7	Right Wing n=45
43% are 0 miles	16% are 0-3 miles
29% are 7-8 miles	29% are 49-60 miles
29% are 15-18 miles	31% are 93-192 miles
	24% are 220-427 miles

Table 27. Log₁₀ statistics for preparatory acts-to-terrorist planning by terrorist type

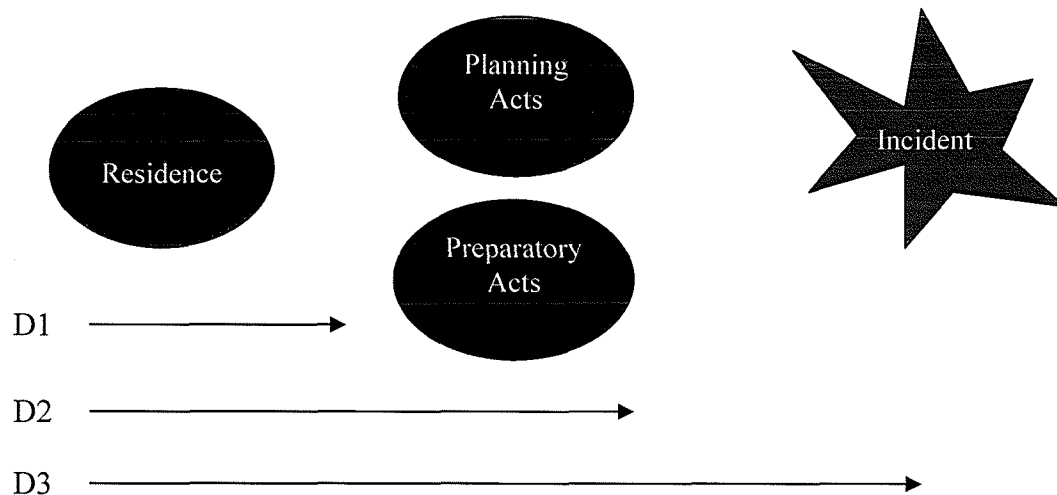
International n = 83	Single Issue n = 5
58% are 0-30 miles	0% are 0-30 miles
1% are 31-90 miles	0% are 31-90 miles
30% are 91-270 miles	0% are 91-270 miles
4% are 271-810 miles	100% are 271-810 miles
6% are 811-2430 miles	0% are 811-2430 miles
Left Wing n = 7	Right Wing n = 45
100% are 0-30 miles	16% are 0-30 miles
0% are 31-90 miles	29% are 31-90 miles
0% are 91-270 miles	33% are 91-270 miles
0% are 271-810 miles	20% are 271-810 miles
0% are 811-2430 miles	0% are 811-2430 miles

LINEAR VS. NON-LINEAR SPATIAL RELATIONSHIPS

The findings for the last three sets of rose diagrams present an interesting scenario.

Remember that our earlier findings (Figures 10-12) suggested that residence-to-planning act distances (D1, mean = 271 miles) tended to be longer than residence-to-preparatory act distances (D2, mean = 268 miles) and that both sets of distances were shorter than residence-to-incident distances (D3, mean = 397 miles). These findings imply that the planning and preparatory activities took place in around the same area in relation to the incident locations. From this, one might assume an activity space where planning and preparation take place in close proximity as shown in Figure 16.

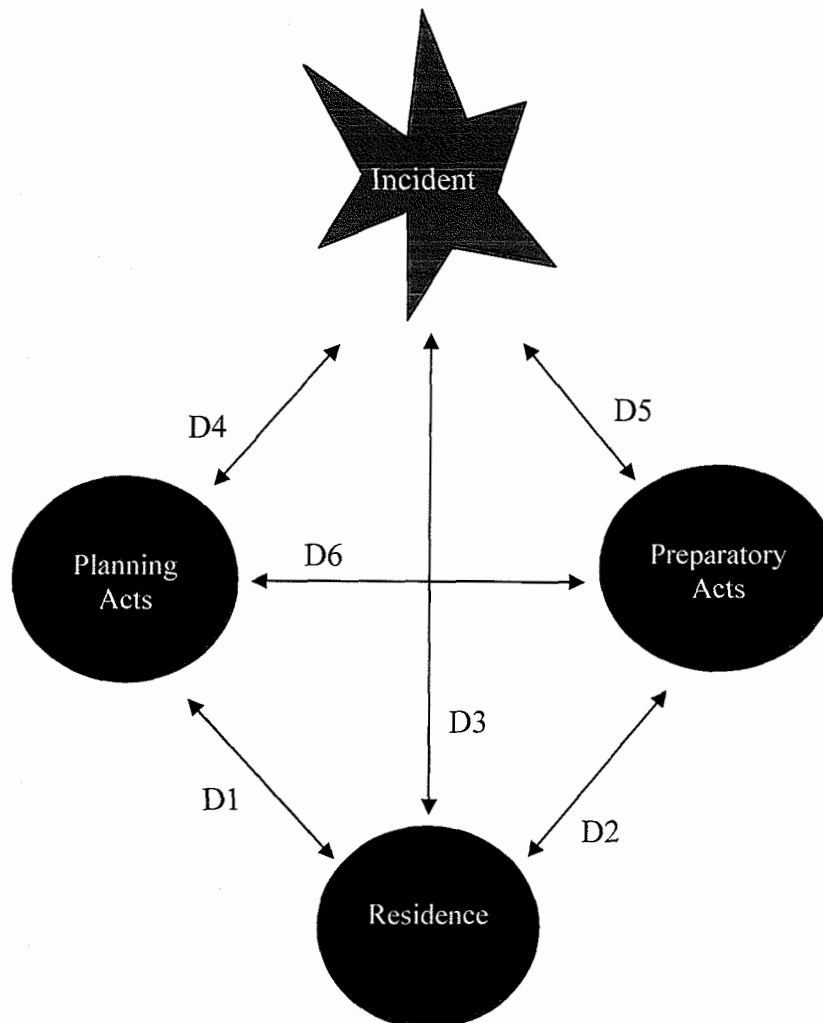
Figure 16. Hypothesized linear relationship between residence, planning acts, preparatory acts, and incident



Our most recent analyses (Figures 13-15), however, suggest a different kind of relationship. In fact, the average distance between planning acts and incidents (122 miles) and between preparatory acts and incidents (129 miles) is virtually the same. In addition, preparatory acts are much further away from planning acts (156 miles on average) than from the incident location. That is, the spatial movement from planning acts to preparatory acts to incident is not linear at all. Instead, the spatial relationship between the activities may look more like Figure 17. The data suggest that planning acts, to the extent that they occur away from the home, tend to be conducted in the opposite direction from the residence as the preparatory acts. Thus, if a terrorist group conducts planning activities to the west of the residence and the target, then they seem more likely to conduct their preparatory acts to the east of the residence and the target. This might be an attempt to disperse activity prior to the terrorist incident so as to keep a low profile

before the incident takes place. These findings are preliminary, of course, but they suggest the need for further investigation.

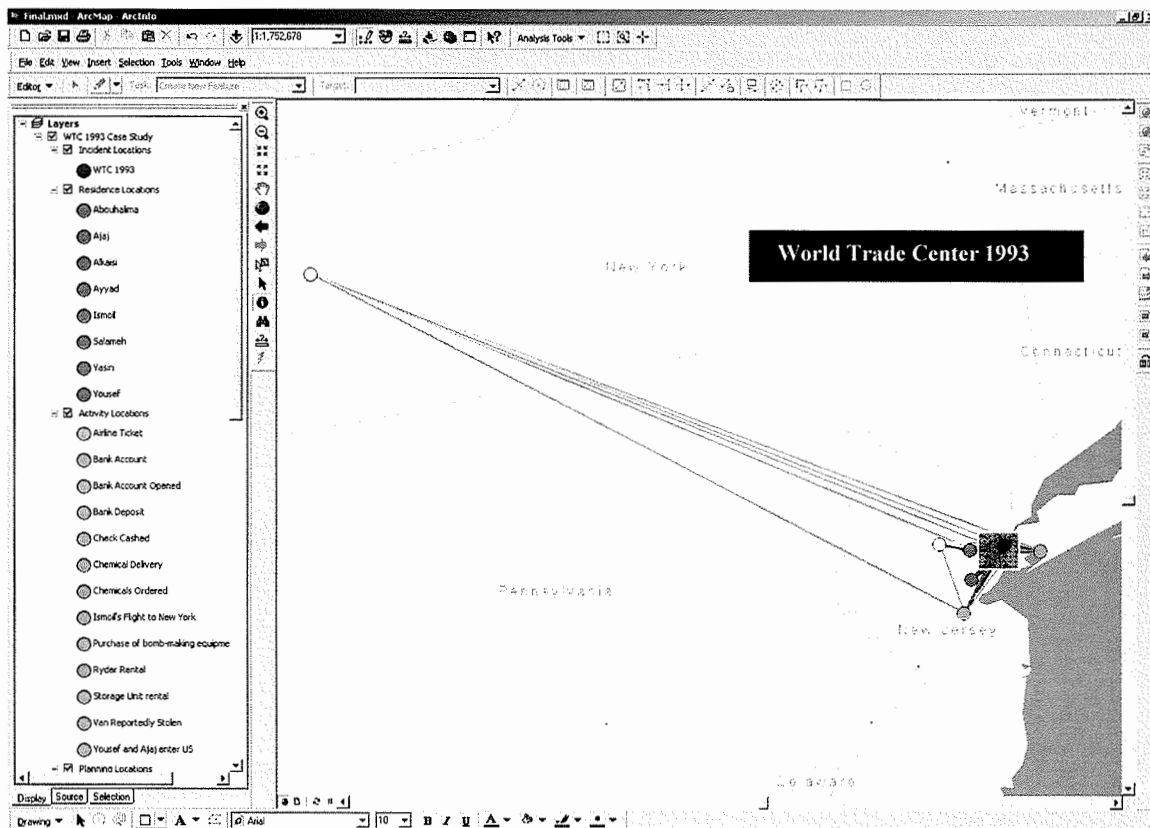
Figure 17. Hypothesized non-linear relationship between residence, planning acts, preparatory acts, and incident



CASE STUDIES

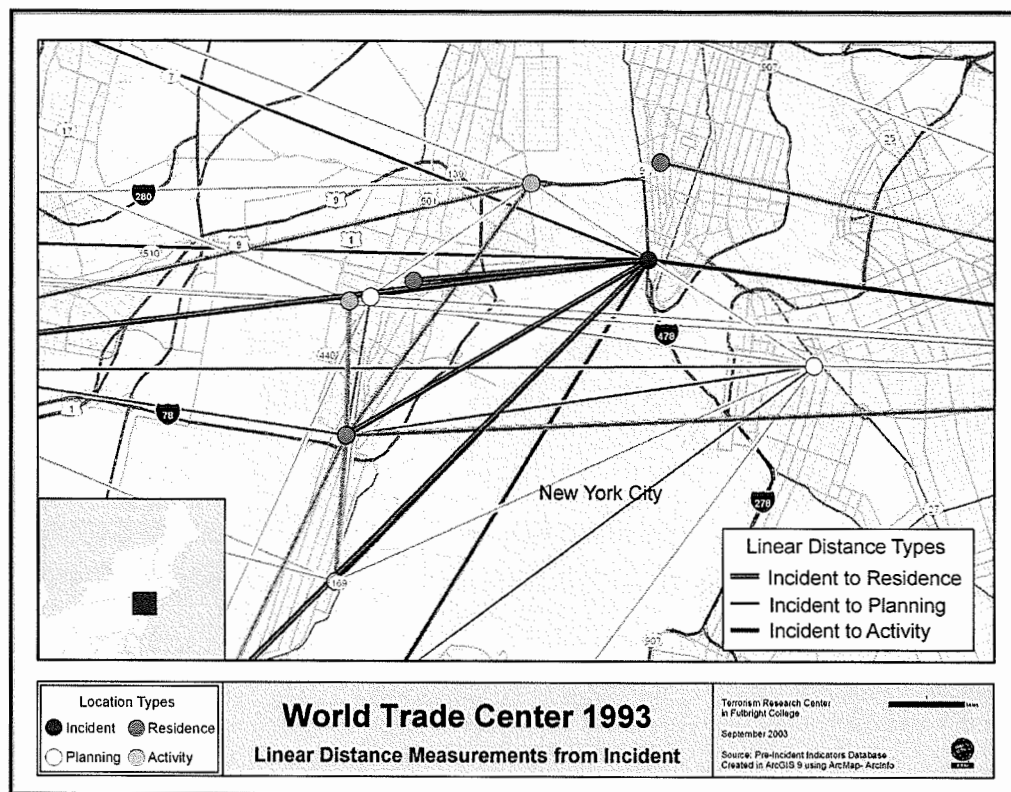
Having examined the spatial dispersion of terrorist residences, planning activities, preparatory acts, and incidents at a broad level (Figures 3-9) and the comparative distances level (Figures 10-15), we now turn to examining how the pre-incident database can be used to perform case studies. First, we present a brief discussion of how the distances included in the World Trade Center bombing of 1993 can be illustrated using our data. In Figure 18, we show a screen shot of how the data are presented using ESRI's ArcGIS software. This is an expanded view of the events surrounding the bombing. This map is approximately 250 miles wide.

Figure 18. World Trade Center-93 Case Study linear distance analysis (small scale)



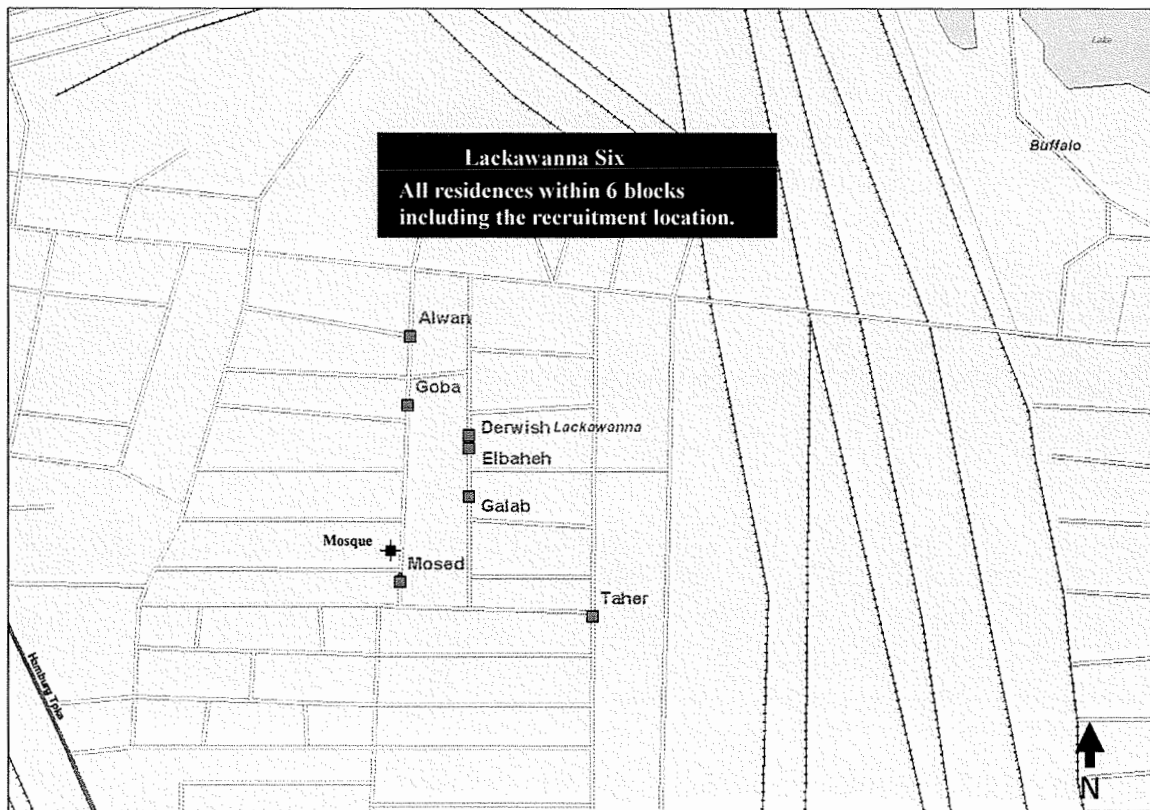
As is evident, much of the activity took place very near to the intended target in downtown Manhattan, NY. The one exception is a series of telephone calls and a visit that were made to one of the co-conspirators in prison at Albany, NY, some 150 miles away (represented by the yellow dot in the upper left hand corner of the diagram). Otherwise, the preparatory acts (orange dots), the residences (green dots), and the incident itself (red dot) are bunched relatively close together. In Figure 19, we show a much zoomed in version (about 15 miles across) of the map shown in Figure 18. Here, along with the incident (red dot) we observe the many planning (yellow dots) and preparatory acts (orange dots) surrounding the residences (green dots) of the attackers.

Figure 19. World Trade Center-93 Case Study linear distance analysis (large scale)



In another case study of international terrorism, we show a map of the Lackawanna Six in Figure 20. In this map, we see that all of the indictees lived within six blocks of the recruiting center (shown in red). In the appendix, we have included a number of other case study maps that show the strength, capacity, and flexibility of the pre-incident indicators database.

Figure 20. Example of Lackawanna Six Case Study linear distance analysis



V. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

We began this project knowing that our goals, while lofty, were also challenging. Were sufficient open source data available to conduct analyses and, even if data existed, would patterns emerge from the data? Further, we were uncertain about the quality of the data that were available. In fact, one of the underlying goals of the study really focused on the feasibility of the methodology. So much of our proposed analysis plan depended on the kind of data that we were able to obtain. Indeed, our objectives evolved and expanded as our appreciation for the data grew. We are pleased to report that the use of such data is feasible and, more importantly, that preliminary analyses suggest that important patterns and spatial variations do exist among terrorist groups.

Our most important early task was to develop an understanding of the data, where it is, how best to store and enter it, and how to display it. After meeting with our subject matter experts and then the CIRAT team, we began to sift through the available data until we knew the wide variety of variables that could be coded. Once that major task was completed, we developed a methodology that allowed us to quantitatively code data that show both temporal and spatial relationships among variables related to terrorism incidents. The plan was to have the CIRAT team conduct a wide scale search of publicly available data and then to enter it into a relational database that would allow for a thorough examination of our research questions. The CIRAT team created a coding template (shown in Figure 21) that allowed for the entry of all the data used in this project. This database, in combination with the GIS software, became the important tool that enabled us to address our research questions.

Figure 21. Example of coding schedule for pre-incident indicator database

Incident Variables

Incident Details | Secondary Target Details | Incident Damages | Persons | Comments

Case Study: Up the IRS Incident Primary Target Name: IRS Facility
 Incident ID: 1 Incident Primary Target Type: IRS

Incident Terror Type: Bombing Incident Target: Primary
 Occurance: Occur Prevention: Not Prevented

Incident Address: 6071 Slauson Avenue
 Incident City: Culver City Incident County: Los Angeles
 Incident State: California Incident Zip Code: 90230
 Incident Country: United States

Incident Date: 1986/03/06 Incident Year: 1986
 Incident Month: March Incident Day: Thursday
 Incident Hour: 01:30

First Record Previous Record Next Record Last Record Add Record Save Record Print Record
 Exit

Record: 1 of 247

After creating a complex, relational database that contained information on incidents, planning acts, preparatory activities, and residence locations, we were then able to address our key research questions:

1. How long, on average, does it take between terrorism group formation and the actual terrorism incident – and what role does the timing of the planning and preparatory acts play in this temporal relationship?
2. How close do terrorism groups live to their terrorism targets – and what is the spatial relationship between residences and the location of incidents, planning and preparatory activities?

In this concluding section of the report, we summarize our findings and then suggest ways that the findings can inform law enforcement. We also consider how the pre-incident indicator database might be strengthened so that it is more useful.

TERRORISTS “THINK GLOBALLY, ACT LOCALLY” – FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

Our exploratory study breaks new ground by examining the temporal and spatial distribution of terrorist group activities. The findings demonstrate the potential uses of geospatial methodologies using open source data on terrorism. Because of incidents like the September 11, 2001 attacks, there is a tendency to think of terrorists as operating from afar and selecting targets great distances from where the terrorists reside or have been indoctrinated. While this may be true to some extent regarding the September 11 attackers, most terrorism occurring on American soil has been conducted by persons who have resided here in the United States for some time (Smith, 1994).

Although terrorist groups have a “world view” or ideology that encompasses more than their local communities, results from this project suggests strongly that, in general, terrorists targeted facilities or persons relatively close to their places of residence. Unfortunately, we are not able to determine the causal sequence from the data that we have available to us. On the one hand, the terrorists may have selected their targets and then moved their residence to be near the target. On the other hand, they may simply have selected a target that was close to where they lived. The key finding, however, is that many of the terrorists in our data resided for at least a short time within thirty to fifty miles of the eventual target. In future studies, we plan on expanding our case study data so that we can assess which scenario is most common. The current data do not permit greater insight at this time.

Our research project revealed a bi-modal spatial distribution of terrorist planning and targeting. About one-half of the terrorists in the study resided, planned, and prepared for terrorism relatively close to the eventual target. Another one-fourth lived and planned their acts a distance of several hundred miles from the terrorist target. These two patterns reflect operational variations among terrorist groups. In particular, the latter strategy reflected the use of air transportation for planning and operational activities or the use of postal services as a means of weapons delivery. While this bi-modal pattern existed for all three of the most prominent types of American terrorism since 1990 – right wing, single issue, and international, it was most prominent among international terrorists. Nearly 90% of the residence-to-incident measurements for international terrorists were either within 30 miles or more than 811 miles. Examples of this phenomenon among international terrorists included participants in the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center and members of Omega 7, the Cuban independence group from the 1980s.

If preparatory behaviors can serve as pre-incident indicators to local law enforcement agencies, it is important to know the relationship between where these acts occur and the location of the residence of the terrorist and the target location. Once again, approximately one-half of the terrorists lived within a thirty mile radius of where they committed their planning activities. The same pattern persists when examining the relationship between the location of preparatory behaviors and the target location.

Almost two-thirds of the preparatory activities occurred within this same 30 mile radius of the target. This pattern was most apparent among international and single-issue terrorists, where three quarters of the preparatory acts of international terrorists occurred within 30 miles. The

reasons these offenders do not venture far from their residences may be related to new immigration status, lack of transportation, lack of knowledge of the urban landscape, an attempt to minimize attention or a variety of other reasons. Among single issue terrorists, 71% occurred within 12 miles and 92% of the preparatory acts occurred within 28 miles of the target. This is probably due to the use of “uncoordinated violence” approaches by environmental and anti-abortion extremists, which results in local targeting by “lone wolves” sympathetic to these causes.

For law enforcement intervention, the implications of these geospatial patterns are two-fold. The “long distance prong” of this bi-modal pattern can be addressed by airport and mail delivery security systems. Improved airport security will not only prevent the use of airliners as weapons delivery systems, it can also disrupt travel by terrorists engaged in long range planning activities. Similarly, improved scanning and security at mail facilities will disrupt the major source of weapons delivery among terrorists who select targets outside their local communities.

The “local prong” of this distribution of terrorist activities should be of considerable concern to local officials. For local law enforcement, knowledge that most terrorists “act locally” can be an important mindset as investigative agencies seek to prevent terrorism or apprehend the perpetrators of these acts. These local patterns may be used by agencies to more efficiently patrol known, high risk target areas and gather intelligence on suspected activities within a specific range from potential targets. The spatial relationship between the location of the planning/preparatory acts and the terrorism target, once better understood, should also prove helpful for investigation and tactical actions by law enforcement.

The temporal data identified through this project proved to be less revealing. Although the average lengths of time in the planning process can be calculated, they are less reflective of consistent patterns of conduct than they appear. Temporal data was difficult to obtain and the groups studied varied widely in their utilization of time. Even more ominous is the finding that environmental terrorism - projected to be the most prevalent form of American terrorism over the next decade (Jarboe, 2002) – was also the type of group that committed the fewest number of preparatory acts per incident.

By definition, the implementation of uncoordinated violence tactics implies an increase in “lone wolf” and individual “direct actions.” Neither do these tactics necessarily preclude the use of weapons of mass destruction, which are commonly believed to require multiple participants to develop and utilize. One only need recall the bombing of the Murrah Federal Building to comprehend the difficulty this tactical approach presents to interdiction efforts. Additional information on group processes, particularly data on the temporal sequencing of preparatory activities, may reveal patterns useful to local and federal counterterrorism efforts.

Our study brings us closer to understanding how soon an incident is likely to happen following the completion of planning and preparatory activities and, even more, how terrorist groups “move.” For example, our original hypothesis about a linear progression from the residence, to planning acts, to preparatory acts, to the terrorism incident appears to be incorrect. It appears, on the other hand, that terrorists spread out their “pre-incident” activities spatially, perhaps so as to not attract attention to their plans prematurely.

Our study also suggests that terror type, including their ideology and subsequent organizational and tactical structure, plays a key role in determining terrorist mobility during the

pre-incident time. The data suggest that international terrorists seem to live much closer to the intended target than do other forms of terrorism. This might be because of a perceived lack of mobility by international terrorists or the fact that right wing terrorists, who dominated domestic terrorism during the past decade, have tended to live in rural areas, relatively far away from ideologically valuable targets. Left wing terrorists in the 1970s and early 1980s tended to engage in primarily acts of urban terrorism which resulted in their living relatively close to their targets as well (Smith, 1994).

IMPROVEMENTS

While we have made great strides in furthering our understanding of the spatial and temporal relationships between places and acts, there is still much that can be done. First, we have discovered that it is very difficult to collect the kind of data needed for an examination of the temporal relationships in terrorism incidents. Very good data exist for some case studies but data quality is not consistent across cases. The relationships are very difficult to quantify. This probably means that, for the time being, a greater focus needs to be placed on *qualitative* assessments of small sample cases studies in order to learn more about these relationships.

Second, there is considerable variation in the amount of available spatial data (although the spatial data availability is better than the temporal data). Still, unless a specific case garnered a lot of attention in the news or in other forms of media, then little is known about some cases. This is especially the case for the planning activities data. While it is clear that phone calls and meetings were held, the data do not show where they happened in all cases. Thus, to the extent that we have full information on some cases, it might be that these cases are very unique (compared to the cases that did not garner much information). This potential lack of generalizability, of course, weakens our efforts to infer to all terrorism incidents.

Third, we have not yet fully tapped the power of the database and the GIS software to examine the spatial relationships in the data. While we have examined briefly the *direction* of the key spatial relationships, for example, more could be done. In the future, we plan to examine this more closely. While our very preliminary analyses confirm our “eye ball” estimation that terrorists tend to live to the southwest or northeast of their target, for example, we plan to investigate this relationship further using ESRI’s ArcGIS spatial statistics package.

Finally, we were troubled by some of the extreme outliers regarding distance and how they might skew the interpretation. In many of these case studies, the distances include air travel (e.g., Omega 7) or mailing bombs to other locations (e.g., Unabomber). To investigate this problem, we examined the data by controlling for these extreme outliers. For example, in Table 28, we present the linear distance between terrorists’ residences and terrorist incidents both including and excluding air travel as a mode of transportation.

Table 28. Breakdown of linear distance analysis of terrorists’ residences to terrorist incidents excluding mode of travel

Including Air Travel	Excluding Air Travel
n = 433	N = 317
Minimum: 0 miles	Minimum: 0 miles
Maximum: 2569 miles	Maximum: 877 miles
Mean: 394 miles	Mean: 121 miles
Std.dev: 497	Std.dev: 208

When the mode of travel between residence and incident is taken into account, the average distance between locations changes significantly. Specifically, the average number of

miles between residence and terrorist incident decreased by almost 70% (from a mean of 394 miles to a mean of 121 miles). Table 29 shows a similar breakdown, though not so dramatic, when we calculate distances between residence and activity, planning and activity, and incident and activity. Clearly, in future analyses, we need to pay attention to air vs. non-air travel as a mode of transportation when we examine distances.

Table 29. Breakdown of linear distance analysis of other key measurements taking mode of travel into account

Measurement	Including Air Travel		Excluding Air Travel	
	Number of Measurements	Mean Distance	Number of Measurements	Mean Distance
Residence to Activity	189	295 miles	166	116 miles
Planning to Activity	140	156 miles	135	121 miles
Incident to Activity	134	129 miles	130	100 miles

THE FUTURE

The project team was successful in creating a methodology that allows researchers and justice officials to consider temporal and (especially) spatial relationships between where terrorists live and where they act. The template and methodology is in place but more could be done. For many of the case studies included in the project, the data are not complete. An important future task would be to complete the data fields for the current cases in the database. In addition, there are other cases that should be added to the database. We created a purposive (non-random) sample based on our estimation of data availability. As a result, our ability to infer to all terrorists groups is negatively affected. Thus, the current database would benefit

tremendously from continued funding to increase the quality of the data and the representativeness of the sample.

Besides just adding additional cases, we also plan to use what we have learned here to compare the pre-incident behavior of terrorists to *non-terrorist* criminals. We have explored a set of criminal behaviors engaged in by terrorist groups while planning their eventual attacks, but it is difficult to understand our findings without putting them in context. How different are the temporal and spatial relationships among burglars and bank robbers in comparison to terrorists? What commonalities might we observe among organized crime groups, criminal gangs, and terrorists regarding the preparatory activities that are conducted prior to an “incident?” These questions will be addressed in future studies.

Another key task of research projects like this is to assure that the data are available to analysts beyond the research team. We have begun discussions with the Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism (MIPT) about the possibility of making the database available to the public on their Terrorism Knowledge Base (TKB). MIPT has expressed a great deal of interest in adding Pre-Incident Indicators Database (PIID) to its website (<http://www.tkb.org/Home.jsp>). When the PIID is loaded to the TKB, it will stand alongside the National Counterterrorism Center’s Worldwide Incidents Tracking System (WITS), RAND’s chronology of international and US terrorism incidents, and the American Terrorism Study dataset. The research team has worked with MIPT and its technology contractor (DFI, International) for several years, so a solid relationship is already in place that will easily accommodate making the data publicly available. The long-term stability of the MIPT TKB will ensure that scholars, policy makers, and enforcement officials will have access to the database and our subsequent findings for years.

V. REFERENCES

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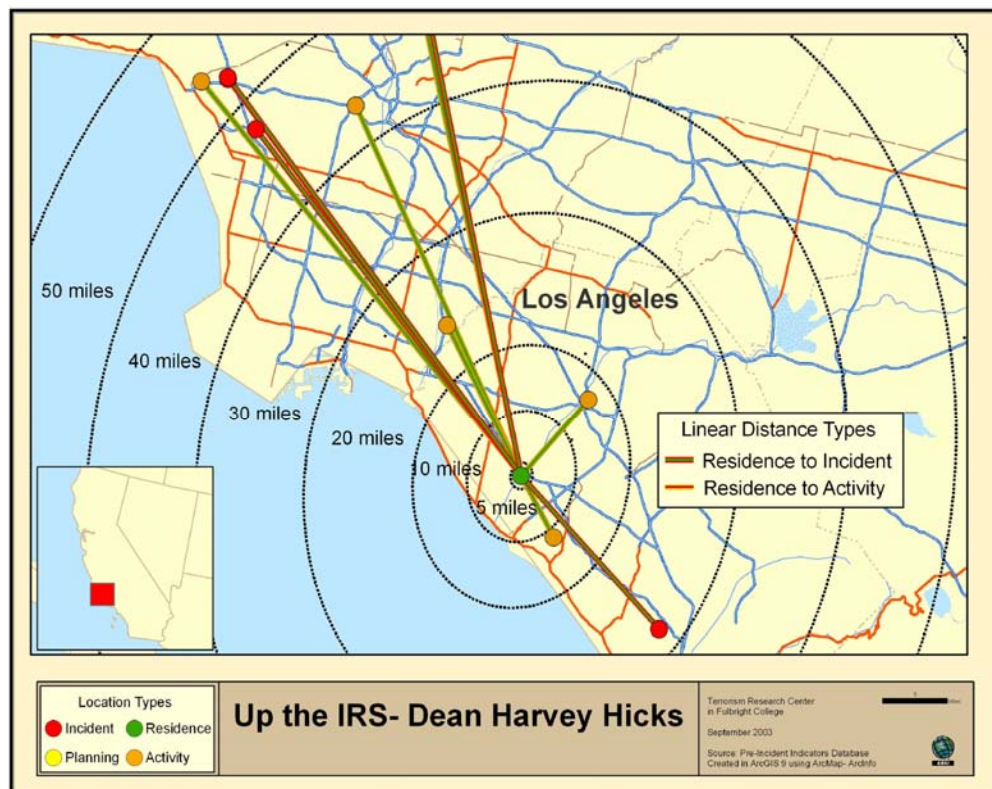
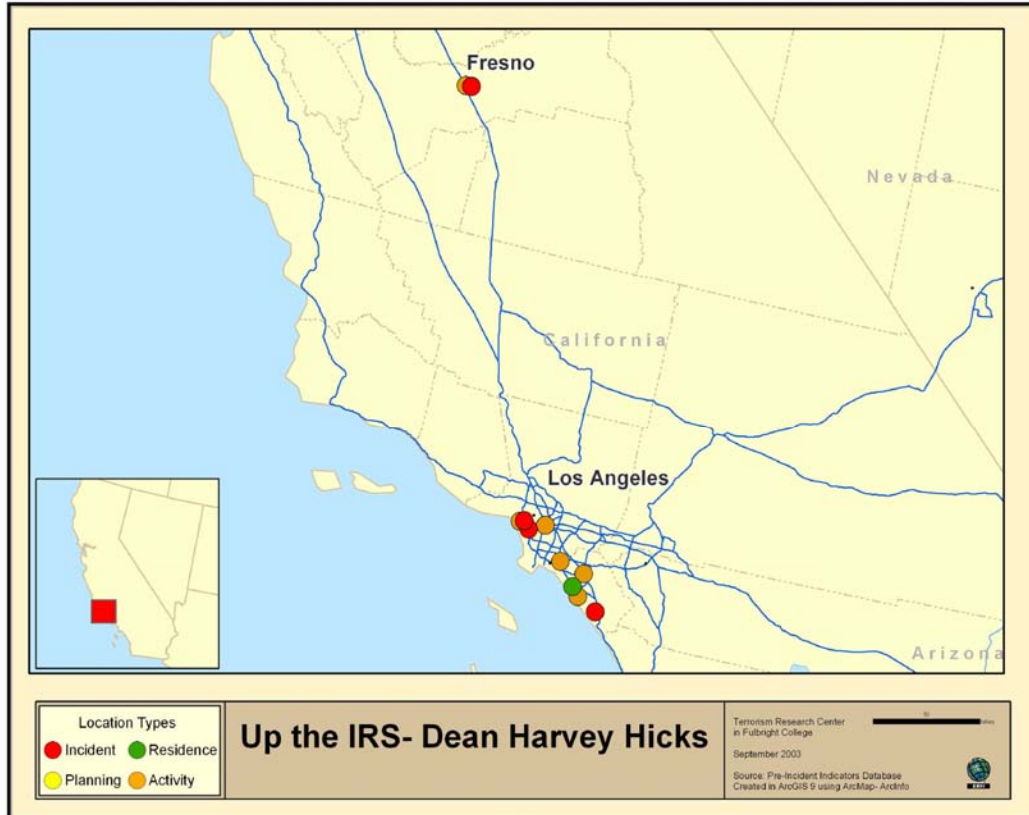
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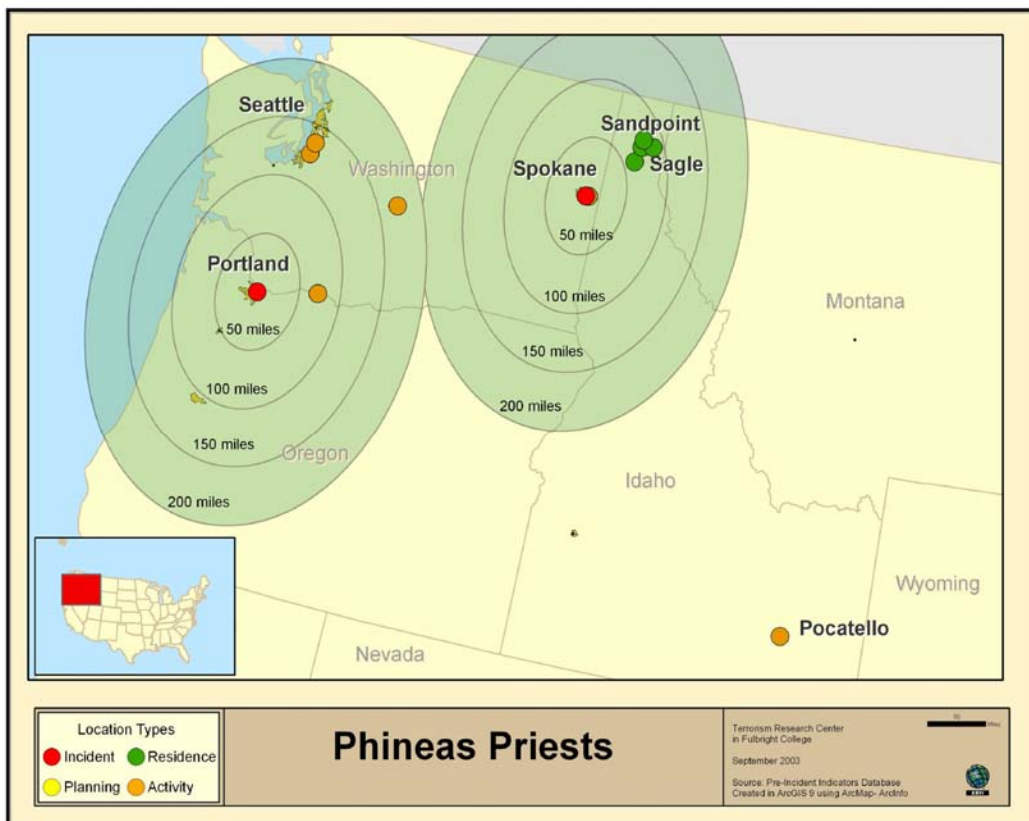
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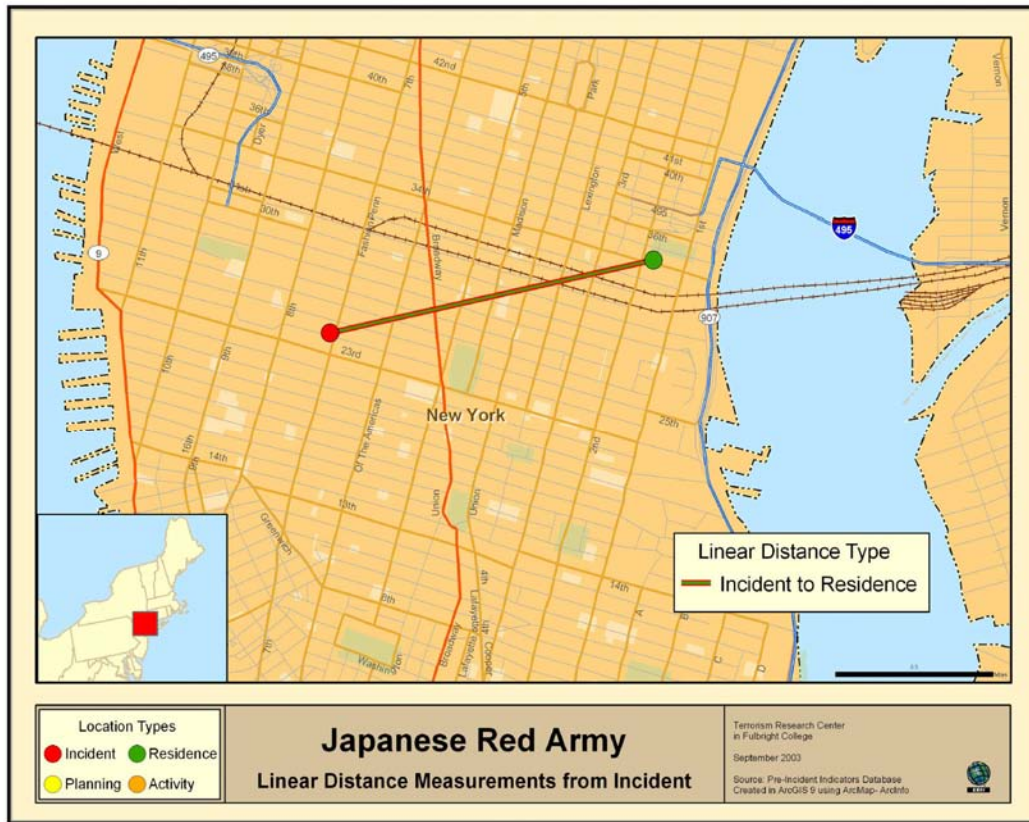
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APPENDIX A MAPS AND OTHER FINDINGS







APPENDIX B. CODEBOOK / VARIABLE LIST

1	ID	Event ID is automatically generated
2	CATEGORY	Category of terrorism
3	CASESTUDY	Case Study that event relates to
4	TYPE1	This column will be filled out later by those conducting analysis and will not appear on the form at this time. It will contain "preparatory", "ancillary" etc.
5	TYPE2	Categorize the event into one of the types from the dropdown. If the type is not present then contact administrator for inclusion
6	OCCUR	Did the event occur or was it just planned?
7	DATE	This is the date the event occurred. If the day of the month is not know then the 15 th is used. The actual date can be found in the other date fields
8	DESCRIPTI	ex. Attempted bombing of the J. Edgar Hoover Building in New York, NY
9	HOUR	Time that the event occurred/started or was to occur/start
10	MONTH	Month that event occurred/was to occur
11	DAY	Day that event occurred/was to occur
12	YEAR	Year that event occurred/ was to occur
13	NAME	Describe the address ex. "John Does House" or "Alfred P. Murrah Federal Buidling" etc.
14	ADDRESS	This field is for the concatenated address
15	ADD_NUM	Address number where event occurred ex. "1900" from the "1900 Main Street" address
16	ADD_NAM	This would be the street name portion of the address ex. "Main" from the "1900 Main Street" address

D_EVENT Table Con't		
17	ADD_TYP	This is the street type portion of the address in its abbreviated form ex "ST" from the "1900 Main Street" address
18	ADD_ALT	If the address for the event is not a standardized address that fits into the fields above then please record all information here. ex. "route 1 box 182" or "latitude or long
19	CITY	City where event occurred/was to occur
20	STATE	State abbreviation of where event occurred
21	ZIP	The 5 digit zip code of address where event occurred
22	ZIP4	The 4 digit zip code suffix
23	COUNTY	Name of county where event occurred
24	COUNTRY	Name of country where event occurred
25	CRIMINAL	Was the event criminal?
26	CRIME_TYP	If the event was criminal what kind of crime was committed?
27	AWARE	Were authorities aware of event before the event occurred?
28	PREVENTED	Was the event prevented by law enforcement?
29	DEATH	Were people killed in the event?
30	DEA_AMT	How many people were killed in the event?
31	INJURIES	Were people injured in event?
32	INJ_AMT	Number of people injured in the event?
33	DAMAGES	Were there damages to buildings or structures in the event?
34	DAM_AMT	Value in dollars of the damage to buildings or structures in the event
35	STOLEN	Was money stolen in the event?
36	STL_AMT	Value in dollars of stolen money

D_EVENT Table Con't		
37	MON_AMT	Total value of monetary damages in the event?
38	D_HOUR	Time at arrival of destination
39	D_MONTH	Month of arrival at destination
40	D_DAY	Day of arrival at destination
41	D_YEAR	Year of arrival at destination
42	D_NAME	Name of person who received the phone call First, Middle, Last, Suffix
43	D_ADDRESS	This field is for concatenating the address fields below
45	D_ADD_NUM	Number of address where call originated from
46	D_ADD_NAM	Name of street or hwy where call originated from
47	D_ADD_TYP	List if it is a street, lane, avenue etc where call originated from
48	D_ADD_ALT	Additional address information where call originated from
49	D_CITY	Name of city where call originated from
50	D_STATE	Name of state where call originated from
51	D_ZIP	Zip code where call originated from
52	D_ZIP4	The 4 digit zip code extension
53	D_COUNTY	Name of county where call originated from
54	D_COUNTRY	Name of country where call originated from
55	T_NAME	Give a name that describes the target's address
56	T_TYPE	Was the act on the primary target or secondary --if secondary go to target variables
57	T_ADDRESS	Street number of target's address
58	T_ADD_NUM	Street name of target's address

D_EVENT Table Con't		
59	T_ADD_NAM	Street name of target's address
60	T_ADD_TYP	Street type of target's address
61	T_ADD_ALT	Additional address information
62	T_CITY	City where target is located
63	T_STATE	State abbreviation where target is located
64	T_COUNTY	County or parish where target is located
65	T_COUNTRY	Country where target was located
66	T_ZIP	5 digit zip Code for address of incident target
67	T_ZIP4	Four digit zip suffix
68	PEOPLE	Number of terrorists involved in the event
69	PERSON_1	Name of Person Involved in Event -First, Middle, Last, Suffix
70	PERSON_2	Name of Person Involved in Event -First, Middle, Last, Suffix
71	PERSON_3	Name of Person Involved in Event -First, Middle, Last, Suffix
72	PERSON_4	Name of Person Involved in Event -First, Middle, Last, Suffix
73	PERSON_5	Name of Person Involved in Event -First, Middle, Last, Suffix
74	PERSON_6	Name of Person Involved in Event -First, Middle, Last, Suffix
75	PERSON_7	Name of Person Involved in Event -First, Middle, Last, Suffix
76	PERSON_8	Name of Person Involved in Event -First, Middle, Last, Suffix
77	PERSON_9	Name of Person Involved in Event -First, Middle, Last, Suffix
78	PERSON_10	Name of Person Involved in Event -First, Middle, Last, Suffix
79	PERSON_11	Name of Person Involved in Event -First, Middle, Last, Suffix
80	PERSON_12	Name of Person Involved in Event -First, Middle, Last, Suffix

D_EVENT Table Con't		
81	PERSON_13	Name of Person Involved in Event -First, Middle, Last, Suffix
82	PERSON_14	Name of Person Involved in Event -First, Middle, Last, Suffix
83	PERSON_15	Name of Person Involved in Event -First, Middle, Last, Suffix
84	COMMENT	Please record any information about the event that has not been recorded

1	ID	Organization ID is automatically generated
2	CATEGORY	Category of terrorism
3	CASESTUDY	Case Study that event relates to
4	TYPE	Categorize the organization into one of the types from the dropdown. If the type is not present then contact administrator for inclusion
5	ORG_NAME	Name of organization
6	ADDRESS	This field is for the concatenated address
7	ADD_NUM	Address number where event occurred ex. "1900" from the "1900 Main Street" address
8	ADD_NAM	This would be the street name portion of the address ex. "Main" from the "1900 Main Street" address
9	ADD_TYP	This is the street type portion of the address in its abbreviated form ex "ST" from the "1900 Main Street" address
10	ADD_ALT	If the address for the event is not a standardized address that fits into the fields above then please record all information here. ex. "route 1 box 182" or "latitude or long"
11	CITY	City where organization is located
12	STATE	State abbreviation where the organization is located
13	ZIP	The 5 digit zip code of address where organization is located
14	ZIP4	The 4 digit suffix of the zipcode
15	COUNTY	County or parish where organization is located
16	COUNTRY	Country where organization is located
17	SIZE	# of people in organization

D_ORGANIZATION Table Con't		
18	S_DATE	Date that organization was formed DD/MM/YYYY
19	S_MONTH	Month that organization started
20	S_DAY	Day of the week organization started
21	S_YEAR	Year that organization started
22	E_DATE	Date that organization ended DD/MM/YYYY
23	E_MONTH	Month that organization ended
24	E_DAY	Day organization ended
25	E_YEAR	Year organization ended
26	STRUCTURE	Structure of organization
27	MANUAL	Name of manual organization uses
28	N_A_GROUP	Name of group that cell or above ground organization associated with
29	FOUNDER	Name of person who founded Organization –First, Middle, Last, Suffix
30	WEBSITE	List the URL of the website if available
31	PICTURES	Copy and past pictures of organization into the database
32	COMMENT	This is very important to the organizations record. Please record any information that will help explain this organization that didn't fit into one of the fields

1	CATEGORY	Category of terrorism
2	CASESTUDY1	Case Study that person is related to
3	CASESTUDY2	Second Case Study that person is related to when applicable
4	ID	Person ID
5	TYPE	Type of person in database ex. terrorist, relative, undercover agent, accomplice, acquaintance etc.
6	COURTCASE	List the court case for the individual if applicable
7	P_TYPE	What type of address is this? Choose from dropdown
8	P_ADDRESS	Individual's primary street address of residence
9	P_ADD_NUM	Individual's primary number of address
10	P_ADD_NAM	Individual's primary name of street or hwy
11	P_ADD_TYP	Individual's primary street type
12	P_ADD_ALT	Additional information about address
13	P_CITY	Individual's primary city of residence
14	P_STATE	Individual's primary state of residence
15	P_ZIP	Individual's primary zip code of residence
16	P_ZIP4	Individual's primary 4 digit zipcode suffix
17	P_COUNTY	Individual's primary county or parish of residence
18	P_COUNTRY	Individual's primary country of residence
19	P_START	Start date of residence
20	P_END	End date of residence
21	AGE	Age at Time of indictment

D_PERSON Table Con't		
22	B_MONTH	Month person was born
23	B_DAY	Day person was born
24	YEAR_BORN	Year person was born YYYY
25	BORN	Date of Birth MM/DD/YYYY
26	DEATH	Date of Death MM/DD/YYYY
27	GENDER	Gender of individual
28	RACE	Race of individual
29	ETHNICITY	Ethnicity of individual
30	EDUCATION	Highest level of education
31	OCCUPATIO	Occupation
32	INCOME	Income
33	MARITAL	Marital status
34	CITIZEN	Citizenship of individual
35	B_CITY	City of birth
36	B_COUNTY	County, parish, township of birth
37	B_STATE	State of birth
38	B_COUNTRY	Country of birth
39	MILITARY	Does the person have a military background?
40	MIL_TIME	Length of military service in number of months
41	BRANCH	Branch of Service
42	EXPERTISE	Area of expertise
43	CRIM_REC	Does individual have a criminal record?

D_PERSON Table Con't		
44	ARRESTED	Was person arrested for the incident
45	INCARCERA	Was person incarcerated?
46	I_BEGIN	Date Person was incarcerated: MM/DD/YYYY
47	I_END	Date Person was released: MM/DD/YYYY
48	ROLE	Role in terrorist cell
49	C_NAME	Name of terrorist cell person is a member of (can only be member of one cell)
50	C_START	Date started membership in cell
51	C_END	Date ending membership in cell
52	G_NAME	Name of terrorist group person is a member of
53	AG_NAME	Name of organization that person is a member
54	OFFICE	Did the person hold an office in the organization?
55	AG_FINAN	Did person support above ground organization financially?
56	RECRUITED	Name of person who recruited individual or how individual recruited
57	R_DATE	Date that individual was recruited MM/DD/YYYY
58	RECR_DAT	Date in text form
59	R_ADDRESS	This field is for concatenating the address
60	R_NAME	Name of address where individual was recruited ex. El Sharooq Mosque
61	R_ADD_NUM	Number of address where individual was recruited
62	R_ADD_NAM	Name of street or hwy where individual was recruited
63	R_ADD_TYP	Street Type where individual was recruited
64	R_ADD_ALT	Additional address information about the recruitment location

D_PERSON Table Con't		
65	R_CITY	City where individual was recruited
66	R_COUNTY	County or parish where individual was recruited
67	R_STATE	State where individual was recruited
68	R_COUNTRY	Country where individual was recruited
69	R_ZIP	5 digit zip code where individual was recruited
70	R_ZIP4	Four digit zip code suffix where individual was recruited
71	S_TYPE	What type of addresses is this? Choose from dropdown
72	S_ADDRESS	This column does not appear on the form and is to concatenate the address for geospatial analysis
73	S_NAME	Name the address for which the person was staying at
74	S_ADD_NUM	Individual's secondary number of address
75	S_ADD_NAM	Individual's secondary name of street
76	S_ADD_TYP	Individual's secondary type of street
77	S_ADD_ALT	Additional Address Information
78	S_CITY	Individual's secondary city of residence
79	S_STATE	Individual's secondary state of residence
80	S_COUNTY	Individual's secondary county or parish of residence
81	S_COUNTRY	Individual's secondary country of residence
82	S_ZIP	Individual's secondary zip code of residence
83	S_ZIP4	Four digit zip code suffix where individual was recruited
84	S_START	Start date of secondary residence
85	S_REAL_START	Start date in text form
86	S_END	End date of secondary residence

D_PERSON Table Con't		
87	S_REAL_END	End date in text form
88	T_ADD	Add as many variables as needed to incorporate all known addresses of an individual including country, state, county, city, zip code, start date and end dates
89	COMMENT	Please record any additional information about the person especially alternate addresses

1	REC_NUM	Unique ID
2	CASE_STUDY	Case Study that record pertains to
3	DE_SOURCE	Description of Source
4	EN_DATE	Enter date that record was created
5	AR_TITLE	The main article title
6	W_TITLE	Title of the larger work (if any)
7	BODY	Cut and paste the body of the text
8	SYN	Create a short synopsis by cutting and pasting first sentences of article
9	GOV_AG	Government Agency
10	JOURNAL	Journal Name
11	EDITION	Edition
12	D_OF_PUB	Date of Publishing
13	C_OF_PUB	City of Publisher
14	PUBLISHER	Name of Publisher
15	VOL	Volume
16	ISSUE	Issue
17	PG_NUM	Page Number
18	PE_IN_LNAM	Person Interviewed Last Name
19	T_OF_INT	Title of Interview
20	INT_LNAM	Interviewer Last Name
21	PE_FNAM	Person Interviewed First Name

D_SOURCE Table Con't		
22	INT_FNAM	Interviewer First Name
23	TIT_PROG	Title of Program
24	NETWORK	Network
25	IN_DATE	Interview Date
26	WEBSITE	Website Name
27	URL	URL of web site
28	INT_DATA	Information Database
29	D_ACCESS	Date Accessed
30	COMMENT	Comments about Source
31	RELIABLE	Reliability
32	VALID	Validity
33	SUBJECT	Category of Terrorism
34	COURT	Court case was located
35	PLAIN	Plaintiff
36	DEFEN	Defendant
37	CASE_NUM	Case Number
38	DOC_TYPE	Document Type
39	DOC_PDF	Document PDF
40	A1_LNAM	First Author Last Name
41	A1_FNAM	First Author First Name
42	A1_MNAM	First Author Middle Name
43	AUT_ETAL	Author et al

D_SOURCE Table Con't		
44	A2_LNAM	Second Author Last Name
45	A2_FNAM	Second Author First Name
46	A2_MNAM	Second Author Middle Name
47	A3_LNAM	Third Author Last Name
48	A3_FNAM	Third Author First Name
49	A3_MNAM	Third Author Middle Name
50	E1_LNAM	First Editor Last Name
51	E1_FNAM	First Editor First Name
52	E1_MNAM	First Editor Middle Name
53	E2_LNAM	Second Editor Last Name
54	E2_FNAM	Second Editor First Name
55	E2_MNAM	Second Editor Middle Name
56	E3_LNAM	Third Editor Last Name
57	E3_FNAM	Third Editor First Name
58	E3_MNAM	Third Editor Middle Name
59	ED_ETAL	Editor et al
60	SME	Information from a Subject Matter Expert

LOOKUP TABLES

Abu Nidal Organization
Arizona Patriots
Aryan Nations
Aryan Peoples Republic
Aryan Republican Army
Clayton Lee Waagner
Coronado MSU Arson
Covenant the Sword and the Arm of the Lord
Dr. Robert Goldstein
EcoRaider Tucson Vandalism
El Rukns
ELF Long Island Arsons
Ellerman UT Bombing
EPB Macheteros
Fairfield Snow Bowl
FALN
Felton Chase
Free Critter Eugene Arson
Fusilier Dartez KKK
Griffin FL Assassination

CASESTUDY Con't
Hezbollah
Hill FL Assassination
Japanese Red Army
Jewish Defense League
KKK Barefoot
KKK Fuselier Dartez
KKK Hull
Kopp Amherst Assassination
Krar IDC
Lackawanna Six
M19CO
Millenium Conspiracy
Minnesota Patriots Council
Nebraska Golf Vandals
New African Freedom Fighters
Nyack Armored Car Robbery
NYC Conspiracy
NYC Subway Bombing
Ohio Unorganized Militia
Oklahoma City Bombing
Oklahoma Constitutional Militia
Omega 7
Order

CASESTUDY Con't
Order Berg Assassination
Order II
Order Ukiah Robbery
Phineas Priests
PIRA
PIRA Tucson
PIRA Valhalla
Santa Cruz 2
Sherman OR Firebombing
Third Continental Congress
Unabomber Theodore Kaczynski
United Freedom Front
Up the IRS
Vance Assassination
Washington State Militia
White Patriot Party
Wisconsin Mink Release
WTC 1993
Yahweh

International
Left Wing
Right Wing
Single Issue- Abortion
Single Issue- Anti Islamic
Single Issue- Environmental

Afghanistan
Canada
England
Germany
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Jordan
Mexico
Pakistan
Puerto Rico
Saudi Arabia
Spain
United States

Arson
Bombing
Extortion
Homicide
Kidnapping
Robbery

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10th Grade
11th Grade
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1st Grade
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3rd Grade
4th Grade
5th Grade
6th Grade
7th Grade
8th Grade
9th Grade
Associates Degree
Bachelors Degree
Doctoral Degree
GED
High School Diploma
Home School
Kindergarten
Masters Degree

EDUC Con't
No School
Post Graduate Work
Some College or Vocational School
Some High School
Vocational School Graduate

Hispanic or Latino
Not Hispanic or Latino

[illegible]

[illegible]

T_GROUP Con't	

Cohabitation
Divorced
Married/Common Law Marriage
Partner
Separated
Single
Widow

Air Force
Army
Coast Guard
Foreign Military
Marines
National Guard
Navy
ROTC

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NUMBERS Con't
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NUMBERS Con't
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NUMBERS Con't
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100

Above Ground
Cell
Group

Convicted
Friend
Relative
Terrorist
Victim
Acquaintance
Accomplice

American Indian or Alaska Native
Asian
Black or African American
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
Some other race
White

attended meeting
church
internet
newsletter
personal friend/neighbor
personal visit by member
prison/jail
self-started
university/college/school
unknown

Book
Court Document
Email
Magazine
Newsletter
Newspaper
Personal Interview
Phone Call
Television
Website

AB	Alberta	Canada
AK	Alaska	United States
AL	Alabama	United States
AR	Arkansas	United States
AS	American Samoa	US Territory
AZ	Arizona	United States
BC	British Columbia	Canada
CA	California	United States
CO	Colorado	United States
CT	Connecticut	United States
DC	District of Columbia	United States
DE	Delaware	United States
FL	Florida	United States
FM	Federated States of Micronesia	US Territory
GA	Georgia	United States
GU	Guam	US Territory
HI	Hawaii	United States
IA	Iowa	United States
ID	Idaho	United States
IL	Illinois	United States

ABBREV		
IN	Indiana	United States
KS	Kansas	United States
KY	Kentucky	United States
LA	Louisiana	United States
MA	Massachusetts	United States
MB	Manitoba	Canada
MD	Maryland	United States
ME	Maine	United States
MH	Marshall Islands	US Territory
MI	Michigan	United States
MN	Minnesota	United States
MO	Missouri	United States
MP	Northern Mariana Islands	US Territory
MS	Mississippi	United States
MT	Montana	United States
NB	New Brunswick	Canada
NC	North Carolina	United States
ND	North Dakota	United States
NE	Nebraska	United States
NH	New Hampshire	United States
NJ	New Jersey	United States
NL	Newfoundland/Labrador	Canada

ABBREV		
NM	New Mexico	United States
NS	Nova Scotia	Canada
NT	Northwest Territory	Canada
NU	Nunavut Territory	Canada
NV	Nevada	United States
NY	New York	United States
OH	Ohio	United States
OK	Oklahoma	United States
ON	Ontario	Canada
OR	Oregon	United States
PA	Pennsylvania	United States
PE	Prince Edward Island	Canada
PR	Puerto Rico	US Territory
PW	Palau	US Territory
QC	Quebec	Canada
RI	Rhode Island	United States
SC	South Carolina	United States
SD	South Dakota	United States
SK	Saskatchewan	Canada
TN	Tennessee	United States
TX	Texas	United States
UT	Utah	United States

ABBREV		
VA	Virginia	United States
VI	Virgin Islands	US Territory
VT	Vermont	United States
WA	Washington	United States
WI	Wisconsin	United States
WV	West Virginia	United States
WY	Wyoming	United States
YT	Yukon Territory	Canada

ALY	6	ALLEY
ANX	10	ANNEX
ARC	15	ARCADE
AVE	16	AVENUE
BCH	25	BEACH
BG	50	BURG
BGS	51	BURGS
BLF	29	BLUFF
BLFS	32	BLUFFS
BLVD	37	BOULEVARD
BND	27	BEND
BR	41	BRANCH
BRG	44	BRIDGE
BRK	47	BROOK
BRKS	49	BROOKS
BTM	33	BOTTOM
BYP	52	BYPASS
BYU	23	BAYOO
CIR	78	CIRCLE
CIRS	84	CIRCLES
CLB	89	CLUB

ABBREV		
CLF	85	CLIFF
CLFS	87	CLIFFS
CMN	91	COMMON
COR	92	CORNER
CORS	95	CORNERS
CP	57	CAMP
CPE	64	CAPE
CRES	110	CRESCENT
CRK	106	CREEK
CRSE	96	COURSE
CRST	117	CREST
CSWY	66	CAUSEWAY
CT	98	COURT
CTR	69	CENTER
CTRS	77	CENTERS
CTS	101	COURTS
CURV	123	CURVE
CV	103	COVE
CVS	105	COVES
CYN	60	CANYON
DL	124	DALE
DM	126	DAM
DR	132	DRIVE

ABBREV		
DRS	136	DRIVES
DV	128	DIVIDE
EST	137	ESTATE
ESTS	139	ESTATES
EXPY	141	EXPRESSWAY
EXT	147	EXTENSION
EXTS	151	EXTENSIONS
FALL	153	FALL
FLD	159	FIELD
FLDS	161	FIELDS
FLS	154	FALLS
FLT	163	FLAT
FLTS	165	FLATS
FRD	167	FORD
FRDS	169	FORDS
FRG	173	FORGE
FRGS	176	FORGES
FRK	177	FORK
FRKS	179	FORKS
FRST	172	FOREST
FRY	156	FERRY
FT	181	FORT
FWY	184	FREEWAY

ABBREV		
GDN	189	GARDEN
GDNS	194	GARDENS
GLN	202	GLEN
GLNS	204	GLENS
GRN	205	GREEN
GRNS	207	GREENS
GRV	208	GROVE
GRVS	211	GROVES
GTWY	197	GATEWAY
HBR	212	HARBOR
HBRs	217	HARBORS
HL	232	HILL
HLS	235	HILLS
HOLW	236	HOLLOW
HTS	221	HEIGHTS
HVN	218	HAVEN
HWY	226	HIGHWAY
INLT	241	INLET
IS	243	ISLAND
ISLE	250	ISLE
ISS	246	ISLANDS
JCT	251	JUNCTION
JCTS	257	JUNCTIONS

ABBREV		
KNL	264	KNOLL
KNLS	267	KNOLLS
KY	260	KEY
KYS	262	KEYS
LAND	273	LAND
LCK	287	LOCK
LCKS	288	LOCKS
LDG	293	LODGE
LF	285	LOAF
LGT	281	LIGHT
LGTS	283	LIGHTS
LK	269	LAKE
LKS	272	LAKES
LN	277	LANE
LNDG	274	LANDING
LOOP	294	LOOP
MALL	296	MALL
MDW	302	MEADOW
MDWS	305	MEADOWS
MEWS	306	MEWS
ML	308	MILL
MLS	310	MILLS
MNR	298	MANOR

ABBREV		
MNRS	300	MANORS
MSN	314	MISSION
MT	316	MOUNT
MTN	324	MOUNTAIN
MTNS	326	MOUNTAINS
MTWY	315	MOTORWAY
NCK	328	NECK
OPAS	334	OVERPASS
ORCH	331	ORCHARD
OVAL	333	OVAL
PARK	337	PARK
PASS	346	PASS
PATH	349	PATH
PIKE	351	PIKE
PKWY	343	PARKWAY
PKYS	345	PARKWAYS
PL	356	PLACE
PLN	358	PLAIN
PLNS	361	PLAINS
PLZ	364	PLAZA
PNE	352	PINE
PNES	354	PINES
PR	376	PRAIRIE

ABBREV		
PRKS	338	PARKS
PRT	370	PORT
PRTS	372	PORTS
PSGE	347	PASSAGE
PT	366	POINT
PTS	368	POINTS
RADL	380	RADIAL
RAMP	381	RAMP
RD	402	ROAD
RDG	394	RIDGE
RDGS	396	RIDGES
RDS	404	ROADS
RIV	400	RIVER
RNCH	385	RANCH
ROW	406	ROW
RPD	387	RAPID
RPDS	389	RAPIDS
RST	391	REST
RTE	405	ROUTE
RUE	407	RUE
RUN	408	RUN
SHL	410	SHOAL
SHLS	412	SHOALS

ABBREV		
SHR	415	SHORE
SHRS	418	SHORES
SKWY	419	SKYWAY
SMT	460	SUMMIT
SPG	423	SPRING
SPGS	427	SPRINGS
SPRS	429	SPURS
SPUR	428	SPUR
SQ	434	SQUARE
SQS	436	SQUARES
ST	455	STREET
STA	440	STATION
STRA	448	STRAVENUE
STRM	451	STREAM
STS	456	STREETS
TER	463	TERRACE
TPKE	491	TURNPIKE
TRAK	472	TRACK
TRCE	465	TRACE
TRFY	474	TRAFFICWAY
TRL	479	TRAIL
TRWY	464	THROUGHWAY
TUNL	485	TUNNEL

ABBREV		
UN	494	UNION
UNS	495	UNIONS
UPAS	492	UNDERPASS
VIA	505	VIADUCT
VIS	524	VISTA
VL	519	VILLE
VLG	515	VILLAGE
VLGS	517	VILLAGES
VLV	499	VALLEY
VLYS	501	VALLEYS
VW	507	VIEW
VWS	509	VIEWS
WALK	525	WALK
WALL	527	WALL
WAY	529	WAY
WAYS	530	WAYS
WL	531	WELL
WLKS	526	WALKS
WLS	533	WELLS
XING	118	CROSSING
XRD	122	CROSSROAD

Cellular
Lone Wolf
Loose Structure
Military Heirarchy
Uncoordinated Violence

Abortion Related
ADL
Adult Movie Theater
Airplane
Airport
Animal Research Facility
Aqueduct
Armored Car
Asian Person
Banks
Black Persons
Bridge
Church
Construction Company
Consulate
Defense Related Corporations
Democratic Party
Department of Agriculture
Department of Commerce
Department of Customs
Department of Homeland Security

TAR_TYPE
Department of Human Services
Department of Natural Resources
Department of State
Department of Treasury
Diplomats
Drug Dealers
Dwellings
Federal Courthouse
Federal Law Enforcement Facility
Federal Personnel
Foreign Official
Foreign President
Former Group Member
Fur Farms
Gay/Lesbian Facilities
Gay/Lesbian Persons
Government Auto Fleet
Hispanic Persons
Hospital
Hotel
IRS
Israeli Embassy
Israeli Persons

TAR_TYPE
Jewish Facility
Jewish Persons
Judge
Land Developer
Local Authority
Logging Trucks
Magazine Office
Media Crew
Military Bases
Military Personnel
Mosque
National Landmark
Newspaper Office
Office Building
Opposition Leader
Performing Arts Center
Police Officer
Prison
Radio Station
Recruiting Stations
Republican Party
Reserve Centers
Restaurant

TAR_TYPE
Retail Store
Road
ROTC
Ski Resort
State Prison
State Trooper
Subway
Terrorist Group Affiliate
Test
Theater
Tobacco Company
Train
Training Centers
Tunnel
TV Station
United Nations
University
US Embassy
US Persons
Utility Company
Weapons Retailer
White Persons

Doctor
Follower
Founder of group
General
Intelligence Officer
Intermediate Leader
Lawyer
Leader
Lone Wolf
Munitions Expert
Non Member, associated with group
Non Member, but party to conspiracy
Officer
Other Subordinate
Safehouse Operator
Second in Command
Secretary
Security Group
Special Skill: Biological Weapons
Special Skill: Bomb Maker
Special Skill: Chemical Weapons

TERR_ROLE
Special Skill: Voice stress analyst
Subordinate
Target Person
Trainer
Trigger Person
Unknown

Ancillary
Arrest
Cell Origination
Incident
Other
Planning
Post Incident
Preparatory
Recruitment
Unknown

Arson
Assassination
Assault
Bank Robbery
Bombing
Communique
Firebombing
Hijacking
Hostile Takeover
Kidnapping
Letter Bomb
Pipe Bombing
Robbery
Rocket Attack
Sabotage
Shooting(s)
Vandalism

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APPENDIX C. CASE STUDY NARRATIVES

1. RIGHT-WING TERRORISM

This section looks at incidents in which right-wing ideology is a motivating factor. Although the ideology may vary by group, the common threads are white supremacy, survivalist, anti-government, and, more recently, Christian Identity. In many cases, the group or individual involved uses some combination of ideologies to justify the terrorist act.

These case studies include well-known right-wing groups such as Aryan Nations, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Order, as well as lesser-known splinter groups such as the Third Continental Congress, Aryan Peoples Republic, and the Washington State Militia. Some of the incidents, such as The Bixby Shootout and the Scott Woodring Case, involve individuals reacting to rather ordinary situations with violence because they have a history with right-wing groups, and thus interpret the situation based on the reality spelled out in the ideological rhetoric. Other incidents involve individuals who respond to “society,” for want of a better word, through careful planning and a clear objective. The Oklahoma City Bombing and Up the IRS would fall into this category.

Right-wing groups that blend the traditional white supremacy with theology are the most recent trend among right-wing groups. The Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord and the Phineas Priests concocted a strange mix of ideologies in order to justify their acts.

Several of the case studies refer to peripheral groups such as the Christian Identity movement and the Oklahoma-based City of Elohim. While the evidence connecting these groups to the terrorism covered in the section is murky at best, clearly they are influential among the groups and individuals in the right wing. The Turner Diaries also appears again and again in the narratives. For many extremist groups, this became their Bible. The doctrine of Anglo-Israelism is another thread that runs through the ideologies of the far right, particularly among the Aryan-based groups such as The Order and Aryan Nations.

Because so many of the groups in this section are splinter groups or factions of other groups, it is difficult to keep them straight in terms of names and ideology. Appendix A provides a brief summary of the Christian Identity movement, Turner Diaries, Elohim, and the doctrine of Anglo-Israelism.

1.1 ARIZONA PATRIOTS

BACKGROUND

The Arizona Patriots was founded in 1982 by Ty Hardin, a former motion picture star during the heyday of westerns. Hardin left Hollywood, arguing that the motion picture industry had fallen under the control of wealthy Zionists. In the mid-1970s, after experiencing difficulties with the IRS for failure to pay his income tax, Hardin moved to Prescott, Arizona, and began a local anti-tax movement. In 1982, the group took the name Arizona Patriots and began publishing a monthly newsletter. Members of the group probably numbered about 200 at its height during the mid-1980s.

Members of the Arizona Patriots considered government beyond the county level to be illegitimate. Consequently, federal authority, particularly the federal income tax, was detested. Many members had ties to other right-wing groups, particularly those associated with the Identity movement.

In June 1984, the group issued an “indictment” against all elected officials in Arizona, demanding their resignation within 30 days. Almost immediately thereafter, the FBI began an intensive investigation into the activities of Arizona Patriot members.

TIMELINE

Early 1985

Jack Maxwell Oliphant and his wife, Margo, instructed a real estate agent to “find the roughest, most remote land possible” to build a “Christian retreat” for Identity adherents. They located on 320 acres about 20 miles from Kingman, Arizona. Oliphant, also a member of the Christian Patriot’s Defense League (CPDL) used that organization’s newsletter to solicit funds and assistance for developing the remote site.

Foster Thomas Hoover lived with his wife on a 40-acre ranch about 40 miles north of Flagstaff. As early as May 1985, he was meeting with Oliphant and others to discuss ways to further the revolution as well as support the building project on Oliphant’s ranch. Plans were made to bomb a Jewish synagogue, the IRS Regional Complex at Ogden, Utah, and hydroelectric power plants on the Colorado River.

As early as mid-1985, undercover agents infiltrated the small band. Throughout 1986, anywhere from one to three undercover agents attended the group’s planning sessions.

June 1985

Hoover and Bill Sivils, an undercover agent who had already infiltrated the organization, traveled to Ogden, Utah, to identify the best way to destroy the computing facilities at the IRS complex. Upon their return, the group began developing weapons to carry out their plans. Monte Ross, a 23-year-old dishonorably discharged veteran working for Oliphant as a ranch hand, fell into the role of bomb maker.

January 1986

To fund their terrorism and develop the paramilitary training camp on his ranch, Oliphant began planning the robbery of an armored truck carrying money from the casinos near Las Vegas. They settled on a Monday, when the winnings from the previous weekend would be shipped. After much discussion, plans to fire a homemade mortar were scrapped for fear the resulting fire would burn up all the money.

May 1986

The group had decided by this time to create an accident scene to block the road, shoot some sort of gas to put the truck's guards to sleep, winch the truck up onto a transport truck, and take it to an isolated area in the desert. The armored truck would be buried and the guards released to awaken in the desert. No logistics for such an operation were mapped out.

June and July 1986

The plotters contacted Jan Paulsen, who worked as a card dealer at one of the casinos across the state line in Laughlin, Nevada, to ask if he would provide the schedule of armored trucks leaving the casino. Paulsen agreed. Monte Ross blew off two fingers and a thumb while building pipe bombs for the group. The robbery was rescheduled for late October.

October 21, 1986

Oliphant traveled to Laughlin to finalize the timing of the operation with Paulsen, only to find that Paulsen no longer worked there. Patrick Schlect, a group member sent to follow trucks and record their routes and time schedules, on three separate occasions lost sight of the trucks on their route and had to discontinue the surveillance. The robbery was postponed again and rescheduled for mid-January 1987.

OUTCOME

- The FBI arrested nine members of the Arizona Patriots on December 15, 1986.
- Oliphant, Ross, and Schlect were identified in a seven-count indictment charging them with conspiracy to commit armed robbery and a variety of weapons violations. All four pleaded guilty in June and July 1987.
- Oliphant and Ross were sentenced to four-year federal prison terms. Schlect was given five years probation. Rita Schlect, arrested for assaulting an FBI special agent at the time of her husband's arrest, was charged, but the charges were dismissed.
- J. R. Hagan and Tom Palmer were charged with illegal possession of firearms. Hagan was sentenced to two years in federal prison, but his sentence was suspended, and he was placed on five years probation. Tom Palmer pleaded

guilty, but his sentencing was delayed and his case transferred to Federal District Court in Kansas, where there were outstanding warrants for his arrest.

- Hoover, the outspoken advocate of terrorist tactics, was named in a separate indictment for three counts of violating weapons laws pertaining to the manufacture of a homemade mortar he planned to develop and use. At his trial, in March 1987, he was found guilty on two of the three counts and sentenced to five years probation.
- Upon learning that two other members of the group, David Gumaer and Steve Christensen, had illegally bought eight Uzi machine guns for members of the group, a separate indictment was issued in Colorado. Christensen was arrested, convicted, fined \$6,000, and placed on five years probation.

Website – General

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1.2 ARYAN NATIONS

BACKGROUND

Aryan Nations was founded in the mid-1970s by Richard Butler. Butler had been involved in right-wing paramilitary and white supremacy groups since the 1960s. He refined his white supremacy ideology while studying under Wesley Swift, founder of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian. After Swift's death, Butler decided the movement had too many leaders, and "too many prophets ruin a vision." He created a new organization based on Hitler's belief in the superiority of the Aryan race. Believing they were God's chosen people, the new group felt the need for a true homeland in order to preserve the purity of the white race, which they believed the government was trying to dilute. Butler and his followers believed that a race war was inevitable.

In 1996, a Declaration of Independence was created to establish a separate, racially pure state. This document severed all ties to the "Zionist" government and vowed that neither government nor law enforcement would have any rule over them. Some experts believe that one of their main goals was to take over Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington, and Wyoming, turning these states into an Aryan homeland.

They were headquartered in Hayden Lake, Idaho, on a 20-acre compound owned by Richard Butler. Kootenai County had a population of some 60,000, but only 50 Jews and 20 blacks, so Butler and his followers considered their new Christian homeland a white man's heaven, a place where black people would be regarded as subhuman and Jews as children of Satan. This compound became the headquarters for the World Congress of Aryan Nations. These summer gatherings attracted some 200 people and included racist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, militia movements, and neo-Nazis. Speakers included Randy Weaver, known for the incident at Ruby Ridge, and notables from groups like the Militia Montana. Aryan Nations also held youth gatherings where, in a summer-camp type setting, children learned about white supremacy and Christian Identity.

Prisons became one of their biggest sources for recruitment. Members from Aryan Nations and their splinter groups serving long-term prison sentences were able to recruit from within. Butler mailed Aryan Nations literature and a newsletter called "The Way" to white prison inmates across America. The sale of books and information created revenue for the organization and attracted new recruits when they got out of prison.

In time, many members of Aryan Nations broke away from the main group and formed splinter groups, some more violent than Butler's group. Bob Mathews, for example, left Aryan Nations to form The Order. (See The Order, page 51)

Included in this case study are three separate incidents involving Aryan Nations: an attempted bombing in 1990, a shooting in 1999, and a 1999 incident involving Buford Furrows.

BACKGROUND AND TIMELINE

Three members of Aryan Nations were planning to bomb Neighbours Disco, a gay bar in Seattle, Washington. Robert J. Winslow, Stephen E. Nelson, and Proctor J. Baker had created pipe bombs to place around the bar.

April 1990

They tested bombs at the compound in Hayden Lake. Satisfied with the test, the three men transported their explosives across the border into Washington to carry out their plan. Thanks to an informant, the bombing never happened. All three men were arrested.

OUTCOME

Winslow was convicted of possession of illegal firearms, transporting illegal firearms across state borders, and use of firearms in a violent crime. In total, he was sentenced to 48 months on each of the charges, to run consecutively, and fined \$3,500.

Baker was convicted on only two counts: conspiracy to receive illegal firearms and possession of illegal firearms. He was sentenced to two years in prison and fined \$7,500.

Nelson was convicted on all four charges: possession of illegal firearms, transporting firearms across state borders, conspiracy to possess illegal firearms, and use of a firearm in a violent crime. He was sentenced to 36 months for the first three charges and 60 months on the last charge. He would serve all of these consecutively, totaling eight years in prison.

All three men were also ordered to serve three years of supervision upon their release. Nelson and Winslow were ordered to serve 150 hours of community service.

TIMELINE: A SHOOTING

July 1999

Victoria Keenan and her son, Jason, were driving by the Hayden Lake compound on their way home from a wedding when their car backfired. The guards on duty, Jesse Warfield, John Yaeger, and Shane Wright, believed this was a gunshot fired from the car. They fired at the car and chased it down. When it ran off the road, they proceeded to assault the two victims. When they realized they had made a mistake, they simply stopped the assault and left the scene.

Victoria and Jason pressed charges, and all three of the guards were arrested for assault.

OUTCOME

- The Keenans sought monetary compensation for their ordeal. They sued Aryan Nations, blaming them for the incident. The Keenans were represented by Morris Dees of the Southern Poverty Law Center in Alabama. Butler and his attorney claimed they were not responsible for the actions of the guards. Warfield, Yaeger, and Wright pleaded guilty to assault, accepting the blame. The jury found Aryan Nations responsible for the guards' actions, awarding the Keenans \$6.3 million.
- Richard Butler was forced to sell his 20-acre compound at Hayden Lake to pay the court judgment. Along with this, he was forced to sell the legal rights to the name "Aryan Nations". Despite rumors that wealthier members of Aryan Nations were going to buy the compound and give it back to Butler, Victoria Keenan was the only bidder. With the assistance of the Southern Poverty Law Center, the Keenans purchased the compound for \$250,000, planning to sell the property to a charitable group. The money earned from the sale of both the name and compound was to go toward what Butler had to pay the court.

Sources: see Aryan Nations below

1.3 THE BUFORD FURROW INCIDENT

BACKGROUND AND TIMELINE

Buford Furrow was a former guard at the Hayden Lake compound in Idaho and a member of Aryan Nations. Furrow had been convicted on one previous assault charge. He had attempted to commit himself to a mental health facility in 1998, but was not willing to submit to inpatient treatment. At that time, he pulled a knife and attacked a nurse. A local sheriff was present, and no one was injured. He was convicted of felony assault in November 1998. While in prison, he was given medication and showed signs of improvement, but on his release, there was no way to ensure his taking the medication.

August 10, 1999

Furrow went to the North Valley Jewish Community Center with a loaded gun and opened fire on the Jewish staff and children in the center. Besides injuring five children and staff members, Furrows shot and killed a U.S. postman, Joseph Iletto, who happened to be in the center.

OUTCOME

- Furrow turned himself in at a Las Vegas police station and was subsequently extradited to Los Angeles for trial. He admitted to the shooting of Iletto, saying he shot him because he wasn't white. Furrow was charged with the murder of Iletto and possession of a firearm. Sixteen more counts were added, including hate crimes. The prosecution sought the death penalty.
- Buford Furrow agreed to plead guilty if the death penalty was taken off the table. He was sentenced to 110 years in prison for all the indictments and required to pay over one-half million dollars in damages.

POSTSCRIPT

By 2000, Aryan Nations began to experience leadership issues as well as financial problems. Many high-ranking members left to form splinter groups or just left the movement. Butler, past 80, was in failing health. Nueman Britton was appointed leader in the summer of 2001, but died a few months later of cancer. Harold Ray Redfaerm was appointed next, but resigned in 2002 after Aryan Nations broke into three separate groups and Butler was removed from the group. The strongest faction was in Pennsylvania, under the leadership of August Kries. This faction would then shift to a council leadership composed of Kries, Charles Juba, and one unknown other. In 2004, at the age of 86, Richard Butler died of a heart attack in Idaho.

Aryan Nations Website – General

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http://www.nexis.com/research/home?_key=1105309029&_session=342ef3d0-628c-11d9-9a86-

Richard Butler, who led Aryan Nations, dies in Idaho at 86 LexisNexis (accessed

1/9/2005) http://www.nexis.com/research/home?_key=1105309029&_session=342ef3d0-628c-11d9-9a86-

'Aryan' Come-Uppance American Federation Employers (accessed 1/11/2005)

http://www.afscme.org/PUBLICATIONS/public_employee/2000/pend0012.htm

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1.4 ARYAN PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC (ARYAN REPUBLICAN ARMY)

BACKGROUND

Originally known as “The Midwest Bank Robbers,” the Aryan Republican Army was later identified as the perpetrators of numerous bank robberies in the Midwest over a period of several years. They were radical neo-Nazis bent on the destruction of American Jews and the United States government. The ARA robbed 22 banks in Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, Nebraska, and Ohio, taking an estimated \$500,000, using the monies to cover their own expenses and fund other white supremacy groups. The execution of the robberies was quick and efficient. Peter Langan and Richard Guthrie, “the founding fathers” and “ground commanders” of the Aryan Republican Army, masterminded all activities and recruited new members.

Included in this case study are two incidents: the first involves the original founders, Langan and Guthrie, and the second, the Kehoe cell of the ARA.



BACKGROUND[bls1]

Peter Kevin Langan, son of a CIA employee, was born in Saipan, Vietnam. When Peter was six years old, the Langan family moved back to the United States. Langan’s one sister acknowledges that the death of their father was when her brother’s life took a turn for the worse. After his father’s death, Langan began his criminal career and was first arrested at the age of 16 for robbery.

Richard Lee Guthrie Jr. spent time in the Navy, where he went through five months of Navy SEAL training before he was sent to the Navy’s Explosives and Ordinance Disposal Program (EOD) in Indian Head, Maryland. Guthrie also spent time at the Redstone Arsenal EOD School in Alabama, acquiring additional knowledge in explosives. Guthrie was court-martialed in 1983. At this point, Guthrie returned home and connected with childhood friend Peter Langan. The pair soon showed up on police radar when they were suspected in a 1992 robbery of a Pizza Hut in Lavonia, Georgia. Langan was arrested in Cincinnati, Ohio, and brought back to Georgia to face trial.

In 1993, according to published reports, Langan was released from jail by the Secret Service in hopes he would lead them to Richard Guthrie. Guthrie was wanted for making threats on the life of the sitting president, George H. W. Bush. Langan reportedly never lived up to his side of the bargain and disappeared shortly thereafter.

TIMELINE

August 1994

Mr. Roach, the sheriff who returned Langan to Georgia for questioning after the Pizza Hut robbery, received a card, postmarked Syracuse, New York. The card read:

“Life is so unpredictable; remember that tyrants never rule forever. And that traitors do eventually end up at the end of the rope. Pedro sends his regards. Rick”

Richard Guthrie presumably wrote the letter, and “Pedro” refers to Peter Langan. “Commander Pedro” was the name Langan used while robbing banks.

November 1994

Mr. Roach received another card, this time postmarked Cincinnati, Ohio.

“The fishing has been good and I have remembered our time together. Thanks for your help and good luck with your trials and tribulations... Be strong and never let them see you cry. -By By Pedro”

This message was signed by the “commander” himself, and could be interpreted as an official notice that Langan and the ARA was preparing for action.

1995

Langan began recruiting new members at Christian Identity meetings. Kevin McCarthy, 19, was recruited when Pastor Mark Tomas introduced him to Langan at a Christian Identity Movement meeting in Van Buren, Arkansas. McCarthy, a 10th grade dropout and drug abuser, was a member of a neo-Nazi hate rock band called Cyanide. McCarthy soon brought the other members of the band into the Aryan Republican Army. Scott Stedeford, 28, and Michael Brescia joined shortly after McCarthy. Mark Tomas, a leader in Aryan Nations and a prominent figure in the nationwide Aryan network, also joined the group.

During one of Langan’s many visits to the Christian Identity meetings, he met Shawn Kenney. Langan liked Kenney and soon asked him to join the group. Langan and Guthrie took Kenney along when they cased a bank near Cincinnati, Ohio, and armored cars in Arkansas. Shawn Kenney ultimately declined the offer and went to the police. It was Kenney who led police to Richard Guthrie.

January 15, 1996

Richard Lee Guthrie was arrested after a high-speed chase that ended just outside Cincinnati, Ohio. Guthrie entered into a plea bargain in which he turned over his longtime partner in crime, Peter Langan, along with Scott Stedeford, Kevin McCarthy, and Mark Tomas. Guthrie told authorities where to find Peter Langan and was expected to testify against Langan and provide information on the Aryan Republican Army’s involvement in the Oklahoma City Bombing.

January 18, 1996

Peter Langan was arrested in Columbus, Ohio, after a shootout with police. Fifty shots were fired during the standoff, 30 of which tore through Langan’s van. However, he received only superficial wounds. Found in his possession were guns and false identifications, including a U.S. Marshal’s badge.

OUTCOME

- Inside Langan's house, the FBI found a stockpile of ammunition (3,400 rounds), semiautomatic pistols, rifles, 11 pipe bombs, and five hand grenades. They also discovered FBI hats, police uniforms, false identifications for almost every U.S. state, ski masks, white supremacy literature, a hollowed-out Bible (able to conceal a weapon), and a copy of "The Aryan Republican Army Presents: The Armed Struggle Underground" addressed to Pastor Butler, the head of Aryan Nations in Idaho. For a cup of coffee, a cigarette, and a call to his sister, Peter Langan provided the location of a storage locker in Shawnee, Kansas. Inside the storage locker, police found more pipe bombs, weapons, circuit boards, a Santa suit (used in a December 1994 bank robbery in Ohio), FBI raid jackets, office addresses, and Richard Nixon and Bill Clinton masks (used in many ARA bank robberies).
- Nine days after his arrest, Richard Lee Guthrie was found hanged by his bed sheet in his prison cell, a presumed suicide at age 38. Peter Kevin Langan was convicted in Columbus, Ohio, on February 10, 1997, and sentenced to life in prison.
- Kevin McCarthy entered a plea bargain in which he would plead guilty to conspiracy charges covering six robberies. He also provided evidence on the other members of the Aryan Republican Army, along with details on how the organization operated, and the location of safe houses from which the ARA operated. Kevin McCarthy was sentenced to 60 months in prison and four years supervised release.
- On February 18, 1997, Mark Tomas pleaded guilty to conspiracy charges of plotting seven of 22 bank robberies. Tomas also told the police that McCarthy was involved in the Oklahoma City bombing. He said that Richard Guthrie told him this in July, 1995: "His exact words were; 'Your young Mr. Wizard took out the Murrah Building.'" – Mark Tomas
- "Mr. Wizard" was McCarthy's code name. Mark Tomas received 96 months in prison; three years supervised release, and an undisclosed amount of fines. On November 10, 1997, Scott Anthony Stedeford was convicted of a bank robbery in Iowa. Stedeford was sentenced to 60 months in prison; five years supervised release, and ordered to pay \$30,668.91 in restitution.
- Michael Brescia of Philadelphia was convicted of robbing a Bank One branch in Madison, Wisconsin. Brescia used a 9mm pistol to threaten bank employees and left a black powder pipe bomb before leaving with \$9,845. Michael Brescia was sentenced to 57 months in prison; five years supervised release, and ordered to pay \$1,969 in restitution.

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1.5 THE KEHOE CELL

BACKGROUND

Chevie Kehoe's father, Kirby, was a Vietnam veteran who learned to despise America during his time overseas. Chevie was born on January 19, 1973, and his brother, Cheyne, four years later. The boys were two of eight children, brought up under the radical faith "The Christian Identity," a religion that fosters hate and has ties to many white supremacy groups. Chevie and his brother were removed from public school to ensure their education coincided with their Christian Identity faith. As a young man, Chevie studied Robert Matthews and The Order. He learned what not to do while running his own underground group: keep the cell small to make it easily controlled. Chevie married Karena Gumm, who was the mother of two of his children. In 1993, Chevie took a second wife, Angie Settle, and moved to Elohim City. Angie soon tired of the life style and left.

TIMELINE

To avoid confusion between the Kehoe brothers, this narrative will refer to Chevie Kehoe as Kehoe and Cheyne Kehoe as Cheyne.

1994

Chevie Kehoe began to supply guns to the Aryan Republican Army. Kehoe was soon taken under the ARA umbrella contracted to assassinate the Mueller family.

1995

Kehoe befriended Faron Lovelace, an escaped convict from Wisconsin, where he was serving time for armed robbery. Kehoe convinced Lovelace to murder Jeremy Scott, hoping to marry Scott's wife. Lovelace carried out the execution order, but the wife declined Kehoe's proposal. Later that year, Kehoe ordered the kidnapping and ransom of Malcolm Friedman. The duo demanded a \$15,000 ransom from Friedman's wife.

1996

Kehoe met Danny Lee, a.k.a. Danny Graham. Lee, 24, had convictions for a wide variety of crimes in several states, including homicide, robbery, theft, and assault with a dangerous weapon.

The ARA had contracted Kehoe to murder the Mueller family, brief residents of Elohim City, who were privy to information dealing with the ARA's supposed involvement in the Oklahoma City Bombing. The Muellers reportedly left Elohim City in fear they would be assassinated by Andreas Strassmeir and Michael Brescia, the latter a known member of the ARA.

Kehoe and Lee broke into the Mueller home in Tilly, Arkansas, dressed as FBI agents, hiding inside the home until the family returned. When the family of three came home, they were subdued with handcuffs and duct tape. Kehoe and Lee tortured Nancy Mueller with cattle prods before killing her alongside her daughter and husband, all of them suffocated by plastic bags taped over their heads. Kehoe and Lee then stole a trailer full of guns, ammunition, and gold from the premises and dumped the bodies in an Arkansas bayou.

December 1996

Police arrested a young skinhead outside Spokane, Washington, for illegal possession of an assault rifle stolen from the Mueller house. The young man quickly told police that Chevie Kehoe sold him the rifle. Kehoe skipped town with his brother and moved from Washington to Texas, then to Ohio.

February 1997

Police stopped a Chevrolet Suburban for expired Washington plates. The driver was Chevie Kehoe, and the car contained an unknown passenger. The occupants of the car resisted arrest and fled the scene, the passenger shooting at police as the car sped away. Police surrounded the car in a nearby parking lot. A brief firefight ensued, and a stray bullet from an AR-15 rifle wounded a pedestrian. The shooter fled the scene on foot. The car was registered to Jacob Settle, a former police officer in Winthrop, Washington, and a member of Aryan Nations. The car contained: six guns, 4,000 rounds of ammunition, bulletproof vests, FBI clothing, U.S. marshal badges, gas masks, gas grenades, and body bags/stretchers.

The car chase and firefight were captured on the Ohio news. Authorities offered a \$60,000 reward for tips leading to the capture of the felons. Kehoe was able to evade police by traveling through the white supremacy underground. He sold the Mueller guns for money and used various false IDs.

OUTCOME

- Chevie Kehoe eventually settled down in Utah and found work as a ranch hand with his brother, Cheyne. According to some reports, Kehoe began to talk to his brother about plans to kill their parents, in order to acquire additional money. He spoke of murdering his own wife, because he suspected she was part Native American. At some point, Kehoe allegedly made advances toward Cheyne's wife, and Cheyne found out. Cheyne left the ranch and turned himself in to authorities in Colville, Washington.
- Faron Lovelace was captured in northern Idaho in August 1996 and tried for murder. Lovelace led police to Jeremy Scott's grave and disclosed that it was Kehoe who ordered the killing of Scott.
- In 1997, Kehoe's brother, Cheyne, turned himself in to authorities in Colville, Washington, providing them with a map to his brother's location. Chevie Kehoe

was arrested a short time later. Kirby Kehoe was arrested for selling arms and goods stolen from the Muellers. Danny Lee was arrested at his mother's home in Oklahoma in September 1997.

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1.6 BIXBY SC

BACKGROUND

Steven Bixby was the first member of his family to arrive in Abbeville, South Carolina, in the mid-1990s. In his late 20s, he quickly became notorious around local taverns for ranting about his constitutional rights and bellowing “Live Free or Die,” the motto of his home state, New Hampshire. The local townspeople tolerated the boisterous Steven, and no one ever confronted him about why he had abandoned his cherished home state. Several years later, however, the town of Abbeville would learn that New Hampshire had issued several arrest warrants for Bixby stemming from a domestic violence charge and several reckless driving charges. He had spent a month in jail in 1981, after a local judge found him in contempt of court.

Sometime in the year 2000, Steven’s parents, Arthur and Rita, left New Hampshire to join their son. The family of three moved into a house in Abbeville, just off Highway 72. Like their son, Arthur and Rita also shared strong anti-government beliefs. Rita was a major source of the family’s extremist ideologies. For 20-some years she had been well known for terrorizing her New Hampshire neighbors and public officials with sham lawsuits, common-law tax protests, and occasional armed threats. In the 1980s, the family had been members of the New Hampshire “Constitutional Revivalists.” However, after only a couple of years in the extremist group, Arthur and Rita severed their involvement, reportedly telling people that the group was not radical enough.

In the small town of Abbeville, the Bixby family became known for their anti-government viewpoints and radical ideologies. They were common faces in the Abbeville town center, where they frequently attempted to pass “patriotic” literature to locals. When the South Carolina Department of Transportation informed the Bixbys that a small portion of their property was about to be seized, the families “live free or die” motto became reality.

TIMELINE

December 4, 2003

The South Carolina Department of Transportation informed Arthur Bixby that the previous owner of the Bixby property had signed a right-of-way over to the state for future development rights on the property. The original right-of-way contract, signed 40 years before, was hand-delivered to Arthur Bixby on Thursday morning. The contract gave the state of South Carolina the right to take a portion of the Bixby property for the widening of Highway 72. The highway's new direction would take only a small corner section of their property and actually give them extra footage elsewhere, which they could purchase from the state for one dollar. The Bixbys were outraged at the “injustice,” and took it as a clear case of the government conspiring against them and their constitutional rights.

They responded with a letter to the State Department of Transportation, accusing the state of fraud and taking rights away from its citizens. They closed the letter with an even stronger message:

“Patrick Henry of Virginia said, ‘Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death. Death is not the worst of evils.’

General John Stark of New Hampshire said, ‘Live Free or Die!’

We, the undersigned, echo those sentiments!”

December 5, 2003

Workers from the Department of Transportation began staking out the Bixby yard. At the sight, Steven Bixby stormed out of the house, yanked up the stakes, and threw them in the road, shouting obscenities at the workers until they left.

December 8, 2003

Sergeant Danny Wilson, 37, from the Abbeville County Sheriff’s Department, pulled into the Bixby driveway to reason with the family about their objections to the Highway 72 project. Sergeant Wilson parked his cruiser and started to get out. Before he could shut the door, he was shot in the back by a 7mm Magnum. Arthur and Steven Bixby dragged the wounded officer into the house and handcuffed his hands behind his back, leaving the officer in the kitchen, lying in his own blood. Hearing a gunshot, neighbors immediately dialed 911.

The first officers to respond were Sheriff’s Lieutenant Deborah Graham and Donnie Ouzts, a constable for the county magistrate. When Graham and Ouzts arrived, they saw Wilson’s cruiser parked in the driveway. Officer Ouzts stepped out of his vehicle and started toward the house. Before Ouzts got far, a local citizen who had driven to the Bixby residence yelled at Ouzts to take cover. The constable turned to run, but it was too late. He was shot in the back. Arriving state troopers immediately drove a police cruiser between Ouzts’s body and the house to block the gunfire and dragged him to safety. Unfortunately, the 63-year-old officer died en route to the hospital.

Officers on the scene immediately called for backup, hoping to resolve the escalating situation. Soon, nearly 200 state and local officers surrounded the Bixby residence, including the SWAT Team with an armored vehicle, helicopters, and police robots from the Bomb Squad unit.

Meanwhile, Rita Bixby, who was at an apartment complex in Abbeville, allegedly threatened to shoot people in the complex if police injured Arthur or Steven. This put police in a difficult situation. Rita was threatening people, and they assumed that Wilson was a hostage inside the Bixby residence. As a result, they were hesitant to use tear gas. Police tried contacting Arthur and Steven by phone, with no success. They tried megaphones. Neighbors tried to persuade Arthur and Steven to surrender. Despite repeated entreaties, the only response from Arthur or Steven was more gunfire.

That afternoon, a second SWAT Team, assigned to Rita Bixby's standoff, coaxed the 71-year-old extremist out of the apartment complex and into police custody. Although Rita surrendered peacefully, she refused to help authorities negotiate with Arthur and Steven.

After several hours of sporadic gunfire, authorities made preparations to storm the Bixby residence. Authorities had already cut the power to the house and arranged for a robot to capture images of the interior. Police could see images of Sergeant Danny Wilson lying face down in a pool of blood. Unfortunately, the robot could not maneuver any farther into the house because of debris. At 7:15 p.m., an armored vehicle, fitted by a local company with a ten-foot steel pipe, knocked down the front door.

Identifying the robot, Arthur and Steven Bixby opened fire on the officers. This time, however, the gunfire lasted for a long 10 minutes. Officers had to be re-supplied with ammunition several times. The Bixbys finally ran out of ammunition and realized this was a battle they could not win. Nearly 13 hours after the standoff began, Steven Bixby walked out of his house with his hands up. He was thrown to the ground, handcuffed, and put in the back of a police cruiser without saying a word.

When police finally entered the Bixby home, they quickly located and arrested Arthur Bixby, who was critically wounded. Sergeant Wilson had bled to death. Police discovered militia and anti-government literature, as well as suicide notes, strewn throughout the house.

OUTCOME

- Arthur and Steven Bixby were indicted on two counts of murder in the shooting deaths of Constable Donnie Ouzts and Abbeville Sheriff's Deputy Danny Wilson.
- Rita Bixby was indicted on charges of conspiracy to commit murder and accessory before the fact to murder. All three pleaded not guilty.
- In August 2004, Arthur, Rita, and Steven Bixby all received the death penalty.

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1.7 THE COVENANT, THE SWORD AND THE ARM OF THE LORD (CSA)

BACKGROUND

In 1971, a San Antonio fundamentalist preacher named James Ellison had a vision. God told him “to establish a refuge and take people in.” In 1976, Ellison purchased 224 acres of isolated wilderness near Bull Shoals Lake on the Arkansas-Missouri border, some 40 miles from the nearest town. He called his Pentecostal church community Zarephath-Horeb, a biblical reference to the Prophet Elijah’s place of refuge during his battle with Jezebel’s priests. James Ellison was creating a place of refuge for those fighting the “worshippers of false Gods,” a place where “God’s chosen people” could prepare for racial Armageddon.

Within the Zarephath-Horeb community, members lived to a high standard. According to Kerry Noble, an elder within the community, “Besides requiring a love for Jesus and a high desire to follow and obey Him, we allowed no smoking, no drinking beer (wine was allowed in moderation, since we used wine for the Lord’s Supper), no cussing, no drugs. Everyone had to attend the praise meetings and Bible studies. Members of our church had to live on our property and were required to work with us instead of in town. If a person was not willing to follow this standard, Zarephath-Horeb was not the place to live.”

The group ordained itself a place of communal worship, away from the evil influences of urban America. As a religious community, Zarephath expected everyone to contribute. Most of the men cut timber for a Zarephath-owned company called Christian Brothers Cedar, which had a contract to clear over 3,000 acres of cedar trees. Other men built homes on the property, did carpentry work on nearby homes or businesses, or repaired vehicles in the on-site garage. The women made trips to the nearest town for groceries, worked in the garden, sorted through donated clothes, and took care of the community’s children. Most days were full of activity in preparation for the nightly praise meeting or Bible study. Eventually, the members were asked to sell everything of value, including watches, silver coins, wedding rings, high school rings, anything “materialistic,” in order to buy food and equipment.

The church, on the surface, seemed a reasonable place for Christians to “dwell safely away from the government of the Antichrist.” They focused on the end time, “when God would judge the sins of nations.” The character of the community began to change as they embraced a violent, racist doctrine called Christian Identity.

In 1978, James Ellison had another vision. He was convinced the American economy and the government would soon collapse and chaos reign across the country. Ellison relayed this message to the community, and soon the compound began stockpiling for the Apocalypse, including weapons, ammunition, supplies, and, eventually, a five-year supply of food and water.

From August 1978 to December 1979, the church spent \$52,000 on weapons, ammunition, and military equipment. Members began military training. Weapons of choice included 9mm, .38- and .45-caliber pistols; Ruger-10 .22-caliber rifles; Mini-14

.223-caliber assault rifles, HK-91 .308-caliber rifles, and Remington-870 12-gauge shotguns.

Kerry Noble wrote in his book, *Tabernacle of Hate: Why They Bombed Oklahoma City*, “We built our homes with defense in mind...Many of the houses had bunkers built underneath. Those that didn’t usually had a foxhole bunker nearby. We aggressively began to store ammunition, food and clothing.”

The community embraced the Christian Identity movement. In meetings and conferences with other religious communities and right-wing lecturers, the Zarephath-Horeb church found a completely new direction to lead them (See Christian Identity movement in Appendix 1. Zarephath adopted this right-wing religious ideology, and their daily activities changed; members all but ceased their church services and Bible studies, instead going to gun shows and right-wing lectures.

Under Ellison’s direction, the church needed to prepare for the inevitable war that would occur between survivalist Christian Identity groups like their own and the American government, a government that would ultimately subvert the basic inherent rights in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

Soon thereafter, Ellison decided their church should have a name that would symbolize their paramilitary function. The church community known as Zarephath-Horeb became the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord. According to Ellison:

“The Covenant speaks of all the covenants of God from Adam to Christ and especially of the covenants He has made with us in this last hour...The Sword speaks of all judgments of God from the time of the Garden, but especially of the coming judgment upon America. The Arm is those people whom (sic) God will use to administer the final end-time judgment. And we are part of that people.”

The Zarephath-Horeb Church, once a small, tight-knit community of Christians, embraced the ideas of returning America to its Christian roots, to “hasten the return of the Messiah by ‘carrying out God’s judgments’ against unrepentant sinners,” to overthrow the United States government—an organization CSA members believed was controlled by the Jews, descendants of Satan—who were attempting to establish “a world order based on humanism, materialism, socialism, and communism.” CSA believed chaos in America would be an inevitable result of the mixing of the races and because the Jews were “financing the training of blacks (considered subhuman) to take over most of our major cities.”

TIMELINE

April 18, 1980

Ellison’s sister came to ask him for a favor. She and her husband needed a lot of money and asked Jim if he could arrange for their trailer house to burn so they could collect the insurance money. He agreed to do it. That night, after his sister had removed what she wanted to save, Jim Ellison and William Thomas, a religious but loyal elder within the CSA hierarchy, crossed state lines and set fire to the trailer house. His sister

collected \$11,000 in insurance money. This incident became the watershed for CSA's illegal endeavors.

Late 1980

The group expanded to nearly 60 members, and its arsenal expanded as well. They purchased Uzis, MAC-10s, and MAC-11s, giving the CSA army substantial firepower. They were illegally turning semi-automatic weapons into fully automatic ones without proper registration, a clear violation of firearms laws.

1981

While members of the group were teaching a seminar in Detroit, Robert Miles, a Ku Klux Klan leader in Michigan, gave CSA a 30-gallon barrel of cyanide. According to Kerry Noble, "...when the judgment time had arrived, we could dump the cyanide into the water supply systems of major cities, condemning hundreds of thousands of people to death for their sins. Until that time occurred, however, the cyanide served only one purpose—one of our munitions men placed some of the cyanide in sealed tips of hollow-point bullets, so that even a graze shot would kill a man. The rest of the cyanide was safely stored away from the children."

The group began publishing the "CSA Journal," with a 2000-plus-member subscription. The journal included articles on Identity and Bible teachings, survivalist, military tradecraft, and right-wing rhetoric. Kerry Noble also authored, between 1981 and 1983, works that included, *Prepare War!*, CSA's Scriptural basis for violence and militarism; *Betrayal: 100 Facts*; *The Jews: 100 Facts*; and the *CSA Survival Manual*, a training guide for the right wing, discussing weapons, home defense, and survival.

In one edition, the CSA Journal described what would occur during Armageddon:

"There will be an economic collapse, riots in the cities, famine, and war. People will kill each other for food, weapons, shelter, clothing, anything. It will get so bad that parents will eat their children."

It went on to describe plagues, natural disasters, human sacrifices, sodomy, and nuclear warfare, after which "all but the elect will have the mark of the Beast." CSA members signed a pledge not to surrender when Armageddon occurred.

CSA constructed an onsite training facility called Silhouette City, where targets included state troopers, Jews, and blacks. There, CSA and their paramilitary arm taught basic pistol and rifle use, personal home defense, rural and urban warfare, weapons proficiency, general military field craft, Christian martial arts, and natural wilderness survival.

October 1982

CSA invited speakers and members of Aryan Nations, the Mountain Church, the Christian-Patriots Defense League, and the Ku Klux Klan to a meeting in an attempt to initiate a unified cause. Although the convocation failed to organize a definitive direction

for right-wing groups, Robert Miller, founder of the spiritual community, Elohim City (see Appendix 1) provided the rhetoric for a future unification under the direction of James Ellison. Miller declared Ellison a prophet, one full of vision that would unite the attending groups to battle the Zionist Occupied Government (ZOG).

July 1983

Leaders of the Aryan Nations, Ku Klux Klan, and Church of Jesus Christ Christian (a Christian Identity church in Hayden Lake, Idaho), along with James Ellison, initiated a bold operation to overthrow the ZOG and establish a separate Aryan nation based on a Christian Identity faith. Their plots included assassinating government officials, Jews, and prominent politicians; bombing such public facilities as gas pipelines and power sources; burning synagogues and “homosexual-friendly” churches, and even bombing the Alfred E. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. The group also initiated the idea of poisoning a city’s water supply with cyanide. Although no one city was targeted, Washington D.C., New York, and Chicago were mentioned.

This was the beginning of CSA’s religious war. They published a manifesto called ATTACK (Aryan Tactical Treaty for the Advancement of Christ’s Kingdom), declaring war against the government. This was seen as the Second American Revolution.

“We shall Attack and Advance into enemy territory within the next two years. Be prepared!”

August 9, 1983

James Ellison and William Thomas traveled from the CSA compound in Marion County, Arkansas, to Springfield, Missouri, where they set fire to the Metropolitan Community Church, a gay and lesbian church. Thomas poured gasoline into the front door mail slot and set it on fire, while Ellison waited in the getaway car. Only the door caught fire, but the intention was clear.

August 15, 1 November 11, 1983

Thomas and two non-CSA members, Stephen Scott and Richard Wayne Snell, traveled to Fulton, Arkansas. Snell and Scott had been recruited to assist in the ATTACK operations. Their goal was to damage a natural gas pipeline that crossed the Red River on its way from the Gulf of Mexico to Chicago. According to Kerry Noble, “It was winter. We thought people would freeze, that they might start riots.” The dynamite exploded, but failed to cause significant damage to the pipeline.

November-December 1983

On November 12, the same three went to Texarkana, Arkansas to rob a pawnshop. While Thomas waited in the car, Scott and Snell bound and gagged the owner of the store, Bill Stump. Snell shot Stump three times in the head with a .22-caliber pistol.

They took jewelry, guns, and money from the register, which they handed over to Ellison for community distribution and bills.

They began to think of these activities as steps to something much bigger. Sometime in November, Ellison directed Snell and Scott to “case” the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, recognizing that destroying a federal building would galvanize the right-wing movement. Ellison directed CSA’s new munitions man, Kent Yates, to begin developing a missile system that could bring down the Murrah building from a distance. In early December, however, a rocket that Yates had been preparing exploded in his hands.

Meanwhile, Kerry Noble had fallen out of favor with Ellison and become somewhat estranged from the group. He had always seen the use of paramilitary tactics to perpetuate religion as somewhat suspect. In an attempt to regain favor, Noble had Yates make him a briefcase with C-4 explosives and dynamite. He took the briefcase and a .22-caliber pistol with a silencer to Kansas City where he intended to bomb an adult bookstore and shoot homosexuals at a park. While driving around, Noble could not find anyone at the park. At the adult bookstore, the manager informed him that he could not enter with the briefcase, so Noble left with bomb in hand. The next day, he entered the Metropolitan Community Church in Kansas City, a gay church, where he planned to set off the bomb. Envisioning the chaos and destruction that would occur, and deliberating whether or not an act such as this would trigger a revolution of the right wing, Noble reneged and walked out.

June 1984

On June 30, Richard Wayne Snell killed an Arkansas state trooper. When he was arrested for the murder, authorities found weapons in the back of his van and tied them to CSA and James Ellison. Shortly thereafter, Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton “wanted to make available to all law enforcement officials a list of suspected or known members of any paramilitary or white supremacist organizations in Arkansas.”

CSA members who had been arrested previously, like Randall Rader and Bill Thomas, turned state’s evidence against CSA. They testified that CSA had been creating illegal weapons, and that wanted members of The Order, a fellow right-wing group, were now staying in the CSA compound.

April 1985

On April 15, right-wing zealot David Tate shot and killed two Missouri state troopers. Tate left a van full of illegal weapons behind, and the FBI believed he was headed to the CSA compound.

On April 18, an officer delivered an arrest warrant for Ellison on arson charges, for his role in his sister’s insurance fraud scheme. Informed Ellison would not surrender, the FBI’s Hostage Rescue Team laid siege to the CSA compound and initiated negotiations.

On April 19, over 200 federal, state, and local law enforcement agents cordoned off the 224-acre compound in rural Arkansas. Federal Agent Danny Coulson was in charge

of the operation. Although CSA had prepared for an enemy invasion, with land mines laid around the property and a five-year stockpile of food, Coulson was able to successfully negotiate the surrender of James Ellison and the CSA compound. Working with Kerry Noble, a term of surrender document was signed by Coulson, U.S. Attorney Asa Hutchinson, and James Ellison. There were no shots fired, no mass exodus, and no deaths. The negotiations were a complete success, and James Ellison was finally in federal custody.

OUTCOME

- Ellison faced charges on conspiracy-to-possess-unlawful-weapons, RICO violations, and other weapons violations. His charges carried with them nearly 200 years in prison, if convicted.
- Under a plea bargain agreement, James Ellison eventually was handed a 20-year sentence.
- Kerry Noble received a five-year sentence.
- Other members of the community served similar sentences for weapons violations.
- Richard Wayne Snell was sentenced to death.
- The Zarephath-Horeb church and the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord disbanded, but the right-wing Christian Identity movement still exists today.

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TV Interview

1.8 JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE

BACKGROUND

The Jewish Defense League was formed in 1968 by Rabbi Meir Kahane, who believed that the “major Jewish organizations in the United States” had “failed to protect America’s Jews from anti-Semitism,” which he saw as “exploding” all over the country. The JDL believed that “American Jews were living in a fiercely hostile society, facing much the same dangers as the Jews in Nazi Germany or those in Israel surrounded by 100 million Arab enemies.” The assassination of Kahane in 1990 reaffirmed the JDL’s belief that Jewish persons were under attack, even in the United States.

The FBI and CIA have investigated the JDL, a known terrorist organization, for over 30 different terrorist activities since 1969. It has many branches throughout the United States and each group operates separately from the main organization.

Irving David Rubin was born on April 12, 1945, in Montreal, Quebec, Canada. As a boy he experienced anti-Semitism first hand and quickly began to use violence to remedy the situation. After immigrating to the United States with his family in 1961, Rubin joined the U.S. Air Force and served four years. In 1973, Rubin served in Israel’s civil defense corps during the Yom Kippur War.

Rubin became involved in the newly formed Jewish Defense League in the early 1970s. He was inspired by a speech given by founder Rabbi Meir Kahane and joined the same day. Rubin identified with the militant goals of the group and became one of its most important members. Rubin quickly moved through the ranks of the organization, becoming the chairman of the JDL in 1985.

“Chairman” Rubin was arrested over 40 times, and the JDL was involved in numerous terrorist activities against Muslim and Arab Americans in the United States, though it was never proved that he was explicitly involved in or responsible for any of these activities.

Earl Krugel was born in April 1942. He served in the U.S. Navy for four years. He joined the JDL in the 1970s and became coordinator of the West Coast branch. He was quoted on tapes supplied by an FBI confidential source as saying that the Arabs needed a wake-up call and something had to be done about their filthy mosques. Krugel was reportedly involved in at least two previous bombing attempts in association with the JDL and helped to recruit the confidential source, Danny Gillis, into the JDL when Gillis was a teenager. Krugel recruited Gillis again in October 2001 to carry out the bombing plot against Arab-associated institutions.

Danny Gillis was a Petty Officer in the Navy. While in high school, Gillis was reportedly a member of a Jewish-pride gang in the Porter Ranch area of the San Fernando Valley. Though he often fought with white supremacist youths during this time, he had no arrest record. Gillis said he had taken part in two earlier JDL bombing attempts, one at a San Fernando Valley tattoo parlor and a plan to plant a bomb outside a Valley mosque. He had reportedly ended his contact with the JDL after his honorable discharge from the Navy in early 2001. Gillis claimed he became involved in the 2001 bombing

plot because he supported the JDL's attacks against skinheads, but did not support their attacks against Muslim- and Arab-Americans because he had many Arab-American friends.

TIMELINE

On or about October 17, 2001

Irving David Rubin and Earl Leslie Krugel recruited Danny Gillis to carry out a bombing plot against Arab-associated institutions and/or people in the Los Angeles area. Unbeknownst to Krugel and Rubin, their intended fall guy, Gillis, had defected to the FBI just days after being recruited. After Gillis agreed to help the FBI, he was wired and sent into meetings so the agency could build a case against the two men.

Krugel and Rubin intended to attack only Arab- and/or Muslim-associated buildings. Among the reported potential targets: the Muslim Public Affairs Council building on Wilshire Boulevard in Los Angeles, the King Fahd Mosque on Washington Boulevard in Culver City, and the field office of U.S. Representative Darrel Issa, located in San Clemente.

October 29, 2001

Krugel met Gillis to discuss a list detailing various mosques he believed should be potential targets. Since the group had already decided to bomb the Muslim Public Affairs Council, Krugel instructed Gillis to photograph the offices of the Council. These photographs would be used to determine the best possible means to bomb the office. In an attempt to help Gillis with his research, Krugel gave him papers with descriptive information about the Los Angeles Council office.

November 4, 2001

Krugel and Gillis met again. Gillis had taken photographs of the Muslim Public Affairs Council office and brought the prints to Krugel for review. The men discussed how to build the bomb, and Krugel said they could build it in his garage. He already had three feet of fuse. Krugel told Gillis to transport the bomb to the Council Office in a paper bag, so as not to draw attention.

November 8, 2001

At his meeting with Gillis, Krugel turned his attention to the construction of the bomb. Krugel instructed Gillis to purchase a "unique" brand of gunpowder somewhere outside the Los Angeles area. He would show Gillis the type of pipe to purchase for constructing the bomb.

November 14, 2001

The plans for constructing the bomb were not complete, so Krugel met again with Gillis to discuss the materials needed. Krugel gave Gillis a sample of the fuse they needed and stressed he get the right gunpowder. Knowing that fingerprints on bomb components could tie Gillis, and therefore Krugel, to the planned bombing(s), Krugel instructed Gillis to wear gloves while handling the bomb components.

November 20, 2001

Krugel told Gillis not to buy any fuse, because they had enough.

December 7, 2001

In spite of Krugel's numerous meetings with Gillis, he still did not trust Gillis to buy the right components. Krugel said they would go shopping on December 10, he would construct the bomb by December 12, and Gillis could carry out the bombing on December 13. But Irving Rubin, who was in charge of finances, had to approve the plans. The meetings increased in frequency as the date for the bombing approached.

December 8, 2001

Irving Rubin got more involved with the plot and asked Gillis if he had purchased the "unique" gunpowder. Rubin had not seen the photographs of the Muslim Public Affairs Council office. When he reviewed them, he said he wanted to change the target of the bombing to a mosque in Culver City. He promised to provide the address of the mosque to Gillis in a few days so he could carry out the bombing on the scheduled date.

December 10, 2001

Krugel and Gillis went to a hardware store, and Krugel showed Gillis the right pipe to purchase. He left Gillis in the hardware store while he waited outside, unwilling to connect himself with the purchase. After the purchase, the men drove to Krugel's Reseda residence and stored the pipe in his garage. The two scheduled a meeting for the next day.

December 11, 2001

All three men met to finalize plans. Rubin brought information for the new target, the King Fahd Mosque. In addition to bombing the mosque, Gillis was to bomb the field office of United States Congressman Darrell Issa. Gillis was instructed to locate the field office and conduct surveillance. Gillis delivered the gunpowder to Krugel's home. Krugel now had all the necessary materials to construct a bomb: gunpowder, fuse material, pipe, and end-caps.

OUTCOME

- Irving David Rubin was arrested on December 11, 2001, when police officers pulled him over on his way from Jerry's Famous Deli in Encino to his Monrovia home. Earl Leslie Krugel was arrested on December 11, 2001, in his Reseda area home, prior to the arrest of his associate, Irving Rubin.
- On November 4, 2002, prior to standing trial, Rubin reportedly slashed his neck with a prison-issue razor blade and fell 18 feet over a railing at the federal Metropolitan Detention Center. Rubin died in the hospital 10 days later. As of January 2005, representatives of Rubin's family were still investigating his apparent suicide.
- Krugel was brought to trial on one count of conspiracy to violate the civil rights of the users of the Culver City mosque and one count of carrying an explosive device in connection with a conspiracy to impede or injure an officer of the United States. In exchange for his cooperation with authorities regarding several incidents believed to involve the JDL, Krugel faces a 10- to 20-year prison term; if he had been convicted at trial on the original charges, Krugel would have received a mandatory 40-year term.
- In June 2004, prosecutors petitioned to try Krugel on multiple counts listed in an indictment filed against him three years ago, arguing that Krugel breached terms of the plea deal. The case had yet to come to trial as of January 2005.
- The activities of the Jewish Defense League have been virtually non-existent since the indictments and convictions of Earl Krugel and Irving Rubin for their planned terrorist attacks in the Los Angeles area in 2001.

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1.9 THE KU KLUX KLAN

The Ku Klux Klan is, for most Americans, the quintessential symbol of right-wing white supremacy. The Klan has seen three incarnations since it first appeared in the South after the Civil War. It reached its peak in the 1920s, claiming millions of members, although this figure cannot be verified. However, the images of white robes, white hoods, and burning crosses were seared into the American psyche and kept alive by writers and filmmakers, thus giving credence to a large and well-organized organization.

Today, the Klan exists only in the form of isolated groups and supporters. It has become fragmented and decentralized, and membership continues to decline from the supposed millions in its heyday to a few thousand members today. In spite of membership drives designed to convince people the KKK is neither racist nor violent, the symbols of the Klan do not die easily.

The incidents in this case study involve individuals who were associated with KKK organizations at the time of the incident or individuals who had, in the past, been associated with the KKK.

The first incident, Barefoot KKK, looks at Charles Barefoot, who had been involved with the Klan for many years before deciding to form his own Klan faction because the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were not violent enough.

The Fusilier and Dartez KKK incident involves six members of the American Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan in Louisiana who decide to don robes and burn a cross in the yard of an African-American family.

The Hull KKK case study introduces us to the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, a splinter group in Pennsylvania.

These three incidents deal with splinter groups or factions of the Indiana-based National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the more extreme white supremacy groups consider too moderate. However, past Klan membership and white supremacist ideology are common threads among the leaders and membership of many of the right-wing extremist groups.

1.9 KKK BAREFOOT

BACKGROUND

Charles Robert Barefoot Jr. was born in 1963 in Johnston County, North Carolina, and spent his life there. Although his ties to the Ku Klux Klan went back several years, he found the outlet to practice his white supremacy beliefs as an officer in the North Carolina chapter of the Indiana-based National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. National Knight members liked to frighten local citizens with weapons trainings and cross burnings on Klan property. In this setting, Barefoot developed an aggressive and

intimidating personality. However, Indiana-based National Knights leader Railton Loy (convicted in 2001 for harassing a newspaper reporter) informed North Carolina authorities that Barefoot eventually began to feel that the National Knights were not aggressive enough in their ideologies and tactics. Barefoot left the National Knights to form a new KKK faction.

In April 2001, Barefoot formed the “Church of the Nation’s Knights of the Ku Klux Klan” and registered his organization in Johnston County as a “charitable and religious organization.” Barefoot declared himself the “agent” of the new faction and began recruiting members. By January 2002, Barefoot had formed a 12-member group with similar violent and aggressive beliefs in white supremacy. The Nation’s Knights began meeting regularly at Barefoot’s home, where they allegedly gathered bomb-making materials and drafted a plot to bomb the Johnston County Sheriff’s Office. Barefoot could not foresee that one of his 12 members would become an informant, and that the bomb plot on the sheriff’s office would fail.

TIMELINE

July 19, 2002

Barefoot was taking a leisurely drive with his 18-year-old son, Daniel. Their outing came to an abrupt halt when Barefoot saw flashing red and blue lights in his rear-view mirror. Pulling to the side of the road, Barefoot was confronted by two Johnston County deputies and informed that he was being stopped for a vehicle charge. On closer observation, the deputies discovered that Barefoot had a number of firearms in his truck. Forced to take quick action, deputies arrested Charles and Daniel Barefoot and took them to the Johnston County Sheriff’s Office for more thorough investigation.

After discovering that the firearms in Barefoot’s pickup truck were stolen, deputies decided to take a more in-depth look at Barefoot’s background. A search warrant was issued, allowing deputies to search Barefoot’s house in Benson, North Carolina, for additional stolen firearms and unlawful weapons. Entering Barefoot’s home, federal and local law enforcement officers were stunned when they found some two dozen weapons that included handguns, rifles, an Uzi, an AK-47, and 4,500 rounds of ammunition. Authorities also found two homemade bombs and bomb-making materials; including ether, detonating cords, and fuses, as well as a collection of Ku Klux Klan robes and white supremacy paraphernalia. Their final discovery was the bomb plot to blow up the Johnston County Sheriff’s Office, the sheriff, and the county jail.

Once authorities uncovered the arsenal of weapons and alleged bombing plot inside Barefoot’s home and verified Barefoot’s connection to the Nation’s Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, they transported Barefoot to the New Hanover County jail to await his court date. While Barefoot was in detainment, the former Nation’s Knight member who informed authorities of Barefoot’s bomb plot contacted authorities a second time to report a murder he had witnessed in 2001. The individual reported to the State Bureau of Investigation and the Sampson County Sheriff’s Office that he witnessed members of at least two Ku Klux Klan organizations murder a fellow Klan member in Sampson County, North Carolina.

January 2, 2003

A decomposed body of a middle-aged man was found buried in a field in Sampson County, at the exact location where the witness said the murder had taken place. The informant told authorities that several Klan members had driven a van to Jacksonville, North Carolina, to pick up the victim, also believed to be a Klan member. They drove him back to Sampson County, where they shot him twice in the back of the head. The informant told police that Klan members killed the man because he knew too much about the alleged plot to bomb the Johnston County Sheriff's Office.

Investigators went to the New Hanover County jail to question Charles Barefoot. Barefoot was interviewed several times that evening, but the investigators were unsuccessful in linking Barefoot to the murder.

January 3, 2003

Barefoot appeared in federal court before U.S. Magistrate William Mason, where he pleaded guilty to one weapons count. Despite the guilty plea, authorities continued their investigation of Barefoot and the murder that had occurred two years earlier.

January 10, 2003

Authorities obtained a search warrant to investigate a white van parked at Barefoot's home. Investigators discovered dried blood stains throughout the van.

OUTCOME

- Two weeks later, after a closer analysis of blood samples, four Klan members were arrested in connection with the Sampson County murder victim. The four Klan members included 24-year-old Mark Anthony Denning of Newport, North Carolina, 50-year-old Marvin Glen Gautier of Benson, North Carolina, 30-year-old Michael Anthony Brewer of Lumberton, North Carolina, and Charles Barefoot's 37-year-old wife, Sharon Renee Barefoot.
- Sharon Barefoot and Mark Denning were members of Barefoot's Church of the Nation's Knights and took part in the murder with National Knight Klan members Michael Brewer and Marvin Gautier. Investigators soon discovered that Brewer was the Grand Dragon of the National Knights group in Robeson County, North Carolina, and played an active role in organizing the murder. Brewer verified to investigators that he, Sharon Barefoot, Mark Denning, and Marvin Gautier murdered the former Klan member because he had too much information pertaining to the bomb plot on the Johnston County Sheriff's Office.
- In April 2003, Charles Barefoot was sentenced to 27 months in prison.

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1.10 KKK FUSILIER DARTEZ

BACKGROUND

Longville, Louisiana, population 2,044, is a rural town in Beauregard County, just south of De Ridder. Ninety-five percent of Longville is Caucasian, and a portion of this population includes members of the American Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan.

THE INCIDENT

On the evening of September 1, 2002, six people gathered in Longville with one common goal in mind: white power. These were not adolescent pranksters, but middle-aged men and women who were members of the Ku Klux Klan.

The six KKK members gathered that Sunday evening were David Anthony Fuselier, 32, Christopher Aaron Hammer, 22, Samuel James Trahan, 23, Berry Lynn Harris, 21, Robert Alan Dartez, 27, and his 27-year-old wife, Holly Rochelle Brown Dartez. Their objective was to run one of Longville's few African-American families out of the town.

The Klan members arrived at the family's residence in full Klan regalia. In the front yard, they constructed a large cross, doused it with gasoline, and ignited it. They stood in the light of the flames until they were sure the family saw the white robes and masks, then fled the scene as the family watched the burning cross light the night.

OUTCOME

- David Fuselier pleaded guilty to conspiring to violate civil rights, interfering with housing rights, and using fire in the commission of a felony. Fuselier received a 14-year prison term and was ordered to pay \$5,000 in fines.
- Christopher Hammer, Samuel Trahan, Berry Harris, Robert Dartez and his wife, Holly, all pleaded guilty to conspiring to violate civil rights. All were sentenced to prison terms ranging from 12 to 21 months.

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1.11 KKK HULL

BACKGROUND

David Wayne Hull, 40, was divorced, unemployed, and lived alone in his secluded farmhouse in Amwell, Pennsylvania. With a criminal record dating back to 1994, including attempted homicide in 1998 and harassment in 1996, his roots with the Ku Klux Klan ran long and deep.

Hull was a longtime adherent of the racist Christian Identity religion and had engaged in Klan activities for the majority of his life. Working his way up through the hierarchy of the Klan, Hull eventually became the self-proclaimed Imperial Wizard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Washington County, Pennsylvania. The White Knights was a seven-member unit that grew out of the dissolved Invisible Empire Klan. Hull, unlike most Klan leaders, avoided public appearances and led a secretive life. Hull described his group as:

“Our Klan is a super-secret Klan where all of our activities are shrouded in a mist of secrecy.....Our officers never speak to the press about anything.”

The foundation of Hull’s White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan faction was the belief that Christianity must be spread throughout the nation by means of white supremacy. He believed that abortion was not only a sin, but a deterrent to the spread of white supremacy.

TIMELINE

Summer 2002

A neighbor heard and saw Hull detonate two pipe bombs on his Amwell property during a cross-burning event. Hull allegedly planned to teach other Klan members to build pipe bombs during military training exercises he conducted at his Klan gatherings. Hull’s neighbor quickly reported the incident to law enforcement officials, who started surveillance on Hull.

November 2002

Hull began formulating a plot to bomb several abortion clinics around the state, with intent to cause substantial property damage. Unbeknownst to Hull, an FBI undercover agent was able to infiltrate a ring of Hull’s associates in early November. The agent was able to establish a relationship with Hull and construct a framework of trust.

November 19, 2002

The undercover agent drove from Philadelphia to Washington County to meet Hull for lunch at a truck stop. During the meeting, Hull told the agent he wanted to purchase 10 hand grenades. The agent informed Hull the grenades would cost him \$200 each.

Because of the unanticipated price, Hull purchased only five, expecting a quick delivery by early February.

During the meeting, Hull also told the agent that two of his men had gone to retrieve two bombs he had buried on state game lands. He wanted everyone to meet back at his home to discuss "additional procedures." Hull and the FBI agent left the truck stop in Hull's truck. During the trip, Hull told the agent he intended to use the grenades to attack abortion clinics in order to inflict property damage. When the agent confronted Hull about potential injuries, Hull responded:

"If they are there, they are killers or a woman killing a fetus. Either way, f--k 'em."

When Hull and the agent arrived at his house, Hull had a message on his answering machine from the two men he had sent to retrieve the bombs. The men had failed to locate the bombs and were not returning to Hull's home. Frustrated, Hull began gathering materials for making pipe bombs and teaching the agent the assembly process. Hull said he was going to use the pipe bombs to bomb an abortion clinic in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in a week or two.

February 13, 2003

Members of the joint terrorism task force, made up of federal, state, and local law enforcement officials, surrounded Hull at a Washington County truck stop and placed him in custody.

OUTCOME

- Hull was charged with possession of an unregistered firearm, unlawful transfer of a firearm, unlawful manufacture of a firearm, distribution of information relating to explosives, destructive devices, and possession of weapons of mass destruction. He was also charged with illegal possession of a firearm as a convicted felon.
- During Hull's proceeding, federal authorities revealed they had seized 15 firearms, including an assault rifle, and various powders, chemicals, and other components for additional explosive devices from Hull's rural property. Hull allegedly told a cooperating witness that he had "created a suicide bomb on wheels" by rigging his car so it would explode with the flip of a switch.
- Hull was found guilty and sentenced to a 90-year prison term.

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1.12 Krar IDC

BACKGROUND

William Joseph Krar was born in 1940 in Weare, Connecticut, the son of a gunsmith for Colt Firearms. His life and much of his livelihood centered on weapons and militias, although he never served in the military. His formal education ended after a few semesters in community college.

In the late 1970s, Krar moved to Goffstown, New Hampshire, and opened a restaurant called the “Villa Roma.” In 1984, while in New Hampshire, Krar also began working as an intermediary arms dealer, selling guns without a federal firearms license. Krar operated his side business under the name of the International Development Corporation (IDC) America, listing his home address as his place of business. For the next 18 years, Krar used IDC America as a front for dealing guns.

Around 1984, Krar abandoned his restaurant business and began working as a sales representative for a home building distributorship in the nearby town of Hooksett, New Hampshire. During this time, a co-worker recalled Krar as a highly secretive man who always had a pistol at his side, stacks of *Soldier of Fortune* in his office, and almost no knowledge or experience in the construction business. Other employees remembered that Krar and another colleague often disappeared for weeks at a time, headed to Costa Rica and other locations in Central America, even though the building supply company had no dealings beyond New England.

In 1985, Krar had his first run-in with the law when he was arrested by the New Hampshire State Police and charged with impersonation of a police officer. Krar entered a no-contest plea, paid a fine and was released. Three years later, in 1988, a fire destroyed the building supply company where Krar worked, forcing it out of business. This was the same year Krar stopped filing federal income taxes for IDC America and effectively dropped out of the system.

In or around May 1989, Krar met Judith Bruey, who eventually moved into Krar’s New Hampshire cabin in Goffstown. Neighbors and associates referred to Krar and Bruey as a couple who kept to themselves. Ralph Demicco, owner of Riley’s Sport Shop in Hooksett, recalled that Krar frequently came into his store but never bought anything. Instead, Krar complained to Demicco about taxes and the government’s intrusion in people’s lives. He revealed that he had “inside information on government matters.” When a fire broke out at Goffstown Storage in June 2001, police discovered a collection of guns and thousands of rounds of ammunition in a unit rented to Krar. He avoided arrest by claiming that the weapons were part of his gun distribution business.

TIMELINE

2001—shortly after the storage fire

Krar and his now common-law wife, Judith Bruey, moved to a small farmhouse on Oak Spring Road in Tyler, Texas. Once again, the couple located a storage facility and rented three units at Noonday Storage. For more than a year, the couple was seen at the facility every morning unloading U-Haul trucks filled with military surplus items. Although their actions were somewhat unusual, other storage renters reported the couple as nice, friendly people.

January 24, 2002

A UPS package was incorrectly delivered to a family in Staten Island, New York. After inadvertently opening the package, the family discovered an array of identification documents. All of them had a photograph of the same man, even though the names were different. The person who opened the package turned it and the contents over to the Middletown, New Jersey, police department, who immediately contacted the FBI in Newark.

A closer examination of the package's contents revealed documents that included a North Dakota birth certificate for "Anthony Louis Brach," a Social Security card and a Vermont birth certificate for "Michael E. Brooks," a West Virginia birth certificate for "Joseph A. Curry," a Defense Intelligence Agency identification card, and a U.N. Multinational Force Observer identification card. The package was addressed to Edward S. Feltus in Old Bridge, New Jersey, and bore a return address from William J. Krar in Tyler, Texas. The package contained a brief letter from Krar to Feltus that read:

"Hope this package gets to you O.K. We would hate to have this fall into the wrong hands."

August 8, 2002

Seven months went by before FBI agents finally contacted Edward Feltus, a 56-year-old employee of the Monmouth County Department of Human Services. Feltus admitted the forged documents were intended for him, saying he wanted "an ace in the hole" against some future disaster or government crackdown. The documents, he said, would allow him to travel "freely in the United States."

Feltus told federal agents he was a member of the New Jersey Militia, an anti-government, right-wing paramilitary group with white nationalism ideologies. Feltus told the agents that after he requested the false IDs from Krar, he stored more than 100 rifles and pistols at a fellow militia member's residence in Vermont. Feltus revealed that seven months after the Oklahoma City bombing, leaders of the New Jersey Militia met in New Hampshire with representatives from militias in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Maine, Connecticut, and New Hampshire to form the New England Regional Militia. Its purpose was "to establish an operational framework to develop and implement tactical contingency plans that would include supplies, training, public relations, and intelligence

gathering." A key player in the New Hampshire Militia at the time of the meeting was William J. Krar.

January 11, 2003

Krar was stopped by a Tennessee state trooper on the outskirts of Nashville for a routine traffic stop. Searching Krar's rental car, Trooper William Gregory found the following items: a plastic bag containing seven marijuana cigarettes, one syringe of unknown substance, one white bottle with an unknown white substance, 40 wine-like bottles of unknown liquid, two pistols, 16 knives, a stun gun, a smoke grenade, three military-style atropine injectors, 260 rounds of ammunition, handcuffs, thumb cuffs, fuse ropes, binoculars, and a collection of other combat items. In addition to Krar's passport, the trooper found a birth certificate and California credit union card for "William Fritz Hoffner," and a Christian missionary identification card with Krar's photo and the name "W. F. Hoffner." There were other documents, letters to IDC America, and four pages of what appeared to be a clandestine operations plan for cross-country travel and communications. Trooper Gregory arrested Krar on marijuana possession, took him into custody, and impounded the car.

Tennessee State Police officers contacted the FBI to report Krar and his collection of unusual substances and firearms. Nashville FBI Special Agent David McIntosh reported to interview Krar. During the interview, Krar admitted that the weapons and ammo and other materials were his. He maintained it was all part of his stock as a dealer working gun shows. Krar said he was moving back to New Hampshire to help his girlfriend get out of a bad divorce, and that he didn't know that the bag contained marijuana.

January 12, 2003

Krar bonded out of jail and drove west out of Nashville, leaving his property behind. Assuming the jar of white powder was cocaine; Trooper Gregory opened it, took a whiff and placed it in an evidence locker.

When the FBI lab tested the jar of white powder some months later, they discovered sodium cyanide. Although federal authorities did not identify the liquid in the 40 wine bottles, an arrest warrant was issued for William Joseph Krar.

OUTCOME

- On April 10, 2003, federal authorities arrived at Noonday Storage in Tyler to search Krar's three rental units. In a mind-numbing discovery, authorities found an extensive weapon collection that included: fully automatic machine guns, remote-controlled explosive devices disguised as briefcases, 60 pipe bombs, nearly 500,000 rounds of ammunition, and enough pure sodium cyanide, the authorities said, "to kill everyone inside a 30,000 square foot building." They also found anti-black, anti-Semitic, and anti-government reading material. Most disturbing were books on how to create bombs and chemical weapons, including *The Anarchist Cookbook*, *The Poor Man's James Bond*, *Assorted Nasties* and *Turner Diaries*.

- In November 2003, 63-year-old William Joseph Krar pleaded guilty to conspiracy and the possession of illegal weapons. Although Krar had talked about using sodium cyanide as a weapon, investigators were unable to determine exactly what Krar intended to do with the cyanide or the arsenal. Therefore, Krar was sentenced to only five years in prison.
- Judith Bruey, Krar's common-law wife, stated that she knew Krar was storing military surplus equipment but had no knowledge of the sodium cyanide. Bruey never received any penalties.

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1.13 MINNESOTA PATRIOTS COUNCIL

BACKGROUND

The Minnesota Patriots Council is a right-wing, anti-government, terrorist organization with a deep hatred for the United States Government because of its taxation demands. In April 1991, Minnesota Patriots Council members gathered to organize a deadly biochemical “revenge” plot. Four individuals would spend the next year structuring and perfecting their deadly assault.

Dennis Henderson, 37, was considered the leader of the bioterrorist plot. Henderson was divorced, a college dropout, and had a history of alcohol problems, including two previous DUI records. Henderson worked as a carpet technician at Carpet Tech, a small business in Alexandria, Minnesota, owned by Leroy Wheeler.

Leroy Wheeler, 55, married and a high school graduate was a supporter of Henderson’s ideas and helped conceal much of the biochemical production phase.

Richard Oelrich, also 55, was a high school dropout and served as co-leader with Henderson in formulating the group’s terrorist plot. Oelrich would play a crucial role by helping acquire the lethal chemical ricin.

Douglas Baker was the fourth member of the group. At age 29, Baker was married and a high school graduate. He supported the group’s cause by helping Wheeler conceal the production phase of the hazardous toxin.

TIMELINE

April 1991

Dennis Henderson and Richard Oelrich met at Oelrich’s residence in Alexandria to discuss the advantages of using the chemical ricin in their deadly plot against the government. According to the Congressional Research Service, “ricin is a potent plant toxin found in the seeds of the castor plant. It works by blocking cell protein synthesis, which results in cell death. If enough cells die, lesions appear in the exposed tissue which can lead to organ failure and the death of the victim.”

During the meeting, the two devised a plan to kill U.S. marshals, IRS agents, and Dave Ahlquist, a deputy sheriff in Douglas County. Oelrich joked with Henderson that some other people would get the “bureaucratic flu.”

After Henderson and Oelrich’s initial conversation, they recruited two friends, Leroy Wheeler and Douglas Baker, also members of the Patriots. Their job was to find a source for ricin. After seeing an advertisement in a local CBA Bulletin, Wheeler and Baker contacted Maynard Campbell in Ashland, Oregon, and purchased the castor beans. From this point on, Henderson, Oelrich, Wheeler, and Baker all referred to the ricin substance as “Maynard” to conceal their deadly plot.

Summer, 1991

Wheeler received the ricin beans at his Alexandria residence and quickly called the other three conspirators. The four took the castor beans to a shed behind Wheeler's house and began preparations for turning them into the deadly toxin.

Wearing a 3M mask and rubber gloves, Henderson placed the beans in a baby food jar and crushed them with a bolt inserted through a hole cut in the lid of the jar. The men stored the baby food jar of ricin in Wheeler's shed and went back to the house.

In the house, Wheeler and Baker apparently overheard Henderson and Oelrich secretly discuss their plan to kill U.S. marshals, IRS agents, and Deputy Ahlquist. Henderson and Oelrich talked about putting ricin in a syringe and spraying it into Deputy Ahlquist's car through the weather-stripping in the windows. Henderson said it could be done in the winter so the heater fan would blow the powder around the car. Another suggestion was to mix the ricin powder with a gel and smear it on the door handle of the deputy's car and other government vehicles. Supposedly, Wheeler and Baker were not told about these murder plans.

May 21, 1992

Colette Baker, wife of Douglas Baker, arrived at the Pop County Sheriff's Office in Glenwood with a frightening present. Mrs. Baker placed a one-pound Folger's coffee can on the counter and informed the sheriff that she suspected her husband and three friends were involved in a deadly biochemical plot.

Inside the coffee can was a baby food jar filled with a white powder, a fingernail polish bottle containing a green gel, a pair of rubber gloves, and a handwritten note to "Doug" that read:

"Doug, be extremely careful! After you mix the powder with the gel, the slightest contact will kill you! If you breathe the powder or get it in your eyes, you're a dead man. Dispose all instruments used properly. Always wear your rubber gloves and then destroy them also. Good hunting!! P.S. Destroy this note!!"

OUTCOME

- The coffee can and its contents were sent to a forensic chemist at the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The white powder in the baby food jar was identified as ricin. The chemist disclosed that a gram of pure ricin would contain enough lethal doses to kill approximately 3,600 people. The baby food jar contained .7 grams of five percent pure ricin.
- The FBI forensic examiner also identified the green gel in the fingernail polish bottle as two separate substances: dimethyl sulfoxide (DMSO) and a skin-care gel such as aloe vera. DMSO is a powerful solvent with the ability to penetrate human skin. Because it has the ability to carry other substances into the bloodstream, it is considered effective in transporting toxins such as ricin into the bloodstream. The examiner assumed the DMSO was to carry the ricin into the

bloodstream and gel was to spread the toxin on the skin. However, the agent expressed reservations about DMSO's ability to carry ricin into the bloodstream through the skin because of its high molecular weight.

- An FBI fingerprint examiner identified two of Leroy Wheeler's fingerprints on the inside of one of the rubber gloves found inside the can. One fingerprint belonging to Leroy Wheeler was found on the bottom of the can.
- On July 26, 1995, a two-count indictment was filed charging Dennis Henderson and Richard Oelrich with aiding and abetting and knowingly possessing a toxin for use as a weapon from April 1991 through May 1992. Both men also were charged with conspiracy to possess a toxin for use as a weapon from April 1991 through May 1992. Henderson and Oelrich were each found guilty on both counts, and each received a 74-month prison sentence.
- Although Leroy Wheeler and Douglas Baker filed a "not guilty" plea, both men were found guilty on one count of aiding and abetting and knowingly possessing a toxin for use as a weapon. Wheeler and Baker were each sentenced to a 22-month prison sentence.

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1.14 OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING

BACKGROUND

Timothy James McVeigh was born on April 23, 1968, near Buffalo, New York, the second child of Bill and Mildred “Mickey” McVeigh. Bill McVeigh was a blue-collar worker who enjoyed his garden. Mickey, on the other hand, liked to party. Eventually, the differences between Bill and Mickey led to divorce. His parents’ divorce had a major impact on Tim, who, years later, would be remembered for the harsh words he used to describe his mother.

Tim’s interest in guns developed at an early age. His grandfather, Ed McVeigh, often took Tim to the woods to shoot .22-caliber rifles and work on Tim’s marksmanship. When Tim was thirteen, his grandfather bought him a .22 of his own. Tim developed a very close relationship with his grandfather. In jailhouse interviews after the Oklahoma City bombing, Tim would say that his grandfather might have been the only person he ever really loved.

McVeigh graduated from Star Point High School in 1986. His hobbies included shooting various guns and driving his car (often too fast). After high school, McVeigh attended one year of college at the Bryant and Stratton Business College, a school known for training office assistants, not preparing students for high-paying jobs. After about three months, Tim became bored and dropped out.

He began to read more about weapons in *Guns & Ammo* and other magazines. He also began to frequent local stores that carried military gear, hunting equipment, and guns. Tim found himself at home sitting in the stores, talking with patrons about different guns and their performance. Weaponry and gun rights had captured Tim’s attention. He left his Burger King job to look for something more in line with his interests.

He found a security position with Burke Armor Security of Buffalo. The job allowed Tim to make money and carry a handgun, for which he got a permit in 1987, since he and his co-workers often had to escort thousands of dollars from banks and the airport. Tim soon established himself as the best shot on the team.

Continually reading the latest in gun technology, Tim ordered books and other publications from firearms magazines. Much of the literature he read dealt with gun rights, survivalists, and the end of civilization. Tim liked the idea of having to survive without modern conveniences. He convinced his dad to increase the amount of canned food in the basement and even filled two barrels with water, in case their drinking water became contaminated.

McVeigh and his shooting buddy, Dave Darlak, bought a 10-acre plot of land outside Olean, New York. The two spent hours there, honing their marksmanship skills.

With the money he earned at Burke Security, Tim began to invest in guns. He believed that if a man had a gun, he could defend hearth and home and hunt his food.

Guns, some in the survivalist movement predicted, would take the place of money. He began to fervently defend Americans' right to bear arms, as well as immerse himself in radical right-wing literature. The book that had the biggest impact on McVeigh was *Turner Diaries* (see Appendix 1). McVeigh read the book dozens of times, constantly trying to get people around him to read it and adopt its message. Although not an outward racist, McVeigh embraced the book for its "fight the government to the bitter end" message.

In May 1988, Tim told his father he had decided to join the Army. He knew the experience would help his survival and shooting skills and, perhaps, gives him a sense of purpose. His impressions of military life were formed by action movies like "Rambo" and "Missing in Action". Unlike college, the military offered a paying job, a first-rate education, and all the free ammunition he could use. The idea of getting paid to shoot guns and learn how to survive in a war appealed to Tim.

McVeigh was sent to Fort Benning, Georgia, for boot camp. He thrived on the frantic 5 a.m. wake-ups, rushed meals, dirty jokes, uniform inspections, and the Georgia countryside. He loved the duties other recruits hated. More than anything, he loved firearms. The Army's cache of weapons was heaven. Many in Tim's Army unit were annoyed at his gung-ho attitude, but the officers saw potential in McVeigh. Instead of joining them at the nightclubs near the base, Tim became a loan shark for his fellow soldiers and a designated driver, for a fee.

Tim quickly formed a strong bond with Terry Nichols, a 33-year-old Michigan native, the oldest recruit in the company. An intense man, Nichols had failed in a number of jobs and business ventures, finally losing his small farm before he joined the military. This experience gave him a new hatred for the government, making his move to the military somewhat odd. Nichols bunked close to McVeigh, and the two found time to trade ideas on weapons, the government, and other subjects. Tim was glad to find another ardent believer in the Second Amendment. McVeigh and Nichols withdrew from others in their unit. They discussed articles and goods found in *Soldier of Fortune*, *Elite Force* and *Uncle Sam's Military Catalogue*. Tim told Terry that he would one day be a Green Beret or maybe a general. Terry wanted to be a "professional soldier" with a woman in every port.

In September 1988, McVeigh was transferred to Fort Riley, Kansas, for more specialized training. He joined Company C, 2/16 Infantry Battalion. Among the soldiers who accompanied him to Fort Riley were Terry Nichols and Michael J. Fortier, a recruit from Arizona who shared many of McVeigh's political views. McVeigh, who seldom drank and never took drugs, was an odd match for Fortier, who smoked marijuana and took amphetamines regularly. Both Terry Nichols and Michael Fortier would have a profound impact on Timothy McVeigh.

McVeigh handed Michael Fortier a copy of *Turner Diaries* and told him he should read it. He also gave a copy to Sergeant Albert O. Warnement, who warned McVeigh about distributing that kind of racist literature.

McVeigh kept up his survivalist hobby while at Fort Riley. He rented a storage shed in nearby Junction City and stocked it with 100 gallons of fresh water, guns, ammunition, MRE rations, and other supplies.

About two weeks before McVeigh was supposed to try out for the Army's Special Forces, he was ordered to Operation Desert Storm. He had reservations about the conflict in the Middle East, feeling that the United States military should stick to its own backyard unless America was directly threatened. Yet, Saddam Hussein appeared to be the kind of leader McVeigh hated the most—a bully.

McVeigh waited in Saudi Arabia for what seemed an eternity before he joined the battle. The ground war McVeigh engaged in was more turkey shoot than war. The American tanks and troops were far superior to the Iraqis. On the second day of the ground war, while many Iraqis surrendered, McVeigh's crew spotted a dug-in enemy machine gun cabin more than a mile away. McVeigh saw a flash of light, the apparent source of Iraqi gunfire. He pressed his forehead against the padded viewfinder, zeroing in on the target. As his Bradley fighting vehicle was still rolling, McVeigh saw a head pop up for a split second. McVeigh fired, hitting the soldier in the upper chest and blowing his head off his body. The same shot also killed another Iraqi soldier who was standing next to the man. McVeigh was given the Bronze Star, the Army Achievement Medal, the Southwest Asia Service Medal, and the Kuwait Liberation Medal.

McVeigh's first taste of killing left him feeling angry and uncomfortable. He did not see the Iraqis as a competent adversary. It bothered him that he had been part of a war that involved no direct threat to the United States, and that he was part of a United Nations force. He suspected that the United Nations was eventually planning to take over the world. He was most bothered that he had killed two people who he felt were too far away to do anybody any damage. In later interviews, McVeigh suggested he probably suffered from post-traumatic stress after the war.

Most soldiers were excited to get back to the United States in order to see family, be out of harm's way, and eat real food. McVeigh's only concern was trying out for the Army's Special Forces. Although people told him how difficult the selection process was McVeigh shrugged it off.

He began the three-week assessment and selection course. During a routine "long walk" in which the soldiers carried a 45-pound rucksack, McVeigh's newly purchased boots began to cut into his feet. Just hours into the training, McVeigh noticed that he felt strange, as if he had a bad case of jet lag. After a couple of days, he went to the field office and filled out a Statement of Voluntary Withdrawal, stating only "I am not ready, and the rucksack march hurt more than it should." McVeigh may not have given himself an appropriate amount of time to recover from the war, he may have been suffering from post-traumatic stress, or he simply may not have been cut out for the Special Forces. Because he never attempted to enter the Forces again, this question will remain unanswered. What is known is that McVeigh blamed his failure on those around him. He felt that he never should have been allowed to quit, and that he should have been pushed harder to stick with it. He resented the fact that he now had to go back to normal Army life.

His failure to make the Special Forces pushed McVeigh away from the Army and contributed to his growing hatred of the United States government. In late 1991, McVeigh was summoned to a meeting in the battalion commander's office. Nervously, he thanked the commander for the offer to become his gunner, but did not accept. He

then blurted out that he was leaving the Army altogether. Standing in front of the officer, McVeigh wept. The commander said that he respected his decision and sent him on his way. McVeigh left the Army at the end of 1991 and went back to live with his father in Buffalo.

McVeigh returned from military service with high hopes about his future. Although he had a chest full of medals and had performed almost perfectly throughout his four-year service, he struggled to find work. The economy in western New York was slow, and the decent jobs typically went to people with college degrees, not to ex-soldiers. He finally landed a job with Burns Security of Buffalo, returning to a job similar to the one he had left to join the Army. The next year would bring great frustration for McVeigh, and he would slip into a deep depression.

During this period McVeigh sometimes worked up to 80 hours a week at his dead-end job and slept on the couch. He became irritable and angry. He later stated that he might have been suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder.

McVeigh began to use conspiracy theories and anti-government rhetoric to fuel his anger. He read more anti-government books and pamphlets, sharing them with anyone who would listen. He believed the federal government intended to disarm Americans and take away the right to bear arms under the Second Amendment. In the summer of 1992, the killings of civilians by government agents at Ruby Ridge became the battle cry for militia and survivalist groups. The incident backed up McVeigh's fears that the United States was becoming an overtaxed police state. His father was concerned about his growing anger at the government, and people began to notice that he dropped any friend who didn't agree with his extreme beliefs.

On February 28, 1993, federal agents raided the Mount Carmel home and church of the Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas. A shootout erupted after seventy-six armed ATF agents tried to execute a search warrant for illegal weapons. Dozens were injured, including the Davidian leader, David Koresh. The Davidians went to ground in their compound, and the standoff that followed became a rallying cry for anti-government groups across the country. Timothy McVeigh spent hours watching and reading about the developments in Waco. Finally, McVeigh packed his car with anti-government bumper stickers and pamphlets and drove to Waco.

After showing his disapproval with the federal government in Waco, McVeigh headed to Kingman, Arizona, to visit his old Army buddy, Michael Fortier. The two men shared concerns about gun control, the United Nations, the New World Order, and the recent acts of the federal government. Fortier and his wife, Lori, set McVeigh up in their spare bedroom, and, before long, he was like family. Michael and Lori were already pot-smoking speed addicts, and Tim soon found himself drinking and dabbling with their illegal drugs. Over the next few years, Tim stayed with the Fortiers whenever, and for as long as, he needed to.

When McVeigh wanted to hone his survivalist skills, he went to Decker, Michigan, to stay on Terry Nichols' farm. It was during his stay at the farm that McVeigh witnessed the second raid by federal agents on the Davidian compound in Waco. He watched as armored vehicles rammed the complex's wall, watched the flames spread throughout the structure. He cried at the sight. McVeigh and the Nichols brothers stayed up late into the

night discussing the event, all of them very angry. A month after this incident, McVeigh was back at the Fortiers in Kingman. He told them it was time for action against a government that had gone too far and killed too many people.

McVeigh had become a fixture on the gun show circuit. His main source of income during his nomadic years was selling anti-government T-shirts, hats, bumper stickers, guns, and other odds and ends. In September 1994, a new assault weapons ban became law. Everyone on the gun show circuit was furious. They saw it as another example of the government taking guns away from citizens. McVeigh soon became a “straw buyer,” someone who would purchase assault weapons at gun shows and sell them to people who did not want to fill out government paperwork. He felt it was his duty to get guns to whoever wanted them, regardless of the illegality of it. McVeigh continued traveling the gun show circuit right up to the time of the Oklahoma City bombing. The money he made enabled him to fund his deadly attack.

While living with the Nichols brothers, McVeigh wrote to Michael Fortier, explaining that he and Nichols had decided to take offensive action against the federal government. He asked Fortier to assist. Fortier later wrote back expressing curiosity at what McVeigh and Nichols were planning. When McVeigh got to Arizona two weeks later, he told Fortier he was going to blow up a federal building. When McVeigh asked Fortier to join him, Fortier said he would never do something like that “unless a U.N. tank was parked in his yard”. Still, he would later help McVeigh rent storage units, shelter McVeigh, test small duplicates of the bomb McVeigh would later use, and raise money through the sale of stolen weapons.

TIMELINE

September 1994

McVeigh and Nichols drove to the Marietta Aggregates quarry in Marion, Kansas, to steal bomb components. They drilled the padlocks on storage units and stole seven fresh boxes of Tovex, a high-explosive blasting gelatin shaped like an 18-inch sausage. The volatile Tovex would serve as a booster to help ignite the main charge in McVeigh’s bomb. In the second storage unit, McVeigh and Nichols stole more than 500 electric blasting caps and more than 80 spools of shock tube-ignition cord capable of instantly transferring a spark from fuse to explosive. McVeigh tried to cover their tracks haphazardly, kicking dirt over the shavings from drilling the locks. This crime scene was used in the prosecution against McVeigh and Nichols. A drill that matched the markings on the locks at the quarry was found in the home of Terry Nichols.

September 30, 1994

Terry Nichols purchased 2,000 pounds of ammonium nitrate at a farm co-op in McPherson, Kansas, using the alias Mike Havens. Ammonium nitrate was used in the farming community as a fertilizer, but buying the 4,000 pounds they needed would create suspicion.

October 18, 1994

Nichols bought another 2,000 pounds of ammonium nitrate. The two tons, plus what McVeigh had picked up in 50-pound bags, was enough for the bomb. Since fertilizer is legal, they did not have to split it up and store it in different locations. They simply rented a storage unit in Herington, Kansas.

October 21, 1994

McVeigh, disguised as a biker, drove to a Texas racetrack and bought \$2,775 worth of nitromethane racing fuel. This would be a key component in the explosion.

To fund much of their activities, McVeigh and Nichols decided to rob Roger Moore, a man McVeigh had met and befriended on the gun show circuit. McVeigh had stayed with Moore once, but was asked to leave because of his extreme rhetoric. McVeigh knew Moore had a huge stockpile of guns and cash at his house. Knowing Moore could identify him, McVeigh sent Nichols to Moore's house outside Royal, Arkansas. Nichols robbed Moore at gunpoint, stealing dozens of guns and thousands of dollars. The money was spent on travel expenses and bomb-making materials, while the guns were given to Michael Fortier to sell at gun shows. Fortier never sold the guns, and McVeigh eventually took them back. Much of the merchandise stolen in the robbery was later found in the home of Terry Nichols.

December 16, 1994

McVeigh had picked his target, the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. The Murrah Building had regional offices of the ATF, DEA, and Secret Service. As McVeigh and Fortier scouted the building, he noted the huge glass façade, which would maximize injuries. He also liked the way it looked. It was a tall building surrounded by smaller buildings and was visible from the entire city. McVeigh understood that there would be widespread press coverage of his attack and believed that the image of a devastated building would have a profound effect on those who saw it. They drove by the building several times.

McVeigh had considered federal buildings in Arkansas, Missouri, Arizona, and Texas and claimed that Fortier "checked out buildings in Phoenix or Tucson." Nichols had done surveillance of federal buildings in Kansas City. McVeigh even considered bombing the FBI building in Washington D.C., a target taken from the pages of Turner Diaries.

April 14, 1995

McVeigh bought a yellow Mercury Marquis at a Firestone Store in Junction City, Kansas. He put Terry Nichols' address and telephone number on the bill of sale. He then checked into the Dreamland Motel.

Using a phone card that he and Nichols used throughout the planning of the bombing (which would be a key piece of evidence against them), McVeigh called Elliott's Ryder

Truck Rental. Using the name Bob Kling, McVeigh told the desk person at Elliott's that he wanted a truck that would carry 5,000 pounds for a one-way trip to Omaha, Nebraska. McVeigh told them that he would pick up the truck around 4:00 on Monday afternoon. McVeigh was told he would have to come in on Saturday and do the appropriate paperwork if he wanted a truck on Monday.

April 15, 1995

McVeigh walked into the Elliot Body Shop and reserved a 20-foot truck for pickup after 4 p.m. on Monday, using the name Bob Kling. McVeigh paid for the one-way trip in the truck with \$280.32 in cash. He did not purchase insurance for the truck.

April 16, 1995—Easter Sunday

Terry Nichols followed McVeigh to Oklahoma City. McVeigh left his yellow Mercury in an alley behind the YMCA, very close to the Murrah Building, with a note on the windshield asking it not be towed. Nichols drove them back to Kansas in his 1984 GMC pickup. A video camera attached to the Regency Tower Apartments across the street from the Murrah Building captured the image of Nichols' pickup on two occasions during this day.

April 17, 1995

McVeigh picked up the Ryder truck at about 4:20 p.m. and returned to the Dreamland Motel in Junction City. Dreamland Motel owner Lea McGown remembers seeing the Ryder Truck parked in the lot the following morning.

April 18, 1995

At 9:00 a.m., McVeigh and Nichols went to Geary Lake, some eight miles south of Junction City, to mix the bomb. They parked the Ryder truck in the last turnout on the east side of the lake. An Army sergeant, fishing with his son, saw the truck parked next to a GMC truck (Nichols'). After mixing the bomb, McVeigh wiped the inside of the truck for fingerprints, washed up in the lake, put on a pair of gloves, and climbed back into the cab. The clothes he wore while mixing the bomb, he dumped into a trashcan on the way to Oklahoma City. Nichols left Geary Lake for an auction at Fort Riley, while McVeigh drove south to Oklahoma, where he spent the night in a small gravel lot near a roadside motel.

April 19, 1995

McVeigh decided he would not wait until 11 a.m. to bomb the Murrah building. The risk of waiting was too high, so he decided to strike at 9:00. Shortly after 7:00 a.m., he drove out of the lot where he had spent the night. He did not want to get to the building too early, because he wanted the body count to be as high as possible. It was not coincidence that his chosen date of April 19 was the two-year anniversary of the Waco

inferno and the 220th anniversary of the Battle of Lexington and Concord—the first battle between American patriots and their British oppressors. To McVeigh, the bombing was a symbol of the modern patriot against an oppressive government. McVeigh wore his favorite T-shirt featuring Abraham Lincoln and the phrase “thus ever to tyrants,” a phrase shouted by John Wilkes Booth after he shot Lincoln. On the back of the shirt, a tree dripped blood. Superimposed on the tree was McVeigh’s favorite quote from Thomas Jefferson: “THE TREE OF LIBERTY MUST BE REFRESHED FROM TIME TO TIME WITH THE BLOOD OF PATRIOTS AND TYRANTS.”

At about 8:50 a.m., McVeigh entered Oklahoma City. He put earplugs in his ears. As he pulled onto NW 5th Street, there was little traffic. He pulled over and lit the bomb’s five-minute fuse. The cab began to fill with smoke, and he had to roll down the windows. When McVeigh stopped at a red light very close to the Murrah building, he lit a shorter fuse, the one he had measured at about two minutes. As the light turned green, McVeigh accelerated slowly for fear that any sudden movement would detonate his bomb prematurely.

McVeigh parked the Ryder truck right below the tinted windows of the America’s Kids Day Care Center (he would later say he was unaware it was in the building), locked the door, and walked toward the YMCA, counting the seconds until detonation. Finally, he heard and felt the explosion, confident he had brought the building down. McVeigh had trouble getting the Mercury started, and it took several attempts before the engine turned over. He drove away and never looked back.

A staggered nation watched as the bodies of men, women, and children were pulled from the ruins for nearly two weeks. When the smoke cleared, 168 people were dead in one of the worst terrorist attacks on U.S. soil. There was widespread belief at first that the catastrophe was the work of Middle Eastern terrorists.

OUTCOME

- Ninety minutes after the explosion, McVeigh was pulled over by a highway patrol officer near Billings, Oklahoma, for driving without a license plate. When the officer discovered that McVeigh had an unregistered gun, he arrested him on a firearms charge. Before McVeigh was released, federal agents discovered his ties to the explosion. Almost all the purchases and rental agreements related to the bombing could be traced back to McVeigh.
- On June 3, 1997, McVeigh was convicted of murder and conspiracy. He was sentenced to death by lethal injection on August 15, 1997. Timothy James McVeigh was executed on June 11, 2001, the execution televised in selected areas of Oklahoma City.
- Terry Nichols was brought in for questioning two days after the blast and arrested for his role in the bombing. On December 24, 1997, a federal jury found Nichols guilty. On June 5, 1998, Nichols was sentenced to life in prison. In March 2004, he stood trial on murder charges brought by the state of Oklahoma. He will never see the outside of a federal prison again.

- On May 27, 1998, Michael Fortier, who testified against McVeigh and Nichols, received a 12-year prison sentence and was fined \$200,000 for knowing about the plan but not informing authorities in time to prevent the explosion.
- What little remained of the Murrah Federal Building was demolished on May 23, 1995. In 2000, a memorial was built on the location to remember the tragedy of the Oklahoma City Bombing.

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1.15 THE ORDER

BACKGROUND

The Order was a white supremacist group established by Robert Jay Mathews. A home to social outcasts and self-proclaimed revolutionaries, its goal was to destroy the United States. The Order attracted people from the National Alliance, Aryan Nations, and various Ku Klux Klan splinter groups. The group ran an extensive counterfeiting operation at Richard Butler's Aryan Nations compound at Hayden Lake, Idaho, and was involved in numerous bank and armored car robberies in the Pacific Northwest, robberies that yielded some \$4 million to support a "nationwide revolution." Some of the monies they gave to other groups with the same ideological base.

Robert Jay Mathews was born in Marfa, Texas, in January 1953. As a high school student, he was interested in the Phoenix-area tax-protest movement and claimed to have started an anti-tax group of his own, the Sons of Liberty, when he was 17 years old. He had a fanatic racial pride, a conviction that white men had created the greatest things in our civilization and was the only group who could preserve it. He believed that the United States was in decline, and only a bloody revolution could save it from collapse.

Mathews was also a follower of William Pierce, the author of *Turner Diaries* (see Appendix 1). Through Pierce's National Alliance organization, Mathews was able to meet and talk with a large number of young neo-Nazis. Mathews eventually moved to Idaho and spent time at Richard Butler's compound, where he watched the group's rituals with interest but wasn't inclined to join them. His ideas weren't quite the same as Butler's.

By the late 1970s, Mathews, with help from his parents, saved enough money to buy 53 acres of land outside Metaline Falls, Washington (not far from Butler's compound in Idaho). In mid-1983, Mathews invited William Soderquist to the property so the two of them could strategize. Uncertain of his future and ready to move anyway, Soderquist accepted the invitation and finally persuaded Richard Kemp, a friend from Salinas, to join him. The two men helped Mathews build "barracks" to serve as headquarters for Mathews' followers and as a residence for foot soldiers like Soderquist and Kemp.

Mathews had come in contact with Butler's Aryan Church recruits, many of whom were looking for something more exciting than Butler's rhetoric. Denver Parmeter and Randy Duey, also Washington State residents, soon joined. Mathews was building a splinter group from Butler's Aryan Nations. During a 1983 Aryan Nations speech on the dangers of communism, Parmeter and Mathews talked about how passive the extreme right had become. They decided to set up a small "cell" that would have one purpose—a show of force.

At Aryan Nations headquarters, Mathews met two other men who would eventually end up on his property in the summer of 1983. One was Bruce Pierce, a Kentucky high school dropout. Pierce, divorced and the father of several children, came to the Aryan Nations compound in search of a home. Pierce was exactly the sort of person Bob Mathews was looking for—excitable and violent. He had the physical stature to become the group's muscle.

The final member of the original nine men who came to Mathew's group was David Lane. Butler's "propaganda minister," Lane was looking for a group and a leader more interested in change than words.

This case study covers two incidents involving The Order; the assassination of Alan Berg and the Ukiah armored car robbery.

1.15 ORDER BERG ASSASSINATION

TIMELINE

September 1983

The original nine members held their first meeting at Mathews's compound, calling themselves "the group". This name quickly changed to "The Order." They stood in a circle, ready to recite an oath of loyalty and commitment to their race and plan, an oath Mathews had written for the event. Inside the circle, a white baby served as a symbol of the Caucasian future.

During this meeting, the men outlined the objectives of the group, using *Turner Diaries* as a blueprint. Step One: Form the cell. Step Two: Establish priorities. Step Three: Set up a war chest. Step Four: Recruit new members. Step Five: Assassinate either Jews or white traitors who went along with "supporting the destruction of our race." They discussed robbing pornography stores and pimps to fund the war chest, a strategy that would also hurt those who were bad for society. Mathews intended to lure new recruits from the Ku Klux Klan, Identity churches, survivalist groups, ex-convicts; anyone willing to commit to the cause. He wanted soldiers.

Mathews assigned each member an assassination target. The most prominent targets were former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Chase Manhattan Bank president David Rockefeller, and heads of the three major television networks, since Mathews believed the news media poisoned the minds of the white race. Another name on the list was Alan Berg, a Jew.

Alan Berg was the most controversial radio talk show host in Denver. He routinely questioned Christian beliefs and practices, insulted white supremacists, grilled politicians, and reprimanded any caller whose views differed from his. His ratings were high, and he had thousands of fans. He also got hundreds of death threats. One year he was voted the most loved radio personality in the Denver area, as well as the most hated. David Lane had lived in the Denver area for years and despised Berg, although he routinely listened to the talk show.

Outcome

- Alan Berg had just left the company of Judith, his ex-wife, with whom he was still close. He had stopped at the local Seven-Eleven to buy dog food, bubble gum for Judith, and shaving cream for himself.
- Jean Craig, the mother of Mathew's girlfriend, Zillah Craig, and the woman in charge of The Order's message center in Wyoming, had been doing surveillance of Berg's daily routine for several weeks. She provided detailed information to the group about Berg's home, place of employment, and his routines.
- While Berg was at the Seven-Eleven, Mathews and Richard Scultari stood lookout behind his home. Bruce Pierce and David Lane waited for Berg in the front. As Berg's Volkswagen entered the driveway, the men made their move. When Berg stepped out of his car, he was hit with a hail of automatic gunfire (.45-caliber MAC 10 machine pistol). Pierce shot Berg 13 times, hitting him in the face, neck, and chest, before his gun jammed. Berg died instantly, and all four men made a clean getaway.

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1.17 ORDER UKIAH ARMORED CAR ROBBERY

TIMELINE

July 7, 1984

The Order needed money that summer to recruit new members, build up their compound, and buy more weapons, so they set their sights on the Brink's armored car route some 110 miles north of San Francisco. Mathews began writing letters to Charles Ostrout, a Brink's supervisor in California whose sympathies were with the far right. Ostrout had once driven the truck route in the Ukiah area of northern California and gave Mathews a map of the best place to rob the armored truck. The truck had to come to a near stop at several places on a 10-mile incline. Ron King, an operations manager at Brink's, also provided intelligence to the group. By July 7, Robert Mathews and Denver Parmenter were staying at an Ukiah motel while conducting surveillance on the armored car route. Randy Duey and Bruce Pierce soon joined them.

The group chose a hill close to Ukiah in the redwood country. Randy Duey and Bruce Pierce, wearing disguises, bought a van, two pickup trucks, and a Buick Riviera, all with cash.

July 15, 1984

On Sunday, Mathews, Scutari, Kemp, Dye, Yarbrough, Randall Evans, Parmenter, Duey, Pierce, Soderquist, Barnhill, and Bob Merki checked into a Motel 6 in Santa Rosa, about fifty miles north of San Francisco. The men expanded their surveillance and finalized plans for the robbery. They purchased latex gloves, masks, bandanas, white T-shirts, hats, and Krazy Glue to disguise their fingerprints.

July 18, 1984

The men watched the Brink's truck drive its route and, that night, held their last strategy meeting.

July 19, 1984

The group got up early, recited an oath of loyalty and purpose, and went over the final details, ending the meeting with a prayer. The men ate, put Krazy Glue on their fingers, and drove the four vehicles to the spot chosen for the robbery. When they reached Ukiah, everyone except Merki got into the two trucks. Merki, dressed in drag, was in another vehicle with a CB radio to alert the group when the armored car was on its way. The pickups pulled in behind the armored car as it passed. When the Brink's truck reached the hill, one truck pulled in front of it and the other vehicles pulled along side, boxing it in. The head car slowed down, forcing the Brink's truck to stop. As it rolled to a stop, Bill Soderquist held up a sign that said: GET OUT OR DIE. Bob Mathews climbed onto

the hood of the truck and repeated the message as armed members of the group surrounded the truck.

The Brink's guards froze, not responding to Mathews' orders. Bruce Pierce shot three rounds through the windshield, sending broken glass throughout the cab. The two Brink's guards finally came out and were held at gunpoint on the side of the road while Randal Evans shot out the vehicle's tires. Richard Scuteri was timing the robbery and listening to a police scanner in one of the trucks. Randy Duey held an Uzi and waved traffic past the robbery. When a woman in the back of the Brink's truck refused to exit, someone shot out her side window. After a brief delay in opening the truck's back door, the group formed a human chain and removed all the money. They scattered nails on the highway behind them as they drove away. The Order had gained \$3.6 million in less than ten minutes.

OUTCOME

- Police soon located the vehicles abandoned by the thieves. They also identified the fingerprints of Richard Kemp inside a van left in Sparks, Nevada. Police began questioning the vehicles' previous owners and got descriptions of the men who had purchased them. With this information, police were able to track the movement of the thieves to northern California motels. Law-enforcement agencies began to link some of the crimes that had recently occurred in the region.
- Police soon got a big break from a man named Tom Martinez. Martinez was heavily recruited by The Order (namely Mathews) and had worked in their counterfeiting operation. Martinez had been indicted on three counts of passing counterfeit money and decided to tell the Secret Service everything he knew about the activities of The Order. When Secret Service agents heard Martinez's story, they immediately contacted the FBI, ATF, IRS, and police officials throughout the northwest. Within weeks, law enforcement authorities began picking up suspected members of The Order.
- In late November, Mathews was finally pinned down at a safe house at Whidbey Island, Washington. Knowing he had nowhere to run and enraged that he had lost some of his "soldiers" to the agents, Mathews wrote a declaration of war on the perceived enemies of The Order. This included minorities, Jews, federal agents, politicians, and anyone supporting these groups. The second part of his document was an open letter to the United States Congress, in which he blamed each member for "what had happened to America" and vowed they would pay for their offenses, which included selling out to the Jewish lobby, losing the fight against the Soviet Union, and betraying their race.
- Mathews was still in the safe house on the weekend of December 8. At this point, he had held off more than 100 federal agents for over a week. He was barricaded on the second floor with assault rifles and a seemingly limitless supply of ammunition. Federal agents, weary of public pressure to end the standoff, ended it on Saturday when a helicopter dropped a white phosphorous illumination flare on the roof. The house burst into flames and explosions from the stockpiled

ammunition rattled the house for hours. Bullets streamed out of the house throughout the night, hitting trees and vehicles.

- On Sunday, December 9, 1984, agents searched the burned- out house and discovered a body later identified as Bob Mathews.
- The remaining members of The Order were charged in Washington state under the Federal Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO), charges which carried tough penalties for those convicted. After three months of testimony and two weeks of deliberation by the jury, all 11 charged members were convicted of racketeering and conspiring to racketeer. Each defendant was given the maximum penalty allowed by law, sentences ranging from 40 to 100 years in federal prison. All would become eligible for parole after 10 years.

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1.18 PHINEAS PRIESTS

BACKGROUND

The northwest portions of the United States have long been known as a hotbed of anti-government sentiment. In 1996, authorities were faced with a series of robberies that seemed tied to some sort of Christian anti-government group. Letters and symbols left at the crime scenes claimed allegiance to the ideas of the Phineas Priesthood and Yahweh. Unlike other Christian Identity groups, Phineas Priesthood is not an organization, in that there is no membership body. The term “Phineas Priesthood” grew out of a biblical reference to Phineas in Chapter 25 of the Book of Numbers. Phineas, a priest, killed an Israelite man who was having sexual relations with a Midianite woman by thrusting a javelin through the both of them and was rewarded by God for his service. Richard Kelly Hoskins, a former American Nazi, invoked the term “Phineas Priests” in his 1990 book *Vigilantes of Christendom*. Hoskins used the passage in the Bible to advocate racist and anti-Semitic violence. “Yahweh” is the Hebrew name for God that is popularly invoked in the Christian Identity movement.

Verne Jay Merrell, 51, was an adherent of the Phineas Priesthood and wrote articles for some of the more prominent Christian Identity newspapers such as *Jubilee*. Although unemployed, Merrell had been a featured speaker at the America’s Promise Ministry and was something of a preacher. He was the son of an upper-middle-class family in Philadelphia and served in the U.S. Navy for 12 years as a nuclear engineer on nuclear submarines. He lived in Bonner, Idaho, with his common-law wife.

Charles Harrison Barbee, 42, was a family man who also lived in Bonner. A supervisor at AT&T, he left the company because he felt it was not a moral company, since AT&T allowed women to work in the facility. Barbee felt women should be at home. He was arrested in 1995, along with Robert Berry, and found guilty on several weapons and drug charges. Barbee and Berry had left a handgun in a motel room when they checked out. They returned to claim the gun, but were arrested at the scene. Law enforcement authorities at that time found several stolen weapons, drugs, and the makings of incendiary devices in their possession.

Robert Sherman Berry, 42, was a family man who worked as an “off-the-books” auto mechanic. Berry had stopped doing business with the general public to avoid paying taxes. He worked only for friends who paid cash. A resident of Bonner, Berry had served in the U.S. Air Force. His garage in Sandpoint, Idaho, was the site for many meetings of the “Priesthood.” Berry and Barbee also sold military surplus items.

Brian Edward Ratigan, 38, another family man, was the final member of the Phineas Priesthood, later known as the Spokane Bank Robbers.

TIMELINE

April 1, 1996

At approximately 2:30 p.m., two men in ski masks were observed by citizens of Spokane Valley, Washington, setting off a pipe bomb at the East Sprague Avenue office of the *Spokesman Review*, a local newspaper. The bomb exploded, blowing out two doors and several windows in a stairwell near the door.

The bombers quickly drove a white and maroon van to their main target, the U.S. Bank, also on East Sprague. They entered the bank at approximately 2:47 p.m., brandishing a shotgun and a revolver. The bank's occupants were told to line up against a wall while money was removed from the tellers' cash drawers. One of the robbers lit a pipe bomb and ordered the 15 people inside the bank to evacuate the building. The bomb exploded, causing major damage to the bank. The robbers drove off with nearly \$72,000. Left at the scene was a typed letter referring to "Yahweh" and signed "Phineas Priests."

The 1991 Chevrolet Sportvan was later found abandoned near a commercial store farther down East Sprague Avenue. It had been stolen from a Chevrolet dealership in Ellensburg, Washington. Authorities noted that the van had flammable liquid poured on it. The perpetrators had possibly intended for it to go up in flames.

Law enforcement believed that the bombing at the *Spokesman Review* was a diversion for the robbery of the U.S. Bank. Early concerns were that the Montana Freeman, recently engaged in a standoff with authorities, were somehow connected. Agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) were in charge of the investigation.

July 12, 1996

At 1:39 p.m., several people in Spokane Valley reported seeing two masked men running in the direction of the Planned Parenthood office at 20 South Pines. The men placed a pipe bomb, wrapped in #4 shot (slingshot steel ball ammo), inside a door at the Planned Parenthood office. The bomb detonated, causing extensive damage to the facility and shattering glass windows and doors nearby. A matchbook was left at the clinic bearing the written inscription, "Psalm 139:13-6, Psalm 127:3, Praise Yahweh" and the symbol for the Phineas Priesthood, the Greek letter chi.

The bombers' main target was once again the U.S. Bank on East Sprague Avenue. At approximately 1:45 p.m., three masked men entered the bank. They carried an AK-47, a .12-gauge shotgun, a revolver, and a 25-pound propane tank, apparently rigged with a timing device. The robbery followed the same pattern as the April robbery. The perpetrators left the bank with \$32,666 and the propane-tank bomb, escaping in a 1995 white van driven by a fourth suspect. The vehicle, found abandoned at 2:12 p.m. in an elevated parking ramp at a shopping center, was stolen on July 8 from a dealership in Federal Way, Washington. The plates on the van were also stolen from a recent auto show in the area. Inside the van, authorities found two propane tanks rigged to a taser gun with a timer. Once again, the stolen vehicle failed to ignite when the robbers abandoned it.

August 1996

As the FBI and BATF concentrated on radical anti-government separatists from Sandpoint, Idaho, informant Chris Davidson, a local gun dealer, came forward. Induced by the \$100,000+ reward and immunity from prosecution, he gave authorities a better picture of the bank robbers. He detailed the crimes of friends Charles Harrison Barbee, Robert Sherman Berry, Verne Jay Merrell, and Brian Edward Ratigan. Merrell was identified as the leader and getaway driver in both incidents. Charles Barbee and Robert Sherman Berry executed the bank robbery in April and were joined in July by Brian Ratigan, who carried an AK-47 and brought the propane bomb into the bank. Each suspect was a known follower of the Christian Identity movement and participated in the local America's Promise Ministry, a magnet for white separatists.

At some point, Ratigan reportedly had a falling out with the other three. At a meeting of the America's Promise Ministries, Ratigan served his wife coffee. Barbee scolded Ratigan and told him women should be subservient to their husbands and referred to as "cows". Ratigan, stinging from the insult, refused to participate in the planned Portland robbery.

September 9, 1996

The Spokesman Review and the Planned Parenthood offices in Spokane Valley contacted law enforcement authorities after receiving identical letters with a return address of "Phineas."

"Your gods are paper. \$100,000 of them are no match for Yahweh. (Obadiah 18) Publicly (sic) rescind your bounty and declare your gods powerless or those who worship at your alter (sic) will suffer His Wrath. Cc: Spokesman Review".

In response to the letter, the manager of the U.S. Bank increased the reward for information on the bombings.

September 12, 1996

The postal service turned over to authorities a letter addressed to the director of the Planned Parenthood office on South Pines. The envelope was marked "Not Deliverable as Addressed, Unable to Forward." Inside the envelope authorities found a note that read:

"So sorry to have missed you July 12, and you missed the note on Psalm 1:39. Will do better next time. Halleluyah! (sic) (Praise ye Yah)."

Federal authorities placed the suspects under close surveillance and performed some undercover operations where federal agents interacted with the robbery suspects.

October 7, 1996

Agents noted a meeting of Berry, Barbee, and Merrell at Berry's leased auto-repair garage in Sandpoint, Idaho.

October 8, 1996

At about 7:45 a.m., agents watched Berry, Barbee, and Merrell case a U.S. Bank on SE Washington Street in Portland, Oregon. When agents discovered the intentions of the robbers, they called and told the bank to close. The trio returned to the bank at 10:22 a.m. to find it closed.

OUTCOME

- The suspects were arrested in two stolen vehicles in Yakima, Washington, when they stopped to refuel on their way back to Idaho. Arrested at that time were Robert Berry, Charles Barbee, and Verne Jay Merrell. The men later claimed that they drove to the bank only to deliver a letter opposing government behavior and set off a canister of tear gas. On March 13, 1997, Brian Ratigan was arrested for his part in the July robbery of the U.S. Bank and the bombing of the Planned Parenthood clinic.
- An early concern during the investigation of the four anti-government suspects in the Spokane Bank Robbers investigation was their possible involvement in the July 1996 bombing during the Summer Olympics in Atlanta, Georgia. A local army surplus dealer believed that he had sold a backpack similar to the one used in the Olympic Park bombings to one of the suspects in the Spokane bank robberies. Telephone records reportedly place Charles Barbee near Atlanta at the time of the bombing. The investigation, however, ultimately led to another anti-abortion and anti-government suspect, Eric Robert Rudolph.

The First Trial

Optimistic prosecutors launched their first trial of Barbee, Berry, and Merrell early in March 1997 in the courtroom of U.S. District Judge, Frem Nielsen. Ratigan was ordered by Judge Nielson to stand trial separately. The trial involved the testimony of nearly 100 witnesses and took over five weeks. Jurors heard expert testimony, as well as testimony from several confidential informants, linking the defendants to the composition of the bombs and surveillance footage from the bank.

On April 2, 1997, after four days of deliberations, the jury was deadlocked; one lone juror refused to convict the three men on the most serious charges. A mistrial was declared for the major counts related to robbery in the indictments.

Barbee, Berry, and Merrell were convicted on the counts related to their failed bank robbery attempt in Portland on October 8, 1996. Shortly afterward, prosecutors decided to attempt a second trial of the defendants, who then voiced “double jeopardy” objections to the ensuing repeat trial.

Prosecutors suspected one reason for the mistrial may have been the “Citizen’s Rule Book.” Popular among anti-government citizens in the area and reportedly co-authored by Verne Jay Merrell, it is a tutorial on how to hang a jury. The pamphlet insists jurors must obey their own conscience and the dictates of God when determining guilt or

innocence. During the selection process, potential jurors were not asked if they were aware of the booklet.

The Second Trial and Sentencing

The second jury trial convened on June 19, 1997. This time, prospective jurors were asked if they knew about the “Citizen’s Rule Book.” The defendants lodged complaints against their appointed attorneys and at times tried to represent themselves in court. Much of the same evidence was presented. Prosecutors called forensic experts who linked the defendants scientifically to the crimes, informants who relayed confessions of involvement given by the defendants to other members of their radical community in Sandpoint, and terrorized victims of the robberies and bombings. Barbee, during his attempts to serve as his own attorney, professed his fear of a government shaped by events such as Ruby Ridge and Waco. The defense attempted to attack the credibility of the government informants, many of whom had questionable backgrounds in the same anti-government groups and had come forward for reward money.

After ten hours of deliberation, on July 23, the jury convicted Berry, Barbee, and Merrell on all counts. At sentencing, the families made impassioned pleas to the judge, alleging that the defendants were being prosecuted not for their crimes, but for their religious beliefs. All defendants received mandatory life sentences for their roles in the bombings and robberies in Spokane.

The Ratigan Trial

The trial of Brian Ratigan started on September 18, 1997. Ratigan had no confidence in his court-appointed attorneys and said the attorneys violated his religious beliefs. The evidence presented in court was very similar to the evidence presented in the prosecution of Barbee, Berry, and Merrell. Members of the America’s Promise Ministries, to whom Ratigan had admitted his guilt, testified for the prosecution, as well as friends in the Sandpoint community who had helped Ratigan discard the weapon he used in the robbery.

On September 30, after six hours of deliberation, Ratigan was convicted on all five counts of his indictment. Judge Nielson sentenced him to 55 years in prison.

Afterward, Ratigan insisted, in an impromptu confession, that since God didn’t recognize banks, bank robbery could not be a crime, and because abortion breaks the Ten Commandments, bombing an abortion clinic was not a crime.

Postscript

The successful prosecution of the Spokane Bank Robbers marked a positive point in the federal government’s prosecution of separatists after the tragedies in Waco and Ruby Ridge; however, right-wing terrorists continued to be a thorn in the side of law enforcement of the area. At one point, it was estimated that the investigation of the Spokane Bank Bandits consumed nearly 80 percent of the FBI’s personnel in Washington State. Stiff mandatory sentences for the perpetrators ensured that they would not be a

continuing threat to their communities, but anger and resentment over their convictions spurred fear of retaliation activity against government interests in the region.

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1.19 SEACE CONSPIRACY

BACKGROUND

Russell C. Seace Jr. was born in Hanover, New Hampshire, on March 18, 1970, and spent most of his life there. In early 2001 Seace was arrested and found guilty on burglary charges and sent to the Lakes Region Correctional Facility in Laconia, New Hampshire. While in prison, Seace filed a federal civil action suit against the New Hampshire Department of Corrections after prison officials confiscated white supremacist literature from his prison locker. Seace claimed that prohibiting inmates from possessing such materials violated his constitutional rights. In October 2001, the U.S. District Court in New Hampshire ruled against Seace's civil action.

After serving only one year in prison on his burglary charges, Seace was paroled from the correctional facility and placed in a probation program. Seace moved to the Hampton Beach, New Hampshire, area where he found part-time employment with a trash removal company in Raymond, New Hampshire, as well as part-time employment at a local Hampton Beach motel.

On February 9, 2002, Seace married long-time friend Debra Marie Maggiore at a Hampton Beach motel. Reverend Garrett Lear of the Well of Living Water Christian Ministry in North Hampshire conducted the service. According to Reverend Lear, Seace and Maggiore went through several weeks of pre-marriage counseling and attended services at the ministry for a brief time following the marriage. Reverend Lear and members of the congregation described the Seace couple as "very nice, very polite people."

After the wedding ceremony, Russell and Debra Seace moved into the Sea Crest Motel in Hampton. During their three-week stay, the motel manager noticed that the couple left every weekday morning in their big, white Cadillac and returned just after 6:00 in the evening. The manager described the couple as being "very quiet" and that he "never had any trouble with them."

Within weeks, however, the couple began attending church services wearing jackets adorned with swastikas. They said that Adolf Hitler was a Christian, so the couple supported white supremacist views. Reverend Lear sat down with the couple and explained that Hitler was not a Christian and such a belief was not compatible with the congregation's views. The Reverend said that Russell and Debra were not belligerent or mean-spirited about the congregation's beliefs, but they stopped attending services.

What Reverend Lear did not know was that Russell Seace was an avid white supremacist and a pastor with Aryan Nations, a neo-Nazi organization that believes Jews are determined to destroy the "white culture." Seace was also a member of the affiliated white supremacist church called the Church of Jesus Christ Christians. The Eastern Regional Office of the Church of Jesus Christ Christians listed Seace's Hampton post office box and phone number as the contact person.

THE CONSPIRACY

While Seace was living at the Sea Crest Motel, an undisclosed informant notified the FBI about a murder plot that included Russell Seace. The cooperating witness allegedly told Seace about an incarcerated friend at the Lakes Region Correctional Facility who had been violently attacked by another inmate. The friend had to undergo reconstructive surgery because of significant facial bone injuries. Seace, in response, asked if the attacker was a “nigger.” When told that the attacker was Hispanic, Seace asked the witness to get the name of the assailant and his date of release so he could “take care of the situation.”

Meanwhile, Seace began sending white supremacist literature to the inmate who had been attacked. He attached a note that read “Let me know the name of the Spic that jumped you, maybe we can thank him through his family! 88/14.” (“88” is code for “Heil Hitler” as the eighth letter of the alphabet, and the number “14” refers to the 14-word credo of the Aryan Nations: “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.”) He signed the note, “Pastor Russell Seace of the Aryan Nations Eastern Region.”

THE STING

In a scheme to arrest Russell Seace, the FBI decided to use their cooperating witness to lure Seace to authorities. Seace was still on probation for his prior burglary conviction, so possessing a firearm was a parole violation. The FBI instructed their cooperating witness to contact Seace and offer him a Colt .45 pistol and a \$500 down payment to kill the Hispanic inmate who had attacked the white inmate.

On the evening of April 15, 2003, Special Agent John E. Mulvaney Jr. led a team of FBI agents to observe the transaction between their cooperating witness and Russell Seace. Assisted by the Hampton police, authorities were in position to arrest Seace when they identified him walking down Ashworth Avenue toward the target exchange destination. Confronting the FBI witness, Seace accepted the firearm, ammunition, and \$500 cash. After the exchange, Seace casually turned to walk back down Ashworth Avenue toward his motel room, but he never made it. FBI agents and Hampton police officers quickly apprehended Seace in possession of a firearm and for his involvement in a murder-for-hire conspiracy.

When questioned, authorities verified the conspiracy and learned that Seace planned to “grind up the victim’s body and use it for chum when he goes fishing.”

OUTCOME

- Although he pleaded guilty to the murder-for-hire plot, Seace claimed he never intended to follow through. On the firearm possession charge, Seace claimed he had planned to sell the handgun for money. And, finally, despite admitting to FBI investigators (which the FBI recorded) that he had discussed murdering a Hispanic inmate and made plans to harm the target’s family, Seace claimed he never planned to follow through with any of it.

- U.S. District Judge Paul J. Barbadoro declined to accept Seace's inconsistencies and handed down a 63-month prison sentence, followed by an additional three-year period of supervised release. Judge Barbadoro also ordered Seace's behavior rigorously monitored by the U.S. Department of Probation while serving his supervised probation period. Seace was sentenced on April 23, 2003, and is currently incarcerated at the Rockingham County Jail.

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1.20 THIRD CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

BACKGROUND

In October 1995, John Parsons called militia leaders to Texas for a meeting he called the Third Continental Congress. The meeting proposed to give militias a way to organize their activities. The real purpose, however, was a power play by John Parsons, whose only goal was to get the other militias under his control. Bradley Glover and Michael Dorsett attended this meeting, but, like others, felt nothing was accomplished.

In January 1997, the Third Continental Congress met a second time in Independence, Missouri. Again, nothing was accomplished, and a few of the members tired of the lack of direction and activity. Bradley Glover met Merlon Lingenfelter, Terry and Kevin Hobeck, and Kimberly and Thomas Newman. All of them felt the Third Continental Congress was not pursuing suitable militant actions. Along with two undercover Missouri State Police officers and an undercover FBI informant, this group moved away from the Third Continental Congress and formed their own militia, their goal more covert and militant actions.

TIMELINE

April 5-7, 1997—The First Meeting

Glover's splinter group, The Third Continental Congress of the United States of America, met in Towanda, Kansas. Hobeck took care of all the arrangements. Two people Glover invited to the meeting were, unknown to him, undercover agents with the Missouri State police (Sergeants Hug and Chambers). Discussions centered on the need to set up a provisional government, and the group outlined a plan for taking a political hostage—President Clinton. Not much is known about the details of the provisional government plan, but Kevin Hobeck would serve as Secretary of State. A relatively large number of people attended the meeting, including the above-mentioned and an FBI informant.

While the group had no real action plan for the kidnapping, the discussion phase was initiated, which was enough to warrant a report to the Secret Service. They conducted a brief investigation, showing up at Bradley Glover's residence to investigate the claims. While the Secret Service learned nothing from its investigation, Glover knew there was a mole in his group.

April 5-7—The Second Meeting

Glover hoped to scare away the mole by threatening to bring in a lie detector machine and an expert trained to use it. However, he was only partially successful. The FBI informant was the only person who did not show up at this meeting, but the two undercover Missouri state police agents were in attendance. Although it took the FBI out of the loop, it silenced Glover's fear of a leak and allayed his suspicions.

The group met at Glover's house in Towanda and discussed what military action they should take. They came up with plans to attack Holimen Air Force Base in Alamogordo, New Mexico, and Ft. Hood in Texas. They believed these military bases were training grounds for U.N. troops, who would help lead an invasion against the United States. By attacking these bases, they hoped to expose the U.N. plot and gain support from other militias in a united war against the federal government. They assigned Chambers and Hug (undercover officers) to conduct reconnaissance of Holimen Air Force Base; Glover and Dorsett would attack Ft. Hood; Terry and Kevin Hobeck would establish a safe house in Crete, Colorado, where they were employed as caretakers at the 30 Mile Resort.

Later in April

To help finance their activities, members planned to sell their possessions and homes. The Hobecks sold their trucking company and moved to Colorado to establish the safe house. Bradley Glover sold his home for \$225,000.

They planned to attack Ft. Hood on the Fourth of July, because of the large number of people who attended the base's annual Independence Day celebration. They originally planned to drive a tanker truck filled with propane onto the base and explode it when the fireworks began. However, they decided that driving a heating-fuel truck in the middle of summer was suspicious. The final plan was to take large amounts of ammunition, pipe bombs, and pistols onto the base. These would do little or no property damage, but lead to high mortality rates.

OUTCOME

- Glover and Dorsett, set to attack Ft. Hood, were arrested 30 miles away at a campground. Two pistols, two long-barreled rifles, pipe bombs, and 1,600 rounds of ammunition were found in their car.
- Both men were indicted for unlawfully possessing a firearm silencer not registered to either Dorsett or Glover in the National Firearms Registration and Transfer Record (as required by law), and for carrying five semiautomatic pistols and two semiautomatic rifles in violation of Title 18 United States Code, Section 924 (c) Sections 1 and 2.
- Glover posted bail and fled. He was rearrested on July 10 in Mondovi, Wisconsin.
- Lingenfelter was arrested on July 10 while attempting to sell pipe bombs to an undercover police officer.
- The Hobecks were arrested on July 11 in Colorado for illegal transfer of weapons. They had given an AK-74, a polytech .223-caliber AK-style fully automatic weapon, and a semiautomatic AK-47 to undercover officers Hug and Chambers, after a call saying they needed more weapons. The Hobecks took Hug and Chambers to a storage locker on July 7, where they received the two guns and ammunition. After receiving the weapons, Chambers and Hug turned them over to ATF and FBI officers, who tested the weapons. An arrest warrant and search

warrant for the storage locker were issued. In the storage locker, authorities found parts that could be used to make other weapons and parts that could be used to convert a semiautomatic weapon to fully automatic. They also found the components to assemble a Sten machine gun and make it fully automatic, as well as the receiver to make a Thompson machine gun. None of the weapons was registered.

- The Newmans were arrested on July 11, 1997. Like the others, they were arrested and held on weapons and explosives charges but not charged with conspiracy or terrorist activities.
- Dorsett attempted to plead insanity, but was found competent and stood trial. On October 10, 1998, he was sentenced to 60 months in prison; three years supervised release, and a \$5,000 fine payable upon his release.
- Glover was sentenced on January 7, 1999, to the same terms of imprisonment as Dorsett, but his sentence was to run consecutive to the case against him in Kansas.
- The Hobecks each received a sentence of 18 months and three years of supervision.

POSTSCRIPT

Many issues were raised about the sentencing and about the charges brought against the defendants. More importantly, issues were raised about the charges not brought against them. None of those arrested was charged with conspiracy or under RICO. Even though Glover's "Congress" had planned the attacks months in advance, had invested time and money in this criminal conspiracy, and had been recorded on tape by the undercover officers, certain issues prevented full prosecution.

For example, much of the evidence against Dorsett was suppressed due to unlawful search and seizure. The charges of unlawful possession of a firearm silencer and aiding and abetting were dismissed based on a government motion.

The only group involved from the beginning to end of the case was the Missouri state police. The FBI was in and out of the case, and each field office was notified briefly. Activities in the case ranged across the Midwest, including Texas, Kansas, Missouri, New Mexico, Indiana, and Colorado. The handling of the undercover operations was done improperly, because they were involved 24 hours a day, seven days a week. In a standard operation, there are usually ways to give agents an "out."

Some time after the initial meeting of the Third Continental Congress of the United States of America, it was rumored that Dorsett hired scientists to create an EMP field, so when they were being chased by police, they would be capable of disabling the pursuit vehicles. Nothing ever came of this.

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1.21 UP THE IRS, INC.

BACKGROUND

The right to levy taxes has always been a contentious point in America. Abraham Lincoln enacted the federal income tax to finance the Civil War, and, in the process, created the position of Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Income tax was repealed and reinstated several times until the 16th Amendment made it law in 1913. By 1996, IRS counted some 57,000 illegal tax protestors who owed nearly \$540 million. Protestors claimed taxes violated their Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination; their Fourth Amendment right to privacy; and/or they argued that the Sixteenth Amendment was never properly ratified. The IRS Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998 prohibited the designation “illegal tax protestor,” but IRS continued to track “potentially dangerous taxpayers.”

One such tax protestor was Dean Harvey Hicks. Born in Lewellen, Nebraska, in 1945, and a graduate of the University of Nebraska, he moved to Southern California after graduation to work in the aerospace industry as an engineer.

His trouble with IRS began in 1981, when the agency audited Hicks and denied an \$8,500 charitable contribution to the Universal Life Church of Modesto, California. The Culver City IRS office determined that the Church was not a non-profit organization because of its online and mail order “ordained minister” business. While the organization does not charge for the ordinations, IRS claims that many of its “pastors” are only interested in converting their assets to the non-taxable assets of a non-practicing church. Hicks was fined and required to pay back taxes on the \$8,500. After that, Hicks continued to quibble with IRS over smaller sums, some less than \$50. He sent numerous letters to the agency expressing his frustration. In one incident, Hicks called to ask a question and an IRS employee allegedly laughed in response to the question.

In the mid 1980s, Hicks lived alone in Costa Mesa, California. Neighbors described his behavior as sometimes erratic. One neighbor told investigators that Hicks had threatened to shoot a census taker and a meter reader. He had all the utility meters moved outside his perimeter fence and installed barbed wire on top of the cyclone fence.

Hicks’ other passion was bicycling. He used his travel around southern California for cycling events as a means to case new bombing locations and mail communiqués from different postal facilities.

TIMELINE

The technical information on bomb composition in this section is excerpted from a February 1992, investigative case analysis on Dean Harvey Hicks by the FBI’s Terrorist Research and Analytical Center, Counterterrorism Section of the Criminal Investigative Division.

March 6, 1986

A gardener found four pipe bombs outside a vacant IRS office in Culver City, California. The IRS offices had been vacant for some three weeks. The Los Angeles Sheriff's Department bomb squad defused the bombs. Although an early morning fire had shattered a glass door at the IRS office in Glendale the previous day, authorities were reticent to make any connection between the two incidents.

March 2, 1987

On this date, homemade mortars were launched against the Chet Holifield Federal Building in Laguna Niguel, California. Among the offices housed in the building were several divisions of the IRS, including an IRS audit office.

Upon investigation, five launching mechanisms were discovered, which consisted of galvanized pipe nipples, each having one end cap. The end cap had a priming hole in the center into which green hobby fuse was inserted. On one of the pipe nipples, the end cap was actually improvised from a pipe reducer and reducer cap bolt. The end cap well was filled with a white rubbery compound. Smokeless powder was used as the propellant charge.

Four projectiles were ultimately recovered, consisting of smaller pipe nipples with end caps on both ends. They were securely packed into the mortars with wadding made from athletic socks. One end cap of each contained a priming hole. From the priming hole protruded a length of fuse encased in shrink tubing. The hobby fuse was secured to the pipe nipple with black tape. The end cap with the priming hole also contained the white rubbery compound.

The firing system consisted of the following: a blue perforated circuit board; a 9-volt transistor battery; a 555 integrated-circuit (IC) timer; a 16-pin switch; four resistors; and a bayonet-type bulb. Lengths of 22-gauge tinned copper wire with red insulation were also recovered.

The use of digital timing circuitry to activate the devices was unusual for homemade bombs and indicated that the bomber had advanced hobbyist level or formal academic knowledge of electronics.

No one claimed responsibility for the bombs. The FBI looked at a possible connection between the attacks and Posse Comitatus member William P. Gale. Gale's anti-tax group had previously been charged with making death threats against IRS agents in Nevada.

July 8, 1988

A line crew of the California Edison Company discovered a pipe bomb attached to a high-voltage power pole in the hills near Laguna Niguel. The power pole supported lines that provided electrical service to the Chet Holifield Federal Building previously attacked in 1987. The Orange County Sheriff's Department Bomb Squad responded to the scene

and discovered approximately 60 pounds of ammonium nitrate-fuel oil (ANFO) mixture buried at the foot of the pole.

The IEDs (Improvised Explosive Devices) consisted of three canisters and one pipe bomb. Each of the canisters was constructed utilizing a section of heating vent bound with pipe strapping. The strapping was secured in place by nuts and bolts. The ends of the canisters were sealed by epoxying a section of plywood to the vent material. The canisters, filled with the ANFO mixture, were buried at the foot of the power pole. Besides ammonium nitrate, the explosive mixture contained ammonium dichromate, magnesium, silicon, and fuel oil. Also present was a pyrotechnic mixture consistent with that of a railroad fuse. The end plates had large holes drilled in them with a portion of an empty aerosol can exposed in the hole. The partial aerosol can was employed as a shaped charge.

The pipe bomb consisted of a galvanized pipe nipple, an end cap, a pipe reducer, and a bushing containing smokeless powder. The IEDs were constructed to initiate by means of a time-delayed electrical circuit. A minilamp bulb, with the element exposed, was inserted into a bag of smokeless powder. The bag had a length of hobby fuse connecting it to the pyrotechnic mixture inside the ANFO container.

The electrical circuit employed a “555” IC timer; an IC binary counter; three light emitting diodes; four transistors; twelve resistors; two capacitors; five lengths of insulated 22-gauge multistrand wire; and a 9-volt transistor battery. A time delay of approximately 15 hours had been set in the device.

The Orange County Sheriff’s Department rendered the devices safe, but could not determine how long they had been there.

September 19, 1988

A car bomb partially detonated at approximately 9 a.m. in a basement parking garage of a building located on West Olympic Boulevard, Los Angeles. Although the building was commercial, it housed IRS offices. Damage was limited to the vehicle containing the explosives. A fire following the explosion was extinguished by the Los Angeles Fire Department. There were no reported injuries.

Discovered inside the car was the core of a small (30-gallon) residential water heater filled with an ANFO mixture (ammonium nitrate and kerosene). There were also six pipe bombs placed in the rear passenger compartment and trunk. Gasoline cans and plastic bottles filled with ammonia and bleach were placed in the trunk with the probable intention of creating a poisonous gas. The vehicle had also been booby-trapped to discourage towing.

The car utilized in this incident was a 1971 Toyota Corolla that had been stolen from the parking lot of the Ford Aerospace Corporation in Newport Beach, California.

On September 28, 1988, the manager of the City National Bank, the owner and primary resident of the building at 11500 West Olympic Boulevard, received a letter in the mail signed, “UP THE IRS, INC.” The letter warned of future car bombs in and around the building, adding that the bombs would be time-delayed and booby-trapped.

The communiqué further stated that the device utilized an old water heater and commented, “We have better explosives and better pressure vessels.” These items of information had not been revealed to the public.

Besides the ammonium nitrate-kerosene mixture, the core also contained a pipe bomb, capped at both ends, and filled with a smokeless powder mixture. The burning ANFO mixture was apparently expected to become heated enough to cause a detonation of the pipe’s contents.

Additionally, there were seven improvised pipe bombs recovered from the vehicle and immediate area. Four of the pipe bombs had detonated, and four (including the aforementioned pipe bomb in the water heater) had not. The initiation system for the seven pipe bombs was electrical. A minilamp bulb with the dome broken to expose the filament was inserted into a smokeless powder mixture. Additional electronic components included a voltage regulator; an IC “555” timer; an IC “556” timer; a “7474” flip-flop switch; an unknown IC (possible a decade counter); three light emitting diodes (LEDs); an output transistor; and various resistors.

A booby trap in the trunk of the Toyota consisted of a length of wire attached to one of the vehicle’s suspension springs. The wire had a portion of its insulation stripped away, thus completing a circuit if the bare portion came in contact with an “L” bracket, in the event the vehicle was raised for towing.

Another booby-trap device was attached to the passenger seat belt warning switch and to the car door, enabling a device to detonate upon opening the door or placing pressure on the seat.

The vehicle had been stolen from the Ford Aerospace parking lot on September 2. Since this had never happened before, investigators felt the bombings might have some connection to the corporation. A week later, the owner of the car received an envelope containing the car’s registration and \$500 in cash.

September 28, 1988

The manager of the City National Bank on Olympic Blvd. received a letter claiming responsibility for the September 19 car bomb and signed, “Up the IRS, Inc.” The letter warned that any strange vehicle around the building could be a bomb. It continued,

“Who are we? We are a group of older people who have been pauperized by the IRS ... Lloyd Bentson says we do not need a taxpayers’ bill of rights. He is right, we lit our bill of rights in your garage.”

The Los Angeles Task Force on Terrorism (LATFOT) consisted of the FBI, the LAPD, the Los Angeles Sheriff’s Department and the IRS. There were a number of leads, but few agents to investigate. The Task Force began to concentrate on a father-son pair of tax protestors. The father, an orthopedic surgeon, and the son, who worked at Ford Aerospace, fit 12 of the 14 indicators developed by the Task Force.

March 20, 1989

Three IEDs were discovered attached to power poles on Tennessee Avenue in Los Angeles. This location is one block south of the Olympic Plaza Building, where the September 19, 1988, car bombing occurred. The bomber erroneously believed the transformers attached to the poles provided power to the Olympic Plaza Building. The bomber intended to interrupt the IRS's ability to operate. All three devices had detonated, but very little structural damage was caused. While the overall appearance and placement of these bombs deviated from those of past incidents, the electronic components and methods used in constructing the fusing system were strikingly similar. Specifically, there was a "555" timer present and the soldering techniques suggested a common link between the incidents.

The three IEDs each consisted of a 9-inch length of copper pipe sealed at one end with a silicone-type substance. A toggle bolt with an expanding wing nut extended from the sealed end. The main charge inside the pipes was smokeless powder. A bridge wire inserted into the powder, which served as the initiator, was connected to two multi-strand wires fed through a nut and bolt at the other end of the pipes. The copper pipes were inserted into holes that had been drilled into the power poles. A timing mechanism, similar to those in previous devices, was in a plastic and metal chassis box that was attached to one of the power poles.

February 22, 1990

A pickup truck carrying improvised mortar launchers and approximately 2,000 pounds of ANFO mixture was discovered across the street from the Olympic Plaza Office Building in Los Angeles, California, (making the third time this site was selected). Several mortars fired, striking the fifth-floor offices of the IRS. The truck then caught fire. Responding firefighters were able to extinguish the truck fire before the ANFO mixture detonated. Damage to the building was moderate, and there were no reported injuries. However, had the ANFO detonated during a time of day when the area was densely occupied, explosives experts speculated a high probability that mass casualties would have resulted. Several similarities existed between this incident and previous incidents. Most notably was the "pressure vessel" concept that had been utilized in the September 19, 1988, incident in Los Angeles. The electronic circuitry in the device was also similar to that of previous bombings.

On February 27, 1990, the Santa Monica Outlook newspaper, City National Bank, and IRS offices, received identical letters claiming responsibility for the incident and signed, "Up The IRS, Inc." As before, the letters contained information about the device and incident that had not been released to the public. The letters indicated that the truck was parked at the location for more than 48 hours and could have been detonated at any time. It also stated, "We are happy that no one was injured and hope everyone enjoyed a leisurely day."

The truck utilized in this incident was a 1974 1/2-ton Dodge pickup. The pickup truck contained five 55-gallon drums, each filled with an ANFO mixture (the fuel oil was

#2 diesel obtained from a service station two blocks from the site of the incident). The bases of the drums were sitting on cinder blocks and angled at approximately 45 degrees.

Several metal 5-gallon containers of gasoline were present in the truck's box, cab, and engine compartment. Twenty mortars constructed of various lengths of ¾-inch galvanized pipe were aimed toward the fifth-floor IRS windows. Eight of the mortars protruded from the 5-gallon containers, and 12 were attached to the 55-gallon drums of ANFO. The mortars had shotgun shell primers embedded in the pipe end caps, which were threaded onto the bottoms of the pipe nipples. A smokeless powder charge was in place above the primers, and homemade lead slugs on top of the powder served as projectiles.

Power for the device was provided by the 12-volt auto battery. Three circuit boards and IC timing chips were utilized. The circuit boards provided for ignition of the gasoline containers in the cab, engine compartment, and cargo bed. These gasoline containers surrounded the drums of ANFO.

Law enforcement personnel consisting of over 200 officers of the LAPD, the LASO, FBI Agents, and numerous other law enforcement agencies, evacuated 21 city blocks and relocated approximately 20,000 citizens. Additionally, over 200 vehicles in the area were checked for secondary IEDs by a combined forces explosives team.

March 31, 1991

On March 31, 1991, a pipe bomb detonated outside the National Treasury Employees Labor Union Building located on South Willow in Fresno. The explosion damaged the building and a gas meter attached to the structure. Shrapnel from the explosion broke windows in a nearby apartment complex. No injuries were reported.

April 1, 1991

At approximately lunchtime, a series of explosions were reported on the grounds of the Fresno IRS regional processing center located on East Butler in Fresno. This center processes all income tax forms and returns for the Western region of the United States.

Thirteen homemade mortars were utilized in this incident, launching 12 projectiles that impacted on the grounds of the IRS center and on the roof of the facility, as well as in residential areas. The 13th projectile failed to launch from its tube and was rendered safe by the Fresno Explosive Ordnance Disposal Team. The projectiles, which were fired from an adjoining empty lot, caused damage to several vehicles, as well as structural damage to the IRS building. Three of the 12 projectiles failed to detonate and were recovered intact.

In both Fresno incidents, a circuit board similar to those present in previous devices was utilized. However, Casio watches were used in place of the previous "555" IC chips. This change to Casio watches as the timing mechanisms displayed a more sophisticated understanding of electronics than had been previously attributed to the bomber. Only one prior instance of this technique had been documented in the United States in a homemade device.

April 9, 1991

The *Fresno Bee* received a letter to the editor signed, “Up the IRS, Inc.” and claiming responsibility for the April 1 incident, but not for the March 31 incident. The letter made only one reference to the bomb, but mentioned the utilization of a Casio watch, a fact that had not been made known to the public.

OUTCOME

Just before 8 a.m. Thursday, July 11, 1991, Hicks was arrested in his driveway on Iowa Street in Costa Mesa, after his daily morning bike ride. Members of the FBI, Secret Service, and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) were involved in the arrest. According to witnesses, Hicks said nothing and put his hands in the air waiting to be handcuffed by agents.

Investigators immediately took Hicks to a motel, instead of a law enforcement facility, to question him on the bombings. The weight of the investigation’s evidence was presented to Hicks by authorities in charge of the investigation. Initially, Hicks was reluctant to admit responsibility for the attacks. Authorities were waiting to serve the search warrant on Hicks’ residence, and interviewers laid the situation out to Hicks during the interrogation. Hicks had not killed or injured anyone in his attacks, but authorities were worried that he might have booby-trapped his residence. The question was put to Hicks, and he replied that he had no booby-trap devices in his residence. This opened up a line of questioning on the attacks. Hicks admitted responsibility for most of the bombings, except for Culver City in 1987 and the bombs that failed to detonate. Hicks’ only request at the time of his arrest was that neighbors look after his cat.

The arrest of Dean Harvey Hicks wrapped up a three-year joint investigation by the Los Angeles Task Force on Terrorism (LATFOT), comprising members of the FBI, IRS, ATF, LAPD, LASD, Fresno Police Department, and Orange County Sheriff’s Department. Agents of these departments reportedly had Hicks under surveillance for nearly two years prior to arresting him, but, in reality, Hicks was not one of the main suspects targeted by the Task Force in their investigations until a few weeks before his arrest.

A limited number of personnel available to investigate the crimes forced the Task Force to focus on several ultra-rightwing groups possibly responsible for the bombings. Only one FBI agent focused on the possibility of a single, lone-wolf perpetrator. The bulk of the investigative efforts of the Task Force centered on the father and son suspects, but the dud devices at the bombings of the Fresno IRS Processing Center on April 1, 1991, paved the way for the resolution of the “Up the IRS, Inc.” case and an investigative focus on Dean Harvey Hicks. Investigators were able to trace which employees had access to the heat sinks used in the Fresno attacks to a single lab, the Large Scale Integration Lab at Ford Aerospace. An FBI agent, on first glance at Hicks’ personnel file, immediately made a connection between the handwriting on the communiqués and the handwriting in the file.

This was the beginning of the investigative concentration on Dean Harvey Hicks. Law enforcement made the connection between Hicks and the IRS bombings in several ways:

Investigators directly linked many of the electronic components and circuits of the IRS explosive devices to parts used in Hicks' work at Ford Aerospace.

The supervisor of the Failure Analysis Unit at Ford Aerospace was shown the composite of the purchaser of the 1974 Ford pickup used in the 1990 bombing of the Olympic Plaza Office Building. The supervisor, Nolan Murrell, did not immediately identify the composite as Dean Harvey Hicks, but later called investigators back and identified Hicks as having a strong resemblance to the individual in the composite sketch.

The 1971 Toyota Corolla was stolen from the parking lot of Ford Aerospace. The traced bomb parts, along with the vehicle theft, directed investigators to focus on Ford Aerospace, or future Loral Corporation, employees.

Hicks was known as an avid bicyclist. Investigators found in the bed of the truck bomb a bottle of Berryman Chem-Dip with a gear spacer for a Shimano sprocket inside of it. This indicated the bomber was associated with competitive cycling.

Hicks took time off from work consistent with what would be necessary to carry out the bombing incidents; specifically, Hicks missed the following:

Feb. 24, 1986: 8 hour's personal time

Sept. 2, 1988: 8 hours off

Dec. 22, 1989 to Jan. 2, 1990: Christmas vacation

Feb. 19, 1990: Worked 4:45 a.m. to 1:35 p.m. instead of 5 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. shift

Feb. 22, 1990: Left work early, at 1:30 p.m. due to illness

Handwriting examination specialists at the FBI were able to positively match handwriting from the envelopes of the Up the IRS, Inc. letters to the IRS, City National Bank, and Santa Monica Outlook with handwriting samples from Hicks' personnel file at Ford Aerospace. They also probably identified Hicks handwriting with the handwriting on the California DMV title transfer document.

The sellers of the 1974 Dodge pickup used in the 1990 bombing felt that Hicks' personal vehicle, a 1982 Toyota, was similar to the vehicle, except in color, that the purchaser of the 1974 Dodge pickup was driving on December 26, 1989.

Tape found at the launch site in Fresno matched tape Hicks used to cordon off his garden in Costa Mesa.

Hicks wrote letters to the IRS in June 1990 and May 1985 that were similar in style, font, and layout to the communiqués.

Investigators spotted three anti-IRS cartoons on Hicks' desk at Ford Aerospace.

Hicks was observed by surveillance units purchasing light emitting diodes, electronic test clips, and integrated circuits similar to those used in the IRS bombings at an electronics store in Costa Mesa on June 6, 1991.

SENTENCING

- Although originally charged in an 18-count indictment, Dean Harvey Hicks pleaded guilty on August 14, 1991, to a total of four charges on two indictments: the bombings on September 19, 1988, February 22, 1990, April 1, 1991, and threatening to impede the activities of IRS employees by sending a threatening letter to the Fresno Bee on April 8, 1991. At the hearing, Hicks told U.S. District Judge Laughlin Waters that he never meant to hurt anyone. “The way I set the timing was intended to cause the greatest amount of display with minimal injury to anyone around it.”
- On January 21, 1992, Hicks was sentenced to 20 years in prison and ordered to pay \$35,000 in fines and \$335,805 in restitution to the IRS. Judge Waters departed from the sentencing guidelines, which called for 78 months in prison, because of the seriousness of the crimes.

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1.22 WASHINGTON STATE MILITIA

BACKGROUND

On April 19, 1993, federal law enforcement officials entered the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, leading to a fire that killed 86 people. Nine days after this event, John Pitner decided to establish a group that would protect people from government infringement on their rights and basic freedoms.

The mindset of the Washington State Militia was the belief that they were going to be attacked by a coalition of U.S. forces, U.N. forces, and a group known as the Rockefeller group, who would attempt to take away the rights of citizens and install a new government order in the United States.

TIMELINE

May 1995

The local sheriff addressed the citizens of his county, informing them that, while he didn't believe a militia existed in the county, he would not hinder federal law enforcement officials in their investigations. John Pitner warned the sheriff of what could happen to him if he tried to take away people's constitutional right to bear arms.

November 1995

Pitner's Washington State Militia held its first 'above-ground' meeting. Members of other militia groups participated, and John Trochmann of the Militia of Montana spoke about tax resistance and something called "sovereign citizenship."

January 1996

John Pitner led a group of white supremacists to a Democratic Party support rally, their intent being to curb support for the party in Everett.

March 1996

The Washington State Militia held its second large, open meeting. The keynote speaker was again John Trochmann. The meeting was a front for a recruitment effort on the part of the Washington State Militia.

OUTCOME

- Unbeknownst to the militia, the FBI had an undercover operative wearing a wire, recording conversations among members of the Washington State Militia. These conversations included strategizing about how to defend against government attacks.

- In July 1996, nine people, four of whom were members of the Washington State Militia, including John Pitner, were arrested on charges involving firearms and explosives.

POSTSCRIPT

While the Washington State Militia is still around, Pitner claims he has severed his connections with them due to medical reasons. He claims he is no longer a member and was not a member at the time of arrest.

In 2002, a book was published called “Lone Patriot: The Short Career of an American Militiaman” by Jane Kramer. It chronicles the story of John Pitner, describing his and other members’ thinking and the beliefs that drove them. Jane Kramer met with Pitner on several occasions.

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1.23 WOODRING HOMRICH STANDOFF

BACKGROUND

Scott Alan Woodring was a long-time member of the Michigan Militia and an adherent of the anti-government, sovereign-citizen movement. The Michigan Militia believes a well-armed citizenry is the best form of homeland security, a better deterrent to crime, invasion, terrorism, and tyranny than any arm of government. As an active follower of Michigan Militia founder, Norm Olson, Woodring ran for township supervisor in Dayton Township, Michigan, in 1995, but received only 10 percent of the primary votes. The following year, Woodring tried to organize a "township" in Newaygo County, running newspaper ads to promote a "Committee for a De Jure Township." Woodring failed again. Later that year, Woodring was involved in Olsen's attempt to create a national militia gathering he called the "Third Continental Congress." Woodring was part of the Michigan Militia delegation as he aggressively continued his involvement with anti-government issues.

During 1996, however, Woodring's anti-government ideals began to blend with Christian Identity views that promoted white supremacy, anti-Semitism, and self-ruled governments. Tom Wayne, executive officer of the Michigan Militia Wolverine Corps, terminated Woodring's membership because his new beliefs were not compatible with those of the Militia. For the next seven years, Woodring's hatred of the government and all non-Caucasians festered. His low-paying paper route job did little to divert his hatred.

TIMELINE

July 6, 2003

Michigan state troopers arrived at Woodring's residence in Fremont, Michigan, to issue an arrest warrant. Earlier that day, Woodring had solicited a female minor for immoral purposes at the Wesco gas station. The minor had reported Woodring to the state police. In shock at seeing "government" law enforcement officials at his front door, Woodring barricaded himself inside, shouting that he was armed. The troopers immediately called for backup, and additional troopers quickly arrived. The Hesperia police department and Newaygo County police department also responded. Police began negotiating with Woodring to come out of his house peacefully with his hands up. In the meantime, Darlene Woodring, his wife, was able to slip away and run to safety.

July 7, 2003

Negotiations continued into Monday, as Woodring still refused to come out. As the standoff dragged on, authorities contacted Woodring's family to learn more about Scott. His family described him as a "non-violent member" of the Michigan Militia who did not trust the government. Based on this, police devised a plan to enter Woodring's home and end the situation.

The police planned to fire tear gas into the house, then enter. State Troopers Sergeant Stephen Homrich and Kevin Marshall volunteered to enter the house and arrest Woodring. However, when the tear gas was fired and Homrich and Marshall approached the house, Woodring responded with gunfire. Sgt. Homrich was shot in the shoulder, and Marshall was hit in an area of the chest unprotected by his bulletproof vest. Trooper Marshall was rushed to the hospital, but the 33-year-old officer died during surgery.

July 8, 2003

Negotiation attempts continued into Tuesday. Authorities decided to force an end to the standoff that afternoon, using armored vehicles from the Michigan National Guard. About 4:00 p.m., law enforcement authorities in the armored vehicles launched two concussion grenades into the house, hoping to stun Woodring and safely apprehend him.

Shortly after the grenades detonated inside Woodring's home, smoke puffed out of the single-story home. As fire trucks sat at a safe distance, officers and firefighters watched the house ignite and quickly become fully engulfed. Police surrounding the small house waited for Woodring to exit. As the house turned to charred remains, they waited, finally assuming Woodring had perished with his house.

A search of the burned house failed to find any evidence of Woodring. Michigan State Police believed Woodring might have escaped from the house as early as Monday afternoon. Police discovered a backpack about three-quarters of a mile from Woodring's home, filled with thousands of rounds of ammunition, various guns, survival gear, coins, and a food supply to last for months. Darlene Woodring later confirmed that the backpack belonged to her husband.

July 9, 2003

On Wednesday, the Michigan State Police issued an all-points bulletin for Scott Alan Woodring. He was wanted on a felony murder charge and a felony firearms charge in the death of State Trooper Kevin Marshall. In addition, Woodring was wanted on charges of soliciting a minor for immoral purposes. The Newaygo County prosecutor issued two additional counts for attempted murder for shooting at two other officers during the standoff.

OUTCOME

- After nearly 130 tips on the whereabouts of Scott Alan Woodring, Michigan State Police finally received the key piece of information they were searching for. Woodring was reported living in an abandoned car behind a barn about four miles southwest of his home. On Sunday at 5:00 a.m., Michigan State Police arrived at Maple Side Road in Fremont, Michigan.
- Eight members of the State Police Emergency Task Force eventually located the barn, far back in a wooded area. Police quickly identified the abandoned car parked and quietly surrounded the alleged hideout. At this point, the task force discovered Woodring asleep in the passenger seat of the car.

- Woodring was rudely awakened to police shouts of “surrender.” The task force ordered Woodring to stay inside the vehicle with his hands up. Woodring, however, stepped out of the car with an assault weapon. As he turned to take aim, police opened fire, killing Woodring instantly. His death ended an intensive five-day manhunt in a small agricultural community about 30 miles northeast of Muskegon.

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1.24 WEST VIRGINIA MOUNTAINEER MILITIA (OHIO UNORGANIZED MILITIA)

BACKGROUND

The West Virginia Mountaineer Militia was a group that stayed under the radar. Unlike other popular militias, it was small. And while it did not have a controversial leader like the Militia of Montana, it acted much like other militias and organized by county. There were a few extreme members in each subgroup, and, in the mid-1990s, it slowly spread across the majority of West Virginia and developed contacts with groups in neighboring states.

The head of the Mountaineer Militia was Floyd Raymond Looker. The 56-year-old, known to his friends as Ray, was middle-class, living in a nice home in a middle-class neighborhood. While Looker's background may have been different from many militiamen, like them, his life was very unsettled, and at times seemed aimless. His many occupations included law clerk, missionary abroad, and real estate appraiser. He was a devout Christian and active in his church.

Looker's politics began to move away from the mainstream toward the far right. He became embroiled in a world of conspiracy and plots, where everything was a government scheme to turn American citizens into pawns. He believed the federal government wanted "to confiscate the guns of all citizens, that there were one million United Nations troops stationed in the United States, and those authorities had built 130 concentration camps in the U.S. for the detainment of American citizens." He also believed that a group of international bankers and corporations would combine with corrupt American leaders to take over the government and establish a New World Order. This New World Order would put dissenting Americans into concentration camps.

Looker liked the idea of "citizen militias," and began to help establish them in West Virginia in 1994 and 1995, appointing himself their commanding general. "Our common belief is that the U.S. government already has taken away many of our constitutional rights," he explained, "and without the Constitution, we the people have nothing to protect ourselves against a government run amok, other than our guns." Looker became well known in the militia movement, even though he was not a high profile national leader. Looker hated the media, believing the entire media was a puppet of the federal government. He created his own pamphlets and videos for militia members.

In 1994, Looker ventured back into mainstream politics when he ran as a Republican for the state legislature. Nobody really listened to his views. A year later, he switched parties and ran for Harrison County magistrate as a Democrat, downplaying his extreme views. "I am a normal person, not radical. I believe in freedom," he said. "Here's an opportunity to get back into the legal field as a magistrate and continue the dreams of a young man to one day be a judge." Looker did not receive a significant number of votes.

Looker finally gained notoriety, at least in West Virginia, in the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing. When the media reported that suspects Terry Nichols and Timothy McVeigh had ties to militia groups, newspapers and television stations searched

out militia leaders to interview. Overnight, Looker became a local celebrity. He boasted about the size of his militia movement in West Virginia and attributed it to Americans' fear and distrust of the federal government. "We're not here to overthrow the U.S. government. We're here to defend—and defend is not attack—our constitutional rights." Like many other militia leaders, Looker claimed the Mountaineer Militia would fight if attacked, but would otherwise simply operate to protect local communities and help out in local emergencies. "It's not any type of terrorist stuff or dangerous to American people," he told a television crew. He stressed that he was not a racist and pointed to his Asian wife as proof.

Looker made the Mountaineer Militia look both harmless and patriotic, but his conspiracy theories, at times complete paranoia, caused neighbors and local media to think it was neither harmless nor patriotic. In March 1995, Looker faxed messages to the local newspaper, claiming there was some sort of plan by the government to arrest militia members throughout the country. Like other militia leaders nationwide, Looker could not shake his suspicions. In April 1995, he told a reporter, "I feel like the government did this (the Oklahoma City bombing) to itself in order to blame the militias."

Looker was more than willing to participate in interviews with the media, despite the bad publicity after the Oklahoma City bombing. He always reassured people that the Mountaineer Militia was not plotting to overthrow the government or bomb anything. Although he would not release names of people involved in his group or allow people to witness training sessions, he opened his past for public scrutiny. "When you meet in secret, and guns are involved with beliefs against government, they have the responsibility to check it out and find out what's wrong...There's less risk and less attention if you let everyone know what you are doing. We're not violating any laws." The militia looked like little more than a bunch of strange people who dressed in army uniforms and ran around the woods on weekends.

One of Looker's chief "soldiers" was James R. Rogers, 40, commander of the small Harrison County militia group and, more importantly, a lieutenant in the Clarksburg Fire Department.

In 1995, Looker was stockpiling illegal explosives, and he found a willing source in Terrell Coon, 46, of Waynesburg, Pennsylvania. Looker purchased 11 sticks of C-4 plastic explosives, six containers of TNT, detonator cord, blasting caps, fuses, and a shotgun with the serial number removed. After the deal was struck, Richards picked up the explosives. Looker later sold them to an undercover agent for \$1,300.

TIMELINE

June 4, 1995

Looker and his chief of security and intelligence, Marshall Richards, joined Rogers at a training session in Lewis County, where 26 county commanders from West Virginia and Pennsylvania met at a 600-acre farm that served as their training facility. The three discussed possible targets if there were ever a confrontation with the federal government. Looker identified several federal facilities in West Virginia, including the new FBI

Criminal Identification Center in Clarksburg, West Virginia. Rogers told them he actually had access to the building.

The \$200 million Center was a monument to West Virginia Senator Robert Byrd, who won the fight with other regions on the East Coast. The 986-acre site in the mountains employed 1,719 people and housed a day-care center. Identification and background checks from across the country were sent to the Center, everything from fingerprint identification to background checks on day-care workers. The Center's goal was to use computer programs to digitize the fingerprints so that print checks would take less time.

August 1995

At a later meeting of the three men, Looker told them a more sinister reason for the Center's existence. It was a key intelligence facility for the "New World Order." He believed it could track the movements of any individual in the country. If war against the government became necessary, destruction of the Center would be necessary. However, getting onto the property without permission was next to impossible. The data was stored in reinforced concrete bunkers, and roads into the facility had computerized roadblocks. Since Rogers was the Harrison County leader, Looker argued it was his job to target the facility for potential action by the Mountaineer Militia in their war against the government. Rogers had access to the blueprints, because the fire department kept this kind of documentation in case of emergency. Looker quickly began putting pressure on Rogers, who was apprehensive at first but soon yielded. What Looker and the rest of his militiamen were unaware of was a breach of secrecy almost from the very beginning of their planning. The man in charge of security and intelligence, Marshal Richards, had become afraid of Looker's ideas and activities, especially the incorporation of violence. Soon after the Oklahoma City bombing, Richards contacted the FBI and told them he would be willing to help them get information about the militia's activities. At first the FBI was not interested. After the June meeting, Richards contacted the FBI again and described the discussion. He agreed to act as a government informant for the FBI. Federal agents opened an extensive investigation into the Mountaineer Militia.

Late 1995

Completely unaware that he was under surveillance, Looker continued his plans to bomb the FBI building in Clarksburg. He began to assemble an arsenal. Rogers had obtained access to the blueprints of the facility. In Looker's mind, the blueprints gave them a definite advantage in their quest to destroy the building in the eventual war, and if they couldn't bomb the building on their own, they could use their newly acquired blueprints to help someone else bomb it. In fact, Looker believed helping somebody else bomb the building would be better, because the facility would still be ruined, but Looker himself would be safe from the legal ramifications. Knowing that Looker was contemplating the sale of the blueprints, the FBI decided to send an undercover agent to meet with him.

Looker and Richards continued their search for explosives. James Johnson, 48, the owner of an auto repair shop outside of Cleveland, Ohio, and Imam Lewis, 26, a carpet

cleaner, met with Richards and sold him \$14,000 worth of explosives. Johnson boasted he could get up to 10,000 such devices, which were small explosives about three inches long and two inches in diameter, as well as hand grenades and reconditioned LAW anti-tank rocket launchers. By March 1996, the two men became suspicious of the recent deals and backed out of a deal to supply Richards with at least several hundred more of the devices.

February 5, 1996

Looker met with the undercover agent, who posed as a middleman looking for intelligence or explosive devices to sell to Middle Eastern terrorists.

Looker told the agent he might have something to offer. Someone in the militia had access to the blueprints for the FBI Criminal Identification Center in Clarksburg, and, if the buyer was interested, Looker could get them for a price. A few days later, Looker and Richards contacted Rogers to see if he could get the blueprints for them. Without telling Rogers about his plans to sell them to a middleman, Looker told Rogers to get him the blueprints. Rogers agreed to do so and said that he would be able to get them as early as February 10.

February 18, 1996

Rogers, having photographed records and blueprints of the FBI facility, handed the photographs over to Richards. The package included large vicinity maps, 35 photographs of blueprints information about electrical lines and utilities, and underground/secret facilities. After receiving the photographs from Rogers, Richards took the materials to the FBI, who confirmed their legitimacy.

May 1996

Militia member Jack Phillips, 57, was a local chemical engineer working on the building of C-4 explosives. He made a list of equipment he would need to begin manufacturing the explosives. Looker began putting this “shopping list” together. The other militia member of vital importance to the project was 52-year-old Ed Moore, who was licensed by the ATF to handle explosives and trained militia members in the art of handling and manufacturing explosives. Most of these training exercises took place at their remote training ground in Lewis County, and at least one bomb was detonated during the training.

June 1996

Looker and Richards met with Moore at a restaurant and talked about plans to manufacture C-4 and some blasting caps. During the meal, Moore said he was currently working on a fuel-air explosive that could “engulf two football fields.” The men continued to meet, ironing out the problems involved in making bombs.

Rogers met with Richards and Looker to explain each of the stolen photographs in detail. This was all Looker needed. He began to create a packet of information for eventual sale to the man he thought was a middleman selling secrets to Middle East Terrorists.

July 1996

Looker met with Moore to discuss the need for more nitromethane, needed for some of the explosives.

September 1996

During another meeting, Phillips gave Looker another list of equipment he needed. Looker told Richards to get the items. When Richards delivered the materials to Phillips' home, he noticed a stockpile of ammonium nitrate and potassium nitrate, ingredients for bombs. These meetings did not always go smoothly. On one occasion, Moore became suspicious that the government was targeting him and told Richards to take his shirt off, to see if he was wearing a wire. Luckily, on that particular day, he wasn't. After proving he wasn't wearing a wire, Richards was allowed to see some 400 blasting caps Moore had been hiding. On September 19, Looker finally had a deal-striking meeting with an undercover agent. Looker would give the agent a packet of information about the FBI Center in exchange for \$50,000 cash.

October 11, 1996

Floyd Raymond Looker traveled to Morgantown to meet the undercover agent and put the finishing touches on the blueprint sale. After the money was exchanged for the blueprints, Looker was placed under arrest. Although he was armed with two handguns, he did not resist. Soon after Looker's arrest, Coon, Phillips, and Rogers were arrested in Clarksburg. Moore was soon arrested in Huntington. In Ohio, Lewis and Johnson were arrested and extradited to West Virginia.

OUTCOME

- Over a hundred federal, state, and local law enforcement officers worked throughout Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia in order to bring to justice those involved in explosive sales and the plot to bomb the FBI Center. ATF agents joined FBI agents and West Virginia state police to assist in their efforts. With warrants in hand, law enforcement officials searched five locations and served 11 arrest warrants. These searches resulted in the seizure of almost 1,000 explosive devices.
- Floyd Raymond Looker was indicted on charges he sold a packet of information, including blueprints of the FBI Center, to an undercover FBI agent posing as a broker for a Middle East terrorist organization. Looker was also indicted on one count of conspiracy to transport explosive materials and unregistered firearms across state lines, four counts of transporting explosive materials in interstate

- commerce, three counts of transporting unregistered firearms from Ohio to West Virginia, one count of causing C-4 explosives to be transported in interstate commerce, one count of transporting three unregistered high-explosive grenades in interstate commerce, one count of conspiracy to provide material support and resources to be used in preparation for bombing the FBI Center, and one count of conspiracy to engage in the business of manufacturing and dealing in explosive materials without a license.
- James "Rich" Rogers, a lieutenant with the Clarksburg Fire Department, was charged with photographing and duplicating FBI blueprints and passing them to the Mountaineer Militia for use in the alleged bomb plot, and with one count of conspiracy.
 - Jack A. Phillips was indicted on one count of conspiracy to engage in the business of manufacturing and dealing in explosive materials without a license. Terrell P. Coon was indicted on one count of causing C-4, TNT, and other explosive materials to be transported in interstate commerce. He was also indicted on two counts of causing unregistered firearms and components of a destructive device to be transported in interstate commerce.
 - James M. Johnson and Imam A. Lewis were indicted on one count of conspiracy to transport explosive materials and unregistered firearms in interstate commerce, two counts of transporting explosive materials in interstate commerce, and two counts of transporting unregistered firearms from Ohio to West Virginia. Johnson was also indicted on one count of transporting explosive materials in interstate commerce and one count of transporting an unregistered destructive device from Ohio to West Virginia.
 - Edward F. Moore was indicted on one count of engaging in the business of manufacturing and dealing in explosive materials without a license and one count of possessing an unregistered firearm.
 - Five of the seven defendants either pleaded guilty or were convicted. Johnson and Lewis were acquitted.

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1.25 VANCE ASSASSINATION

BACKGROUND

Walter Leroy Moody Jr. was born on March 24, 1934, in the small town of Fort Valley, Georgia. Roy's father, Leroy, was a well-respected mechanic at Greene's Chevrolet, earning \$15 a week. His mother, Mozelle, was a housewife. In 1943, Roy's father was promoted to master mechanic and began earning \$100 a week, a high wage in the early '40s. Roy's father made him report to the shop immediately after school to learn the art of mechanics. Roy began to see his father as rigid and demanding.

By 1953, Roy began to see education as the route to respectability. He told his father he detested the grease and grime of working on cars and wanted to become a neurosurgeon. Leroy Moody was outraged and interpreted his son's ambitions as a sign of laziness.

After Roy graduated from Fort Valley High School in 1953, he worked a summer job at the Blue Bird Body Company, a manufacturer of school bus bodies. Roy attempted to save enough money to attend college but could not afford it without parental support. On September 11, 1953, Roy enlisted in the Army as a means to fulfill his college dreams.

In the Army, Roy was unable to enroll in Boston College because of his Army responsibilities, so he blamed his supervisor for "sabotaging" his college plans. Roy responded by not doing any work without an explicit order. Ironically, by 1955, he received an early release from his three-year Army commitment and was discharged on June 10, 1956, with the National Defense Service Medal and a Good Conduct Medal. The following day, he returned to Macon, Georgia, and enrolled in the fall semester at Mercer University.

Roy was placed on academic probation beginning his first semester. He blamed his "insane" approach to college: working fulltime, taking too many courses, and hoping to graduate in three years to go to medical school. Eventually, Roy was unable to afford college and dropped out. He began living with a succession of women who supported him, starting with Melba Price.

By 1966, Roy still yearned for the respectability of a profession. He enrolled in the John Marshall Law School, an unaccredited, but well-regarded, night law school in Atlanta. Roy took courses for two years, but never graduated and never took the bar exam.

Around this time, Roy began experimenting with explosives. On May 7, 1972, Roy's current girlfriend, Hazel Strickland, accidentally detonated a bomb located in the spare bedroom, an area Roy labeled "off-limits" to Hazel. She was taken to the hospital with minor injuries.

Forensic chemist Lloyd Erwin, from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, determined that the explosion was the result of a pipe bomb. The pipe bomb consisted of two small square steel plates held to each end by threaded rods four to five inches long. The pipe was packed with double-based smokeless gunpowder and had been ignited by a flashlight bulb. The bulb's glass was removed to expose the filament, which grew very

hot when wired to a D-cell battery. Erwin also discovered fragments of a message that read:

“warning.....of dynamite or get 43 stic.....you will
see friends and relatives go first.....\$65,000.”

The package was addressed to used-car dealer Tom Downing at his West Peachtree Street car lot in Atlanta, Georgia. Downing was a car dealer that Roy felt had betrayed him while negotiating a sales transaction. The package bore a label that read, “To: Tom. From: Mary.”

On May 24, 1972, Roy was charged with manufacturing and possessing an unregistered explosive and jailed on a \$50,000 bond. Attorney Tommy Mann represented Roy in front of Judge Wilbur D. Owens Jr.. However, Roy insisted on displaying his own knowledge of the law by controlling his not-guilty defense. He insisted he take the stand to testify on his own behalf. There, Roy fabricated a story and testified that Gene Wallace, an old law school acquaintance, had delivered the package to his house. Roy was able to plant enough reasonable doubt in the minds of the jurors to get an acquittal for making the bomb, but he was found guilty for possession of an unregistered explosive and, on October 27, 1972, received a five-year prison sentence.

Roy’s time in the Atlanta Penitentiary allowed him to organize and develop his troubled mindset. He was assigned various chores within the prison office and library and grew accustomed to the prison’s resources. During his free time, Roy constructed legal briefs and motions for himself and his new friends and focused his efforts on having his 1972 conviction overturned. Roy’s use of the legal system not only gave him a sense of respect, but also became his method of retaliating against those who caused his injustices.

TIMELINE

August 13, 1975

After serving a little more than half his sentence, Roy Moody Jr. was paroled from prison and ordered to comply with parole requirements until May 22, 1977. Shortly after his release, Hazel Strickland, Roy’s common-law wife, filed for divorce. Roy went back to his habit of living with any woman who would support him.

1981

By July, Moody and 19-year-old waitress, Susan Kelly McBride, began an unusual companionship. They moved to Pebble Creek Apartments in Atlanta, and Susan found herself practically running Roy’s two new businesses, The Associated Writers Guild of America and The North American Data and Verification Testing Service. The Writers Guild was designed to help promising writers seek publication. However, when prospective writers responded to Writers Guild ads, they were referred to Roy’s Testing Services business and given a rudimentary writing skills test at a price of \$25.

Within a year, Roy's two businesses were bringing in as much as \$180,000 a year. The couple moved into a modest home in Rex, Georgia.

1982

In the summer, Roy established a new business called Superior Sail Drives and began to devote most of his time to developing an auxiliary motor for use on sailboats. To help with engineering design, Roy put an ad in the newspaper and soon hired Timothy Williams, Danny Feeder, and Warren Glover. Roy paid each man \$250 a week.

On December 17, Roy contacted Prudential Insurance Company and insured his three employees for \$750,000. That same day, Roy drove them to the Florida Keys to test their recently constructed boat motor. At the boating town of Marathon, Florida, the four men entered the Florida Bay and sailed out into the choppy waters.

When they reached a "suitable" location, Roy told the three men he needed some underwater photographs of their new boat motor. They plunged into the chilly water, and were shocked when Roy suddenly sped off at full throttle leaving them floating behind.

Roy returned to the men twice, but each time neglected their cries for help. When he returned a third time, Tim Williams desperately attempted to crawl back on the boat. Roy struck Tim in the head with a heavy object, leaving a gash that required sixteen stitches. Roy sped off, leaving the men behind for good. Williams, Feeder, and Glover were eventually rescued by the Coast Guard.

1983

In June, Roy's three former employees took him to court in Key West on attempted murder charges. Because of Roy's relentless implications that the incident occurred because of a drug ring involving Williams, Feeder, and Glover, the case was dropped. In 1986, Roy filed a countersuit against the three men, accusing them of malicious prosecution. That case was also dropped.

1985

Roy decided to return to John Marshall Law School to finish his education. Georgia, however, will not allow anyone with a felony conviction to practice law, so he embarked on a legal journey to expunge the 1972 bombing conviction from his record.

As part of his defense scheme, Roy contacted Julie Ivey, an acquaintance he had met through an old prison buddy. He instructed her to memorize fabricated scripts he had created, so she could testify on his behalf. Ivey recruited Julie Linn-West, who also agreed to help. Roy paid each woman \$2,000 for their services.

1986-1988

On December 11, Assistant U.S. Attorney Miriam Wellesley Duke responded to Roy's petition for a retrial on his 1972 conviction. Duke stated that Roy had not put forth

sufficient grounds to support his claim, and that too much time had elapsed from when the sentence had originally been served.

On October 30, 1987, Roy demanded an expedited hearing.

On February 2, 1988, Roy finally got his day in court as he unleashed his fabricated testimony via Julie Linn-West. Six days after the hearing, Judge Duress Fitzpatrick denied Roy's petition. Roy was outraged and quickly filed motions for a rehearing. His requests were denied again. Finally, on May 12, 1988, Roy filed a notice of appeal to the Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals.

By the end of 1988, Roy had spent \$15,000 and numerous hours in his attempt to overturn the 1972 bombing conviction.

February 1989

Roy received his final disappointment when the Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals dismissed his petition. Roy was infuriated.

After Roy's efforts at justice through the legal system, he altered his approach and focused attention on his "chemical project." Roy ordered Susan McBride to travel long distances to purchase common household goods. She scavenged various Atlanta suburbs looking for three used typewriters; traveled 300 miles to Jacksonville, Florida, to purchase boxes, wrapping paper, and packaging tape; and drove 100 miles to Chattanooga, Tennessee, to purchase rubber bands, mail supplies, a wire brush, a tube cutter, and a 20-inch length of faucet tubing.

August 20, 1989

Roy asked Susan for enough stamps to mail a "two or three pound package." The next day, 20 miles away from the Moody home in Rex, Georgia, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) on Martin Luther King Drive in Atlanta received a shoebox-size package in the mail. The mailing label read: Cheryl Aleksey, Attorney at Law, 100 Peachtree St. NW, Atlanta, GA

Thinking it was a manuscript, Marlene Murray tore away the wrapping paper in her office. Suddenly, the package exploded and the entire office instantly filled with tear gas. Although there were no serious injuries, the NAACP received the following letter:

Declaration of War

The United States Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit Does Deliberately and Wrongfully refuse to fulfill its obligation to protect the innocent.

The court's failure to render impartial and equitable judgment is due to rank bias and the mistaken belief its victims can not effectively retaliate.

Therefore, citizens of densely populated cities shall be subjected to high concentration levels of carbonyl chloride and cyanodimethylaminoethoxyphospine oxide. The attacks shall continue until widespread terror forces the court to adopt the impartial and equitable treatment of all as its highest priority.

The media in target cities have been notified of the terrorist attacks and that they can obtain gas sample data by contacting the court.

Subsequent to each attack, the media shall be reminded the court's callous disregard for justice made the attack necessary.

December 16, 1989

On a Saturday morning in Mountain Brook, Alabama, Federal Judge Robert Vance, a member of the Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals Court, awoke at 7:00 a.m. and made himself a cup of coffee. Judge Vance went about his weekend routine, tending to his dog kennels and gardens. After his wife Helen awoke, Judge Vance returned to the kitchen to share another cup of coffee with his wife. The two discussed plans of hosting the year's family Christmas party.

That afternoon, while Judge Vance ran errands, Mrs. Vance prepared soup and sandwiches. Mrs. Vance greeted the mailman when he knocked and handed her two shoebox-size packages with the weekend mail. She placed it all on the kitchen table.

Judge Vance returned shortly and sorted the mail. One of the packages bore the return address of Judge Vance's brother, Bill, who lived in Washington, and was getting ready to retire from the Central Intelligence Agency. The other package, postmarked "Newnan, GA.," had a neatly typed, red-bordered return address label with the name of Lewis R. Morgan, a senior judge on the Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals.

Judges Vance and Morgan shared an interest in horses, and Morgan would often send Vance old issues of horse magazines. Expecting magazines, Judge Vance opened the package as his wife watched. Suddenly, as Mrs. Vance recalls, "everything went blank and silent." She woke lying on the kitchen floor looking up at the ceiling.

At first, she thought the ceiling light fixture had blown, but as she struggled to her feet she made a horrifying discovery. In the mist of debris and smoke, she saw her husband sitting in the corner of the kitchen in a pool of blood. He was dead. Judge Robert Vance had opened a pipe bomb that shot eighty 2 ¾ inch nails into his body at rate of 1,300 miles per hour.

December 18, 1989

On Monday morning, Attorney Robbie Robinson reported to his law firm in Savannah before going to the courthouse. While Robinson was at the courthouse, the mail was delivered. Joyce Tolbert, his secretary, took the mail, including a shoebox-size package, and placed the stack on Robinson's office chair. The package bore a priority mail sticker and a red-and-white paste-on label, neatly typed. The return address, which Tolbert did not recognize, read: Rev. John E. Jackson, 100 Ravenwood Way, Warner Robins, GA 31088

A little after five o'clock that evening, Robinson returned to his office. Tolbert reminded him of a Christmas party at St. Paul's Church. In a hurry, Robinson quickly checked his mail. Shortly after, Joyce Tolbert recalls hearing a tremendous explosion

that shook the building and shattered the windows. Hesitating to run upstairs to his office, she dialed 911.

Paramedics discovered Robinson on his knees with his right arm blown off just below the shoulder and his left hand mangled beyond recognition. He was still conscious as they rushed him to Savannah's Memorial Medical Center. Three-and-a-half hours later, Robbie Robinson died. His death was ruled the result of a pipe bomb.

On the same day Robinson was murdered, law enforcement officials had already begun an investigation into Judge Vance's death and established a team known as "VANPAC"—"Vance package bomb task force." VANPAC quickly installed X-ray screening devices at the Eleventh Circuit Court's headquarters in downtown Atlanta. The decision proved invaluable. Within days, a bomb in a package addressed to the "clerk's office," was detected. The bomb was quickly dismantled, preventing any injuries.

VANPAC, on that day, received another call from Willye Frank Dennis, the longtime executive of the NAACP field office in Jacksonville, Florida. Dennis reported that he had received a mysterious package, about the size of a shoe box, that was addressed with unusual precision and detail. The address read: Legal Counsel, Jacksonville Branch NAACP, 5410 Soutel Dr., Jacksonville, Florida 32219

Willye Dennis did not recognize the name the return address: Henry G. Smith Jr., Warner Robins, Georgia. Bomb specialists rushed to the scene and discovered the package did, in fact, contain an explosive. When the bomb was defused, investigators found inside four copies of a neatly typed message inside. It read:

To the officer who opened our smoke bomb:

You are hereby ordered to notify all officers of the NAACP that they have become targets for assassination because of their failure to properly strive for a competent federal judicial system.

Americans for a competent federal judicial system shall indicate credit for each assassination by providing you with the names of the deceased followed by the secret code, 010187. The code shall not be made public.

Failure to comply with orders of Americans for a competent federal judicial system shall result in your assassination.

010187

On the message, investigators discovered the bomber's first major mistake, two identifiable fingerprints on a piece of paper. The fingerprints were soon identified as those of Walter Leroy Moody Jr.. FBI and ATF agents quickly organized surveillance on Moody's home in Rex.

OUTCOME

- As part of the investigation, law enforcement officials began comparing the recently discovered mail bombs to Roy's 1972 bombing conviction. They found many similarities between the bombs, including materials such as: a metal pipe, metal end plates, threaded metal bolts, rods, and nuts, an altered flashlight bulb,

- electric wire, a “booby-trap” lid initiator, flashlight batteries, paper clips, a corrugated paper box, brown wrapping paper, rubber bands, double-base smokeless powder, and string.
- On December 11, 1990, defense attorney Edward Tolley represented Roy Moody Jr. in a Georgia courtroom before Judge Anthony Alaimo. Prior to the trial, Tolley had Roy examined by psychologist Dr. Howard Albrecht, believing their only chance was an insanity plea. Based on the diagnosis, Dr. Albrecht determined that “It was very clear that Mr. Moody cannot distinguish reality from fantasy as Roy displayed a personality that was essentially schizophrenic.”
 - Meanwhile, the prosecution, orchestrated by Attorney Louis Freeh, ordered his own psychological evaluation. After a thorough examination, psychologist Dr. Park Elliott Dietz diagnosed Roy as having a “character disorder” in which Roy possessed an “inadequate personality with sociopathic tendencies.” However, Dr. Dietz also stated that with Roy’s 130 genius-level I.Q. and his ability as a persuasive talker, he was fully competent of planning and executing his mail bombings.
 - During the trial, Roy abruptly took over his own defense. He withdrew his insanity plea and embarked on a not-guilty plea that included a fabricated story. Once again, Roy attempted to persuade the jurors that he was not to blame and that the mail bombs were the work of other acquaintances.
 - On December 14, 1990, just two days shy of the first anniversary of Judge Robert Vance’s death, Walter Leroy Moody Jr. was found guilty on all thirteen counts.
 - In early January, Judge Alaimo sentenced Roy to fifteen years in prison. The sentence was less than a quarter of the maximum Roy could have been given. Roy filed for an appeal.
 - Alabama Attorney General, Jimmy Evans, Judge Vance’s old political ally, secured a capital murder indictment against Moody in Birmingham. After a series of delays, Evans was finally able to confront Roy in court.
 - On November 5, 1996, Evans presented his case to a jury. Roy, however, had fired, and sued, yet another lawyer and was representing himself. The jury took only twenty minutes to deliberate as they returned with the verdict: guilty as charged. The recommended sentence was death by electrocution.
 - On February 10, 1997, Judge William Rhea confirmed the recommendation and sentenced Walter Leroy Moody Jr. to die by electrocution.

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1.26 WHITE PATRIOT PARTY

Originally, Glenn Miller was head of a branch of the Klu Klux Klan, known as the Carolina Knights of the Klu Klux Klan. With waning public interest and negative outlook on the KKK, membership was decreasing. To increase membership, he changed the name to the Carolina Knights of the Confederate founded in 1980, but still no one came. He finally settled on the White Patriot Party, shifting the groups focus to a modern militia group, instead of the purely white supremacist group appearance of the KKK.

CONNECTIONS

The White Patriot Party had many connections to another supremacist group, The Order II. They funneled some of the more extreme members of their group to the Order and they in turn sent \$3.6 million dollars to the White Patriot Party.

DOWNFALL

Morris Dees and the Southern Poverty Law Center led a campaign against the White Patriot Party, after they were found to be threatening immigrant worker. After being tried and agreeing to not take part in any para-military activities, Miller's computers were raided, finding that they had a plot to kill Morris Dees. He was arrested after this.

TRAITOR

In 1988, Glenn Miller agreed to testify against 18 other white supremacist, to shorten his own sentence. He is considered a traitor and hated by those he once led.

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1.27 OKLAHOMA CONSTITUTIONAL MILITIA

In the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah federal building, a group of four people calling themselves the Oklahoma Constitutional Militia, headed by Willie Ray Lampley, were arrested in November of 1995 for conspiring to build a bomb with the intention of targeting abortion clinics, gay bars, the Anti-Defamation League building in Houston, Texas, and the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, Alabama..

Although there was no apparent link between the perpetrators of the Oklahoma city bombing and the Oklahoma Constitutional Militia, it is likely that the heightened awareness of right wing militia groups after the Oklahoma city bombing resulted in an FBI informant being able to infiltrate and uncover the bomb making plot by Lampley's militia group

WILLIE RAY LAMPLEY: SELF PROCLAIMED PROPHET

Willie Lampley's anti-Semitic and anti-government views completely occupied his thoughts and actions which occasionally impelled him to write letters to public officials that predicted their deaths, as well as the destruction of the US government. Among the recipients of these letters include former President Clinton, the governor of Texas and the governor of Idaho.

In his letter to the governor of Idaho Lampley wrote, "'According to the plan of Almighty God, each state in this Union was supposed to have been a mini-republic under the GOVERNMENT OF GOD, not under Jewish International Bankers... You will be taken away just as any other real criminal should be and unless there are some real changes on your part before Sept. 20th, this year [1994], you will die."

LAMPLEY'S TIES TO OTHER GROUPS

Lampley was the leader of the Universal Church of God, in Hanna, Oklahoma which is associated with the Christian Identity movement and is known for its anti-Semitic and racist beliefs.

Lampley also was reported to have visited Elohim city, which is a Christian Identity settlement on the Oklahoma-Arkansas border. Elohim city gained notoriety when it was learned that Timothy McVeigh had called the compound two weeks before he bombed the Oklahoma City federal building.

MEMBERS OF THE OKLAHOMA CONSTITUTIONAL MILITIA

Lampley's right-wing, racist views were reflective of his belief in a New World Order, which states that there is a conspiracy by political leaders and wealthy people to control the world. In Lampley's version of the New World Order, he wrote in a pamphlet entitled "God's Prophets Throughout History," that "the stage has been set for the trio, Rome, Moscow, and the United States, to take over the whole world."

Lampley shared this view with another man named Larry Wayne Crow. Crow had been a veteran of Vietnam and a retired corporate pilot for Wal-Mart. Together, Crow and Lampley discussed their religious views and attended militia meetings which would eventually develop into the formation of the Oklahoma Constitutional Militia.

Cecilia Lampley, Willie Ray Lampley's wife was also a member of the militia. Although it is debatable how much involvement she had in the bombing plot, it was reported that she suggested that the bomb be equipped with a timer to allow enough time for the evacuation of the buildings they planned to target.

John Dare Baird, the fourth member of the militia group, reportedly conspired with Lampley in the production of the bomb and allegedly intended to help carry out the bombing.

THE INFORMANT

The destruction of Lampley's Oklahoma Constitutional Militia was certain from the moment it was created. A man named Richard Schrum, who had actually been an FBI informant, was given the task of infiltrating militia groups in Oklahoma. In July of 1995, Schrum infiltrated Lampley's Universal Church of God organization in Vernon, Oklahoma. After Schrum had successfully gained Lampley's trust, he and Lampley, along with Larry Wayne Crow, formed the Oklahoma Constitutional militia. The militia, however, would be short-lived.

Schrum later would testify that within the militia Lampley and Crow considered themselves, "prophets of the most high."

THE PLOT

The plan to construct a bomb was a result of Lampley's right wing, anti-government beliefs. The possible targets of the bomb were chosen during discussions that took place at militia meetings in South Dakota and Oklahoma.

During these discussions, a few of which were being recorded by FBI informant Schrum, Lampley spoke of attacking the Anti-Defamation League building in Houston and the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, Alabama

After the targets were decided upon, Lampley acquired six 35-pound bags of ammonium nitrate, a gallon of nitromethane (more explosive than gasoline), and a part from a toaster which they had planned to use as a timing device.

During the collection of these bomb making materials, Lampley was clandestinely being photographed by FBI agents while he loaded some of the materials into his car.

OUTCOME

- Just as Lampley's plan was getting started the FBI raided his home in Vernon, Oklahoma on November 13, 1995. The raid came as a result of federal agents being informed by Richard Schrum that Lampley planned to test the bomb inside the Elohim compound.

- Originally, local police believed that the target may have been the Elohim city settlement. However, after the arrests were made it became clear through testimony made by FBI informant Richard Schrum, and by Larry Wayne Crow, who had struck a plea bargain, what the intended targets were.
- Lampley, his wife Cecelia, and John Dare Baird were charged with conspiracy to build a bomb. Later, Crow would turn himself in to authorities in New Mexico.
- Lampley reportedly told John Baird's attorney that "Jesus Christ" would be representing him throughout the trial. However, when his day in court came, he was represented by court appointed lawyers who tried to use Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder resulting from Lampley's time in Korea as his defense. Lampley was sentenced to eleven and a half years in prison
- Lampley's wife Celia was sentenced to 51 months imprisonment. John Baird was sentenced to 120 months imprisonment.
- Larry Wayne Crow, who had entered into a plea agreement, was sentenced to 100 hours of community service for his part in the bomb plot.

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1.28 FELTON-CHASE

Leo Felton and Erica Chase embarked on a relationship together that was consumed with hatred. White supremacist ideologies would control their discussions and fuel their devoted love for each other. As Felton ventured in and out of prison throughout his life, his relationship with Chase would soon blossom into a white supremacist fantasy that consisted of multiple bombing plots and what they referred to as the “Second American Revolution.” Unfortunately for Felton and Chase, their hopes of creating a “racial holy war” on blacks and Jews living in America would come to an abrupt ending on the Thursday morning of 19 April 2001.

LEO FELTON

Born in 1970, Leo Felton lived a troubled and emotionally disturbed childhood in a middle-class section around Baltimore, Maryland. Felton’s father, Calvin Felton, was a black civil rights activist whereas his white mother, Corinne Vincelette, was a former nun. Leo was the couple’s only child together as Calvin and Corinne soon divorced during Leo’s young childhood years. However, Felton’s father had other children from his black first wife so Leo had five half-brothers and two half-sisters who were black.

During his childhood, Felton lived with his white mother in the town of Gaithersburg, Maryland. At Gaithersburg, Felton was surrounded by other white kids as they would play such games as “kick the can” and “hide and seek.” On weekends however, Felton would travel the short distance to Baltimore, Maryland where Felton’s mother would drop him off to spend time with his black father and black half-brothers and half-sisters. Although lighter-skinned, Felton never treated his black brothers and sisters any differently than his white friends in Gaithersburg.

Felton’s temperament during his early years was unlike the children in either of his families. None of his half-brothers or half-sisters ever had been in trouble with the law whereas Felton had. While Felton’s parents were fighting a bitter custody battle, Felton began displaying wild outbursts that were so extreme that psychologists diagnosed him with a disorder. He had cut electrical wires to a house across the street, vandalized neighborhood garage doors, and had so many violent outbursts that he was kicked out of a number of expensive private schools. At one point, Felton was even accused of trying to stab another student in the eye while at school. Eventually, Felton began attending special schools for the emotionally disturbed which he would eventually drop out of in 1987 at the age of 17.

During his teenage years, Felton, a golden-brown youth who towered above his classmates, cultivated a double reputation. He was a sensitive kid who took classes at the Corcoran School of Arts and tested at a near genius IQ level. He was also a troubled bully who wore camouflage pants and picked fights. By the age of 19, Felton had shaved his head, tattooed his body, and was associating with teenagers who were devoted to drugs and hardcore music. During this time, Felton would stay at the apartments of different friends and would travel long distances to concert shows. Furthermore, around

this time, Felton acquired his trademark tattoo on the back of his head that reads the words “SKIN” and “HEAD.”

Felton's rebellious stage proved more extreme than most as Felton became addicted to heroin. Felton began stealing cars, bikes, and guitars to support his addiction. Once, Felton even stole a piggy bank from a fellow skinhead's parent's house. Another day, he stole \$40 worth of canned beef and vegetables from the trunk of a woman's car. Because of Felton's lengthy criminal background, he embarked on a frantic, apparent drug-induced crime spree from San Francisco to Fort Dix, New Jersey using at least seven false identities to keep police off his trail. In 1990 however, Felton was finally brought to justice when an off-duty police officer asked the 6 foot seven inch, 225 pound Felton to stop shouting obscenities on a bus station. Felton refused, then fled, and was finally arrested when he began fighting with arresting police officers. Eventually, fingerprints of Felton revealed a list of arrest warrants including one for attempted murder on a 49 year old taxi driver in New York. Felton would eventually serve eleven years in prison, he was only 20 years old.

PRISON LIFE

During his years in prison, Felton developed his white supremacy beliefs even further. He soon joined the White Order of Thule (WOT) and began strengthening his ideologies with other white power inmates. Felton eventually became consumed with the idea of spreading white supremacy across America and at one point, even slit the throat of another nonwhite inmate over an argument. Felton's aggression lead to an extended prison sentence.

ERICA CHASE

Erica Chase's best friend, Katherine McGaffigan, was a Harvard University senior with deep ties in the World Church of the Creator, a white supremacist organization. Sometime in early 2000, McGaffigan recruited 22 year old Erica Chase to the organization and to the ideology of white supremacy. Chase quickly conformed to the white supremacy viewpoints and even tattooed the words “white power” on her toes.

Around April 2000, through a co-conspirator who was a fellow inmate of Leo Felton at a New Jersey prison, Chase began corresponding with Felton on a regular basis. In November 2000, Chase received a letter from Felton asking her “how she would feel about doing something that can't be commented on paper or talked about over the phone.....something political.” By January 2001, Felton was released from prison and moved into an apartment in Ipswich, Massachusetts and continued to communicate to Chase by mail and telephone. Four months later, in April 2001, Felton moved out of his Ipswich apartment and into an apartment on Salem Street in Boston, Massachusetts with Chase. The two began plotting their “political actions.”

THE PLOT

In early April 2001, shortly after Felton and Chase moved into their new apartment on Salem Street in Boston, Massachusetts, the couple began acquiring materials for their

bombing plots. Their intent was to bomb monuments of significance to Jews and blacks in and around the Boston area. In addition, Felton and Chase also planned to target the Holocaust Museum in Washington D.C. and assassinate black activist Reverend Al Sharpton.

Around 10 April 2001, Felton began purchasing large quantities of ammonium-nitrate fertilizer. This substance, when mixed with fuel oil, creates the basis for an ANFO bomb, similar to the one used by Timothy McVeigh in the Oklahoma City bombing. In addition, Felton began acquiring an assortment of books that included such topics as: identity theft, bomb-making devices, and how to construct homemade silencers for guns. Furthermore, by this point, Felton and Chase were actively involved in printing counterfeit dollars to finance their bombing plots.

THE DUNKIN' DONUTS CONFLICT

On the morning of 19 April 2001, Erica Chase entered a Dunkin' Donuts at 2 City Hall Plaza in Boston, Massachusetts and stood in line to purchase an iced coffee. Approaching the cashier, Chase pulled out a \$20 bill to pay for her coffee. However, when the Dunkin' Donuts cashier accepted Chase's \$20 bill, she noticed the bill's unusual texture and smeared ink marks. The cashier labeled the bill a counterfeit and an argument soon broke out between the two women. Unfortunately for Chase, Christopher Connolly, an off-duty Boston Police Officer, was standing in line behind Chase and witnessed the counterfeit confrontation between the two women. The Dunkin' Donuts cashier quickly called the police as Erica Chase made a run for the store's exit. Officer Connolly immediately ran after Chase as she attempted to make her get away.

THE ARREST

As Officer Connolly followed Chase out of the Dunkin' Donuts store to question her, he encountered her boyfriend, Felton, who was waiting outside the donut shop. Officer Connolly recalls the 6'7", 225 pound Felton standing out amongst the crowd even without the words "SKIN" and "HEAD" tattooed on his cranium.

When Felton saw Chase running out of the Dunkin' Donuts with a stranger following her trail, he panicked and quickly joined Chase as the couple ran to avoid the potential of being interrogated. Soon, Boston Police Officer Robert Anthony arrived on the scene and also began trailing the fleeing couple. Eventually, Officer Connolly and Officer Anthony caught up with Chase and Felton and placed them under arrest.

Within a few days, the low-level arrest for counterfeiting had escalated into a full-scale investigation by local police and three federal agencies; the FBI, the Secret Service, and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF). Before it was over, authorities would allege in an indictment that Felton and Chase had been planning to bomb black and Jewish landmarks to ignite a racial war.

UNCOVERING FELTON AND CHASE

In a closer examination of Leo Felton and Erica Chase, Boston authorities uncovered the bomb-making materials and books on identity theft, homemade explosives, and homemade silencers for guns within the couple's Salem Street apartment. In addition, authorities also discovered an illegal gun, a Nazi flag, timing devices, notes about bomb-making accompanied by the initials "OKC," counterfeiting equipment, and finally a letter, allegedly by Felton, stating that "before too long he would be dropping off the face of the Earth to participate in a historical process."

Questioning Felton and Chase, authorities also discovered that Chase was a member of both the Outlaw Hammerskins, a violent Midwest-based gang, and the "Sisterhood Prison Support Network" of the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator. Felton, on the other hand, had a 12 year tie to the White Order of Thule (WOT) which prides itself as the "foremost occult Aryan pagan of the world."

OUTCOME

- On 20 June 2001, a superseding indictment was filed charging Felton and Chase with the following violations:
 - o Conspiracy to make a destructive device
 - o Attempted receipt of explosives with the intent to injure
 - o Possession of a firearm during and in retaliation to a crime of violence
 - o Felon in possession of a firearm
 - o Counterfeiting
 - o Passing counterfeit currency
 - o Conspiracy to obstruct justice
 - o Obstruction of justice
- In addition, on 19 September 2001, a second superseding indictment was filed on Felton and Chase adding the following violations:
 - o Conspiracy to commit bank robbery
 - o Interference of commerce by robbery
 - o Bank robbery
 - o Aiding and abetting
- On 21 March 2003, Leo Felton was found guilty on 10 counts of the superseding indictment. He was sentenced to 262 months of imprisonment, 3 years of probation, and ordered to pay \$1,128.00 in restitution.
- Erica Chase was found guilty on 4 counts of the second superseding indictment. She was sentenced to 57 months of imprisonment and 3 years of supervised release.

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2. LEFT-WING TERRORISM

The first category in this section includes MC19CO and the UFF, which were holdovers from the leftist student movements of the 1960s and 1970s. MC19CO was composed primarily of the remnants of the Weather Underground, Students for a Democratic Society and the Black Panthers. The UFF was a group of former prison inmates and SDS members. These groups were ideologically opposed to the corrupt capitalistic society and the exploitation of the working class.

The second category in this section is the all-black groups, El Rukns, the New African Freedom Fighters, and the Yahwehs. These groups were allied ideologically by their opposition to capitalism's presumed exploitation of blacks. El Rukns was a traditional, urban street gang opposed to perceived U.S. imperialism. They moved from traditional criminality to the classic Marxian class struggle. NAAF was founded by a small group of former Black Panthers and BLA members. Their goal was a separatist black nation carved from several southern states. Yahweh's ideology was more theological than political, although in the beginning it professed to fight racism and black oppression.

The last category in this section includes the Puerto Rican terrorist groups FALN and Macheteros, which were active in the 1980s. These groups were composed of Puerto Rican nationalists and were responsible for numerous bombings and assassinations during that decade. These groups were influenced by Castro's brand of Marxism-Leninism and advocated not only the separation of Puerto Rico from the United States, but the replacement of the U.S. capitalistic/political system with a socialist-communist political system.

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2.1 EL RUKNS

BACKGROUND

El Rukns started in the early 1960s when 13-year-old Jeff Fort and his friends formed a gang they called the Black Rangers. Over time, the name changed to Black P. Stone Nation, and the group grew from a street gang to an organization with chapters in Cleveland, Milwaukee, and Gary, Indiana. During this period of growth, the gang waged a public relations campaign, handing out candy and money on Sundays to local residents. Many people considered the group an asset to the community. While these acts of kindness were an important part of their growth, the drug trade was a more important part. In the early 1970s Fort was convicted of misapplying government funds and spent five years in prison, where he had daily phone conversations with the group's headquarters, called the Fort, located on South Drexel Boulevard, in Chicago. After his release in 1976, Fort converted to Islam and the gang followed suit. He changed their name to the Moorish Temple of America, shortened to Moors or Mos. Soon after, the name changed again to El Rukns, which translates to "foundation" in Arabic. El Rukns is also the cornerstone of the Kaaba, a sacred Moslem shrine in Mecca.

When Fort decided to become active in terrorism, he took the group with him. Louis Farrakhan introduced Fort to people in Libya. The initial contact was with some of Fort's advisors while he was still in prison. These advisors included Melvin Mayes, Reico Cranshaw and Leon McAnderson. After months of phone calls and a few meetings, El Rukns worked out a deal with Libya. Khadafy and his government would give El Rukns \$2.5 million and weapons. On one occasion, El Rukns was given an air-to-ground rocket launcher, but it was intercepted by the CIA on its way to the U.S., and the firing device was replaced with a tracking device.

OUTCOME

- The interception of the rocket launcher led the CIA to the El Rukns headquarters.
- While receiving weapons from Libya, El Rukns members had also sought to buy light anti-tank weapon (LAW) rockets, body armor, automatic rifles, hand grenades and silencers. The man they contacted to obtain these weapons, however, was FBI Agent Hulon. Agent Hulon sold the group defective rockets and the FBI traced them back to the El Rukns headquarters. After their phones were tapped and further evidence gathered, the Chicago Police raided the house. Sixty-five of the top gang members were arrested.
- Fort was arrested and convicted of plotting against the U.S. government. Fort could no longer operate the gang from prison because of security, and El Rukns ended.
- Other key members in jail are Reico Cranshaw, 56, sentenced to 63 years, Leon McAnderson, 37, sentenced to 51 years and Roosevelt Hawkins, 24, sentenced to nine years plus five years' probation

- What was left of the gang changed its name to the Black Stones, but soon broke apart since Fort was the uniting factor.
- Their headquarters was torn down and made into a playground.

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2.2 FALN

BACKGROUND

In 1988, Rafael Marrero worked for the Puerto Rican Alternative High school in Chicago. While working there, he became increasingly involved with the Puerto Rican independence movement. He had joined the Puerto Rican National Liberation Movement (Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional/MLN), and was a member of MLN's propaganda endeavors under Jose Lopez. Lopez was the head of Chicago's Puerto Rican Cultural Center at the time, and the men became friends. The objectives of MLN were to promote Puerto Rico's independence from the United States, but also to secure the release by the United States of "political prisoners." These "political prisoners" were individuals who had been convicted in federal court of acts of violence against the United States government. Their convictions included armed robbery, attempted kidnapping, and bombing of government facilities. Throughout the trials and proceedings the individuals involved claimed their activities were an effort to gain independence for Puerto Rico.

In late 1989 Rafael Marrero met Dr. Jose Solis-Jordan (often the paternal name of "Jordan" is not used) in New York while attending an MLN-sponsored march protesting the "occupation" of Puerto Rico. Dr. Solis taught in New York City and was a very vocal member of the Puerto Rican community. In 1991 he accepted a position in Chicago teaching Puerto Rican history and culture at the University of Chicago. Jose Lopez had a great deal of respect and trust for Dr. Solis, and often told Marrero that Solis could be trusted. It was around this time that Solis and Lopez began discussing the introduction of violence into the various independence movements. Solis expressed confusion as to why violence had not been used before and specifically why Lopez had not implemented violence in the Chicago area.

In 1992, Lopez asked Marrero to form a clandestine political organization advocating independence for Puerto Rico from the United States. Lopez told Marrero that if violent means were necessary to gain the attention needed, then violence should be used. This new group would be named the Frente Revolucionario Boricua (FRB), later translated as The Puerto Rican Revolutionary Front. Lopez and Marrero agreed that Dr. Solis would be an intelligent choice to head this clandestine group. Once Solis was named leader of the FRB the next step was to discuss possible political and infrastructure targets. Because countless hours of surveillance were needed, Chicago seemed the most accessible venue for their actions.

According to Solis, FRB needed no more than five or six trustworthy and devoted members. Solis talked of bringing his wife into the group; Marrero, however, had two other people in mind. The first was Edward Brooks, who had done radio work with Dr. Solis to raise public awareness of the Puerto Rican "political prisoners" and Puerto Rican independence. The second person Marrero recommended was Diana Vasquez, a strong supporter of the Puerto Rican independence movement.

TIMELINE

Spring 1992

The newly formed FRB had its first meeting at which Marrero explained FRB's purpose and Dr. Jose Solis emphasized secrecy. As Marrero, Solis, Brooks, and Vasquez continued to meet from time to time, Dr. Solis demonstrated technical knowledge about bomb construction and became the group's instructor. He provided manuals and illustrations to explain the bomb manufacturing process. Solis made small test bombs of different kinds from different materials, being careful not to leave fingerprints on the parts. Based on Dr. Solis's knowledge and experiments, he recommended the group make a time-delay pipe bomb for a specific target.

Summer 1992

According to the group, Solis and his wife constructed a time-delay pipe bomb and tested it in a forest reserve near Chicago. Now the group was faced with two decisions, the date and the target. July 25, 1992, was initially chosen because it was the anniversary of the initial landing of United States troops in Puerto Rico. That date came and went, though, because the group had not 'performed' the required surveillance on the target buildings.

October 12, 1992, was chosen next because it was the 500th anniversary of Columbus's exploration of the continent. Both dates symbolized the struggle for power against the United States.

Specific bombing sites were discussed, including the Dirksen Federal Building. However, because of the level of security and high volume of mostly-pedestrian traffic, it was considered too difficult. The Citibank building in Chicago was chosen as a possible replacement target. Solis claimed the bank had taken advantage of the Puerto Rican people, benefiting from its tax-exempt status in Puerto Rico. Citibank was part of the colonial problem in Puerto Rico. The group conducted countless hours of surveillance. Plans for the bank site advanced to the point where Dr. Solis sketched the bank building and drafted a "communiqué" to leave at the site so the public would know the bombing was in support of Puerto Rican independence. However, that plan was abandoned as the group broke ranks. Brooks withdrew from the FRB because of pressure from his girlfriend and because he was not enthusiastic about the use of violence. After Brooks's departure the others decided to continue, but with a new target. Dr. Solis suggested a military recruiting office in Chicago that was secluded and had no security cameras. Now that the target was chosen and sufficient surveillance and intelligence gathered, Solis was excited by the idea of detonating an explosive for their cause. Like Brooks, some of the other members were not quite as "excited" about the plan.

The target date of October 12 came and went.

Fall 1992

With the planning and testing complete, Solis, Marrero, and Vasquez prepared for the actual bombing on December 10, 1992, the International Human Rights Day. They decided to use two similar pipe bombs, one in front of the recruiting station and another under a government car at the site. The bombs would be placed late at night to detonate early in the morning. Solis would drive and Vasquez and Marrero would plant the bombs and leave the “communiqué”. Solis was adamant about the need for precision, so they rehearsed several times. Marrero and Solis constructed the two bombs at Solis's home using propane tanks, pipes, gunpowder, clocks, and other materials. Solis's wife was becoming more important to the group since the departure of Edward Brooks.

December 9, 1992

That night Solis picked up Rafael Marrero, returned home to pick up the bombs then picked up Diana Vasquez. With Vasquez riding in the back seat, Marrero placed the battery caps on the devices to activate them. He apparently suffered a change of heart at some point and began removing the battery caps to disarm the bombs. It was reported that he did not totally disarm them because of Solis's distracting conversation on the way to the recruiting center. At the recruiting station, Solis waited in his car while Marrero placed one bomb in front of the recruiting station and Vasquez placed the other bomb under a government car in the rear of the building. Two ‘communiqués’ were posted nearby. After they left, Solis placed an anonymous phone call to local authorities, including media outposts, giving FRB credit for the bombing. He also sent a copy of the communiqué to the PRCC (Puerto Rican Cultural Center) hoping it could be forwarded or at least made known to the “political prisoners” who were incarcerated.

The work of Rafael Marrero to disarm the pipe bombs kept the destruction to a minimum. The bomb placed by Vasquez did not fully explode, and the facility was not damaged, although damage to the vehicle was extensive. The pipe bomb placed in the front of the facility by Marrero was disarmed by a law enforcement officer who arrived on the scene to check out the burning vehicle at the rear of the facility.

OUTCOME

- For nearly two years there was not even a suspect in the bombing attempt. Rafael Marrero, however, came under investigation for other illegal acts and subsequently became an informant for investigators. Marrero was instrumental to the FBI's investigative task force in the Chicago region, not only for this case, but also for other related incidents. Within a year of the incident Dr. Jose Solis moved his family back to Puerto Rico. For nearly two years Marrero was flown to San Juan to covertly tape record meetings with Solis, for analysis by the FBI. One specific meeting at a restaurant in San Juan in 1997 produced significant evidence connecting Jose Solis to the 1992 bombing. Marrero and Solis discussed the bombing and the failure, but there were some discrepancies as to exactly what was discussed that directly linked Solis to the crimes. The information recorded by Marrero that yielded the most incriminating evidence

- was Solis's interest in the views of the "political prisoners" in the aftermath of the incident.
- On an early morning in November 1997, Dr. Solis was arrested by FBI agents at his home in Puerto Rico and later transported back to Chicago for trial. After his arrest, Dr. Solis signed a waiver of his Miranda rights and substantially admitted to his participation in the bombing. After the admission, he claimed that he repeatedly requested an attorney prior to and during his interrogation, so his confession was not voluntary and should have been suppressed. During the trial both Solis and his wife were adamant about the lack of representation by a legal consultant. Solis also objected to the tapes from a meeting between Solis, his wife, and Marrero in San Jose while he was an informant for the government. These tapes were eventually allowed, but the defense questioned the payments to Marrero. Dr. Solis sought a new trial on the basis that government counsel in his opening statements advised the jury of the FBI's payments to Marrero, which were to cover his relocation costs, lost wages, and for Marrero's help in the investigation. The government spent about \$ 119,000 in relation to Marrero. This was another attempt by the defense to request a mistrial or at the very least a suppression of certain evidence.
 - The defense raised some additional questions about the government's trial of the case. Solis claimed that the government's use of the word "terrorism," though infrequent at the time, and the government's questioning of witnesses regarding their views about the possible violent overthrow of the government of the United States, was a prejudicial error. The judge dismissed this claim.
 - Dr. Jose Solis was convicted and sentenced to a federal prison for a term of 52 months on July 7, 1999. However, he did not serve the entire sentence. President Bill Clinton came under fire from many after he granted clemency to the fifteen "political prisoners" that were held in prisons from the early 1980s. Dr. Solis served less than 30 months in a Florida federal prison before being released in early 2003.
 - Since his release Jose Solis has continued to be very vocal on the issues of Puerto Rican independence and equality. He has also been very busy writing articles and has made quite a name for himself in the San Juan community.

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2.3 EPB MACHETEROS

BACKGROUND

The Macheteros was founded in 1976, by Filiberto Ojeda Rios and Juan Enrique Segarra Palmer. Their goal was complete Puerto Rican independence from the United States, and the origins of the group can be traced back to the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) of Columbia. United States officials first became aware of the Macheteros when the group sent a communiqué to the United Press International claiming credit for the death of a Puerto Rican police officer on August 24, 1978. In Spanish the name is Ejército Popular de Boricua. Other aliases include EPB Movimiento Popular Revolucionario, Machete Wielders, and Popular Army of Boricua. The group received training and some financial support from the Cuban government.

TIMELINE

January 2, 1977

On a Sunday, two bombs were placed at the ROTC building on the University of Puerto Rico campus. The police found and destroyed both bombs. The Macheteros claimed responsibility, citing as their motive the swearing in of Carlos Romero Barcelo as Governor of Puerto Rico. Barcelo was an advocate of U.S. statehood.

December 3, 1979

The Macheteros machine-gunned a bus carrying U.S. Navy personnel, killing two sailors and seriously wounding ten others.

March 12, 1980

Another U.S. Navy bus was attacked and the Macheteros wounded one of the three ROTC instructors aboard.

January 12, 1981

The Macheteros infiltrated Muniz Air Base outside San Juan, Puerto Rico and planted twenty-one bombs on 11 planes. Eight of the planes were destroyed and two were damaged, causing approximately \$45 million in damages. The explosives used were IremiteR, stolen from a construction site. The terrorists disguised themselves in military uniforms and 11 of them slipped through the fence. The attack coincided with the birthday of Eugenio Marea de Hostes, a Puerto Rican hero in the struggle for independence from Spain. The number 11 was used to signify support for 11 FALN members being tried for terrorist activities in the United States at that time.

May 16, 1982

Mecheteros members machine-gunned four U.S. sailors leaving a San Juan nightclub, killing one and wounding the others.

September 12, 1983

The Macheteros carried out a plan code-named White Eagle; this was a plan to rob the Wells Fargo depot in West Hartford, Connecticut. Juan Segarra Palmer had recruited Wells Fargo employee Victor Manuel Gerena to gain access to the money. Gerena drugged, blindfolded and handcuffed two other guards. He then took the \$7.2 million and drove away in a rented car. Filiberto Ojeda Rios got a fake drivers license in Houston, Texas, under the name Juvenal Concepcion, which he used to rent a motor home in Massachusetts. In order to get part of the money and Gerena out of the U.S., Segarra and Ojeda put a false wall in the motor home, creating a coffin size compartment that hid Gerena and \$2.024 million of the stolen money. The two men drove the RV to Mexico where Jose Antonio Arbesu, a diplomat and intelligence officer for Cuba, gave Gerena a forged Argentine passport. Gerena was flown to Cuba with the money in the diplomatic pouch. The group moved the rest of the money out of the country in the same way. Others involved in this incident were Antonio Comacho Negron, Norman Ramirez Talavera, Robert Maldonado Rivera, Jorge Farinacci and Carlos Ayes Suarez.

November 6, 1985

The group shot and seriously wounded a U.S. Army recruiting officer as he was riding his motor scooter to work.

1990s

Los Macheteros claimed responsibility for a bomb explosion at a small power station in the Puerto Rican metropolitan area.

On March 31, 1998, the super-aqueduct project in Arecibo was bombed.

On June 25, 1998, a bomb exploded in Santa Isabel, Puerto Rico in a branch of Banco Popular, a Puerto Rican bank. The Macheteros claimed responsibility for the attack in retaliation for the bank's role in the privatization of the Puerto Rico Telephone Co., the majority of which was being sold to Stamford, Connecticut-based GTE Corp.

The Macheteros vandalized a new fleet of government vans and trucks that were parked in a government facility. This attack left the automobiles non-operative.

A light anti-tank weapon (LAW) was fired at the FBI offices at 150 Carlos Chardon Street Hate Rey, Puerto Rico. The shot missed and hit the Department of Agriculture building. A witness led the police to a car that had Avelino Gonzalez Claudio's fingerprints in it. There were no injuries but the building sustained heavy damage. Later that night a communiqué was received from the Macheteros taking credit for the blast. They claimed it was in retaliation for the U.S. invasion of Grenada. The LAW's tube

was found and the serial number traced back to a unit left in Vietnam, captured by the North and shipped to Cuba.

The investigation into the rocket attack was code named FEDROC and led to the eventual phone tapping of the Macheteros, during which the FBI overheard conversations about the Wells Fargo robbery. It was because of these taps that the FBI discovered the Macheteros were responsible for the Wells Fargo robbery. After several months the FBI was also able to locate a safe house near old San Juan. The raid on this house revealed boxes of documents. The Macheteros even kept sheets of who said what at each of their meetings. It was a goldmine for the FBI.

In February 1999, the group issued a communiqué promising to detonate car bombs in the eastern and midwestern United States. The letter demanded the U.S. pull all armed forces from Puerto Rico. They also mailed part of the stolen money to various newspapers.

OUTCOME

The argument over who should control the money from the Wells Fargo Robbery and how it should be spent reportedly turned out to be a dividing factor in the group. Segarra, for example, evidently did what he pleased with the money he had access to, many time against the group's will. The group split into factions and never fully worked together again. The final factor in the split came when Ojeda went to Mexico City to meet with Fernando Comas Perez, a senior officer in Cuba's Department of the Americas. Perez promised Ojeda and Segarra's faction the support of the Cuban government. They were to receive training and weapons; the only catch was that Cuba was keeping the \$2.024 million that came over with Gerena. The reason for this support was the attack on the Muniz Air National Guard base, which apparently impressed some people in the Cuban government.

During an interview in 2000, a former Cuban intelligence agent acknowledged that Cuba helped plan and finance the Wells Fargo robbery.

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2.4 MAY 19TH COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION (M19C0)

BACKGROUND

In the late 1960s Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was torn over the issue using violence to advance civil rights. The Weathermen sect advocated a campaign of violence to overthrow the U.S. government and its capitalistic ideas and in 1969 took over SDS and formed their own group. However, when the “Days of Rage” riot failed, this incarnation of SDS also failed, and the group went underground, changing its name to the Weather Underground. This group, too, eventually split into a West Coast and East Coast faction. The West Coast group became The Prairie Fire Organizing Committee. The East Coast faction became the May 19th Communist Organization (M19CO), named for the day that both Malcolm X and Ho Chi Minh were born. M19CO also assumed the names Revolutionary Fighting Group, Armed Resistance Unit and Red Guerrilla Resistance. These names surfaced in the early to mid-1980s to claim responsibility for numerous bombings. The John Brown Anti-Klan Committee (JBAKC) worked as the aboveground group for M19CO. Although separate, many of these radical groups, like the Black Liberation Army (BLA) and the United Freedom Front, worked closely together, and in many cases people from one group switched to another, making these groups very difficult to distinguish.

M19CO’s basic plan was: first, free what they deemed as political prisoners, second, acquire some kind of capital, and third, begin a campaign of bombings to incite the working class to rise up in revolution. At first, killing people was accepted by the group, but after the Brinks robbery the group decided to try to avoid further killings because of public backlash. Before every bombing a call was made telling people in the target area to leave. After every bombing a taped message was released claiming responsibility for the act.

On Friday, November 11, 1979, members of M19CO walked into Edna Mahan Correctional Facility for Women located in Clinton, New Jersey, took two guards hostage and broke JoAnne Chesimard out of her cell. Chesimard was taken to a safe house at 223 East Prospect Street in East Orange, New Jersey, where she was met by Susan Lisa Rosenberg, Marilyn Buck, and possibly Linda Sue Evans. They kept Chesimard hidden until she could be taken to Havana, Cuba.

William Morales, a member of the Puerto Rican group Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN), was arrested after an explosion at the FALN bomb factory in New York. He was wounded during the explosion and was under police guard at Bellevue Hospital Center in New York City. Alan Berkman, a doctor at Bellevue and a M19CO member, assisted Morales by giving him elastic bandages to shimmy down the wall outside his window. Once down the wall Marilyn Buck picked him up and took him to the same East Orange safe house. After they cared for his mangled hands, Berkman and Buck took Morales safely to Mexico.

Marilyn Buck and Linda Evans operated an apartment in the Bronx just West of the Jerome Park Reservoir. The group operated another safe house on Prospect Street in East Orange, New Jersey.

TIMELINE

October 20, 1981

Armed members of M19CO and the BLA robbed a Brinks armored truck at the Nanuet Mall. The terrorists hit when the guards were putting money into the truck, injuring or killing all the Brinks guards before they had time to react. The group had an M-16, a shotgun, and pistols. The robbers took the money to an old Corvette dealership that had closed down and switched the bags and people to a U-Haul. A neighbor saw the switch take place and called the police. Roadblocks were set up and the police stopped the U-Haul on Exit 11 of the New York State Thruway. Unfortunately, there had been calls over the radio that other U-Hauls had been stopped and when the police at Exit 11 stopped the right U-Haul Kathy Boudin, one of the robbers, told the police that she did not like guns. As the police let their guard down, the back of the U-Haul opened and six armed men, including the man with the M-16, opened fire on the police. Two police officers were killed and another wounded. A corrections officer who heard the commotion and saw Boudin running away from the scene apprehended her. The \$1.6 million was recovered from the scene. Others arrested at the scene included Judy Clark, Sam Brown and Dave Gilbert. (For a full account of this incident, see case study 2.6, Nyack Armored Car Robbery).

January 28, 1983

The Federal Building in the St. George section of Staten Island, New York, was bombed by M19CO. The building housed the local FBI office and Army and Navy recruiting stations. The bomb was made out of dynamite and no one was injured. After the bombing, M19CO changed their name to the Revolutionary Fighting Group and claimed responsibility for it.

April 26, 1983

M19CO bombed the National War College at 300 5th Avenue, Fort Lesley J. McNair in Washington, DC. To claim responsibility for this bombing the group used the name "Armed Resistance Unit."

August 18, 1983

At 12:04 a.m. the Washington Navy Yard Computing Center at Washington Navy Yard, D.C. was bombed. One small device was used and no one was injured. However, there was \$1,000 in damages. The area bombed was used to design computer programs for various naval operations. The Armed Resistance Unit claimed responsibility.

November 7, 1983

M19CO bombed the United States Capitol building. The bomb destroyed the Republican cloakroom and some surrounding walls. The explosive was believed to be dynamite. No one was injured and the Armed Resistance Unit claimed responsibility.

April 5, 1984

At 1:45 a.m., a bomb on a third floor stairwell of the Israeli Aircraft Industries Building in New York City was detonated. The bomb was made out of dynamite and electronically detonated. No one was injured in the blast. The group was now claiming responsibility under the name Red Guerrilla Resistance.

April 20, 1984

At 1:50 a.m. on Friday, the Washington Navy Yard Officer's Club was bombed. A percussion-type bomb was placed under a couch at the entrance to the club. No one was injured, and once again, the group used the name Red Guerrilla Resistance.

September 26, 1984

At 12:33 a.m. a bomb was set off on the 12th floor stairwell at the South African Consulate in New York City. No one was injured in the attack. Red Guerrilla Resistance took credit for this bombing.

November 3, 1984

Timothy Blunk and Susan Lisa Rosenberg were arrested at a warehouse in Cherry Hill, New Jersey. The police recovered 100 blasting caps, 200 sticks of dynamite, 100 cartridges of gel explosives and 24 bags of blasting agent.

February 23, 1985

Early on a Saturday, a bomb was set off in the Manhattan office of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association. The bomb was placed in the women's restroom next to the union's office on the 21st floor. There were no serious injuries.

OUTCOME

- In the end, most members of M19CO were arrested.
- Laura Whitehorn was arrested in May 1985 in her apartment in Baltimore, Maryland and sentenced to 20 years for passport fraud; she was later sentenced to 20 years for the Capitol Building bombing.
- Marilyn Buck was arrested in May 1985 and convicted for the Capitol Building bombing; she received 10 years plus an additional 50 for an earlier sentence.

- Linda Evans was arrested in May 1985 with Buck; their car was surrounded and stopped in Dobbs Ferry, N.Y. She was later convicted for the Capitol Building bombing and sentenced to 5 years plus an earlier 35-year sentence.
- Susan Rosenberg was arrested at the Cherry Hill warehouse and convicted on weapons charges.
- Timothy Blunk was arrested at the Cherry Hill warehouse and also convicted on weapons charges.
- Dr. Alan Berkman was arrested with Elizabeth Duke in May 1985 in Doylestown, PA after being pulled over. He was sentenced to 10 years for possession of weapons and false identification.

After being arrested Elizabeth Duke posted bail and is still underground.

POSTSCRIPT

Because this group operated so closely with other groups, many of these incidents could not be fully credited to M19CO, even though their involvement is not in doubt. The question is to what extent was M19CO involved. Numerous known members of M19CO certainly took part in the above incidents. The other factor that creates ambiguity is the fact that in many circles the Red Guerrilla Resistance was considered a part of the United Freedom Front and not M19CO, although research points more to its being a part of M19CO. In many instances it comes down to personal opinion, since the only people who really know are the ones who were involved. Finally, because this group operated underground, finding addresses for the individual people is nearly impossible. The fact that they could evade the FBI for as long as they did is a testament to this.

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2.5 NEW AFRICAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS

BACKGROUND

The New African Freedom Fighters, also known as the Republic of New Africa (RNA) and the New York Eight, was founded by a small band of former Black Panthers and Black Liberation Army members who were involved in the 1981 Nyack armored car robbery. Their goal was to create a separate black nation carved from the southern states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina.

Almost all of the members of the RNA were practicing Moslems. The most radical members of the group had been convicted and given lengthy prison sentences for their involvement in the 1981 Brinks robbery, but those members who remained above ground decided to take a more active role in the organization. Assuming the role of the “military wing of the Republic of New Africa,” they became known as the New African Freedom Fighters.

The leader of the group, Mutula Shakur, had been on the FBI’s Ten Most Wanted list since the 1981 Brinks robbery. From his small “clinic” in Harlem that served as the headquarters for the Black Acupuncture Association of North America, as well as a front for the Republic of New Africa, Shakur attracted a small cohort of black radicals. Many had former ties to the BLA and the Black Panthers, extensive criminal records and supported themselves through theft and robbery. Others, however, were highly educated and held fulltime jobs in private or government sectors.

TIMELINE

1985

Led by a forty-one year old Harvard doctoral student named Randolph Simms (a.k.a. Coltraine Chimurenga), the group plotted an attack on the Brooklyn courthouse where Donald Weems was being tried for his role in a June 1981 robbery that netted the BLA and M19CO over \$290,000.

They also made plans for additional armored truck robberies and a plan to free Nathaniel Burns, the former Black Panther convicted in the Brinks robbery, from prison.

Two days before the Weems trial ended in Brooklyn, FBI agents raided four houses in different sections of New York City. The ten persons eventually arrested reflected a picture of successful, black, middle-class businessmen and women, rather than a gang of violent terrorists. In addition to Simms, two of the persons arrested were attorneys and two others were employees of the New York City’s Department of Housing Preservation and Development.

Outcome

- A search of the residences uncovered several 9mm automatic pistols, an Uzi submachine gun, bulletproof vests, two bombs, sawed-off shotguns (one of them

- in a violin case), prison guard uniforms, diagrams of a dozen banks (including three in New Rochelle and one in Alabama), a machine for making bullets for automatic weapons and assorted false identification papers.
- The members of the New African Freedom Fighters involved in the 1985 attempted rescue of Donald Weems included: Randolph Simms, Yvette Kelley, Roger Wareham, Viola Plummer, William (Omowale) Clay, Robert Taylor, Ruth Carter, Collette Pean, Howard Bonds and Jose Rios. All were named in a fifty-one count indictment charging them with twelve violations which included: interference with commerce by threats or violence; instigating or assisting escape; attempt to damage or destroy United States government property; concealing an escaped prisoner; flight to avoid prosecution or giving testimony; instigation of mutiny or a riot; aiding and abetting; conspiracy; kidnapping; use of false statements in application and use of passport; acquisition of a firearm and possession of an unregistered firearm.
 - Howard Bonds turned state's evidence in the case.
 - The proceedings that followed were anything but ordinary. While the National Council of Churches scrambled to make bail for Simms and his followers, the group availed itself of help from leftist attorneys and spokespersons. Susan Tipograph, representing Kelly, argued that the defendants were political activists in the black community who were the victims of FBI surveillance and harassment. During the trial, prosecutors presented videotapes of a rehearsal for an armored truck robbery directed by Simms. The videotape included a conversation in which Simms gave explicit directions to kill the victims. U.S. attorneys also presented as evidence FBI surveillance wiretapped telephone conversations detailing the plot, illegal weapons and drawings of the courtroom and prison the group intended to attack.
 - After a two-month trial and five days of deliberations, the jury acquitted all of the defendants of conspiracy charges but convicted them on lesser charges of illegal weapons possession.
 - Prosecutors were still optimistic, however, since each of the counts for which a guilty verdict was rendered carried a maximum five to ten year penalty. However, on January 16, 1986, U.S. District Judge Robert Carter suspended the sentences of all of the defendants except one and placed them on probation for periods of two to three years. As part of their probation, each defendant was required to perform between 200 and 400 hours of community service.
 - The only defendant sentenced to prison was Collette Pean, who received three months in prison, 200 hours of community service and a \$1,561.10 fine.
 - Mutula Shakur was finally captured in Los Angeles in February 1986. His Los Angeles attorney described Shakur as "a black patriot dedicated to the liberation of the New African nation."

2.6 NYACK ARMORED CAR ROBBERY

BACKGROUND

This case study chronicles the robbery of a Brinks armored truck by a group the FBI called The Collective. The Collective was a band of leftist terrorists made up of members of the May 19th Communist Organization, Black Liberation Army, and former Black Panthers, so there is little background information available about this particular incident, although several of the people involved are found in other case studies in this document. The robbery occurred at the Nanuet Mall in New York

TIMELINE

October 21, 1981

The terrorists hit the Brinks truck when the guards were putting the money into the truck. One guard was in the cab, another wheeling a dolly with the money and the third behind the truck. The terrorists pulled up in at least two vehicles, one in front of the armored truck and one behind. The ones in the front car shot the guard in the cab and the ones in the back shot the other two guards. All three guards were killed before they had time to react. The only reaction was the guard in the back, who attempted to jump into the truck and almost got the door closed before he was killed. David Gilbert carried a 12-gauge shotgun, Cecil Ferguson an M-16, and others were armed with 9mm pistols. The robbers put the money into a red van and hauled it just around the corner to an old Corvette dealership. At this point they switched the bags and people into a U-Haul and used a gold Honda as a chase car.

A neighbor happened to see the switch take place and called the police. Roadblocks were set up and the police stopped the U-Haul on Exit 11 of the New York State Thruway. Unfortunately, there had been calls on the radio that other U-Hauls had been stopped, and when the police at Exit 11 stopped the right U-Haul, Kathy Boudin, one of the robbers, assuaged the officers' fears, saying that she did not like guns. As the police let their guard down the back of the U-Haul opened and six armed terrorists, including Sam Brown, Donald Weems, Eddie Lawrence Joseph, Cecil Ferguson, Sammy Smith and Mutula Shakur opened fire. Two police officers were killed and another wounded. One officer, ordered back to the police car to keep from scaring Boudin with his shotgun, had 40 rounds hit his car. Remarkably, the officer was not hit.

OUTCOME

- Once the initial barrage was over, the robbers tried to escape. Eddie Joseph and Mutula Shukur escaped by getting into the U-Haul and ramming a police car that blocked their escape route. David Gilbert, driving the gold Honda, picked up Judy Clark and Sam Brown in an attempt get away. However, after a high-speed chase, Gilbert ran into a wall and everyone in the car was arrested.

- During the commotion, Ferguson took a car at gunpoint and later abandoned it when he escaped into the hills by Mt. Vernon. He was in the woods for two to three days, during which time he buried his M-16 and 9mm. Weems and Joseph took another car and were later picked up by Marilyn Buck, who took them to a safe house. A corrections officer who heard the commotion and saw Boudin running away from the scene apprehended her. The \$1.6 million was recovered from the scene.

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2.7 UNITED FREEDOM FRONT

BACKGROUND

The United Freedom Front was started in the early 1970s by two Vietnam veterans, Thomas Manning and Raymond Luc Levasseur. Both had served time in prison, Manning for robbery and Levasseur for dealing marijuana. After their release from prison, the men became active in prison reform, and in 1974 formed the Sam Melville/Jonathan Jackson group, named after two black leaders in the prison struggle. This group became known as the United Freedom Front. UFF was against the U.S. Government and corporate imperialism and focused primarily on events in Latin America and apartheid in South Africa. The organization grew slowly and by 1982 had its maximum of eight members, which included a select group of spouses and close friends. The Levasseurs and Mannings both traveled with their children.

Levasseur was born on October 10, 1946, in Sanford, Maine, to a family of French Canadian textile and shoe factory workers. His experience of being a poor, ethnic minority shaped his later actions. At the age of seventeen he got his first job working in a shoe factory. He and fellow co-workers would often sabotage machines to resist management's efforts to speed up production. Levasseur wrote, "it was my first act of sabotage, but a long way from my last."

In 1965, Levasseur enlisted in the army, and two years later did a tour of duty in Vietnam. While in Vietnam he witnessed racism against the Vietnamese people and against American soldiers of color. After his twelve-month duty was up he moved to Tennessee, attended college and began organizing with the Southern Student Organizing Committee. Their goals were black liberation, an end the war in Vietnam, and the efforts of workers to form unions.

In 1969, Levasseur was arrested and convicted of selling marijuana. Although this was his first offense he was sentenced to the maximum penalty of five years, most likely because of his political activities. While in prison Levasseur witnessed racism and began to study the revolutionary theories of Mao, Che Guevara, the Black Panther Party, and others. In 1979, Levasseur was paroled to Maine where he became a state organizer for Vietnam Veterans Against the War. As the war wound down Levasseur focused his attentions elsewhere. Influenced by the Black Panthers and Malcolm X, he believed that prisoners were an important part of the solution to America's evils and became active in organizations that worked with prisoners and their families.

While in Maine, he met his future common-law wife, Patricia Gros, and Thomas Manning and his wife Carol Ann. Together they started a radical bookstore, the Red Star North Bookstore. They faced constant police harassment that intensified with time, and there were rumors that the Portland Police Department had a death squad with Ray and Tom on the hit list.

In March of 1975, Levasseur was arrested in Connecticut. He made bail, left the state and went underground.

Born in Boston in 1946, Thomas Manning was raised in a large, working-class Irish family. As a child, he shined shoes and sold newspapers in bars and in the subway to help his family.

In 1963, Manning joined the military, served in Cuba in 1964, and in Vietnam from 1964 to 1966. When he returned home, Manning was arrested for armed robbery and assault and battery. While serving a five-year sentence, he read the revolutionist ideas of Che Guevara and took part in food and work strikes protesting inhumane prison conditions.

After completing his sentence in May of 1971, he moved to New England and met his future wife Carol Ann. He also met Raymond Levasseur. Believing the current capitalist system was a failure for most people, he became a socialist and advocated a system where “ends meet.” Soon, he went underground with his wife and the Levasseurs.

In 1981, two other men, Richard Williams and Jan Laaman, joined UFF. Richard Williams was born in Beverly, Massachusetts in 1947. His mother was a factory worker and seamstress, his father a machine operator. At eighteen he received his draft notice and his choices were enter the draft or go into hiding. He chose to hide. In 1967, at 20, he was arrested in Massachusetts for possession of marijuana. He was given the choice to join the army or go to jail for six months; he chose jail.

In 1971, Williams was arrested for robbery in New Hampshire and received a 7-15 year sentence. While in prison he got involved in trying to improve prison conditions. He was elected chairperson of the New England Prisoner Association. Inside prison he met with legislators and participated in food and work strikes to protest the deplorable prison conditions. After his release from prison he went to work for the New England Free Press, a radical, collective print shop. In 1981 he went underground and joined the UFF.

Laaman was born in Estonia in 1948 and his family immigrated to the United States when he was three. He was the son of a blue-collar family and spent much of his life in Buffalo, New York, hustling work in car lots or steel mills. He began to sense that something was wrong with society. At 18, he was convicted of assault and battery and did 20 months in the New York state prison system, where he finished his high school education. After leaving prison he went to college at Cornell and the University of New Hampshire, where he became active in anti-draft and anti-war work.

In 1972, while in New Hampshire, Laaman was arrested for bombing the police headquarters in Manchester and the Nixon re-election offices. For those crimes he served nearly seven years in prison. After his release, he moved to Boston and met his future wife, Barbara Curzi. In 1981, he and his wife went underground and joined the UFF

TIMELINE

October 4, 1975

The United Freedom Front (UFF) committed its first act in Portland, Maine. Thomas Manning and Raymond Levasseur robbed the Northeast Bank of Westbrook and made

off with \$3,593.75. While fleeing the scene the two men attempted to murder Portland policeman Paul Lewis.

December 12, 1975

Raymond Levasseur, Thomas Manning, and Carol Ann Manning robbed the Bank of Maine: Civic Center Branch in Augusta, Maine. The three made off with \$12,605.62. This would be their last bank robbery for almost five and a half years.

April 22, 1976

The UFF bombed their first target. Raymond Levasseur and Thomas Manning bombed the Suffolk County Office of the Massachusetts Commissioner of Probation, at the Suffolk County Courthouse in Boston, Massachusetts.

Less than two months later, Levasseur and Manning bombed the Middlesex County Superior Courthouse in Lowell, Massachusetts.

July 4, 1976

The First National Bank of Boston, Northgate Plaza Branch, Revere, Massachusetts was bombed, but it could not be determined who the bombers were.

December 12, 1976

With their next bombing the UFF switched from government buildings to corporate targets. This time Levasseur and Manning bombed the Union Carbide Corporation in Needham, Massachusetts.

March 12, 1977

Exactly three months after the Union Carbide bombing the UFF struck again. This time Levasseur and Manning bombed the Ideal Roller and Graphics Company, Plant Number 5 in Marlboro, Massachusetts.

October 1978 to February 1979

Over the next two years the UFF was tied to three more bombings. There are very few details on these bombings, and it has never been determined exactly who committed them. The three bombings were:

October 27, 1978- Mobil Oil Corporation, Boston Retail Sales Division, Wakefield, Massachusetts

October 27, 1978- Mobil Oil Corporation, New England Commercial Division, Waltham, Massachusetts.

February 27, 1979- Mobil Oil Corporation, Northeast Regional Office, Eastchester, New York

1981

After Richard Williams, Jaan Laaman and Christopher King joined the UFF, the group returned to bank robbery. The three new men, along with Levasseur and Manning, stole roughly \$89,000 from the New Britain Bank & Trust Company of New Britain, Connecticut.

December 21, 1981

Thomas Manning and Richard Williams murdered New Jersey State Trooper Philip Lamonaco on Interstate 80 in Warren County, New Jersey.

During the later trial, Manning described how he shot the trooper in self-defense after the trooper tried to kill him with his .357 Magnum. During the court proceedings it was determined that the police officer had fired at least 6 shots, that he carried an unregistered, unlicensed “drop gun”, and that he was previously involved in shooting incidents. Thomas also testified that Williams was not present at the shooting.

February 7, 1982

Jaan Laaman and Christopher King attempted to murder Massachusetts State Troopers Paul Landry and Michael Crosby.

April 2, 1982

Levasseur, Manning, Laaman, and Williams robbed the Chittendon Trust Company, Williston Road Branch in South Burlington, Vermont, of \$61,494.

June 25, 1982

The same four men robbed the Syracuse Savings Bank, located in the West Lights Shopping Center in Onondaga, New York, taking some \$195,000 from the bank.

December 16, 1982

The UFF bombed two buildings. The first was the South African Airways Procurement Office in Elmont, New York. The second building was International Business Machines Corp. Building in Harrison, New York. For reference, these two buildings are 26.1 miles apart with a 42-minute travel time. Responsible for these two bombings were Levasseur, Thomas and Carol Manning, Patricia Gros, Barbara Curzi, Richard Williams, and Jaan Laaman.

February 23, 1983

The UFF struck yet another bank. This time Levasseur, Thomas Manning, Laaman, and Williams stole roughly \$100,000 from Marine Midland Bank: T.R. Proctor Branch in Utica, New York.

May 12, 1983

After several years of bombing corporate targets the UFF switched back to government buildings. This time they were targeted Reserve Centers. The first bomb exploded at the Theodore Roosevelt Jr. Army Reserve Center. Responsible for this attack were; Raymond Levasseur, Thomas and Carol Manning, Patricia Gros, Barbara Curzi, Richard Williams, and Jaan Laaman.

At around 10:55 p.m., a woman called a crisis-counseling center, saying a bomb would go off in twenty minutes at the Army Reserve Center. She said “viva El Salvador” before she hung up. Police arrived at the scene about 10 minutes before the bomb went off and dropped a steel bomb blanket over a case labeled, “bomb”. However, the bomb went off at 11:15 before the county bomb squad could arrive. The blast blew out the front door, glass, and damaged the lobby. In both instances, no one was injured.

The UFF claimed responsibility for the bombing. According to the FBI, this was the first time the group used the name United Freedom Front.

About five minutes after the first warning was called in, a doughnut shop in the same area as the crisis counseling center received a warning call. About an hour after the first bomb exploded, another bomb went off at the Naval Reserve Center in Queens, New York. This blast blew off the door and shattered glass. The same seven people were responsible for this bombing.

July 6, 1983

Levasseur, Thomas Manning, Laaman, and Williams robbed the Marine Midland Bank in Rotterdam, New York. The four men made off with \$68, 466.12.

August 21, 1983

The UFF continued its bombings at the Sergeant John Muller Army Reserve Center in Bronx, New York. Raymond Levasseur, Thomas Manning, Patricia Gros, Barbara Curzi, Richard Williams, and Jaan Laaman were responsible for this attack.

The group planted two bombs outside the center; a gasoline bomb and a “higher-type” explosive, possibly made of C4. Both bombs exploded at 10:30 p.m. The Reserve Center was unmanned at night so no one was injured. Shortly after the bombs went off a caller directed The New York Times to a letter left in a Bronx post office. The letter contained the message, “Get out of El Salvador; get out of Nicaragua; solidarity and support for locked up freedom fighters and all grand jury resisters.”

October 18, 1963

Raymond Levasseur, Thomas Manning, Jaan Laaman, and Richard Williams stole \$157,000 from the Onondaga Savings Bank: Shoppingtown Office in Dewitt, New York.

December 12, 1983

The UFF bombed their fourth armed forces target in less than a year, the Navy Recruitment District Office in East Meadow, New York. Levasseur, the Mannings, Gros, Curzi, Williams, and Laaman were responsible.

Moments before lunch two bombs exploded in the stairwells of the four-story building that housed the recruitment office. No one was injured, but the explosions caused heavy damage to the concrete and steel structure. The United Freedom Front, in calls to news organizations in the area, claimed responsibility. Shortly afterwards, a three-page communiqué was found in a downtown New York mailbox. The communiqué, signed UFF, said the bombs were planted in protest of U.S. involvement in Central and South America.

December 14, 1983

Two cases with the word “bomb” stenciled on them were found in front of the Honeywell Inc. building in Queens, New York, after a telephone caller warned a news service that two bombs would go off at the building. At 11:30 p.m. the United Press International in New York received a call. “Tell the police to get everyone out of there if they don’t want anyone hurt.” The bombs were set to go off at 11:45.

When they opened the cases, police found a live explosive device made of six sticks of dynamite in one case, and a political statement from the group in the other. The UFF targeted the Honeywell Inc. building because the company was a military contractor. However, the building was actually used for the sale and service of heating, ventilation, and air-conditioning equipment; it was not a defense plant.

January 29, 1984

Levasseur, The Mannings, Gros, Curzi, Williams and Laaman bombed a Motorola Corporation plant in Queens, New York. The group called to warn the police, Motorola, and the media about 50 minutes prior to the explosion. Two police officers arrived on the scene and found a canvas bag marked “bomb” hanging from a garage door. The officers moved about 1,000 feet away and radioed for help. The bomb exploded at 10:04 p.m. No one was hurt and a Motorola spokesman said the bomb only blew off the garage door and broke windows in the two-story plant.

Three copies of a propaganda communiqué were found near the scene. They contained a statement against U.S. imperialism in different places. “This is the United Freedom Front and we’re planting a bomb at the Motorola Corporation. We are continuing our campaign against warmongers and profiteers....US out of El Salvador.” Authorities suspected the Motorola plant was bombed because of its defense contracts, although the plant only fixed radios.

March 19, 1984

The UFF bombed an IBM office building in Harrison, New York. This was a different building than the one bombed in December of 1982, but the same seven members of UFF were responsible. The 10:43 p.m. bomb blast caused heavy damage to the exterior of the office building leased by IBM. No one was hurt. The UFF claimed responsibility shortly after the attack and left a communiqué that said they bombed IBM because of their business interests in South Africa.

April 26, 1984

Raymond Levasseur, Thomas Manning, Jaan Laaman, and Richard Williams stole \$12,820 from the First Virginia Bank of Tidewater in Norfolk, Virginia.

June 5, 1984

This was the final bank robbery by the UFF. The same four men stole roughly \$197,500 from the Sovran Bank in Norfolk, Virginia.

August 22, 1984

The General Electric Corporation in Melville, New York, was bombed. As with many of the UFF's other bombings, Raymond Levasseur, Thomas and Carol Manning, Patricia Gros, Barbara Curzi, Richard Williams, and Jaan Laaman were responsible.

Someone called G.E., the Suffolk County Police Department, and a Long Island newspaper earlier, warning of the attack. An employee spotted the bomb in an office stairway and ran around yelling "Get out, there's a bomb!" Everyone got out safely and no one was injured. The employee also found UFF leaflets that said, "Defeat US Imperialism. US Out of El Salvador." The blast caused extensive damage to the building. It went through the second and the third floors, and blew a hole in the roof.

September 26, 1984

The UFF committed its last bombing, targeting the Union Carbide Corporation for a second time. Again, Raymond Levasseur, Thomas and Carol Manning, Patricia Gros, Barbara Curzi, Richard Williams, and Jaan Laaman were responsible. An anonymous caller, claiming to be with the UFF, phoned a bomb threat to police at around 8:50 p.m. and said a bomb was set to go off at 9:10. The bomb, made of 25-50 pounds of dynamite, exploded and blew a 20-by-20 foot hole in the exterior wall of the four-story Silicones Building research lab. The bomb also broke 100 windows. No one was injured.

Another phone call had been placed to Gannett Westchester Rockland Newspapers at about 8:40 p.m. from a man claiming the United Freedom Front was responsible for the blast. The Daily News received a similar call in which the man said, "Down with apartheid. Down with U.S. imperialism."

OUTCOME

- On November 4, 1984 Raymond Levasseur, Jaan Laaman, Richard Williams, Patricia Gros, and Barbara Curzi were arrested in northeast Ohio.
- Thomas Manning had been living in the area with the other fugitives, but remained at large until April 24, 1985 when he and his wife Carol were arrested. These arrests ended the almost 10-year reign of terror in the New York City area.
- Prosecutors had many crimes to choose from. Before the UFF's major trial for conspiracy in 1989, all of the members had been convicted of related offenses in separate trials. Patricia Gros was charged with six counts of harboring her fugitive husband, convicted on four counts and sentenced to five years in the federal penitentiary. Thomas Manning was convicted in New Jersey in the shooting of state trooper Philip Lamonaco and sentenced to life.
- In March 1985 UFF members were indicted in New York on charges of conspiracy in the bombings of eleven corporate and government buildings.
- Seven members of the UFF were convicted and sentenced to prison terms from fifteen to fifty-three years.
- In 1987, a federal court in Massachusetts charged all eight members of the group with seditious conspiracy and RICO violations. Richard Williams' trial was separated from the others since he was not charged under RICO.
- In December 1987, Williams pleaded guilty to one count in exchange for a dismissal of the other two counts, a recommendation he receive no more than seven years and an agreement that he would not be a government witness.
- Carol Manning pleaded guilty and was sentenced to five years in prison and fined \$300,000.
- The remaining UFF members went to trial in January 1989. During the ten-month trial, charges against Thomas Manning and Jaan Laaman were dropped and Barbara Curzi's trial was separated from the others.
- On November 27, 1989, the jury returned not-guilty verdicts on most of the counts.
- Two days later the judge declared a mistrial when jurors declared a deadlock on the remaining charges. All of the defendants, except Patricia Gros who had served 3 1/2 years and was out on bail, were returned to jail.

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2.8 YAHWEH

BACKGROUND

Yahweh was a cult that terrorized the Miami, Florida, area during the 1980s, murdering 15 people. The cult was formed by Hulon Mitchell Jr., the son of a dirt-poor preacher in Kingfisher, Oklahoma. Hulon was born in the tiny wheat town in 1935, the first of 15 children. One of the few black families in town, they were subjected to the full effect of Jim Crow laws. His father's Holiness Pentecostal services, ridiculed by the townspeople, were complete with ecstatic dancing and speaking in tongues. From an early age, Hulon had a strong sense of oppression and being the minority.

At 18, Hulon was drafted and enlisted as an airman at Vance Air Force Base and quickly rose through the ranks. The military taught him to put country before everything else. Eventually, though, he began to question this. Throughout history, black soldiers had sacrificed their lives, but black veterans could not sit at a lunch counter and have a cup of coffee. Hulon left the Air Force and became a civil rights leader in Enid, Oklahoma. He organized successful sit-ins at two downtown lunch counters and effectively dismantled the racist infrastructure in his hometown. During this time, Hulon began experimenting with other religions, including the Rosicrucians, a secretive order that believes they can develop mental power to help them achieve health, wealth, and happiness.

After a time, Hulon became disillusioned with the civil rights movement. He saw the movement was "about being able to stop giving money to your black brother and give it all to your oppressor." He attended meetings of the Nation of Islam, who believed blacks were genetically superior to all other races.

Hulon moved to Atlanta, where he attended a mosque and became more involved in the Nation of Islam. Just as he was gaining power, he was accused of stealing \$50,000 from the church and of molesting children in the congregation. He left the Nation and turned up in another part of Atlanta, going by the name "Father Mitchell." He also opened a new church, the "Modern Christian Church." He preached, "God wants you to be rich!" This appealed to many of his followers who were poor. They came Sunday after Sunday, tithing a portion of their meager earnings, waiting for the divine currency to flow. After a time, the congregation got fed up with Hulon, but before they could sue him for fraud, he was long gone.

In 1978, Hulon moved to Miami, Florida, after a "revelation." Blacks were becoming the forgotten minority as Cubans arrived in large numbers. While in Miami, he would lay the foundations for the "Black Hebrew Israelites" or "Yahwehs."

When he first arrived in Miami, Hulon would go up to people and introduce himself as a Bible teacher, saying, "Did you know that God is black? Yes, it's true! It's the world's best kept secret!" He told them blacks were the true chosen people, and that he would lead them to the Promised Land where they would live in prosperity and equality. He targeted the destitute and the desperate, promising to feed, clothe, and protect them. Eventually, his congregation began to grow. He started calling himself Yahweh ben

Yahweh, Hebrew for God, Son of God. He told his congregation he was the messiah God had promised them.

He told followers to cut ties with friends and family who weren't part of the congregation and distance themselves from white culture. The congregants pooled their money, rented houses together, and started a private school. They also dropped their "slave names," chose biblical first names, and took the common last name, "Israel." By October 1980, Hulon had 150 followers. Together, they bought a dilapidated warehouse in a black section of Miami. Hulon said they would live there until they returned to Jerusalem. Most members balked at this and left the group, but thirty people sold their homes and cars, quit work, and moved into the warehouse, now named, "Yahweh Temple of Love." Hulon picked ten strong, young men, gave them wooden clubs to enforce the rules, and told them to monitor the warehouse. This group was called the "Circle of Ten."

During his sermons he would ask, "How many of you would die for Yahweh? Would you kill for Yahweh?" The answer was always "yes." Hulon reportedly would slip into sisters' rooms in the middle of the night for Bible lessons, with the lights off. When questioned about these activities, he said he was celibate, as God required him to be. Women were taught to have their babies at home and required to attend midwife classes as part of sex education. Hulon had no medical training, but read the women books on how to home-deliver babies and had them undress each other and inspect each other's genitalia. He had one woman lie naked on her back while another woman blew into her vagina, instructing them that this was the proper way to perform CPR on unborn babies.

In sex education classes for the men, he showed them movies of white women having sex with animals, to dissuade them from being attracted to white women. He had penis inspections, forcing men to pull down their pants. If a man was not circumcised, he paid \$100, and Hulon did the surgery.

Over time, Hulon became a sexual predator. He had sex with girls as young as 10, telling them that it was his job to teach them how to have sex. One woman testified that Hulon forced her to have sex with him four days after she gave birth, tearing out her stitches.

No matter how twisted Hulon's teachings got, no one dared oppose him. Those who defied him were singled out for public ridicule and called "Uncle Tom" or "blasphemer." The Circle of Ten began carrying machetes instead of wooden clubs.

Despite the close scrutiny, some members met at a member's house outside the Temple. When word of these meetings got back to Hulon, he excommunicated them. He said, "Whoever does not want me to rule over them, those are my enemies. And if you are my enemy, you must die. You must be killed, I want to see it, I want to see your head come off personally."

TIMELINE

November 1981

The Circle of Ten took Hulon's words to heart when member Aston Green left the group. He was warned to stay away from the Temple, but he still had friends there and often returned to visit them. When he arrived on November 12, Circle of Ten members Ricardo Woodside, Richard Ingraham, and John Foster took him to a remote area of the Temple and beat him to a bloody pulp. They kicked him, hit him, and stomped his chest.

They put Aston's body into a car trunk and drove to a rock quarry, where he begged for his life with the little breath he had left. The Circle dragged his body to a rock, stretched his neck, and decapitated him. The machete blade was so dull it took some 20 swings to cut all the way through.

The Temple floor was painted red because the bloodstains would not wash away.

Aston Green was the first murder attributed to the group, but the day before, on November 11, Yahwehs had tried to murder Eric Burke. Armed with clubs and knives, Ricardo Woodside and Maurice Woodside cut the telephone line to Eric's apartment and tried to get in. Eric shot at the two men, and they fled.

As news of Aston's death spread, a few members decided it was time to tell police what was going on inside the Temple. Carlton Carey and his wife, Mildred Banks, went to police and reported numerous things, including the murder of Aston Green. They did not know, however, that there were moles within their dissenter circle who reported back to Hulon. When the couple got home, they were attacked by men wearing ski masks. Carlton was shot to death, but Mildred, shot in the chest, her throat slit, survived. Left for dead, she was able to crawl to the house of a neighbor, who called police.

Many in the Temple began to question Hulon and his actions, but no one dared cross him and end up on his hit list.

September 1983

Leonard Dupree, a 22-year-old karate expert from New Orleans, attended the "Feast of the Tabernacles" in the fall of 1983 and decided to join the Yahwehs. He began to draw attention from the temple guards for spacing out in class and wandering the Temple alone. Rumors spread that he was an assassin sent to kill Hulon. One afternoon, Leonard got into a fight with another Yahweh. A crowd gathered, and Hulon was called to the scene.

Hulon asked Leonard, "Do you want to hurt me?" Leonard responded, "No, I just want to kiss your feet." Someone in the crowd yelled, "Kill him!" and Hulon stepped aside. The crowd started beating Leonard, and Richard Ingraham cracked his skull with a tire iron. The crowd kept beating him. When he fell down, the Yahwehs ripped off his pants, kicked his genitals, and Maurice Woodside poked his eye out with a stick. The doors were locked, and Hulon forced everyone to hit Leonard as he screamed in agony. Hulon said, "A flock that kills together, stays together."

After Leonard died, a group of men rolled his body up in a carpet and dumped it in a canal.

1983-1986

Hulon formed a group called “The Brotherhood,” a small group of tall, muscular young men who carried out discreet missions. To become a member of The Brotherhood, a Yahweh had to kill a “white devil” and bring a body part back as proof of the kill. The Brotherhood was sent all over Miami to kill white people randomly. Robert Rozier, a former pro football player, was its leader.

Robert had played for the St. Louis Cardinals and Oakland Raiders, but in 1982 found himself on the brink of homelessness. He joined the Yahwehs, moved into the Temple, worked hard, and began to earn points with the Temple elders.

April 19, 1986

Robert decided to try out for The Brotherhood. He put on street clothes, put a knife in his pocket, and hit the streets looking for a “white devil.” He ended up in Coconut Grove, a thriving gay neighborhood. He looked for someone small and weak, an easy kill. A man stumbling down the street, as if drunk, caught Robert’s attention. He followed this man to his apartment. When the man opened the door, Robert forced his way inside and stabbed the man in the heart. Another man living in the apartment was also stabbed to death. The men were Glendell Fowler and Kurt Doerr. Robert wanted to cut off their heads to take back to Hulon, but decided it would draw the attention of the police. Instead, he took the bloody knife back to show Hulon.

May 18, 1986

Hulon told a group of his followers to travel to a certain location in Delray Beach, kill any drug dealers they found, and firebomb the homes there. The next day, Hulon, Ernest James Jr., Rufus Pace Sr., and Robert Rozier discussed the proper formula for making firebombs, then tested the firebombs. Linda Gaines provided lighters to the individuals involved in the firebombing.

May 20, 1986

Ernest Lee James Jr., Ardmore Canton III, James Louis Mack, Dexter Leon Grant, James M. Littlejohn, Robert Louis Beasley Jr., Rufus Pace Sr., Michael Mathis, and other members firebombed the homes located on the first block of S.W. 14th Avenue in Delray Beach.

May 22, 1986

Another series of murders followed. Ardmore Canton III killed Clair Walters on Biscayne Boulevard in Miami. After killing him, he cut off his ear and took it back to Hulon and a group of followers, who praised him for killing a “white devil.”

July 20, 1986

James L. Littlejohn stabbed and killed James Myers on Biscayne Boulevard in Miami. After the murder, he returned to Hulon and received a “holy kiss” for killing Myers.

September 5-6, 1986

On September 5, Carl Douglas Perry stabbed and killed Lyle Austin Bellinger.

On September 6, he and Robert Rozier stabbed and killed Raymond Kelly in South Miami. They cut off his ear as proof of the kill. After the killings, Hulon told Robert and Carl to “lay low for awhile.”

September 20, 1986

Hulon instructed Robert Rozier and James Louis Mack to kill Cecil Branch. On the following day, in Miami, Rozier, Earnest James, and Dexter Leon Grant stabbed Cecil Branch, killing him. They cut off his ear, which Hulon showed to a group of Yahweh followers.

October 2, 1986

In Legion Park, Miami, Anthony Murphy stabbed Harold Byers, killing him. He removed an ear, and Hulon praised him for killing a “white devil.”

October 10, 1986

Brian K. Lewis stabbed Reinaldo Echevarria at a Miami intersection.

October 30, 1986

Carl Douglas Perry shot and killed Rudolph Broussard in Opa Locka, Florida.

October 30, 1986

Carl Douglas Perry shot and killed Anthony Brown at the same location as above.

OUTCOME

- Hulon Mitchell and his followers were indicted on charges of murder, extortion, and running a racketeering enterprise. Robert Rozier was the prosecution’s key witness. He testified as to what went on behind the doors of the Temple of Love. The prosecution was stunned when the ethnically diverse jury handed down the verdict.

- Seven disciples were convicted, seven were acquitted, and Mitchell was found guilty of conspiracy. No one was charged with murder.
- Hulon was sentenced to 18 years in prison. In August of 2001, after serving only 10 years in prison, Hulon was released.

POSTSCRIPT

Soon after Hulon's release, hundreds of his followers resurfaced at a conference in Canada, their new "Promised Land." The Yahwehs are still actively recruiting members at their website, yahwehbenyahweh.com.

Contact for Sources

3. SINGLE ISSUE TERRORISM

Most of the case studies in this section include incidents that fall under the general categories of groups or individuals involved in anti-abortion or animal/environmental rights. The one exception is the assassination of Judge Robert Vance, which is a separate category because it has undercurrents of racism, anti-government and revenge.

A. SINGLE ISSUE- ABORTION

The three anti-abortion case studies deal with individuals who assassinated doctors working at abortion clinics. The individuals were either closely or loosely associated with known anti-abortion groups such as Rescue America and the Army of God, or with fundamentalist churches that support anti-abortion activities.

B. SINGLE ISSUE- ENVIRONMENTAL TERRORISM

The eco-terrorism incidents fall into two general categories: acts aimed at saving the environment and acts aimed at saving animals. The ideologies behind these acts come primarily from two groups: Earth Liberation Front and the Animal Liberation Front. The exception in this category is the Unabomber. Kaczynski's acts of terrorism were aimed at universities and corporations rather than at saving trees or wilderness areas and he acted alone.

The current day Animal Liberation Front (ALF) grew out of the animal rights activism movement in England. Early activism opposed the foxhunts in Europe, but in 1976, convicted arsonist Ronnie Lee led efforts to create the ALF that operates throughout the world today.

- ALF follows a specific set of goals as outlined on their website:
- To liberate animals from places of abuse;
- To inflict economic damage to those who profit from the misery and exploitation of animals;
- To reveal the horror and atrocities committed against animals; and
- To take all necessary precautions against harming animals

To this end, ALF claims several thousand animal rights activities throughout the U.S., Canada, and Europe in recent years. Previously arrested and convicted perpetrators related to ALF include Rodney Coronado, Robin Louis Webb, and David Barbarash.

The structure of ALF has presented a challenge to law enforcement authorities. There is no centralized group membership to ALF. If one believes in ALF's mission and abides by their goals, then one can consider himself a member of ALF. This creates a cellular structure, which is often anonymous. Members are not aware of the actions of other members. The anonymous cellular structure hinders investigations because the perpetrators often do not know other members of ALF, merely individuals who share their beliefs.

The Earth Liberation Front, which grew out of the radical 1980 movement known as Earth First, is also made up of small, autonomous groups across Canada and America. It operates much like ALF, and so it, too, has been a challenge to law enforcement. Both are underground movements who urge people to take individual action against the “abuse” of the environment or of animals. ELF’s credo is much the same as ALF’s if one substitutes environment for animals.

The majority of eco-terrorist attacks are well thought out and organized. A single person or group may stake out their target for weeks prior to an attack. Once the extremist(s) feel that they have a dependable understanding of the security and layout of the target, they will attack, typically during the night or very early in the morning.

If the extremists responsible for the attack have ties to one of the major eco-terrorist groups, a claim of responsibility may be made. These claims take different forms. Spray painting of messages on or near the target is the most popular form of claim. They leave a short message describing why the target was chosen and with which group they align themselves. Another way of claiming responsibility is a communiqué sent to a local newspaper, the police, or posted on the ELF/ALF websites. These letters include more detailed reasons for the attack and describe how the attack took place in order to let the reader know that they are not claiming responsibility for a random act of vandalism.

C. SINGLE ISSUE- ANTI ISLAMIC

There was only one case study for this category. It was a plot to bomb Islamic Societies in Florida by 3 individuals. This case study does not fit into any other category at this time. Limited information was available for the case.

3.1A GRIFFIN FLORIDA ASSASSINATION

BACKGROUND

Michael Frederick Griffin grew up in a well-established, extremely devout Presbyterian family in Pensacola, Florida. Yet, he was often abused as a child. In 1981, he married Patricia Presley, and the couple had two daughters. The two girls were home-schooled and not allowed to play with other children. Griffin joined the United States Navy in 1986. When he left the service five years later, he went to work as a \$14-an-hour machine operator at Monsanto Polymer Manufacturing Plant in Monsanto, Florida.

Griffin raised his family as Presbyterians, but frequently changed from one fundamentalist church to another, often because the pastors asked Griffin to leave. The pastor of the Brownsville Assembly of God Church, Rev. John Kilpatrick, described Michael Griffin's views as too "radical," but would not elaborate. Kilpatrick remembered being very forceful when asking Griffin to leave the church.

In 1991, Patricia Griffin filed for divorce, claiming Griffin suffered from violent fits of rage and was physically, verbally, and emotionally abusive to her and their daughters. She got a restraining order against him, but a year later, the couple reconciled. During this time, Griffin joined the Whitfield Assembly of God Church, led by John Burt, an extreme anti-abortion activist and militant regional director of the anti-abortion group, Rescue America. Burt was also a former KKK member. Soon, Griffin was participating in abortion protests. He watched several graphic abortion videos Burt gave him. The main protest area was the Pensacola Ladies Medical Center, where Dr. David Gunn performed abortions twice a week. Griffin began spending most of his time with Burt. They frequently traveled to anti-abortion rallies across the country, where Griffin and Burt would hang signs with Dr. Gunn's photo, home phone number, and other personal information under the title "Wanted for the Killing of Innocent Lives." Griffin also worked in "Our Father's House," Burt's home for unwed mothers in Milton, Florida. (Burt was later charged with sexual assault on many of the women who lived there).

Dr. David Gunn grew up in Brenton, Kentucky. Childhood polio left him weak and sick for much of his childhood. When he entered college, his grandfather said: "You know what it's like to be sick; you can take care of people." Gunn entered medical school at the University of Kentucky and chose gynecology because he wanted to deliver babies. He moved to Alabama after medical school because, according to his son, David Gunn Jr., "it had the highest infant mortality rate in the nation, and he wanted to try to turn that around." Gunn set up practice in Eufala, Alabama.

About the same time, the elderly Dr. Hill, who had been performing abortions at a clinic in Columbus, three hours away, got too sick to work. "We called every doctor in every town from Columbus to Atlanta," Hill said. "They would not answer our calls, or they would hang up on us, or...tell us they were scared." Finally, they approached Gunn. He started doing abortions once a week, but before long his circuit included six clinics and some 1,000 miles a week. "No other doctor would do the work, and so David was there forever," Hill said. Gunn chose to perform abortions because he had seen many cases of abuse and neglect, many unwanted babies, and did not believe that every pregnancy should be brought to term. "These nine- and 10-year-old girls would come in

who had been molested,” said Paula Leonard, a nurse at one of the two Pensacola clinics where Gunn worked.

TIMELINE

March 5, 1993

Michael Griffin encountered Dr. David Gunn at a Pensacola Exxon station. Gunn was sitting in his Buick Skylark, reading a newspaper and drinking a cup of coffee before heading to work at the Pensacola Ladies Medical Center. “I thought it was Providence,” Griffin said. “I knew he was getting ready to go kill children that day. I asked the Lord what He wanted me to do. And He told me to tell him that he had one more chance.” Griffin walked over to Gunn's car and tapped on the window. Gunn rolled down the window. Griffin said, “David Gunn, the Lord told me to tell you that you have one more chance.” Gunn did not respond, rolled his window back up and left the gas station. Griffin followed Gunn to work and spent the next five hours waiting outside the Ladies Center for him to leave work. Griffin recalled, “I felt like I had another word from the Lord for him: that he was accused and convicted of murder, and that his sentence was Genesis 9:6 ‘Whosoever sheds man's blood, by man his blood shall be shed.’” As Gunn walked to his car, Griffin yelled, “David Gunn, are you going to kill children next week?” Griffin stated that Gunn replied, “Yeah, probably,” then got into his car and drove away.

March 9, 1993

Griffin went to his father-in-law, Eugene Presley, and said he was afraid to leave his wife and daughters alone while he worked. Presley let him borrow his .38 Smith and Wesson snub-nosed revolver to keep in the house for protection.

The following Sunday, during a prayer service at John Burt's Church, Burt recalled Griffin praying aloud that Gunn would “give his life to Jesus.”

March 10, 1993

Griffin started the day as usual. He ran an errand to pay a medical bill for his daughter. The receptionist remembered Griffin acting perfectly normal, not jittery, high-strung, or nervous. He even conversed with her briefly and teased her about her upcoming birthday. He left the office and went to the Pensacola Ladies Medical Center around 8:00 a.m. The protesters soon began to gather and picket. As Dr. Gunn drove into the parking lot and got out of his car, Griffin pulled out the revolver, screamed “Don't kill any more babies!” and shot Gunn three times in the back. Gunn went down immediately and was taken to Sacred Heart hospital. He died in surgery an hour later.

Police had already been called to the Center to stop the protestors. When they arrived, Griffin walked up to them, told them he shot Gunn, and quietly surrendered. Police took the .38-caliber revolver and arrested him. Griffin was charged with murder and held in the Escambia County jail.

OUTCOME

- Michael Griffin originally planned to represent himself, using the Bible as a legal document and defense. However, he changed his mind and hired attorney William Eddins. The trial was originally set to begin June 21, 1993, but was postponed to December 6, to allow the defense more time to prepare. During this time, Griffin was tested for mental competency; he was found competent.
- Griffin's defense contended he should not be held responsible for the murder, because he was heavily influenced, "brainwashed" by John Burt, and driven temporarily insane by Burt and anti-abortion propaganda. They said he was given graphic videos, including "The Silent Scream", "The Brutal Truth", and "Who Will Cry for Me: A Song for David." He also saw aborted fetuses with their limbs torn off; he helped Burt bury them in tiny wooden coffins. He was already disturbed, and this constant, violent propaganda pushed him over the edge until he was unable to control his actions. Shooting Gunn "was the action of a good, decent human being who had been fed poison," Griffin's lawyer said in court. Eddins claimed that activist friends convinced his client that violence against abortion clinics was "biblically supported," and that such delusions may have spurred him to "martyrdom."
- Griffin's mother said he had been "used and abused" by fundamentalist ministers and the Pentecostal church. She said the church was responsible for whipping her formerly calm son into a murderous frenzy, with practices like "barking like dogs, shrieking, and vomiting." Griffin's ex-wife said he was "brainwashed by John Burt."
- Griffin contended there was another assailant with a gun, although witnesses testified Griffin acted alone, and the murder weapon was linked to him. He claimed police went back and planted a bullet at the crime scene, after witnesses claimed they heard more shots than Griffin fired. The case number immediately before Griffin's was missing from police records, which Griffin claimed was proof that the police were covering up the arrest of another assailant.
- Prosecutor James Murray said Griffin was not insane; he just chose to ignore the law books and live by his own set of biblical beliefs. He sought the death penalty for first-degree murder. He showed the jury evidence from Griffin's house, car, and company locker that proved he stalked and killed Gunn deliberately. Circuit Judge John Parnham refused to bar as evidence some of the propaganda Griffin had seen.
- On March 5, 1994, the jury of nine women and five men took only two hours to convict Michael Griffin of the murder of Dr. Gunn. He was sentenced to life in prison, with a minimum of 25 years before he would be eligible for parole.

POSTSCRIPT

As a result of his father's death, David Gunn Jr. urged Congress to enact federal legislation outlawing stalking, harassment and intimidation by pro-life terrorists, telling

the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime and Criminal justice, “These anti-choice groups—I can’t refer to them any more as pro-life—are employing terrorist tactics.”

As a result, The Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act of 1993 was passed by the United States Congress, making it a federal crime to obstruct, hinder, or impede patients or personnel from entering or exiting a health clinic.

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3.2A HILL FLORIDA ASSASSINATION

BACKGROUND

Paul Jennings Hill was born in Miami on February 6, 1954, and raised in Coral Gables, Florida. According to Jeff Sloman, an assistant U.S. attorney who grew up two doors away from the Hill family, "Paul was a serious type of guy, but I always felt that he was unconcerned with the consequences of things that he did. He was kind of emotionless and quite content with himself." Sloman recalls an incident when Paul was about 13 years old. "Paul called his dog, got him to roll over, held the dog down while he pried his mouth open. He spit in the dog's throat while continuing to hold the dog down with its mouth open."

Hill was hypoglycemic, a low blood sugar condition that can lead to symptoms such as sweating and headaches or to aggressive and uncooperative behavior. Many people recall that if he ate the wrong thing, it resulted in wild, fanatic behavior. According to classmates, Hill was rebellious and strong-willed.

By high school, Paul Hill was a huge supporter of the '60s counterculture. According to a Coral Gables police report, in April 1971, when Hill was 17, his father charged him with assault. Hill's parents told police that Paul had a drug problem. When police searched Hill, a small bag of marijuana fell from his clothing, and his father turned over 11 more bags, the report said. Paul Hill's attitude got worse and more violent when he began using LSD.

In 1973, Paul's lifestyle took a drastic change. While working with a construction company cleaning out a muddy swimming pool, Paul was talking to a fellow worker who told him about finding Jesus. At first, Paul didn't react. However, later that day, Paul decided he was going to find Jesus and was baptized in the muddy swimming pool they were cleaning. There was no warming up to it, no gradual withdrawal from his drug lifestyle. It was immediate and complete.

Paul enrolled in Belhaven College, a Christian liberal arts college in Jackson, Mississippi. He got up every morning at 4 a.m. and spent two or three hours alone on devotions and Bible study. He became obsessed with bodybuilding and health food. Hill's roommate in college recalls, "No one could ever change his mind about anything...Once, we had an argument because I had gone over the speed limit, because, if I disobeyed authority, it was un-Christian."

Hill went from college to the Reformed Theological Seminary in Jackson. He arrived in the midst of a controversy about Theonomy, the belief that God's law supersedes the laws of government, and he joined St. Paul Presbyterian Church, which accepted Theonomy. After he earned a master of divinity degree from the seminary, he was ordained as a minister in the Presbyterian Church in America in March 1984.

Between 1984 and 1989, the Hills lived in Kingstree, South Carolina, where Paul was pastor of two Presbyterian churches before switching his allegiance to the Orthodox Presbyterian Church and being assigned to a church in Lake Worth, Florida. There was

no work for Hill close to the church, so the Hills moved to Pensacola, just over an hour away.

TIMELINE

March 10, 1993

The first Pensacola abortion provider, Dr. David Gunn, was shot to death and the act fired up Hill. Within days, he contacted "The Phil Donahue Show" and declared himself the new national spokesman for abortionist killers, whomever they might be. He appeared on ABC's "Nightline" and CNN's "Sonya Live." Neither pro- nor anti-abortion activists had ever heard of him.

March 15, 1993,

Hill told Donahue on nationwide TV that if someone were killing children on a playground, "if you were to come up behind that man and shoot him in the back three times, you would have protected and saved innocent life from undue harm...I'm advocating the consistent theology of the Bible, and that is that we must protect innocent life." Hill compared killing an abortionist with killing Hitler, and said that a woman who has an abortion is "an accessory to murder." His fellow anti-abortion parishioners at Trinity went to their pastor and said they were having trouble with the theological logic of Hill's arguments. After wrestling with the issue for several weeks, the church elders excommunicated Hill.

April-July 1993

Hill began frequenting the Pensacola Ladies Medical Center every Friday, the day abortions were scheduled. Dr. John Britton, who had replaced the murdered Dr. Gunn, became Hill's new target. At first, Hill held up signs and banners. Soon, however, he moved on to screaming, "Mommy, mommy, don't kill me," over the fence. Pensacola police charged him with disorderly conduct and violation of the noise ordinance, but he was usually cooperative with the police and did not go to jail. As soon as police arrived, Paul would leave the center, to return again the next Friday.

July 21, 1994

On Sunday, Hill was working on a car in his auto paint detailing service when an idea came to him. It was a simple: kill Dr. Britton. Paul contemplated the idea for four more days and decided to do it. His family would be out of town the following week, and he saw this as a sign, an opportunity to act.

July 24, 1994

Hill went to Mike's Gun Shop in Pensacola, Florida, and bought a Mossberg 12-gauge pump-action shotgun. He also bought 12-gauge 2 ¾ buckshot shells, each

estimated to hold approximately 12-20 pellets. Bruce Maddin, the sales associate at Mike's Gun Shop, does not remember Paul but remembers selling the gun, because it was out of season for the type of animals hunted with that kind of gun.

July 29, 1994

Paul Hill woke up around 4 a.m. He prayed and meditated, then left his house around 6:00 a.m. He drove by the Pensacola Ladies Medical Center several times to make sure everything looked normal. At 7:00 a.m., Hill took up his usual protest spot and began laying white crosses along the right-of-way at the clinic entrance. Officer Bruce Martin, who was on patrol duty, asked Hill to move the crosses, and he did so. Martin then left to continue his patrol.

At approximately 7:20 a.m., Dr. John Britton, 69, arrived for regular duty at the clinic, wearing a bulletproof vest. Driving the blue pickup truck was his armed volunteer escort, retired Air Force Lieutenant Colonel James H. Barrett, 74, and Barrett's wife, June, 68, also a volunteer escort. As they passed Hill, Barrett muttered, "Get out of the way, Paul Hill. You know us. You know this truck." They drove through the entrance and into the parking area behind the wood fence. June Barrett noticed that Hill "had something up to his face...I did not realize it was a gun. Then I saw the recoil ... and heard the boom." She hit the floor as a spray of glass shards exploded through the truck cab. "Oh, my God, he's shooting," she cried. Barrett was killed instantly from gunshots to the head. As Dr. Britton frantically searched for the small gun Barrett carried for protection, he was also killed, shot in the head. June Barrett was wounded in the forearm and chest, and her legs were filled with glass splinter wounds.

Hill put the gun down and began walking away from the Center with his arms raised "because he didn't want to alarm anybody." Still on patrol nearby, Officer Martin responded to the report of a shooting. He saw Hill walking toward him as he approached the clinic, lights and siren on. Martin stopped his patrol car, drew his gun, and ordered Hill to the ground. Hill complied and was handcuffed.

OUTCOME

- Paul Hill was arrested that day and charged with murder. He was allowed to represent himself, because a series of mental examinations found he was not mentally incapacitated. He was, however, allowed a "stand-by" attorney, in case he needed help.
- On December 2, 1994, Hill was charged in federal court, at the Escambia County Judicial Court, and found guilty on two counts of first-degree murder, one count of attempted first-degree murder, and one count of shooting into an occupied vehicle. He was sentenced to death on the first two counts and 160 years and 75 years respectively on counts three and four.
- Hill was also tried in Florida federal courts on three charges of injuring and interfering in providing reproductive health services and one count of firearms violation. On Counts One and Two, he received concurrent life sentences. On Count Three, 120 months concurrent, and on Count Four, 60 months concurrent.

- On July 9, 2003, Florida Governor John Ellis Bush signed the death warrant for Paul Jennings Hill with a scheduled execution date of September 3, 2003, at 6:00 p.m.
- Hill appealed, claiming that he was not fully able to represent himself because the court would not allow him to show videos of babies being aborted and was not allowed to explain why he believed he did the right thing. The appeal was denied.
- Hill was executed September 3, 2003.

POSTSCRIPT

Hill was quoted after his sentencing as saying, "The inner joy and peace that have flooded my soul since I have cast off the state's tyranny makes my 6 x 9 cell a triumphant and newly liberated kingdom." He has been called a "saint," and there was a Paul Hill Memorial Tour in 2004.

A letter sent to Governor Bush after he signed Hill's death warrant declared Hill's actions morally justified and necessary and urged acquittal on all charges.

The letter was signed by 23 people.

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3.4A KOPP AMHERST ASSASSINATION

BACKGROUND

James Charles Kopp was born in Pasadena, California, on August 2, 1954. He excelled in school and went on to receive a master's degree in Biology. Rather than use his education, Kopp chose to commit his life to the Pro-Life Movement after seeing the body of an aborted baby in 1980. Kopp moved frequently and had no permanent address. He performed odd jobs to earn the little money he needed to live. This lifestyle allowed him to fully commit to the anti-abortion movement.

Beginning in 1984, Kopp was arrested nine times outside of San Francisco abortion clinics for trespassing and aggravated assault. In 1984, he opened up a "crisis pregnancy center," advertising abortion services and free pregnancy tests. Once women came into the "clinic," Kopp forced them to look at photos and videos of aborted babies. A number of women sued for false advertising and business practices.

In the summer of 1988, Kopp drove from Binghamton, New York, to Atlanta, Georgia, with Randall Terry, the head of Operation Rescue (OR), for OR's "Siege of Atlanta." During this "Siege," thousands of OR members blockaded women's health clinics. When Terry was arrested, Kopp followed him to jail and, along with over one hundred other members of OR, refused to give his real name to police and the court. They stayed in jail for 40 days. After his release, Kopp followed Terry back to Binghamton and worked in OR's headquarters in 1988 and 1989.

During his time in jail, Kopp met many anti-abortion activists. Together they formed a group known as the Army of God. This very active anti-abortion group included members like Rachelle (Shelley) Shannon, convicted of shooting abortion provider Dr. George Tiller in 1993; John Arena, convicted of vandalizing clinics with butyric acid; Andrew Cabot, one of the signers of the "justifiable homicide" declaration (claiming it is "justifiable" to kill abortion providers); and Norman Weslin, founder of the Lambs of Christ, an itinerant group that served as the "shock troops" for the anti-choice movement in the 1990s.

The members wrote a "Manual of the Army of God." The manual provided detailed instructions on how to destroy clinic property using devices such as chemicals and bulldozers, how to build explosive devices from household materials such as propane, and numerous other illegal and violent tactics used to incite fear in women and doctors and destroy clinics across the country. The introduction declares:

"This is a manual for those who have come to understand that the battle against abortion is a battle not against flesh and blood, but against the devil and all the evil he can muster among flesh and blood to fight at his side."

During his time in the Atlanta jail Kopp gained the nickname "Atomic Dog;" the first name on the list of acknowledgements in the Manual of the Army of God. Shelley Shannon is also acknowledged in the Manual as "Shaggy West."

Kopp is suspected of six shootings in Canada and the United States between 1994 and 1997. In 2000, Canadian authorities charged him with the shooting of Dr. Hugh Short in Lancaster, Ontario, on November 10, 1995. A bullet fired through Short's window hit him in the elbow. On October 28, 1997, Kopp's car crossed into Canada at Niagara Falls, a few hours after a doctor outside Rochester was shot. On November 11, 1997, the same car crossed from Canada into North Dakota, several hours after another doctor in nearby Winnipeg, Manitoba, was gunned down.

James Charles Kopp has been known by 29 different aliases and nicknames: James Kopp, Jim Kopp, John Doe, James Charles Copp, John Kapp, Clyde Swenson, Clyde Swanson, Jack Cotty, Jack Crotty, John Kopp, Jacob Koch, Charles Cooper, John Capp, Jim Cobb, James Cobb, Samuel E. Weinstein, Jacob I. Croniger, Enoch A. Guettler, Jonathan H. Henderson, Samuel E. Blanton, Solomon E. Aranburg, Aaron A. Bernstein, Eli A. Hochenleit, Dwight Hanson, K. Jawes Gavin, P. Anastation, B. James Milton (the gun that was used to shoot Slepian was bought under this name), "Atomic Dog" and "Catfish." He used three different Social Security numbers and numerous fake documents.

TIMELINE

October 14, 1998

Ms. Joan Dorn, who lived in the same neighborhood as Dr. Slepian, claimed to have seen a man get out of an unfamiliar car and slowly jog through the neighborhood sometime after 5:30 a.m. For some reason, she was so unnerved by this sight that she recorded a description of the man in her journal: white male of medium build, five feet, ten inches, 150 to 175 pounds, with reddish brown straight hair, blue-gray eyes and a ruddy complexion. She also noted the car, a 1987 Chevrolet Cavalier, and the license plate number 'BPE-216'. She left a note to her husband in her journal, which read, "If anything happens to me, this guy did it."

October 23, 1998

Dr. Barnett Slepian, 52, returned to his home on Roxbury Park in Amherst, New York after attending a memorial service for his father. Dr. Slepian and his wife Lynn were in the kitchen making soup when a single rifle shot fired through the window hit Slepian in the back. Shortly after emergency medical personnel arrived, Slepian was pronounced dead from massive blood loss. The bullet, a full metal-jacketed 7.62x39mm, was fired by a Russian SKS semi-automatic rifle from 35 yards away.

After the shooting, Joan Dorn provided police information about the car she had noticed. The license plate was registered to James Charles Kopp.

A black duffle bag was recovered from the woods behind the Slepian residence, where ballistic experts believed the shooter had stood. Inside the duffle bag was an empty Remington cartridge box for 7.62mm cartridges, Tasco binoculars, earmuffs, a flashlight, a baseball cap, a wristwatch and a black fanny pack.

January 22, 1999

Hair found on a tree around the area where the shooter stood matched DNA samples of James Charles Kopp.

April 8, 1999

FBI investigators returned to the wooded area behind the Slepian home. Using a metal detector, they found a Russian-made SKS rifle wrapped in a rubber material inside a cardboard tube buried approximately 162 feet from the shooting site. The semi-automatic rifle had a telescopic site, a cartridge catcher, and a wooden extension added to the stock.

April 10, 1999

Agent Mark Hoback of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF) visited the A to Z Pawn Shop in Old Hickory, Tennessee, and retrieved a federal firearms form for the rifle found buried near the Slepian property. It was purchased by B. James Milton on July 16, 1997. The Social Security number and the Virginia driver's license provided as identification were false.

June 7, 1999

James Charles Kopp was placed on the FBI's 10 Most Wanted List.

Late 1998 or early 1999

A friend of Kopp's, Jennifer Rock, 32, testified at a hearing in February 2003 that she helped Kopp leave the country after the Slepian shooting. Testifying under a grant of immunity, she said she convinced Kopp to let her drive him to Mexico because air travel would be dangerous. He flew to Europe from the Mexican border town of Nuevo Laredo. Ms. Rock also testified that she did not ask Kopp if he shot Slepian, but assumed that "he was not involved." After living in Mexico for a few weeks, Kopp traveled to Europe. While in Europe, Kopp worked odd jobs and received money by mail from Dennis Malvasi and Loretta Marra, members of the Army of God. Within a two-year time span, Kopp lived in England, Ireland and finally France.

At some point, the FBI received a search warrant to search the home of Jim Gannon, the man whom Kopp was staying with at the time of the Slepian murder. Among Jim Kopp's personal belongings taken from Gannon's home, there was a map to the A to Z Pawn Shop in Tennessee, and its phone number. Kopp's fingerprints were on the paper.

OUTCOME

- On May 8, 2001, French police arrested Kopp at a post office in Dinan, France, as he picked up money from Malvasi and Marra. Kopp claimed he was not guilty of anything and refused an interview by law enforcement agencies. The United

- States submitted a request for Kopp's extradition. French officials agreed to return Kopp to the United States on June 5, 2002, on the condition that Kopp not face the death penalty. Under the U.S.-French extradition treaty, no person arrested in France for a crime committed in the U.S. can face a penalty harsher than he would face in France.
- On June 6, 2002, a New York State Court charged Kopp with second-degree murder, reckless endangerment and criminal possession of a weapon. Paul J. Cambria, Jr., a prominent criminal defense lawyer in Buffalo, represented Kopp. However, when Cambria insisted that he would attack the prosecution's evidence and not allow the trial to become a forum for a debate on abortion, Kopp fired him. In November, he hired Bruce A. Barket of Long Island, New York, a prominent activist in the pro-life movement. Barket had a very different take on the case:
 - "Whether people want to hear it or not, this case is all about abortion," Barket said. "It's a sign of a twisted society that our government wants to put a man like Jim (James Kopp) in prison ...while allowing more than a million babies each year to be killed by abortions. People like Jim should be exalted in this country. Jim is a devout Christian, a kind, gentle man who only acts after thinking and praying on things. He backs up his belief by putting his own life on the line."
 - Kopp's trial took place in the New York State Court in Buffalo, New York. On March 11, 2003 Kopp waived his right to a trial by jury. The judge would find him innocent or guilty based on a thirty-five-page summary of the evidence prepared by the district attorney's office and approved by Barket. The trial began on March 17, 2003. Kopp admitted shooting Dr. Slepian, but said he "did not mean to kill him." Kopp described the abortion 'procedures' which Slepian had used and offered no apology for the shooting, saying, "Why should the safety of Dr. Slepian be put over the safety of the children? I wish I could do ten life sentences or ten death penalties to save them."
 - Kopp also admitted scouting the Slepian neighborhood approximately six times before the shooting.
 - On March 18, 2003, Kopp was found guilty of second-degree murder. He was sentenced to a minimum of fifteen years to life and a maximum twenty-five years to life. While handing down the sentence, the presiding judge, Judge D'Amico, said, "No civilized society can tolerate excesses that are tantamount to anarchy."
 - As part of the extradition agreement with French authorities, prosecutors had agreed not to seek the death penalty. Kopp showed no emotion at the verdict. When the judge left the courtroom less than two minutes later, Kopp sat down, smiled at his lawyer, Bruce Barket, and shook his hand.
 - On July 10, 2003, a United States Federal Court charged Kopp for violation of the Freedom of Access to Clinic Act and for use of deadly force against an abortion provider. That charge carried a penalty of life in prison, as well as a \$250,000 fine.

- Kopp is now serving his sentence in the Niagara County Jail in Lockport, New York. He has a large support group, mainly members of the Army of God.

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3.5B ELLERMAN UTAH BOMBING

BACKGROUND

Clinton Colby Ellerman and his younger brother, Douglas Joshua Ellerman, belonged to an organization known as the “Straight Edge” movement, a group loosely affiliated with the Animal Liberation Front (ALF).

Law enforcement agencies report that the Straight Edge movement in Utah has around 3,000 members. The movement requires that its members refrain from eating meat, drinking alcohol, and having casual sex. Clinton Ellerman also belonged to a subgroup of the Straight Edgers called “Hardliners.” Hardliners attempt to look “mainstream” by not wearing outrageous clothing and not having visible tattoos or facial piercings. When Hardliners commit an act of “animal liberation,” they wear “wrong-sized” shoes, camouflage, ski masks, and dark clothing.

Clinton Ellerman had a history of acting out against targets he believed were mistreating animals. He had been involved in releasing thousands of animals from Holt Mink Ranch in South Jordan, Utah. In the South Jordan incident, the words “ALF” and “Blood Money” were spray-painted on the walls of the buildings used to house the mink, and mink were separated from the cages that identified their pedigrees, resulting in \$263,000 in damages. Clinton had already been sentenced to two years in prison for his role in this incident. While in prison, he seemed to regret his membership in the Straight Edge movement, saying, “I was going down for a whole bunch of stuff. I was left to take the fall.”

TIMELINE

June 1996

Clinton Ellerman attended a meeting in Memphis where he was taught how to sabotage businesses and make devices that would enable him to send and receive free long distance calls.

March 5, 1997

Clinton Ellerman, Adam Troy Peace, Andrew Bishop, and Alexander Slack attempted to bomb the Fur Breeder’s Agricultural Co-op in Sandy, Utah. Clinton had built the pipe bombs, but the attempt was aborted when one of the men thought they saw a police car.

March 11, 1997

Several pipe bombs exploded at the Fur Breeders Agricultural Cooperative in Sandy, Utah. This time, Clinton’s younger brother, Douglas, and Sean Gautschy came along, but Adam Peace did not. The initial explosions and ensuing fire caused an estimated \$900,000 in damage to the Co-op and adjacent vehicles.

Later that day, Andrew Bishop called a Salt Lake City radio station to tell them the bombing was carried out in protest of the animals being held and bred for their fur.

The phone call led Salt Lake City police and ATF agents conducting the investigation to Douglas Joshua Ellerman, who was known to have connections with the Straight Edge movement. Douglas Ellerman eventually confessed to his involvement in the incident and provided information on five other suspects, who were later arrested for their role in the bombing.

OUTCOME

- After the bombing, Douglas Ellerman fled but later turned himself in and agreed to name the others involved and testify against them. During the trial, Eben McKenzie and Dustin Black, members of Straight Edge, cornered Ellerman at a restaurant and threatened to kill him if he continued to assist prosecutors with the case.
- Douglas Ellerman faced 35 years in prison for using an explosive device during the crime. Because of his cooperation with authorities, the sentence was reduced to seven years. That sentence was eventually reduced to 13 months.
- Clinton Colby Ellerman, who had made the bombs but did not otherwise participate in the incident, was sentenced to five years in prison.
- McKenzie and Black were both charged with retaliating against a witness.
- Alexander Slack, confined to a wheelchair, committed suicide by carbon monoxide poisoning in his garage at his home in Sandy, Utah.
- Andrew N. Bishop, 24, of Ithaca, N.Y., Adam Troy Peace, 20, of Huntington Beach, California and Sean Albert Gautschy, 23, of Salt Lake City were all found innocent of the charges resulting from the March 11 bombing. They testified that they agreed with and condoned the act of “animal liberation” but had nothing to do with the bombing. Gautschy and Bishop had alibis for the time of the bombing, and Peace had only participated in the failed attempt on March 5. Federal prosecutors focused on the Ellerman brothers and Alexander Slack, who had already committed suicide, as the actual perpetrators of the crime.

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3.6B ECO RAIDERS

BACKGROUND

EcoRaiders was the first eco-terrorist group in America. Founded by Gary Blake, John Walker, and Pat Salmon, it began in the early 1970s, while the three were students at Canyon del Oro High School. Along with two University of Arizona students, they started the group in response to construction in the Sonoran desert region outside Tucson.

The first action of the group was in the summer of 1971. Blake, Walker, and Solomon, still in high school, would sneak out of their houses late at night and cut down billboards along Highway 89 in Tucson. At this time, the group did not have a name and only four members: Walker, 17, the leader of the group, his closest friend Blake, also 17, Salmon, 18, and Chris Morrison, 17.

Walker became interested in saving the environment after reading *Desert Solitaire* by Edward Abbey. He was inspired to take action after a man from the Fox River Valley near Aurora, Illinois, became a “one-man antipollution Zorro.” He blocked steel mill drainpipes, smokestacks, and performed a variety of other small-scale vandalism. He became nationally known as “The Fox.” Walker took his father’s handsaw one June evening and, along with Blake, cut down their first billboards.

The two continued cutting down billboards for about a month before Pat Salmon and Chris Morrison joined their crusade. Morrison convinced Don James to join the group in late August. However, schoolwork became a problem, and James never became an official member. The fifth member, another friend of Walker’s, Mark Quinnan, joined in December 1971. He had his own car and became interested in the crusade after reading material supplied by Walker. The group continued to cut down billboards for a few more months.

TIMELINE

March 1972

Walker came across a newly published book, *Ecotage*. The book explained hundreds of ways to save nature by sabotaging construction sites and other targets. Walker decided it was time to expand their activities. They named themselves the EcoRaiders. In late March, Walker gave the order to vandalize new homes being built in Tucson. Walker, Blake, and Quinnan committed the first act. They threw stones through the windows and spray painted “Eco-Raiders” on the brick sidewalks of new homes.

April 1, 1972

On April Fools’ Day, the EcoRaiders appeared in the newspaper for the first time when they dumped hundreds of broken non-returnable bottles and aluminum cans in the entry of the Kalil Bottling Company office on South Highland Avenue. They left a note saying, “A little non-returnable glass: Kalil makes it Tucson’s problem. We make it

Kalil's problem." They also spray-painted a big Estes Company sign on East Broadway with the words "Stop Urban Sprawl".

Walker kept a journal in a briefcase with every detail of every planned raid. He located potential targets by the legal notices for rezoning petitions and advertisements for new developments in local newspapers. He and Blake then visited the sites to map out everything. The two began wearing army surplus jackets and army boots. Walker also decided that not all members should go on every raid. Each member had specific talents. Quinnan and Blake had cars. Salmon and Quinnan never went on a raid together. Blake never went without Walker. Most of their targets were within walking distance of their homes, but there was always a driver ready in case of emergencies. Walker even had two different pick-up points, in case the first one was compromised.

Remainder of 1972

Walker varied the group's activities from damaging homes, dumping debris, and hanging "Stop Urban Sprawl" signs, to damaging developers' offices. If construction equipment was left unattended, the EcoRaiders filled the tanks with sugar, cut the fuel lines, and left notes advising they not start the machines.

By the end of 1972, the Southern Arizona Home Builders Association was worried. A 1973 report said that the EcoRaiders had cost about \$250 per house or \$180,000 in damages. The cost was actually much higher, but contractors were afraid to publish the exact numbers for fear of copycats. EcoRaiders had vandalized 4,000-5,000 homes in 1972 and caused approximately \$1 million in damages.

January 1973

Walker allowed *The New Times* to publish a four-page spread with photographs of the EcoRaiders. However, they were all wearing ski masks. He even went so far as to allow Tom Miller of the *Berkeley Barb* to come along on a raid with a photographer.

Mid-1973

Damages had reached nearly \$2 million. Local contractors began to blame the big development companies that had come in from Chicago and New York. At this time, Quinnan began to question the motives of the group. They were no longer focused on saving the desert, but on just damaging property. The EcoRaiders' case had been given to the homicide squad because they had the best detectives. Soon, a task force was created for the sole purpose of finding out who the EcoRaiders were. The task force mapped out a timeline and the area in which the vandals operated.

September 1973

The EcoRaiders decided to vandalize the *Arizona Territorial*, a newspaper that had given the group bad press for their previous acts. The owner of the newspaper, E. D. Jewett Jr. was also the chairman of the Pima County Planning and Zoning Commission.

Walker and Blake broke windows, damaged doors with crowbars, and spray-painted the wall with two foot high letters saying: ECO-RAIDERS. Salmon waited down the street in the getaway car.

OUTCOME

- After a month of intensive work, the task force caught a break. While filling his car with gas, Don James made a wisecrack to a task force member. He was brought in for questioning. He confessed to helping the group on some of the early raids while he was still in high school. James, however, never knew the names of the other boys who were the leaders of the group. He just knew them from a humanities course in high school. From his high school yearbook, he was able to give them one name, Chris Morrison.
- The police tailed Chris Morrison all day. Because raids were still occurring, police began to question their information, not knowing that the group did not go on raids together. On September 16, Morrison picked up Pat Salmon, and the next morning, the task force arrested both men. The two men were offered a deal if they gave up the names of the other members. Morrison's father advised Chris to take the deal, and he gave up the names of Salmon, Walker, Blake, and Quinnan. The case never went to trial.
- Morrison was charged with 35 counts of vandalism.
- Salmon was granted limited immunity. He pleaded guilty to three counts of malicious mischief in Justice Court and was sentenced to 60 days. He refused to give up names.
- On September 18, the task force arrested Walker and Quinnan, and on September 19, Blake was arrested. On October 24, the three entered a plea of guilty to 32 acts of malicious destruction of property. Walker and Blake were sentenced to six months in jail. Quinnan served 90 days.
- The group had to pay Estes Company restitution for the damages that had occurred, but the suit was settled out of court
- No original members have surfaced again as ecoteurs. However, their efforts caused a nationwide movement in eco-terrorism. Arizona still suffers from eco-terrorism today.

Contact for Sources

3.7B SHERMAN OREGON FIREBOMBING

BACKGROUND

Jacob Sherman was a 20-year-old student at Portland State University and a member of an Earth Liberation Front (ELF) cell in the Portland, Oregon area. The leader of the cell was Michael Scarpitti, a.k.a. Tre Arrow. Scarpitti was not new to the environmentalist scene. In July 2000, he climbed the U.S. Forest Service building in downtown Portland and camped out on a ledge for 11 days. Later that year, Scarpitti ran for Congress on the ticket of the Pacific Green Party.

TIMELINE

April 15, 2001

Early in the morning on Easter Sunday, four explosive devices planted under three concrete trucks at Ross Island Sand & Gravel Co. exploded, destroying all three trucks. The devices, on a time-delay fuse, caused over \$200,000 in damage. ELF claimed responsibility.

April 16, 2001

The FBI received a tip about Sherman and began to tail him.

Sometime in May 2001

Sherman told his girlfriend, Jacquelyn Caul, that he was involved in the bombing, and he thought the FBI was tailing him. Unfortunately for Sherman, Caul's father was a deputy state fire marshal, and, soon after this confession, Caul told her father about Sherman's involvement.

June 6, 2001

At approximately 2:00 a.m., eight explosive devices were planted beneath logging trucks at Schoppert Logging, Inc. Four of the devices exploded, destroying two logging trucks and damaging a front-end loader. ELF never claimed responsibility.

OUTCOME

- Soon after Sherman's confession to Caul, he was arrested and charged with the bombing of the Schoppert Logging trucks. Sherman pleaded guilty to the charges and began to help the FBI.
- Sherman admitted to being involved in the Ross Island bombing and gave investigators the names of the group leader and two other people involved, Jeremy Rosenbloom and Angela Cesario, both students at Portland State.

- During the investigation, authorities had noticed many similarities between the two bombings, including the style of milk-jug bombs used. Sherman named Michael Scarpitti, a.k.a. Tre Arrow, as the leader of the ELF cell that bombed both the Ross Island site and Schoppert Logging sites.
- Because of Sherman's cooperation, he was sentenced to 41 months, instead of the original 40 years.
- Scarpitti, who had been on the run for two years after the two bombings and was on the FBI's most wanted list, was finally arrested in Vancouver, British Columbia, early in March 2004. After being arrested for trying to steal a pair of bolt cutters, police ran Scarpitti's fingerprints and found his true identity. He was extradited to the U.S. for trial.
- Jeremy Rosenblum and Angela Cesario are currently in jail for their connection to the bombing.

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3.8B ELF LONG ISLAND ARSONS

BACKGROUND

The Earth Liberation Front (ELF) is made up of autonomous groups of people across the United States and Canada. These activists operate in cells (small groups of people or a single person working independently) to cause economic sabotage or property damage to targets they feel are exploiting the earth. Due to the decentralized structure of ELF, law enforcement agencies have been unable to hold any one person or persons responsible for the actions of the group.

The ELF is not a group where people send in their dues to get a card for their wallet and a bumper sticker for their car. It is strictly an underground movement that persuades people to take direct action against those who profit from “destroying nature.” Targets of ELF include: logging companies/sites, housing developments, golf courses, SUV dealerships, roadwork equipment, and businesses that are seen as enemies of nature.

The only known form of communication the group has with its members is through its website, www.earthliberationfront.com, which has neither forum nor chat capabilities. It simply gives people the mission statement, guidelines for the group, lists the attacks they have taken credit for, and keeps its readers informed about current events dealing with ELF and other environmental topics.

An hour east of New York City, the occasional roadside nursery and peach farm stands out among the business strips and office tracts of Long Island’s North Shore. Farms are quickly disappearing in Suffolk County; they are worth much more for real-estate development than farming. Long Island is full of the sort of sprawl that draws the fury of the Earth Liberation Front.

TIMELINE

Late 2000

The ELF made Long Island’s North Shore its battleground. Declaring “an unbounded war on urban sprawl,” it began a campaign of arson against new luxury homes and condominiums in Mount Sinai and the adjacent towns of Miller Place and Middle Island. The fires were started with crude incendiary devices—candles stuck inside sponges shoved into bottles of gasoline—and caused \$260,000 in damages, although ELF claimed damages in the millions.

The group also claimed responsibility for “monkey-wrenching” windows and spray-painting slogans such as “Earth Not For Sale” and “Build It and We Will Burn It” at new home sites.

February 2001

Federal investigators and prosecutors gathered on the steps of a courthouse in Central Islip, Long Island, to announce they had finally caught up with members of the shadowy

Earth Liberation Front. The ELF “campaign of violent crime has stretched from the Pacific Coast to the Rocky Mountains to the Midwest,” an FBI official said. “That streak has ended here in New York.” But some observers found the little group of “eco-terrorists” who had been arrested less than impressive.

OUTCOME

- The terrorists were three teen-agers, Jared McIntyre, Matthew Rammelkamp, and George Mashkow Jr., who confessed to arson and vandalism of some suburban homes under construction, but had no clear links to any activist organizations. The fourth member of the group, a 19-year-old named Connor Cash, was a well-known local activist. Cash was a member of the Modern Times Collective, a local anarchist group that had publicly opposed such extreme actions. Prosecutors claimed that Cash bought gasoline and talked the other three into using it to burn four homes. Modern Times members believed the charge was consistent with a pattern of police harassment and profiling of activists who had participated in large-scale anti-globalization protests across the country. They say police and FBI agents have kept under surveillance, intimidated, arrested, and offered large bribes to Modern Times members.
- Although one of the teenagers was a member of the group Modern Times, the cell did not appear to have been influenced or encouraged by that particular group. The same cannot be said for the ELF. The young activists used many of the tactics described on the ELF website and also used the Earth Liberation Front’s name in spray-paint at the crime scenes.

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3.9B FAIRFIELD SNOW BOWL VANDALISM (EMETIC)

BACKGROUND

The EMETIC is an Arizona-based organization that chose its name in disrespect to Evan Mecham, former governor of Arizona. The group derived its foundation from the radical environmental movement in 1980 known as Earth First, led by Dave Foreman. As the Earth First movement grew rapidly during the late 1980s, Foreman began practicing more serious “monkey-wrenching” tactics. By 1987, Foreman had attracted Mark Leslie Davis, Margaret Katherine Millet, Marc Andre Baker, and Ilse Washington Asplund to form the Evan Mecham Eco-terrorist International Conspiracy (EMETIC). The goal was to commit acts of sabotage against nuclear power plants in the Southwest. Foreman’s followers were in their mid-30s, with diverse backgrounds. Margaret Millet worked part-time for the local Planned Parenthood organization; Ilse Asplund was a divorced mother of two and worked in Yauapai County, Arizona; and Marc Baker had a Ph.D. in botany from Arizona State University.

EMETIC was enraged with the management of the Fairfield Snow Bowl ski resort for destroying trees and building a ski resort for monetary purposes. The EMETIC was also disgusted with the fact that the ski resort leased 770 acres of wilderness considered sacred by local Indian groups. Furthermore, management had proposed expansion that included building additional condominiums around the resort.

TIMELINE

November 7, 1987

In the early morning hours of Saturday, all five EMETIC members from Flagstaff, Arizona, traveled to the nearby Fairfield Snow Bowl ski resort, near the intersection of highway 180 and Snowbowl Road. There they engaged in their first “official” act to inflict punishment on Fairfield Snow Bowl and voice their discontent. Led by Dave Foreman, Davis, Asplund, Millet, and Baker dispersed to the numerous chairlifts and began damaging the bolts that anchored the power lines on the chairlifts. By daybreak, they had caused \$20,000 in damages to the chairlifts. The group left behind a letter for the management of the Fairfield Snow Bowl, informing them that their chairlifts had been sabotaged and instructing them that EMETIC would strike again, if the trees were not allowed to grow back and ski operations discontinued.

The letter went on to say that EMETIC targeted the resort because they objected to the development of wilderness by ski resorts, and because the Fairfield Snow Bowl ski resort was leasing land considered sacred by Indians. The letter, signed by the EMETIC representative, acknowledged that there was an honest difference of opinion regarding the future of the Fairfield Snow Bowl. Therefore, in addition to sabotaging the ski resort’s chairlifts, EMETIC wished to “chain the Fairfield CEO to a tree at the 10,000 foot level and feed him shrubs and roots until he understood the suicidal folly of treating the planet primarily as a tool for making money.”

The Fairfield Snow Bowl was forced to repair the damaged lifts and take safety precautions for its clients. This not only cost the resort \$20,000 in repairs, but also approximately \$30,000 in lost revenue because they had to close the resort's operations for two days. Because the EMETIC threatened to strike again if their requests were not met, the Fairfield Snow Bowl spent an additional \$30,000 on increased security. Despite the repair costs, lost revenue, and added security costs, the Fairfield Snow Bowl did not comply in any way with EMETIC's demands.

September 28, 1988

Nearly a year after the attack on the Fairfield Snow Bowl, EMETIC resurfaced, claiming responsibility for vandalizing a radio station in Flagstaff, Arizona.

October 1988

Less than a month later, EMETIC returned to the Fairfield Snow Bowl. This time, however, the environmental radicals were equipped with an acetylene torch, which they used to cut through a pole supporting a chairlift. Once again, the group threatened a future attack if their requests to shut down the ski resort and allow for the growth of trees were not met. Despite increased security, the eco-terrorists were not discovered in their second act of sabotage. Management of the resort offered a \$25,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and prosecution for the individuals involved in the EMETIC.

The second attack on the resort started an FBI investigation of the alleged EMETIC group. During this investigation, FBI Agent Michael Fain was able to infiltrate the eco-terrorist organization and record over 800 hours of conversations. Fain's infiltration proved invaluable, as the agent was able to inform authorities, in advance, of the EMETIC's plans. Fain informed authorities that if the EMETIC's next attack were a success, the group would plan future attacks on power transmission lines in Arizona, California, and Colorado.

May 30, 1989

Mark Davis, Marc Baker, and Margaret Millet were discovered in Wenden, Arizona, during a "test run" sabotage attack. From a nearby clandestine area, authorities witnessed the three EMETIC members attempt to cut through a support tower that delivered electricity to a local substation. Apparently, Davis, Millet, and Baker were "practicing" the process of cutting through support towers in preparation for an upcoming attack on Arizona's Palo Verde Nuclear Generating Station.

Authorities quickly apprehended Davis and Baker. Millet fled, but was apprehended the next day.

OUTCOME

- After Davis, Baker, and Millet were arrested, authorities placed David Foreman in custody. Foreman and the other three EMETIC members were indicted a month later. A superseding indictment followed on December 20, 1989, charging Foreman, Davis, Baker, and Millet with one count of conspiracy to damage the property of an energy facility. That indictment named Davis, Baker, and Millet in two additional counts of attempting to destroy an electrical transmission line used in interstate commerce that caused damage to an electrical transmission tower of the Department of Energy.
- On December 13, 1990, a second superseding indictment was filed, adding Ilse Asplund as a defendant and adding four additional counts. Count 4 charged all five defendants with causing damage to 29 power transmission poles. Count 5 charged all five defendants with attempting to damage a support pylon serving as a cable chair lift at a ski resort. Counts 6 and 7 charged each defendant with causing damage to an electrical transmission tower.
- In 1991, Ilse Asplund pleaded guilty to a one-count information. She was sentenced to 30 days in jail, five years supervised release, and ordered to pay a fine of \$2,000.
- Marc Baker pleaded guilty to a one-count information. He was sentenced to six months in jail, five years supervised release, and ordered to pay a fine of \$5,000.
- Margaret Millet pleaded guilty to Count 2. She was sentenced to three years imprisonment and ordered to pay restitution in the amount of \$19,821.
- Mark Davis pleaded guilty to Count 2 and was sentenced to six years of imprisonment and ordered to pay restitution in the amount of \$19,821.
- In 1991, Dave Foreman pleaded guilty on one count. Sentencing, however, did not occur until 1996, due to an agreement with prosecutors in the case. On September 4, 1996, the charges against Foreman were dropped to a single misdemeanor. He was fined \$250.
- Foreman announced his resignation from Earth First, claiming that the organization had become part of the left-wing politics of the group's California wing. Foreman stated that he could not ally himself with the leftist social causes that were becoming part of the Earth First Movement.

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3.10B FREE CRITTER EUGENE ARSON

BACKGROUND

Jeffrey Luers, 22, and Craig Marshall, 27, were environmental extremists who devoted their lives to protecting the planet. Known by their friends as “Free” and “Critter,” Luers and Marshall had been active participants in the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) since 1996. Their dedication to ELF beliefs are what ultimately led these two eco-terrorists to Eugene, Oregon, where they established a long-lasting friendship.

Luers and Marshall had developed a reputation within ELF as aggressive with their environmental beliefs and their actions. In March 1998, Luers and Marshall led a tree-sit atop a 200-foot Douglas fir tree in Eugene. The two built a six-by-eight-foot wooden platform in the tree, where they lived for several months. The tree-sit village, which became known as “Red Cloud Thunder,” was a proactive approach by ELF in its disapproval of the National Forest Service’s decision to sell logging rights to 96 acres along Fall Creek in the Willamette National Forest, 35 miles southeast of Eugene. To protect the Douglas firs, Luers and Marshall tolerated harsh conditions. Hygiene in the camp could only be described as filthy. As a result, Luers became so ill that he contemplated rappelling down the giant tree to seek medical attention, but never did. Because they had little space for movement on the wooden platform, their legs began to turn “rubbery,” due to inactivity. They had a stationary bike hoisted up so they could exercise and get the blood circulating in their legs. The tree-sit was an example of their devotion to environmental protection ideologies.

TIMELINE

Late spring 2000

A local advocacy group called the Eugene Activists Existence (EAE) organized a “Seven Week Revolt,” a festival of retaliation to commemorate the one-year anniversary of an anarchist riot that occurred on June 18, 1999, in Eugene. The EAE referred to the days leading up to June 18 as “Chaos Days,” and it was during this week that Luers and Marshall came down from their tree to join the party’s protests to protect Mother Earth. The EAE’s protests, however, were not enough for Luers and Marshall. They believed “the only way to hurt a corporation is in the wallet. If you do it hard enough and long enough, they’ll go out of business.”

Luers and Marshall targeted the Joe Romania Chevrolet dealership at the edge of the University of Oregon campus. They felt that Romania’s lineup of \$25,000 trucks and SUVs symbolized the kind of consumer corruption that was destroying the planet. They viewed the trucks and SUVs as “gas-guzzling monsters that destroy everything they encounter and are a status symbol for rich American consumers who are killing more people on the planet than anyone else.” Luers and Marshall began surveying the Romania Chevrolet complex and observing the actions of the dealership’s night watchman.

June 16, 2000

Shortly after midnight, Luers and Marshall drove a borrowed car to the Romania dealership on Franklin Boulevard in Eugene and parked across the boulevard. Their intent was to raise awareness about the increasing problems of global warming and the role that SUVs played in the process. After arriving at the dealership, Luers and Marshall surveyed the area to be sure they were alone. When all was quiet, the two carefully crossed the street and followed a dark bike path towards the business.

Once inside the perimeter, Luers and Marshall took three homemade firebombs and positioned each one next to an SUV. The firebombs, made from one-gallon milk jugs filled with fuel and stoppered with sponge wicks, were ignited and pushed underneath each of the three vehicles. Luers and Marshall quickly vacated the parking lot before the firebombs, working off a delay, exploded.

What the two young activists did not know was that undercover police officers from the Eugene Police Department had been following them nearly all day after being informed of a potentially large anarchist party meeting in Eugene. Because of Luers' and Marshall's reputations as environmental extremists, Eugene police had hoped the two activists would lead them to the anarchist party. Thus, officers were in position to observe Luers and Marshall acting suspiciously around the Chevrolet dealership. Although they did not see Luers and Marshall ignite the three firebombs, undercover officers received a dispatch notifying them of a reported fire at the dealership. Authorities arrived at the scene and arrested the two activists before they could escape.

OUTCOME

- Shortly after Luers and Marshall were arrested for their arson attack, federal authorities began investigating them as suspects in a previous arson attack. Approximately three weeks prior to the arrest of Luers and Marshall, the Tyree Oil and Gas facility in Whitaker, Oregon, was attacked with a firebomb. On May 27, a driver for Tyree Oil found a piece of cloth stuck in the fuel tank of his double-trailer fuel truck and discovered a nearby fence was cut. The cloth was draped over two one-gallon milk jugs filled with a mixture of fuel and soap. The terrorists had used crude delay devices in an attempt to ignite both jugs. Luckily, however, both delays failed.
- Because of the similarities in each arson attack, Eugene police officers were able to obtain a search warrant for the residences of Luers and Marshall. Searching Luers' residence, authorities discovered metal cutters that matched the cuts made in the fence at the Tyree Oil and Gas facility in Whitaker. Other firebomb-making components, similar to those used in the two arsons, were also discovered at Luers' residence.
- On June 6, 2001, Luers and Marshall pleaded guilty to the arson attack on Romania Chevrolet, but not guilty for the arson attempt on the Tyree Oil Company.

- Jeffrey Michael Luers was found guilty on both arson attacks and convicted of arson, criminal mischief, and manufacturing and possessing a destructive device for the June 16 fire at the Romania Chevrolet dealership. In addition, Luers was convicted on several more charges in connection with the attempted arson attack on the Tyree Oil Company. Luers was sentenced by Lane County Circuit Judge Lyle Velure to serve a 272-month prison term in the Oregon State Penitentiary, minus six months for time served while awaiting trial. The sentence was the longest an eco-terrorist had ever received.
- Craig Andrew Marshall was also found guilty for co-conspiring in the June 16 fire at the Romania Chevrolet but was not charged in the arson attempt at the Tyree Oil Company. Marshall pleaded to a lesser charge and was sentenced to five-and-a-half years in the Oregon State Penitentiary, minus six months for time served while awaiting trial. Marshall had accepted a plea bargain that would make him eligible for a boot camp program.

POSTSCRIPT

The following is a biography written by Jeffrey Michael Luers depicting his involvement in the arson attacks for which he was convicted.

My name is Jeffrey Luers. Most of my friends call me “Free”. I have been active since 1996 fighting for a range of issues such as animal rights, gender equality, anti-fascism, eco-defense and others. These issues are not separate they are one struggle, one fight. My story is only a small part of a greater whole.

In my lifetime I have witnessed an onslaught against the inhabitants of this world lead (sic) by the greed of industrialized nations. It is my belief that the oppression of people is rooted in the oppression and exploitation of nature. A fundamental disrespect for life that began with the conquest of Mother Nature and has lead (sic) to the conquest of humankind. I struck back. In an act of resistance designated to raise awareness and draw attention to a problem that affects every human being, every animal, every plant, and every form of life on this planet. I am speaking of global warming, air, soil and water pollution. We are in the midst of a global environmental crisis.

On June 16, 2000 I ignited a fire that would forever change my life. I torched 3 SUV’s (sic). I took extra care and used specific fuels to ensure no one would be injured. Approximately 30 minutes after the fire was lit and extinguished, I was taken into custody by three undercover agents who had been following me, one of whom I would later learn to be a member of an anti-domestic terrorist unit. I was arrested on Criminal Mischief One, a charge that carries about one year. In the course of one week that charge would multiply into 10 felony counts, including three counts of Arson One. Getting to trial took the course of a year. By trial I had accumulated 13 felony counts, now including conspiracy with persons unknown. I was looking at a little over 100 years. I refused to take a deal.

Trial was a joke, literally. We proved evidence had been tampered with, officers had lied and that the prosecutor had manipulated evidence to get a legal search. On top of that the judge refused to allow me to separate the trial. I had been charged with two

different fires. Law requires that upon request separate offences must be tried separately. The final blow came when the judge threw out the testimony of my expert witness. In the end I was convicted of 11 felony charges. I was sentenced to 22 years and 8 months. I have no possibility of parole. This is only a summary of events that took place in the course of a year.

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3.11B NEBRASKA GOLF VANDALS

BACKGROUND

Jason L. Thiemann, Kraig A. Schjodt, and Brian K. Hindley were all college students in Nebraska. All of the men were 19 years old and claimed to be part of the Earth Liberation Front.

TIMELINE

July 2001

Three golf courses were vandalized: Knolls Golf Course and Champions Club in Omaha, and Indian Creek Club in Elkhorn. The vandals spray-painted buildings and paved walkways, and dug up fairways and greens. The word “ELF” was painted throughout the courses.

The Pines Country Club in Valley, Nebraska was vandalized on July 17. Mike TenEyck, manager at the Pines, estimated the damage at \$5,000 to \$7,000. Several holes were dug in the greens and fairways, buildings were spray-painted, and the abbreviation “ELF” was written in one sand bunker.

OUTCOME

- Theimann, Schjodt and Hindley were charged with multiple counts of fourth-class felony charges of criminal mischief in Douglas County Court.
- The Earth Liberation Front did not claim responsibility for the vandalism of the various golf courses. In fact, the organization claimed that there is no ELF cell in Omaha, Nebraska. The teens said that they learned about ELF on the Internet.

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3.12B CORONADO MSU ARSON

BACKGROUND

Rodney Coronado was born on July 3, 1966. He grew up with middle-class parents in Morgan Hill, California. Born a Catholic Mexican-American with Yaqui Indian ancestry, Coronado developed a passion for the environment during hunting trips with his father. He fell in love with wildlife, spending many nights with his friends in the family's garage discussing nature issues. At 16, Coronado joined the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society. The Sea Shepherds were involved in anti-whaling campaigns and were considered more "hard-core" than groups like Greenpeace. Coronado was immediately intrigued by the group's activities. He read "Sea Shepherd Log" and "Earth First! Journal," the group's literature that had been responsible for inspiring scores of activists to direct action against "enemies" of the environment. Coronado even met Sea Shepherd Captain Paul Watson on a family vacation to Vancouver in 1984.

At 18, Coronado graduated from high school and moved to Santa Monica, California, a base for the Sea Shepherds. Paul Watson sent Coronado to Honolulu to work on a mural called "The Whaling Wall." After Honolulu, Coronado was sent to Nova Scotia to work on the "Faeroes Campaign," which attempted to stop the hunting of pilot whales. During 1985 and 1986, Coronado worked on the campaign, living between Nova Scotia, Iceland, and London. During his stay on the ship ported in London, Coronado got involved in the British animal-rights movement. He began to map out Iceland's Reykjavik harbor.

TIMELINE

1986

Coronado recruited a man named David Howitt for an operation to take place in Iceland, which was still whaling, in defiance of a worldwide moratorium on the hunting of whales. Howitt and Coronado spent a month working at a whale-processing factory in Reykjavik. The two men used the time at the factory to survey the target. After a month, the men decided it was time to take action. They destroyed the plant's offices by ruining logs and computer equipment. Coronado and Howitt then boarded two whaling ships and opened their seacocks, sinking them. They were able to make it to the airport undetected, left Iceland without a problem, and Coronado returned to the United States.

1987

Coronado and Howitt were living on a Sea Shepherd ship in Vancouver when they struck again, smashing windows of fur shops located in the city. Coronado claims this was the only Animal Liberation Front (ALF) action he had ever taken part in. Vancouver police arrested Coronado soon after the incident and held him on \$10,000 bail. Coronado posted bail, and he was given permission to take the Sea Shepherd boat back to California with Howitt. Neither man ever returned to Vancouver.

Later that year, Coronado was involved in the creation of the Hunt Saboteurs (Hunt Sabs) of Northern California. He formed the group with people who were affiliated with the group Earth First! and other environmentalist organizations. Coronado and the group would disrupt trophy hunts by running through forest and fields with air horns, often putting themselves at risk by jumping between the hunter and animal. These actions made Coronado a hero among other activists.

1990

While living in Santa Cruz, Coronado and fellow Hunt Saboteur Jonathan Paul created a group called Global Investigations. The two men would visit fur farms in the northeastern region of the United States, disguised as potential fur farmers. Once inside the farms, they videotaped the “horrors” of mink farming. Some of their videotaped footage was aired on a December 1991 episode of “60 Minutes.”

During the winter of 1990, Coronado moved to the Siskiyou Mountains of southern Oregon. While in the mountains, he and fellow Hunt Sabs Deb Stout and Kim Trimiew formed the Coalition Against Fur Farms (CAFF). The CAFF was created to fight for an end to fur farming, inform the public about fur, and become the public voice for groups involved in the fight against fur, including the ALF. During his stay in the mountains, Coronado shared an Ashland, Oregon, post-office box with other activists.

The most notable action taken by Coronado and CAFF was the purchase of a fur farm that had been featured on the episode of “60 Minutes.” On December 9, 1990, Coronado purchased Campbell’s fur farm for \$9,000. He acquired the money for the purchase from two animal rights groups. Immediately after the purchase, Coronado hauled 60 mink, four bobcats, two lynx and food to the mountains of the Olympic peninsula near Seattle. The group borrowed several thousand dollars and began the painstaking process of rehabilitating the animals.

1991

In April, CAFF released the rehabilitated animals from the fur farm into the wild.

During the summer, Coronado went to Pullman, Washington, to housesit for Rick Scarce, a graduate student studying sociology at Washington State University. He was also the author of a well-known book called *Eco-Warriors*, which detailed the actions of radical environmentalists. On the night of August 12, activists broke into the U.S. Department of Agriculture on the campus of Washington State University and released seven coyotes and six mink.

Later that night, they broke into the office of Washington State mink researcher John Gorham. The office was trashed and hydrochloric acid poured on computers and other equipment. Typical of ALF attacks, messages spray-painted on the walls read “American wildlife...love it or leave it alone.” Damages were estimated at somewhere between \$50,000 and \$100,000. The next morning, Coronado admitted to faxing a press release from a Kinko’s just beyond the state line in northern Idaho. Coronado never admitted having anything to do with the attack, but felt it his duty to send the press release for the

activists who were responsible. He never cooperated with police in identifying those who were responsible.

February 28, 1992

In the early morning hours, members of the ALF struck the Michigan State University campus. The target was the office of Dr. Richard Aulerich, a mink researcher and expert on mink breeding and mink sensitivity to PCBs and other environmental toxins. The vandals slipped through a basement window of Anthony Hall to reach Aulerich's office. Once inside, they turned the office upside down, looking for proof of animal cruelty. Computer equipment was destroyed, and files were both stolen and scattered. The intruders planted a time-delay firebomb consisting of a Sterno can, light bulb, tube of fire paste, accelerant, and lighting material before leaving. The firebomb completely destroyed Aulerich's office and 32 years of research data.

The vandals' work was not yet complete. They drove four miles from Aulerich's office to the Michigan State mink-research farm building, where they pried open the tin roof to get into the main building. Sulfuric acid was poured on computers, engine parts, and the gas chambers used to kill mink. After destroying the office, they turned their sights to the mink being held in four short sheds. They opened cages, removed identification cards detailing which animals were involved in different experiments, and released 350 mink. Before leaving, the phrases "Aulerich tortures minks", "fur is murder", and "ALF" were painted on the walls in the color of blood. The material damage caused in the two attacks was estimated at between \$70,000 and \$125,000.

The Remainder of 1992

Coronado went underground in April, severing ties with family and friends. His decision to do this was based heavily on his belief that either the government or members of the fur industry wanted him dead. His paranoia may have been fueled by the fact that he had been in contact with federal agents by phone and knew that he was a suspect in the Washington State University and Michigan State University attacks, but he had not been indicted. It may also have been fueled by a \$35,000 reward offered in the June 1991 issue of *Fur Weekly*, a popular fur-trade magazine. The reward called for information that would lead to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for anti-fur attacks.

Just days after Coronado disappeared, federal agents conducted a raid on the cabin where he lived in parts of 1991 and 1992. The cabin was in the dense forest north of the Applegate River, 25 miles southwest of Medford, Oregon.

During the summer of 1992, agents boarded Sea Shepherd vessels on two occasions looking for Coronado, but to no avail. From May to October, Coronado was living on an unnamed Indian reservation.

1993

Little is known about Coronado's whereabouts during this time period. It is believed that he bounced from reservation to reservation. Coronado admits that during this time

he was trying to learn more about himself and his people (Yaqui Ancestry). This search brought him to an Indian reservation about 10 miles southwest of Tucson, Arizona, in July 1993. Once on the reservation, Coronado was accepted into the community and changed his name to Martin Rubio. He became very popular on the reservation because of his willingness to work with youths. Many of the elders, worried the reservation was losing its identity, were pleased with the enthusiasm Coronado brought. Coronado was beginning to feel at home.

OUTCOME

- On July 15, 1993, an indictment was issued for Rodney Coronado in connection with the Michigan State University attack.
- On September 28, 1994, a tribal police officer knocked on Coronado's door while he was washing dishes. The police officer told him that somebody had brought an injured hawk to the fire station and wanted to know if he could help. Coronado immediately agreed to come and the police officer gave him a ride. The moment Coronado opened the door of the fire station he was tackled and arrested by federal agents. Coronado's stay at the reservation had come to an end.
- Coronado was arraigned in the Western District of Michigan on November 3, 1994.
- Rodney Coronado was sentenced to 57 months in prison for the Michigan State University arsons.

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3.13B SANTA CRUZ 2

BACKGROUND

Peter George Schnell grew up in New Jersey, the son of a computer consultant and social worker for disturbed teens. He was often associated with protests organized by the Coalition to Abolish the Fur Trade (CAFT) and the Animal Defense League (ADL), and many of his arrests coincide with their protests. Schnell was arrested at a protest in New York in 1998. In May 1999, he was arrested for vandalism at a Burlington Coat Factory store in New Jersey. During this incident, the offenders spray-painted “Fur kills” and “Killers ALF” on the store walls. He was also arrested for throwing a brick through the window of a Gap store. At the time of his arrest in Capitola, California, he was on probation and had several outstanding warrants, including resisting arrest during an animal rights protest in New York and an assault connected with the attack on a McDonald’s during the 1999 World Trade Organization protest in Seattle.

Matthew Whyte also had a long history of animal rights-related arrests and a history of mental health counseling. He grew up in Orange County, California, the son of a civil engineer, and, at the time of the Capitola arrest, had just enrolled in Cabrillo College. When he was 16, Whyte was arrested trying to break into a lab during an animal-rights protest at University of California-San Francisco and for property destruction in Seattle during the World Trade Organization protests. He was also arrested for trespassing in the San Francisco Bay area.

TIMELINE

January 23, 2001

At 1:00 a.m., Peter Schnell and Matthew Whyte were observed behind the Capitola, California, City Hall by Capitola police officers. The two were ducking down behind Whyte’s Nissan Sentra, a car that he had been living out of. The would-be bombers had assembled all the materials to make 11 Molotov cocktails. Surrounded by 11 plastic one-gallon milk containers with holes drilled in their caps, 18 Magic Re-Light Candles, a drill, and 10 gallons of gasoline, Schnell and Whyte told authorities that they were working on a “craft project.” However, some of the incendiary devices were already constructed. The targets of their nearly 11 Molotov cocktails were dairy trucks parked near the city hall. Schnell, 20, and Whyte, 18, were arrested for attempted bombing.

OUTCOME

- Authorities first thought the two were members of the Animal Liberation Front (ALF). The two suspects were initially unresponsive to law enforcement efforts to investigate the incident. At the time of arrest, both Schnell and Whyte gave authorities incorrect addresses and had in their possession several fake IDs from other states, but later gave authorities more information. The supplies for the act of terrorism were purchased at a Kmart, and the intended targets were dairy trucks

in the area. The implication was that the dairy trucks were representative of a dependency on dairy cows and cruelty inflicted on those cows by members of the dairy industry.

- Although the Capitola police department made the initial arrests, federal prosecutors soon became involved in the case. The local prosecutor, Gary Brayton, dropped the county charges, and the U.S. Attorney's Office in San Jose indicted both Schnell and Whyte on two federal charges of making destructive devices. Those charges carried a maximum sentence of 10 years in federal prison, a fine of \$10,000, and three years probation.
- The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms also began an investigation into the activities of Schnell and Whyte. Federal authorities were interested in pursuing charges against Schnell and Whyte because they believed both were members of the ALF eco-terrorism group. Despite ALF's claims to many crimes throughout the United States, authorities had little success in prosecuting members.
- Eventually, on January 28, 2002, Schnell and Whyte pleaded guilty in federal court at San Jose to one count each of possessing an unregistered firearm. U.S. District Judge James Ware imposed the minimum sentences, but seemed reluctant to do so, in light of the fact that Schnell and Whyte were probable members of ALF.
- Whyte received 14 months in prison and three years probation.
- Schnell was sentenced to 24 months in prison and three years probation upon his release.

POSTSCRIPT

The Santa Cruz 2 was a small victory for law enforcement against the underground Animal Liberation Front. Whyte said to the court at his sentencing, "I have a lot of regret for what I've done...I know there's better ways to go about creating change." Peter Schnell said, "I still definitely believe in compassion toward animals...I'm ready to make a change in my life, ready to take responsibility...I have much regret."

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3.14B UNABOMBER--THEODORE KACZYNSKI

BACKGROUND

Theodore Kaczynski was born on May 22, 1942, in Chicago, Illinois. By all accounts, he was a genius and extremely unsociable. Instead of normal kid's play, he spent his time listening to classical music and experimenting with chemicals and the making of bomb-like contraptions.

He graduated high school at 16, after skipping two grades, and attended Harvard University, where he earned a bachelor's degree in 1962. He went on to earn his master's degree and Ph.D. in mathematics from the University of Michigan.

Kaczynski was hired as an assistant professor of mathematics at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1967. He resigned in 1969.

In 1971, Kaczynski and his brother, David, bought land in Lincoln, Montana. Kaczynski built a small shack, without running water or electricity, and lived there from 1971 until 1996. He was mostly unemployed and lived on a couple of hundred dollars a year, which supplemented his hunting and gardening. He used a bicycle as transportation. This cabin, and several others in the area, was where Kaczynski plotted his revenge against the industrial revolution, the destruction of the environment, and society's obsession with technology. This is where the 17-year reign of terror by the Unabomber began.

TIMELINE

May 26, 1978

In Evanston, Illinois, a parcel wrapped in brown paper exploded while being opened by a Northwestern University (NWU) Public Safety officer. Although Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF) analysis indicated the device inside the package was powerful enough to cause serious injury or death, the officer escaped with only minor injuries because the blast was directed away from him.

The parcel was found unattended in the University of Illinois, Chicago Campus, Engineering Building parking lot, addressed to Professor E. J. Smith at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (RPI), Troy, New York, with a return address of Professor Buckley Crist at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. The package was returned to Professor Crist, who turned it over to NWU's Department of Public Safety because he had no recollection of sending the package.

BATF agents interviewed both Professor Crist and Professor Smith and determined that neither had knowledge of the parcel or who may have constructed the device.

May 9, 1979

Nearly a year after the first bombing at NWU, John Harris, a graduate researcher and member of the civil engineering department, found a Phillies-brand cigar box in Room 2424 of the Technical Building. The box, which several students had noticed that morning, exploded when Harris opened the lid, inflicting minor lacerations to his arms and burns around his eyes.

Room 2424 was used primarily by graduate students, visiting scholars, and faculty, and normally occupied by two teaching assistants.

November 14, 1979

The flight crew aboard Flight 444 from Chicago to Washington D.C. felt what they described as a “thump” when they reached an altitude of 34,500 feet. This was quickly followed by an influx of smoke into the cabin. The crew was forced to land the 727 at Dulles International Airport. Eighteen passengers were treated for smoke inhalation, and items inside the baggage hold were damaged.

The cause was determined to be a package containing an explosive fitted with a barometric device designed to detonate the charge at a specific altitude. Neither the intended recipient nor the return address was determined because of damage sustained in the explosion; however, it is believed the addressee was in the northeastern United States because the parcel was routed to Washington D.C. by the postal service.

June 10, 1980

Several days prior to this date, Percy Wood, president of United Airlines, received a letter at his residence in Lake Forest, Illinois, from Enoch W. Fischer. The letter was typed and sent via the U.S. Postal Service (USPS). Fischer wrote that he was sending Wood a book that had great social significance.

On June 9, Wood received a package, but did not open it until the next afternoon. The parcel contained the book “Ice Brothers,” written by Sloan Wilson. The book was hollowed out to contain the explosive device and set to detonate upon opening. Wood suffered lacerations to his face and upper left leg when he opened the book.

The device contained a metal tag with the initials “FC” stamped into it. This was the first time such an identifier was recovered. Subsequent investigation showed that Enoch W. Fischer was a fictitious name.

October 8, 1981

A student discovered a package in a third-floor hallway of the Bennion Hall Business Building at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City. The student informed a staff member, who contacted the campus police. After examining the package, the campus police chief suspected it contained a bomb. He contacted an Explosives Ordnance Disposal (EOD) team for assistance.

The EOD team X-rayed the package, determined that it was a bomb, and rendered it inoperable with a small explosive charge. The device, rigged to detonate after being lifted four inches, also contained a metal tag with the initials “FC” stamped onto it.

May 5, 1982

Janet Smith, a secretary for Professor Patrick Fischer at Vanderbilt University, received a parcel addressed to her boss, who was out of the country. The parcel, with a return address of Professor LeRoy Bearnson at Brigham Young University (BYU), exploded when Smith opened it, causing serious injuries to her face and arms.

The parcel was mailed from a BYU post office to Professor Fischer at Pennsylvania State University (PSU); however, Dr. Fischer had left PSU and was part of the computer science department at Vanderbilt. A secretary at PSU forwarded the package to Fischer.

Dr. LeRoy Bearnson, professor of electrical engineering, stated in an interview with authorities that he had no knowledge of the parcel. It is believed that Dr. Bearnson may have been the intended recipient of the device, because cancelled stamps on the package should have routed it back to the sender, Dr. Bearnson. This device also contained the signature metal tag and “FC” initials.

July 2, 1982

Dr. Diogenes J. Angelakos, professor of electrical engineering, found what he believed to be a test device or a piece of lab equipment belonging to a student in Room 411 of the Cory Hall Mathematics Building on the University of California (UC), Berkeley campus. When he lifted a handle on the device, it exploded, inflicting injuries to his right hand, arm, and face.

Incorporated into the design of the device was an ancillary device that served solely to suggest that it was a piece of lab equipment belonging to a student or faculty member. The FBI laboratory determined that this ancillary device served no other purpose in the explosive device’s function. Furthermore, a typewritten note attached to this portion of the whole device read: “Wu --- It works! I told you it would. --- RV.”

May 15, 1985

Nearly three years after the first bombing at Cory Hall on the Berkeley campus, a graduate student in the computer science department, Air Force Captain John Hauser, observed a box covered by a three-ring binder on a table in Room 246 of Cory Hall. Hauser, curious about the box’s contents and concerned that a friend might have left an important piece of equipment behind, lifted the cover, which triggered the explosive device inside. The explosion removed four fingers on his right hand and severed major nerves in his forearm. In addition, he lost partial vision in his left eye.

Coincidentally, Dr. Angelakos, the previous bombing victim, was right across the hall. Hearing the blast, he rushed to Hauser and made a tourniquet from an associate’s tie to stop the bleeding.

This device had the initials “FC” stamped onto one of the metal plugs affixed to the end of the ¾-inch pipe that housed the explosives.

June 13, 1985

A package wrapped in brown paper arrived at the Boeing Aircraft Company, Fabrication Division, in Auburn, Washington. The package, postmarked May 8, was left in an office because it was not addressed to any specific person. Eventually, mailroom employees partially opened the package, exposing a bomb. Boeing officials promptly contacted the police, and EOD rendered the device safe with a small explosive charge.

The package had a return address of Weiburg Tool & Supply in Oakland, California. Further investigation revealed that the company and address were fictitious. “FC” was stamped onto one of the metal end caps of the device.

November 15, 1985

A package mailed from Salt Lake City, Utah, arrived at the home of Dr. James V. McConnell in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Dr. McConnell was a professor of psychology at the University of Michigan. The alleged sender was Ralph C. Kloppenburg of the history department at the University of Utah. A letter attached to the package, and signed by Mr. Kloppenburg, requested that Dr. McConnell read the enclosed manuscript. Nick Suino, Kloppenburg’s assistant, opened the package, setting off the explosive device. Lead fishing sinkers were used as shrapnel and caused injuries to Suino’s chest and arms. Dr. McConnell, who was about eight feet away from the blast, suffered minor hearing loss. Again, “FC” was stamped on an end cap.

December 11, 1985

Hugh C. Scrutton, owner of Rentech Computer Rental Company in Sacramento, California, left work for lunch. Behind his store, he noticed a block of wood with some nails protruding. Thinking it was litter and a road hazard, he bent down to dispose of the block. The movement triggered detonation of the device. Shrapnel, some of which was found 150 feet from the scene, tore off Scrutton’s hand and penetrated his heart, killing him. The device, wired to detonate upon movement, yielded the initials “FC.”

December 20, 1985

Nine days after the bombing that killed Hugh Scrutton, authorities revealed a link between this act and 10 other bombings over seven years in nine states. The casualty toll to this point was 19 injured and one killed. At this point in the investigation, officials did not have a motive and believed the victims may have been selected at random, possibly out of reference books such as “Who’s Who” or even college catalogs.

The Postal Service offered a \$25,000 reward for information on the bomber leading to an arrest, and the FBI worked on a psychological profile. Theories at the time suggested

that the bomber might be a fired academician, someone who traveled frequently, or someone who had recently lost a job in a computer-related field.

February 20, 1987

An employee of CAAMS, Inc., a Salt Lake City business, observed a white male bend down near the employee's car and remove what looked like two 2x4 pieces of wood nailed together. The man looked up at the window and saw the employee. He stood up and left the parking lot, leaving the device behind.

About an hour later, Gary Wright, vice-president of CAAMS, Inc., parked his car in the rear lot and noticed the blocks of wood. As he bent down to remove the litter, it exploded, inflicting injuries. Investigators found the signature "FC" on the device.

At this point, investigators finally got a solid lead. The employee who witnessed the placement of the device provided Unabomber Task Force (UTF) investigators with a description of the man. From this description, investigators produced the famous sketch of the Unabomber, wearing a hooded sweatshirt and aviator sunglasses.

June 22, 1993

A package, allegedly mailed from a James Hill of the chemistry department at California State University in Sacramento, arrived at the residence of Dr. Charles Epstein in Tiburon, California. Dr. Epstein's daughter retrieved the package from the mailbox and placed it on the kitchen counter shortly after noon. Upon returning to his residence at approximately 4:30 p.m. that day, Dr. Epstein began to open his mail, the package included. The package exploded, blowing the windows out of the house and causing severe injury to Dr. Epstein, including the loss of several fingers on his right hand, a broken arm, and serious abdominal injuries.

Initially, investigators were unsure of the connection to the Unabomber. With the recent release of the movie "Jurassic Park," which showed two geneticists (one from San Francisco) in a negative light, investigators thought someone influenced by the movie might have sent the bomb. Lending initial credence to this theory was the apparent absence of the initials "FC" on any of the bomb fragments. It was, however, eventually connected to the Unabomber case.

June 24, 1993

Dr. David Gelernter, a professor of computer science at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut, arrived at his office at approximately 7:00 a.m. and began to open his mail. One of the items was a padded envelope postmarked June 18 with a return address of Mary Jane Lee from the computer science department at California State University in Sacramento. As Dr. Gelernter opened the envelope, it exploded, inflicting serious wounds to his abdomen, his right hand, the vision in his left eye, and the hearing in one ear. Dr. Gelernter walked down five flights of stairs and to the university medical clinic a block away.

Several hours after the bombing, Dr. Gelernter's brother Joel, a psychiatrist, received an anonymous phone call at work saying, "You are next." On analysis, the mailing labels and envelope appeared to be identical to the ones used in the Epstein bombing.

June 23, 1993

The alleged anarchist group "FC" finally made contact in a letter sent to the New York Times. Warren Hodge, assistant managing editor, received the letter, postmarked June 2 and mailed from Sacramento, as were the Epstein and Gelernter bombs.

The letter stated that the postmark preceded two newsworthy events (the Epstein and Gelernter bombs) and provided "an identifying number that will ensure the authenticity of any future communication from us ..." The number, 553-25-4394, was provided in a format similar to a social security number.

December 3, 1994

A package postmarked and sent from San Francisco arrived at the residence of Thomas J. Mosser in North Caldwell, New Jersey. When Mosser opened the package, it detonated, killing him and leaving a two-foot-wide crater in the kitchen counter. The return address on the package was H. C. Wickel, Department of Economics, San Francisco State University. Investigators found no record of such a person.

April 23, 1995

Dr. Gelernter, victim of a June 23 Unabomber bombing, received a letter from "FC." The letter said, "there are a lot of people out there who resent bitterly the way technonerd-like you are changing the world and you wouldn't have been dumb enough to open an unexpected package from an unknown source." While the letter was postmarked in Oakland, the return address was "Ninth St. and Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Washington DC 20535," which is the FBI Headquarters Building. The letter said its authenticity could be confirmed by Warren Hodge at the New York Times.

April 24, 1995

Dr. Phillip Sharp received a letter postmarked on April 20 in Oakland, California. The letter, addressed to him at the biology department, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Boston, warned Dr. Sharp that in the best interests of his health, he should cease his research in genetics. As with the Gelernter letter, the letter was from "FC" and said that Warren Hodge could authenticate it. The return address was Manfred Morari of San Marino, California. Morari was interviewed by the UTF and had no knowledge of the letter.

On the same day, Dr. Richard J. Roberts received a letter at the New England Biolabs in Beverly, Massachusetts. The letter, postmarked April 20, Oakland, instructed Dr. Roberts to cease his research.

Warren Hodge of the New York Times received a second letter on April 24. The letter, sent from Oakland on April 20, had the “identifying number” confirming its origination from the group “FC.” This letter, however, went into detail about past devices, the FC’s selection of Epstein, Gelernter, and Mosser as targets, and the goals of the anarchist group. Victims associated with universities (Gelernter and Epstein) were selected because they were experts in various technical fields, such as psychology, behavioral modification, and genetics. Mosser was selected because “he was an executive at Burston-Marsteller,” the firm that “helped Exxon clean up its public image after the Exxon Valdez incident,” among other things.

The goal of the group, as laid out in this letter, was to “break down all society into very small, completely autonomous units...” resulting in the “destruction of the world industrial system” through bombings. The letter proposed a “bargain” in which the Times would publish an article 29,000 to 37,000 words in length; in return, the group would stop its terrorist activities, but reserve the right to engage in sabotage, which targeted property, not people.

In the midst of this flurry of letters, a package addressed to William Dennison arrived at the offices of the Timber Association of California, a timber-lobbying group in Sacramento. Dennison, former president of the organization, had retired in 1994. The secretary, who normally opened the mail, handed the package off to Dennison’s successor, Gilbert B. Murray, because it proved difficult to open. The package had a return address of Closet Dimensions, a custom furniture company in Oakland. It exploded as Murray opened it. The blast killed Murray and was powerful enough to force nails through the walls and into the walls of other offices.

Interestingly, the Timber Association of California had changed its name to the California Forestry Association several years before, but retained the same address.

June 27, 1995

Mr. Jerry Roberts, editorial page editor of the Chronicle, received a letter postmarked San Francisco and dated June 24. The authors, “FC,” claimed they planned to “blow up an airliner out of Los Angeles International Airport some time during the next six days.” The first two digits of the authenticity number were provided. Airport security around the country was heightened.

On the same day, Michael Getler, deputy managing editor of The Washington Post, received a message from “FC” that laid out the same bargain presented to the New York Times. “FC” would cease terrorist activity if the paper published the manuscript.

June 28, 1995

Warren Hodge received another message from “FC.” This time, enclosed with the message, was the approximately 65-page manuscript that “FC” wanted published.

The messages to the Times and The Post said the group had no regrets that they blew up the wrong man, Gilbert Murray, instead of William Dennison.

June 29, 1995

Bob Guccione of Penthouse Magazine received a letter from “FC” in response to the magazine’s offer to publish the manuscript, in return for the group’s promise to cease its terrorist activities. Enclosed with the letter was a copy of the manuscript sent to the Times and the Post.

The letter said the group preferred publication in a “respectable” periodical; however, if Penthouse, rather than a more respectable venue, published the document, the group would permanently cease its terrorist activity, but would “reserve the right to plant one (and only one) bomb, intended to kill, AFTER our manuscript has been published.”

The Penthouse letter discussed an unknown 1985 letter supposedly sent to the Examiner and explained that “FC” stands for “Freedom Club.”

June 30, 1995

Dr. Tom Tyler of the Social Psychology Group, University of California, Berkeley, received another copy of the manuscript, and the accompanying message posed several questions to Tyler regarding technology.

September 19, 1995

The Washington Post, sharing the costs of publication with the New York Times, published the Unabomber’s manifesto in an eight-page supplement.

OUTCOME

- On February 14, 1996, David Kaczynski contacted the UTF through a lawyer. David Kaczynski told investigators that he became suspicious of his brother Theodore, or Ted, in August 1995, after reading portions of the published manifesto that bore strong similarities to Ted’s views. When David read the manifesto in its entirety in September 1995, he was convinced that his brother was the Unabomber. David said the terms and statements used in the manifesto “leapt out” at him because they were Theodore’s views. David refused the reward money offered.
- An extensive investigation by the UTF ensued, including an analysis of the correspondence Ted Kaczynski had with his brother and with various newspapers. They also compared the ideas and subjects in the correspondence and determined that Ted Kaczynski was very likely the Unabomber.
- On April 3, 1996, an arrest warrant was executed for Kaczynski. He made little effort to resist arrest and was promptly processed by federal agents. The subsequent search of his cabin and surrounding property, much of which belonged to his neighbor, provided overwhelming evidence of Kaczynski’s activities over the previous 17 years.

- Kaczynski's main concern during pre-trial hearings was to prevent his attorneys from using an insanity plea. He refused to see a psychiatrist, although he later relented, and tried several times to fire his attorneys and represent himself. In the end, Kaczynski maintained his assertion that he was, in fact, sane. He was also spared execution.
- Under a plea bargain, Kaczynski pleaded guilty to 13 federal bombing offenses, thus escaping the death penalty.
- On May 4, 1998, he was sentenced to four consecutive life terms, plus 30 years. He currently resides in a super-maximum security prison in Colorado. His cell has electricity, running water, and a toilet; amenities that he did not have during his days as the Unabomber.

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3.15 B WISCONSIN MINK RELEASE

In the early morning hours of October 16, 1997 two figures cloaked under the veil of darkness penetrated the perimeter fence of Turbak Mink Farm. Working together, the individuals released 2,400 domestic mink into the South Dakota countryside. This was the first in a string of domestic attacks perpetrated by Justine Samuel and Peter Young.

Special Agent Mike Graham of the FBI was the first federal level official on the scene. He acquired samples of the outline fence of the Turbark farm and sent the results to the FBI crime lab to ascertain the kind of tool used to cut them. This began an investigation into the actions of Samuel and Young which would ultimately land them as fugitives.

JUSTIN C. SAMUEL AND PETER D. YOUNG:

Justin Clayton Samuel was born in Snohomish, Washington in 1979. Samuel has no prior criminal record preceding his actions in October of 1997.

Peter D Young was born in Mercer Island, Washington on June 6, 1977. Unlike his counterpart, Young was arrested on a Misdemeanor charge. He was tried for Criminal Trespass 2 and sentenced on 8 March 1996. Peter Young was found guilty and sentenced in the Multnomah County District Court on 29 April 1996. Young's actions in 1996 can be seen has a precursor to his later attacks on Wisconsin and South Dakota mink farms. Young learned from his mistakes, adapted his skills, and put them to better use in his 1997 raids with Samuel.

CONTINUING THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST MINK FARMS

In early morning hours of October 25, 1997 the Smieja Farm of Independence, Wisconsin became subject to Samuel and Young's terrorist attack. They cut the western facing fence of the complexes mink bran, releasing close too 800 blue iris mink. 104 of these mink where not recovered, which left the farm with a loss of more than \$10,000.

A Trepealeu County Sheriff, Detective Corcoran, took samples of the wire fence that was cut and sent them to the FBI Crime Lab in Washington.

ANOTHER DAY, ANOTHER ATTACK

October 26, 1997 the Dittrich Minkery in Medford Wisconsin would be the third such establishment to be visited by the duo. Again, taking advantage of the early morning darkness, the pair destroyed over 400 feet of fence that contained 2,500 mink. All but 300 where recovered in the aftermath leaving the mink farm with a loss of more than \$10,000.

Ed Bruner, FBI Special Agent, collected wire samples of the fence and sent them to the FBI Crime Lab.

THE LAST WAVE

Directly after raiding the Dittrich Mink Farm, the two turned their eyes to Alex Ott's Mink Farm near Tomahawk, Wisconsin. Young and Samuel entered through a gate in the perimeter fence, and proceeded to release over 350 mink from approximately 350 pens. Ott lost 70 mink.

SUSPICIOUS BEHAVIOR

October 28, 1997, Sheboygan County Sheriff Deputy Seth Fuller received reports of a red Geo Metro in and around area farms. The vehicle matched the description on the vehicle used in Wisconsin where mink had been released. The Geo Metro was stopped in Oostburg, Wisconsin. Peter Young was driving the vehicle and Justin Samuel was the only passenger.

The occupants were removed from the car and the car was searched. From the car, detailed maps of the areas concerning the mink release were seized as well as dark clothing, ski mask, flash lights, bolt cutters (along with similar devices) and material linking them to radical institutions. In their position they also had a fur farm target list, known as the "final nail," which is published by the Animal Liberation Front, an eco-terrorism group. A subscription to an animal liberation periodical, known as No Compromise, was also found on their persons.

PROOF OF CRIMINAL INTENT

Steve Casper, FBI Crime Lab analyst, was the agent in charge of the case. He was able to obtain ample evidence to prove and testify that the bolt cutter found in the red Geo Metro were the ones used in the mink release. Comparing the cutters to the samples of fences sent in by field agents, Casper found that the bolt cutters were the ones that cut the fences of Turbak, Smiega, and Dittrich Fur Farms. This provided evidence that the suspects, Samuel and Young, conspired to, and acted, in a criminal manner. Both parties moved through state boundaries and committed crimes that were aimed to harass and provide a loss to the fur industry.

OUTCOME

- September 2000, Justin Samuel was arrested by Belgium authorities and expediently extradited to the United States.
- August 2000, Samuel plead guilty to two-misdemeanor offenses;
- Conspiracy to disrupt an animal enterprise
- Traveling in interstate commerce to disrupt an animal enterprise.
- Justin Samuels reached a plea agreement with authorities to provide testimony to a grand jury inquiry on his activities and, in exchange, felony charges were dropped. Samuel also confirmed Peter D. Young as his accomplice.

- November 2000, Samuel was sentenced to serve two years in a federal prison and one year of supervised release. This is the maximum sentence that he could have received. He was also ordered to pay \$364,106 in restitution to his victims and farm owners. The judge presiding over the case was United States District Court Magistrate Judge Stephen L. Crocker.
- Peter Daniel Young remains at large and as of October 2004, has yet to be caught by authorities. Areas in Wisconsin and the surrounding states continue to be targets of domestic eco-terrorism. The Animal Liberation Front and its members continue their activities and attacks on the fur industry.

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3.16C. DR. ROBERT GOLDSTEIN

BACKGROUND

This case involved the planned bombing of the Islamic Society of Pinellas County and the Islamic Society of Tampa Bay in Florida. The plot involved 3 conspirators; Robert Goldstein and Kristi Lea Goldstein of Seminole, FL and Samuel Valiant Shannahan III of Dunedin, FL.

OUTCOME

- All three were arrested for the conspiracy in 2002.

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4. INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

This section deals with international terrorism prior to 9/11. Although the 1970s and 1980s marked an increase in terrorist attacks on American targets overseas, the United States seemed immune. The only major group committing international acts of terror on American soil during the 1980s was Omega 7. The group committed numerous bombings and assassinations during the 1980s, all aimed at Fidel Castro and those who supported him.

By the late 1980s, foreign terrorists began to operate in this country. Japanese Red Army member, Yu Kikumura planned, but never carried out his bombing. Hezbollah was operating a major cigarette-smuggling ring between North Carolina and Detroit, and the Provisional Irish Republican Army was amassing funds and weapons, including a Stinger missile, for terrorist attacks in Northern Ireland.

In the early 1990s, international terrorism had a new face—Middle-Eastern. The Millennium Conspiracy looks at a Muslim terrorist cell operating in Canada, but targeting sites in the U.S. Sheikh Omar and other Islamic groups, in 1993, targeted The World Trade Center in New York City, and were instrumental in assassinating Rabbi Kahane, as well as other acts of terrorism. The New York City Subway Bombing involved two Palestinians who entered the U.S. via Canada and planned to bomb the subway system in New York. The new language of terrorism included Al-Qaida and Islamic Jihad; the new players included names like Bin Laden and Sheikh Omar. The new targets were not a building or a person. Instead, they were America's symbols.

4.1 HEZBOLLAH: CIGARETTE SMUGGLING IN THE UNITED STATES

BACKGROUND

Hezbollah is a political and military organization based in Lebanon, created in 1982 to oppose the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon. The organization also goes by the names: Party of God, Islamic Jihad Organization, Revolutionary Justice Organization, Organization of the Oppressed on Earth, Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine, and Ansar Allah and the Followers of the Prophet Muhammad.

Its chief objectives are the creation of a Shiite theocracy in Lebanon, the annihilation of Israel, and the eradication of Western influences from the region. In May 2000, Israel removed its troops from Lebanon; however, Hezbollah remains a powerful influence in the region, as it holds seats on the Lebanese Parliament.

Hezbollah provides various forms of humanitarian aid to Shiite Muslims in Lebanon, the second largest sect of believers in Islam. However, it is also a strong opponent of Western presence in the Middle East, and it advocates the use of terrorism to support its agenda.

It is regarded by the Arab and Muslim world, and by some European Union countries, including the UK, as a legitimate Shia political party in Lebanon. The Israeli government and several Western governments see it as an Islamic fundamentalist or Islamist terrorist organization.

Hezbollah's most notorious terrorist activities against Western countries are the bombings carried out against U.S. and French interests. These include the April 18, 1983, car bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut that killed 63 people, and the October 23, 1983, car bombings of the U.S. Marine compound and the French unit of the Multinational Force in Beirut, which killed 241 U.S. soldiers and 58 French paratroopers.

Hezbollah has also been credited with creating the current model of the "suicide bomber," as well as providing terrorist training to Hamas, an Islamist group responsible for suicide attacks inside the Arab-Israeli disputed territories. Hezbollah has publicly denounced acts of terror such as the September 11 attacks in the U.S. Yet, they support the destruction of the state of Israel and, therefore, terror attacks near the Arab-Israeli border, as well as inside Israel itself.

For the purposes of research, it is necessary to note the many different spellings of Hezbollah. Hezbollah, which is used by most western news agencies, is also written as Hizbullah, Hezbollah, Hizbollah, Hezbullah, and Hizb Allah, which is used mainly by al-Jazeera.

The extensive backing and assistance provided by Syria and Iran have transformed Hezbollah from a local Lebanese terrorist group into a widespread terrorist network. Hezbollah has spread its network to virtually anywhere in the world a Shiite Islamic community exists, including South America, Canada, the United States, Australia, Southeast Asia, Western Europe, and most of the Middle East.

Western intelligence sources estimate Hezbollah's overall yearly budget at some \$200-\$500 million, with at least \$100 million from Iran. It also raises funds through charities and both legitimate and illegitimate businesses such as illegal arms trading, currency counterfeiting, credit card fraud, operating illegal telephone exchanges, drug trafficking, and cigarette smuggling. Hezbollah uses its worldwide fund-raising network to strengthen its operational abilities, launch terrorist attacks, and as a way to acquire advanced weapons and equipment needed for the organization's operations within Lebanon. Equipment purchases include computers of various types, night-vision equipment, satellite navigation equipment (GPS), mine detectors, and aviation-related software.

Hezbollah operates a number of influential media outlets, the most prominent of which are "al-Manar Television" and "Radio Nur." These channels provide constant coverage of events in Lebanon and the Middle East and broadcast statements issued by Secretary General Hassan Nasrallah and other senior members of Hezbollah. It also publishes two leading magazines: "al-Intiqad," which deals with political issues, and "Baqiatollah," which addresses religious matters. In addition to these media outlets, Hezbollah also makes use of the Internet. It relies on this widespread media network to spread its image and doctrine to followers in Lebanon and the Arab and Islamic world and to transmit messages to various recipients in Western countries.

"Internet Haganah," an organization that attempts to expose and shut down websites associated with terrorism, tracked down 25 Hezbollah sites, 22 of which are hosted by American companies such as Bulkregister LLC out of Baltimore and OnlineNic in Chicago.

This case study examines a Hezbollah cigarette-smuggling operation in the U.S. from March 1996 to July 2000. Mohamad Youssef Hammoud, the ringleader of the operation, along with several other conspirators, made bulk purchases of cigarettes totaling \$10,889,411. During the course of the conspiracy, Mohamad Hammoud and Said Harb also recruited and hired numerous unnamed individuals to transport cigarettes from Charlotte, North Carolina, to Detroit, Michigan.

Charlotte was the base for smuggling cigarettes from North Carolina, with a cigarette tax of 5 cents a pack, to Michigan, with a tax of 75 cents a pack. The smugglers drove 680 miles from Charlotte to Detroit in rented vans with approximately 800 to 1,500 cartons of cigarettes per trip, purchased in North and South Carolina.

The cigarettes were sold to Arab-owned convenience stores in Detroit by Mohamad Hammoud, his brother Chawki Hammoud, Ali Hussein Darwiche, Mohamed Atef Darwiche, Mehdi Hachem Moussaoui, Said Mohamad Harb, and Nabil E. Ismail.

Detroit is home to a large Shiite community of southern Lebanese origin and is the main center of Hezbollah's fundraising activity in the United States. Al-Shahid Fund (the "Martyr's Fund") appears to be the major fund-raising institution in Detroit, as well as Hezbollah's main fund in the United States.

According to the U.S. Department of Justice, each 13-hour trip netted \$3,000 to \$10,000. The profits were shuttled back to Charlotte, with a portion of the earnings eventually passed on to Hezbollah connections in Lebanon.

The methods used to carry out the smuggling enterprise included attempts to bribe bank officials to obtain credit, using aliases to acquire false identification, bank accounts and credit cards, and laundering the proceeds of the smuggling activity to conceal the illegal movements and location of the proceeds.

Said Mohamad Harb, who lived in Charlotte, provided a link between the cigarette-smuggling operation and a Hezbollah equipment procurement cell in Canada. Harb had connections with Mohamad Hassan Dbouk, who resided at times in Vancouver and in Lebanon. Dbouk served as a high-ranking Hezbollah member who oversaw purchases of dual use, military-type equipment, such as night-vision goggles and map copiers, designed to help soldiers improve their ability to attack. Harb was also largely responsible for obtaining false lines of credit using aliases and for transferring funds from one account to another. For example, on March 27, 2000, Harb obtained a credit account with Centura Bank in Charlotte using the name Mee Yin Foo. Similarly, on April 19, 2000, Harb opened a checking account and a subsequent line of credit at Wachovia bank in Charlotte, using the name Khadija Debk.

Harb referred to this as “busting out credit cards.” Cards were obtained using false names, and then the credit limit was quickly exhausted and never repaid. Harb and Dbouk used these credit cards to purchase items for Hezbollah. Harb was also involved in transferring money between accounts belonging to Hezbollah operatives, as well as arranging for the purchase of life insurance for operatives who might be killed during Hezbollah-directed terrorist attacks.

Both Harb and Dbouk’s activities within the operation were guided by Hassan Hilu Laqis, a resident of Lebanon, who was in charge of Hezbollah’s procurement of technical equipment from North America. He provided detailed instructions on what items Hezbollah needed to obtain from retail stores and military warehouses in the U.S. and Canada.

TIMELINE

1992-1994

Mohamad Youssef Hammoud and Ali Fayez Darwich arrived in New York on June 6, 1992, after paying \$200 for a counterfeit U.S. visa in Caracas, Venezuela. In December 1993, an immigration judge ordered Hammoud deported. Hammoud filed an appeal, which permitted him to stay longer. In December 1994, while awaiting a verdict on the illegal visa charge, he married an American named Sabina Edwards, giving him legal standing to apply for permanent residency.

Ali Hussein Darwiche used the fraudulent marriage scheme to obtain permanent resident alien status by marrying Diana Martinez. Ali Fayez Darwiche joined them, marrying Teniccia Jemison.

The fraudulent marriages, which paid the American women around \$3,000, provided the means for Hammoud and his co-conspirators to remain in the U.S. and continue the cigarette smuggling operation.

1996-1997

On March 3, 1996, Chawki Hammoud was stopped by the West Virginia State Police while transporting approximately 405 cartons of cigarettes.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service found the Hammoud-Edwards marriage certificate and her birth certificate fraudulent, and, in August 1996, Hammoud was again ordered deported.

On January 24, 1997, three mini-vans loaded with 4,464 cartons of cigarettes left JR Tobacco Wholesale in Statesville, North Carolina. The vans were driven by Mehdi Hachem Moussaoui and two other individuals. En route to Michigan, they were pulled over by the Kentucky Department of Motor Vehicles.

In May 1997, Hammoud married a second American woman, Jessica Wedel. In September 1997, while still married to Wedel, he took a third wife, Angela Tsioumas.

Sometime in late 1996 or early 1997, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF) got a sheriff's department tip about the smuggling operation.

1998

In July, Hammoud was granted conditional residency after the INS failed to notice that both Hammoud and Tsiomas were married to other people.

On August 4, a van rented by Ali Hussein Darwiche was loaded with 809 cartons of cigarettes from Golden Leaf Tobacco in Blacksburg, South Carolina, and Jr Tobacco Wholesale in Statesville, North Carolina. The van was stopped by the West Virginia State Police.

2000

In July, in operation "Smokescreen," FBI agents raided a house on Donnefield Drive in Charlotte, North Carolina, belonging to Mohamad Youssef Hammoud. Federal agencies participating in the raids included the FBI, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) as well as the Diplomatic Security Service (DSS).

Inside they found cash, weapons (including shotguns, various rifles and an AK-47), and cigarettes. Also found were video-cassettes of a "martyr squad," strapped with explosives, vowing to "continue to detonate ourselves to cause the earth to shake under the feet of our enemy, America and Israel." In another video, Hammoud's young nephews are urged by adults to "tell them who you are." After being poked in the chest several times, one boy raises his fist and yells, "Hezbollah!"

OUTCOME

- Surveillance by the FBI and Canadian intelligence agency CSIS, coupled with numerous traffic stops by police, led to the eventual arrest and subsequent uncovering of the cigarette smuggling ring.

- Mohamad Hammoud was sentenced to 155 years in prison for his role in providing material support to Hezbollah. The stiff sentence was a result of an October 8, 1997, decision by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to designate Hezbollah as an international terrorist organization.
- Chawki Hammoud was sentenced to 51 months in prison for his role in transporting the cigarettes.
- Said Harb was sentenced to 46 months imprisonment after cooperating and agreeing to testify against the others. In addition, some of Harb's relatives were reportedly transported from Lebanon to the U.S. as part of his deal to testify. Harb testified that, in 1999, Mohamad Hammoud gave him \$3,500 in an envelope to give to Hezbollah military commander, Sheik Abbas Harake. This served as the key piece of evidence that charged Hammoud with supplying material support to a terrorist organization.
- All of the women involved in the fraudulent marriages were given probation ranging from 12-36 months.

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4.2 JAPANESE RED ARMY

BACKGROUND

Yu Kikumura was born in the small Japanese village of Takahura. In 1971, he graduated from high school and enrolled in a program of Foreign Studies at Tokyo University. It was an intense period of anti-American fervor on Japanese campuses. The revived Japanese Communist Party had been declining since 1952, but in the 1970s began to attract supporters again, among them Yu Kikumura. He was acquiring a taste for radical politics by actively participating in the anti-imperialist rallies over U.S. involvement in Vietnam. The contemporary radical leftists professed goals of overthrowing the Japanese monarchy and fomenting a world socialist revolution.

After dropping out of Tokyo University, Kikumura worked as a shopkeeper for two years, but, in 1974, went to Europe and began a series of moves over the next dozen years from one European capital to the next. In England, he worked as a sushi chef and antique dealer. In Athens, Greece, he operated a combination bookstore and import-export business for three years.

On April 5, 1986, a bomb exploded in a discotheque in West Berlin frequented by U.S. servicemen. One American and one German were killed in the attack and 150 were wounded, including 44 Americans. Libyan leader, Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi, claimed responsibility, and President Reagan ordered a retaliatory attack against Libya. U.S. jets strafed areas around Tripoli and Benghazi. One consequence of these air raids was the fear they would galvanize terrorist groups, so security measures were tightened. These events may have been a milestone for Kikumura.

Schiphol Airport in Holland had, like most European airports, stepped up security precautions. These precautions led to the arrest of Yu Kikumura. A search of his luggage revealed two pounds of TNT flakes inside a cardboard orange drink container and six bomb detonators skillfully hidden inside the transistor radio. Kikumura spent the next four months in Dutch jail. The courts, however, determined that authorities had conducted an illegal search, and Kikumura was extradited to Japan.

On December 12, 1986, Kikumura left Japan with a new passport and identity, that of Masatoshi Kishizono, a Japanese hospital employee. Very little is known about Kikumura's activities for the next two years, but his passport shows him in Madrid, Spain from April 5-14, 1987. He left Spain for Yugoslavia the day before the attempted embassy bombing of April 15. He was back in Japan on May 8, leaving again on January 23, 1988. He surfaced in Milan in late February. One and a half months later, a car bomb exploded outside the United Service Organization (USO) club in Naples. Five people were killed, eighteen injured. Having secured a French visa in Italy, Kikumura flew to Zurich and opened a bank account in Kishizono's name with a deposit of \$5,100. By the end of February, he was in Paris.

Kikumura traveled extensively on Kishizono's passport and an international driver's license with the same name. Japanese authorities determined that three passport stamps in and out of Japan were forged, and the other immigration stamps were probably

authentic. An FBI affidavit provided information on his stay in Lebanon. From the fall of 1986 to the spring of 1987, in Bekaa Valley, he participated in the training of Japanese Red Army members in terrorist tactics.

TIMELINE

The following timeline is curious, in that we know where Kikumura was in March and April of 1988, but we do not know the “why” of his 7,000-mile “road trip,” until the end of March and early April. What we do know is that his travels were leading to an attempted bombing of the Navy and/or Army recruiting offices, housed in the Veterans Administration Building in New York City. Other possible targets included three New York college campuses.

February 29, 1988

Kikumura was in Paris and acquired a 90-day visa to enter the United States.

March 8, 1988

Kikumura landed at the JFK Airport in New York on the passport of Masatoshi Kishizono. He went to AAA Apartment Sharing, an agency specializing in finding apartments and roommates. They arranged for him to share an apartment with a 25-year-old accountant, Chris Brande, on Manhattan's East Side near the Queens-Midtown tunnel. Kikumura posed as a tourist staying for a month and paid a month's rent and a security deposit, \$1,400 in new \$100 bills, but only after he made sure his room had a lock on the door and that he would have privacy. He moved into the apartment on East 34th Street with a small gym bag and some plastic shopping bags—no suitcases. The first day or two, he made a couple phone calls announcing to person(s) unknown that he had arrived.

March 13, 1988

Kikumura went to Central Motors, a car dealership in the Morris Heights section of the Bronx, and picked out a used 1980 Mazda 626. The next day, he returned with \$1,401 in cash. He secured auto insurance in New York State's assigned risk pool by making a \$185 down payment on a \$424-a-year-policy at an insurance agency near Central Motors. He told the owner he wanted to go to Mexico.

March 15-31, 1988

March 15—He received a parking ticket in Manhattan

March 16—Gloucester, Massachusetts

March 19—Another parking ticket in New York City

March 22—Avon Lake, Ohio

March 23—Barnicks Bed and Breakfast in Dimondale, Michigan

March 24—Harrison Hotel in Chicago.

March 26—Hannibal, Missouri

March 28—The Biltmore Hotel in Union City, Tennessee.

Kikumura began making purchases required for assembling a bomb. He stopped at an art supply store in Nashville, Tennessee, and bought two cans of aluminum powder. The next day, he went twice to a Kmart in Lexington, Kentucky, purchasing gas cans, a diet scale, coffee-maker accessories, a can of epoxy, contact cement, electrical wire, and electrical tape. He spent the night at the campground in Huntington, West Virginia.

April 1, 1988

In Huntington, he went to an electronics store and bought a toggle switch, circuit tester, phone jacks, phone plugs, and wire.

April 4-5, 1988

Kikumura arrived in New York after a stop at Smiley's Motel in Hurricane, West Virginia. He told his roommate, Brande, that he was leaving, and Brande returned a \$700 security deposit. The next day, Kikumura transferred \$4,000 from a Swiss bank account to his New York account and returned to the campground in West Virginia. The owners of the campground, Mr. and Mrs. Brown, noticed bruises on Kikumura's hands, bandages on his wrists and neck, and a split lip. They asked him not to come back anymore.

April 7-10, 1988

Kikumura left for New York, stopping in the West Virginia towns of Fairmont and Weirton; East Liverpool, Ohio; and Cheltenham, Pennsylvania. He spent the night of April 8 in a motel in Weirton, West Virginia. The next day, he stopped at a department store in East Liverpool and purchased a hacksaw, carton sealing tape, a file, and a vinyl suitcase. A day later, he bought two packages of Sylvania flash bulbs and a package of "D" cell batteries in Clover Department Store in Cheltenham, Pennsylvania. He also bought at least one fire extinguisher.

April 11, 1988

Kikumura attempted unsuccessfully to sell his car and rent another car in Philadelphia. The person to whom he attempted to sell the car for \$200 was a former police officer who refused to accept the car without a proper title. In order to get a rental car, Kikumura offered the owner of the rental agency \$500 and then \$1,000 to rent a car. This effort was also unsuccessful.

OUTCOME

- On April 12, at 7:00 a.m., Trooper Robert Cieplensky of the New Jersey State Police observed Kikumura at the Vince Lombardi Rest Area on the New Jersey Turnpike. The rest area, frequented by commuters and a variety of travelers on any given day, included a large parking lot, gas station, rest room facilities, and a

- restaurant. Considered a "high crime area," traffic violations, robberies, assaults, narcotics, and sex offenses were not uncommon.
- Twice, Trooper Cieplensky watched Kikumura begin to walk from his car to the service area, only to return to his car when he made eye contact with the trooper. As the trooper drove past, Kikumura was "milling around" his car. Kikumura later walked back toward the restaurant, but when he saw Trooper Cieplensky head toward the restaurant, he quickly returned to his car and again, "milled around." When the trooper passed him, Kikumura started his car and began to drive away in a reckless fashion, cutting across two parking lanes within five feet of parked vehicles at a rate of between 25 and 30 miles per hour. Trooper Cieplensky affected a vehicle stop. Kikumura exited the car and met the trooper outside.
 - Trooper Cieplensky observed fresh burn marks on Kikumura's neck and bandages on his neck and hands. The trooper also noticed a large black bag, its contents in plain view inside the car. The bag contained seven empty "Hercules" brand gunpowder canisters and a pouch of lead shot. Full, the canisters would have contained several times the amount of gunpowder needed for an entire hunting season. Concluding that Kikumura could not use that amount of gunpowder simply for recreational purposes, Cieplensky frisked Kikumura, but found no weapon. He then noticed, also in plain view inside the car, a cardboard box containing three red cylindrical objects with black tape and wires. He asked Kikumura what was in the box. Kikumura replied, "Souvenirs. Go ahead, check it out." Cieplensky discovered three bombs. He handcuffed Kikumura and placed him under arrest.
 - A further search of the car uncovered more explosives and bomb paraphernalia and a map of New York City. The Navy and Army recruiting offices, located at the corner of 7th Avenue and 24th Street, were marked. Investigators also found an American Airlines timetable with the handwritten notation, "Friday morning, 330.00, 4/15." On April 14, Tokyo police identified the fingerprints of "Masatoshi Kishizono" as those of Yu Kikumura, a Japanese national.
 - On November 28, 1988, Kikumura was indicted for unlawful possession (by an illegal alien) and transportation of explosives with intent to destroy property and harm individuals, unlawful possession of explosives that were unregistered and without serial numbers, and violations of the passport and visa laws. He was found guilty on all 12 counts and sentenced to 30 years.

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4.3 THE MILLENNIUM CONSPIRACY

BACKGROUND

Ahmed Ressam was born May 19, 1967, in Algeria, the eldest of seven children. As a teenager, he wore Levi's and Stan Smith shoes, staples of westernized culture, and he was the first in his family to receive a "modern education." His father hoped Ahmed would take the required placement tests that would allow him a free college education. A degree might take Ahmed into Algeria's small middle class, a great achievement in a country marred by poverty and instability.

The lifestyle of the Ressam family, like many other Algerians, reflected both Muslim and European cultures, the latter a result of 132 years of French occupation. Driven from their land and forced to farm and fish, Algerians inevitably came to a breaking point, and in 1954 Belkacem Ressam, alongside "thousands of his countrymen" rebelled against the French occupation. The fierce mujahadeen utilized terrorist tactics such as café and club bombings, and the French authority was forced to retaliate. This drew neutral Algerians into the uprising against their European occupiers. By 1962, the French pulled out of Algeria, but the cost to Algerians was the deaths of hundreds of thousands of their countrymen.

After the war Belkacem Ressam moved his family to Bou Ismail, Algeria, a small town just west of Algiers. Belkacem worked hard as a chauffeur to put food on the table, with hopes that his children could live a life free of war and full of prosperity. He had especially high hopes for his first-born son.

Sometime during his early teen years, Ahmed developed an ulcer. Algerian doctors were unable to offer any treatment so when Ahmed was sixteen, his father sent him to Paris. French doctors there were able to treat the ulcer, but unfortunately Ahmed had missed a significant amount of school. Upon his return he was forced to repeat a grade. Ahmed failed his final exams and was refused entrance to university. He tried to get a job as a policeman but was not qualified. Ahmed's window of opportunity in Algeria's middle class slowly closed before him.

At about this time, world oil prices dropped and the wealth that Algeria relied on for its economic stability vanished. Algeria's government declined with its economy. Recruiters came to Algerian mosques with promises of food, clothing, and arms in exchange for the support of Islamic brothers on the frontlines in Afghanistan. The Soviets had invaded the country and Islamic fundamentalists everywhere hoped to persuade young, Muslim men to help fight the battle. Ressam was not one of them.

Upon their return from Afghanistan and the success of defending that front, many veteran Algerians sought to "rid their (own) country of Soviet-inspired socialism." The Islamic Front for Salvation, created from this militant Muslim movement, wanted Algeria and its people to be led by laws "derived from strict interpretations of the Quran." The popular coalition called upon Muslims again, this time to fight the battle at home. Again, Ahmed Ressam did not embrace the radical Muslim movement.

He had not embraced the Islamic religion either. He had begun working at his father's café, serving tea early in the morning until the afternoon. Thousands worshipped just steps from the café, but Ahmed was not one of them. Ahmed and his friends wore not the humble white robes and skullcaps of typical Muslim garb, but designer jeans and flashy shirts. They went to clubs, drank wine, and smoked hashish; all behaviors seriously frowned upon by the Muslim religion.

In June of 1990 the Islamic Front, supported by victories in several local elections, began pushing their own oppressive version of Islamic justice. Patrolling the streets in search of 'violators,' the Front "shut down stores that sold alcohol and cafes that allowed gambling." In December 1991, the Front began winning national elections and eventually controlled Algeria's parliament. Clashes with the military escalated the violence even further and Algeria became the dangerous place Belkacem Ressam had hoped it would not.

Ahmed searched for a way out. He wanted his chance at peace and opportunity and realized it could not be found in Algeria. On September 5, 1992, Ressam left Bou Ismail for Algiers, where he took a thirty-day passport and little else to Marseille, France.

Ressam's month-long stay in Marseille went by quickly, and without proper paperwork, he became an illegal immigrant. Ressam made his way to Corsica, where he worked and learned to make and sell fake documents. He created a French passport with his picture and the name Nasser Ressam. Ahmed was arrested on November 8, 1993, in Ajaccio and charged with violating immigration laws. Facing trial in March 1994, Ressam created a new passport; consequently, Tahar Medjadi, a French-born citizen with a birth date of December 25, 1970, headed out on Air Canada Flight 871 to Montreal.

Upon arrival in Canada, Ressam wondered if he could slip by Canadian immigration officials. The inspector examined the passport, concluded it was a fake, and Ahmed Ressam was arrested and jailed. Seeking political asylum, Ressam created a story on his application that stated he was falsely arrested by Algerian police, tortured, beaten, and after signing a false confession, he escaped and came to Canada. Ressam was given the opportunity to explain his story to a Canadian magistrate and perhaps acquire permanent-residence status. His court date was set on March 28, 1994, and he was told to hire a lawyer.

Given Canada's lax immigration laws, Ressam was released on bond until the court date. It seemed probable Ressam would get asylum. Indeed, even the director of Canada's intelligence agency put it, "Once someone steps foot in Canada, it is very hard and takes a very long time to get them out." Ressam applied for welfare, and soon he was receiving \$550 dollars a month from the Canadian government. Staying at the local YMCA, he met an Algerian expatriate who invited him to share an apartment in Montreal.

His court date came and his immigration attorney Denis Burton had prepared a case for political asylum, but Ressam failed to show. He explained to Burton that he had simply forgotten. His application was rejected and he was promptly arrested, photographed, and fingerprinted, then released again with a new court date set.

In late 1994 and early 1995, Ressam began attending Muslim services at the Masjid as-Salem mosque in Montreal where he met and became friends with several individuals, including an Algerian named Fateh Kamel. Kamel arrived in Montreal in 1987 and became a Canadian citizen. Trained at Al-Qaida camps in the early 1990s, Kamel became the leader of a Montreal-based terrorist cell that Ressam became part of.

Meanwhile, Ressam was living with several other Algerians. He still enjoyed going to discos and dance clubs, but his welfare check wasn't enough and soon he began stealing from citizens and expensive clothing stores. On January 30, 1995, Ressam and a friend were caught shoplifting a \$1000 Armani suit from a Montreal men's store. At trial Ressam was found guilty of shoplifting, given a \$100 fine, put on probation for two years, and ordered to leave the country by July 23, 1995. To further prolong his stay, he filed an appeal and continued his daily routine of stealing purses, unattended suitcases, wallets, passports, traveler's checks, and credit cards. Ressam did not show up to his deportation hearing and Canadian immigration officials never attempted to find him.

Soon, he and Kamel became close friends. Kamel began giving him money for passports and other identification documents Ressam stole. He continued to steal and sell his "goods" to Kamel for up to \$200. In October 1996, Ressam was caught pick-pocketing \$300 dollars from a guest at a hotel in downtown Montreal. Although Ressam had a long rap sheet and was a known illegal immigrant, the judge fined him \$500 and gave him two years probation.

Ahmed Ressam began doing some networking. One of his new acquaintances was Abderraouf Hannachi, a regular at Montreal's Assuna Annabawiyah mosque where 1500 regular worshippers attended. Hannachi trained at Osama bin Laden's Khalden training camp in Afghanistan where he was trained in the use of handguns, AK-47s, rocket-propelled grenade launchers, explosives, and urban warfare, but Hannachi was more than just a jihad trainee. He was also a recruiter. Many local Muslims listened to and respected Hannachi, who spoke of his hatred for Americans, their culture, and the duty of Muslims everywhere to join the holy war against them. The respect for Hannachi and Fateh Kamel among Montreal's Muslim radical community appealed to Ressam and his friends.

Sometime earlier in 1995, both French and Italian terrorism experts warned the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) that a Muslim terrorist cell had been established in Montreal. Their reports specifically mentioned a man named Fateh Kamel. Soon, CSIS agents initiated surveillance of the apartment and began taping conversations. They were well aware the tenants at 6301 Place de la Malicorne were wanted on immigration charges and they knew about Ressam's previous theft convictions. CSIS concluded, however, that the group was anything but dangerous. They even gave the men the nickname of "BOG," short for a "Bunch of Guys." CSIS considered their anti-American sentiment and jihad plotting as "terrorist Tupperware parties."

After a few months of surveillance, the CSIS developed a 400-page dossier on the activities of the "BOG." They concluded that some of the individuals might be dangerous, but that Ahmed Ressam seemed least likely to cause any problem; however, the CSIS never shared the report with the local police, immigration officials, or any other government entity. The "cell" remained intact.

The Canadian Security Intelligence Service failed to recognize Ressam's involvement and close relationship to Muslim terrorism. They disregarded reports that he had provided passports and identity documents to supporters of Islamic jihad. Further, the CSIS never discovered that Hannachi, a frequent companion of Ressam and the "BOG," was in fact a jihad recruiter for Osama Bin Laden's Al-Qaida network. Hannachi sent his recruits to a Palestinian known as Abu Zubaydah. Zubaydah was the logistical coordinator and key figure in Bin Laden's terrorist training facilities in Afghanistan. Soon Hannachi sent Zubaydah a new recruit: Ahmed Ressam.

Before he could leave, Ressam needed new identification. In March 1998, Ressam stole a blank baptismal certificate from a Montreal church. Forging the name of a priest, Benni Antoine Norris, Ressam created a new identity and a new birth date. With this forged document and a picture of himself, Ressam could obtain a Canadian passport. He sent a friend to pick up the passport and now, Benni Antoine Norris was free to go anywhere in the world.

TIMELINE

March 16, 1998

Ressam left Montreal for Toronto where he boarded a flight to Frankfurt, Germany. In Frankfurt, Ressam was directed by Al-Qaida agents to board another plane to Pakistan. From there, he traveled to a meeting point in Peshawar to meet with Abu Zubaydah. Zubaydah set up cells, doled out money, and helped coordinate Al-Qaida's operations around the world.

Zubaydah directed Ressam to lose his western garb, grow a beard, and wear an Afghani robe. Ressam was ordered to stay in a safe house for three weeks with other new recruits.

April-August 1998

Ressam traveled through the Khyber Pass into Afghanistan where he and other new recruits headed toward their training site, a facility known as Khalden Camp. There the recruits were put into groups according to their nationality. Ressam's Algerian unit included two of his roommates from Montreal, Moustafa Labsi and Sahid Atmani. After their training, the group would be guided by an England-based Algerian named Abu Doha who would later become the brains and money behind their operations.

Utilizing training methods taught by Americans during the Soviet incursion, the Taliban and Al-Qaida put their trainees through a plethora of rigorous activity. They were trained in hand-to-hand combat and the use of small arms, assault rifles, explosives, and grenade launchers. Representatives from Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Hezbollah came to the camp to give lectures on their organizations and attempted to make lasting impressions of the importance of terrorism as a means of fighting and winning a war against their enemies. Trainees came in with little direction or skill necessary to carry out jihad but left Khalden Camp thoroughly schooled in the fine arts of terrorism.

September 1998

Ressam left the Khalden training facility for another training complex, this one known as Darunta. While he was there Ressam was trained extensively on the creation of bombs and explosives using easily available ingredients. It was in Darunta where he and the other Algerians in his cell decided they would blast an important site in the United States on New Year's Eve of 1999.

January 1999

Ressam left Afghanistan with a wealth of knowledge, \$12,000, and a goal; lay low in Canada, buy passports and weapons, create a bomb and plan an attack on an American target.

February 7, 1999

Ressam flew Asiana Airlines from Peshawar to Seoul and from Seoul to Los Angeles. While waiting at LAX for a flight to Vancouver, Ressam was stopped at Customs by an INS agent. With him he carried glycol and hexamine tablets for use in bomb construction as well as a notebook full of guidelines on creating explosives. Running his name and passport number on a watch list, the agent found nothing that caused suspicion. Even though Canadian authorities were well aware of Ressam's departure to an Al-Qaida training camp, INS was left in the dark.

The lack of communication between Canadian and American authorities was to blame. Ressam was allowed through, and it was on this first visit to America that he decided LAX would be the site where he would put his terrorist training to use. Even though he was put on a watch list in Canada where the Canadian Security Intelligence Services knew he had left to train at an Islamic terrorist facility in Afghanistan, Ressam entered Vancouver without any problems.

March 1999

Ressam made his way back to Montreal. Awaiting the arrival of four Algerian training mates, he soon learned that his friends were captured on their way to Montreal. Ressam would have to go at it alone, so he contacted old and new Islamic friends willing to wage jihad in the United States to help him accomplish his goal.

August 31, 1999

Ressam began collecting the necessary components to create a homemade bomb. Using a recently acquired credit card Ressam charged over \$200 worth of electronics merchandise from a store in Montreal. There he bought "wire, solder, circuit boards, capacitors, integrated circuits, nine-volt battery connectors, a soldering gun and several small, black, plastic boxes."

September 1, 1999

Ressam purchased two Casio electronic alarm watches. He planned to trigger the explosives when the watch's alarm went off.

In the meantime, Jean-Louis Bruguiere, France's leading terrorist investigator, had managed to have Fateh Kamel extradited back to France on charges of abetting terrorism. Bruguiere even requested that the "Bunch of Guys" the CSIS watched be brought in as well, including Ahmed Ressam. Canadian authorities thought otherwise, having never given the "BOG" any consideration as a seriously dangerous entity. A few months after Bruguiere's request, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police assigned Immigration Agent David Gendron to investigate the Ressam case a bit further.

Picking up where CSIS left off, Gendron checked out the apartment on Place de la Malicorne. There was no sign of the Algerian cell that had been under surveillance. Ressam had found somewhere new to direct his plans and operations. His friends had moved to an apartment on Sherbrooke Avenue in Montreal and Ressam to Rue du Fort. Ressam, however, frequently stayed with his friends at Sherbrooke and Gendron was about to catch up with them.

October 1999

At around 6:00 a.m., Gendron and other RCMP agents rang the apartment at Sherbrooke. Hearing the buzzer, Ressam awoke and immediately headed for the back door, evading the law through an unguarded back alley escape. Inside the apartment agents found forty-seven pairs of stolen blue jeans, cameras, photographs, nine stolen passports, and a knapsack with an address book containing phone numbers and information for Evergro Products, an agriculture store in Delta, B.C. The knapsack and its contents belonged to Ahmed Ressam, but the would-be terrorist known as Benni Norris evaded capture once again.

Back at his own apartment on Rue du Fort, Ressam had begun to develop a plan. While he was constructing the timing mechanism, he decided he would set one bomb off in a crowded security checkpoint area that would kill not just civilians but also security and police personnel. Ressam decided he would set the bomb to explode on the eve of the millennium, hoping he might be a part of a grand, simultaneous, Al-Qaida-sponsored attack across the world.

He realized that in order to achieve his mission, he would need the assistance of a few other like-minded Arabic brethren who shared in his desire to attack the United States.

Sometime in November 1999

Ressam contacted three individuals to help carry out the operation. Abdelmajid Dahoumane was an acquaintance from his earlier days when Ressam lived in Montreal. Dahoumane would help Ressam construct the bomb. He also contacted Mokhtar Haouari and Abdelghani Meskini, who would help with expenses and the bomb delivery.

November 17, 1999

Ressam and Dahoumane flew from Montreal to Vancouver. There they rented a room at the 2400 Motel just outside Vancouver's city limits. Using chemicals they had stolen from Evergro Products, Ressam and Dahoumane began making an explosive device known as HMTD, combining hexamine, citric acid, and hydrogen peroxide. They also created the explosive found in C-4 by combining hexamine and red-nitric acid. Using the timing device Ressam had constructed earlier, they would combine their homemade bombs and set them to go off at Los Angeles International Airport on New Year's Eve, 1999.

OUTCOME

- On December 14, 1999, Ahmed Ressam left Vancouver, British Columbia for the United States. His plan: trigger an explosion at Los Angeles International Airport on December 31, with the intention of killing hundreds of innocent Americans. Traveling by ferry from Victoria, B.C. to Port Angeles, Washington, Ressam carried with him enough explosive components to carry out his intentions.
- At the landing dock in Port Angeles, Customs Inspector Diana Dean noticed Ressam acting strange and requested he pop the trunk and step out of the car. As other Customs officers came over to assist in processing the last car of the day, Dean suggested to one of them that Ressam's vehicle might be used for smuggling drugs. Opening the spare-tire compartment, Inspector Mike Chapman found green bags with white powder inside, two pill-bottles, two jars of a brown liquid, and four black boxes. The contents of his trunk were later identified as nitroglycerine, urea, sulphate, timers, a circuit board and a 9-volt battery.
- As inspector Mark Johnson begin inspecting Ressam and the contents of his jacket, Ressam took off, leaving behind his vehicle full of explosive components. Giving chase, the inspectors caught up to Ressam and ordered him to remain still with his hands held high. As they tackled Ressam to the ground, the Customs Agents had no idea he was an Al-Qaida-trained terrorist with disastrous intentions. They would soon discover the man they had caught carried with him enough explosive material to kill hundreds at Los Angeles International Airport on the eve of the millennium.

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4.4 NEW YORK CITY SUBWAY BOMBING

BACKGROUND

Gazi Ibrahim Abu Mezer was born on October 2, 1973, in the West Bank of Israel. Mezer was raised in the town of Hebron, Israel, until July 6, 1993, when he claimed Jordanian nationality and received a one-year travel document issued by the Israeli government. On September 10, 1993, Mezer applied for, and received from the Canadian Embassy in Israel, a student visa to enter Canada that would be valid through April 3, 1994. Four days later, Mezer traveled to Toronto, Canada. Nine days after arriving in Canada, Mezer applied for a visa at the United States Consular Office in Toronto, but his application was denied. On November 12, 1993, Mezer applied for conventional refugee status in Canada, claiming fear of persecution in Israel. The Canadian government granted Mezer's claim for a conventional refugee status entitling Mezer to such perks as free legal counseling, welfare payments, and full access to Canada's health care system. In addition, Mezer gained the right to stay in Canada for a year or longer at the Canadian government's expense.

Mezer continued to "freeload" off the Canadian government's refugee system as he began to establish a criminal background. In October 1994, Mezer was convicted of using a stolen credit card while in Canada and sentenced to one year of unsupervised probation. Less than a year later, on May 10, 1995, Mezer was convicted of simple assault in Toronto and given an additional year of probation. In February 1996, while serving his second probationary sentence, Mezer, along with another individual, was reported engaging in "suspicious activity" in Winnipeg, Manitoba, by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. No arrests were made.

On June 23, 1996, Mezer made his first attempt to enter the United States illegally with an affiliate by the name of Jamal Abed. Ross Lake, which straddles the U.S./Canada border, is located in the rugged wilderness area of the North Cascades National Park in Washington state. At approximately 5:00 p.m., tourists in the national park reported seeing a man, later identified as Mezer, waving for assistance on the south bank of Ross Lake. By 6:30 that evening, National Park Service (NPS) Rangers Marshall Plumer and Joe Dreimiller had located Mezer at the south end of Ross Lake. He was suffering from hypothermia and told the rangers that he was Palestinian and a citizen of Jordan. Mezer also informed them that he had lost his friend (Abed) several hours earlier and was concerned for his safety.

Nearly four miles away from where Mezer was rescued, the rangers found Jamal Abed, also suffering from hypothermia. Abed was able to verify to the NPS that he was a resident of Seattle, Washington, with a genuine Washington state driver's license, and valid U.S. employment authorization documents. Both Mezer and Abed told the rangers they began hiking from the Canadian side the day before and had spent the previous night along a hiking trail. However, Mezer and Abed had no camping gear with them, nor were any vehicles found where Mezer and Abed claimed they began their hike. The NPS reported Mezer and Abed to the Immigration Naturalization Service (INS) Border Patrol for a more in-depth criminal records check. Despite the mysteriousness of Mezer and

Abed attempting to hike their way into the United States from Canada, INS voluntarily returned both men to Canada. INS reported that because of unavailable detention space, and no factual information suggesting that Mezer or Abed were alien smugglers, the agency made the decision to return the two to Canada without any penalties.

Five days later, Mezer was detained a second time for attempting to enter the United States illegally just 65 miles west of Ross Lake. Border Patrol Agent Neal Clark observed Mezer casually jogging through Peace Arch Park in Blaine, Washington, with headphones on. When Agent Clark stopped Mezer to question his immigration status, Mezer made up a story before finally admitting that he did not have a U.S. immigration status. Agent Clark reported Mezer to the Blaine Sector Border Patrol dispatcher, who informed Agent Clark of Mezer's prior arrests. Despite Mezer's background check, however, Agent Clark reported that it was Blaine INS Sector policy to return aliens to Canada without any penalties.

Six months later, Washington State Border Patrol Agent Darryl Essing caught Mezer and two other men, later identified as Fires Taleb Mohammad from Iraq and Mohammad Khalil from Jordan, attempting to sneak into the United States for a third time. The men were apprehended while boarding a bus in Bellingham, Washington. Agent Essing stated that he approached Mezer, Mohammad, and Khalil because they looked like they "did not belong" in the area. None of the men could verify U.S. immigration status, so Essing transported the men to the Bellingham Border Patrol Station. Station authorities were informed by Canadian immigration authorities that they would not accept Mezer back into Canada. At this point, the Border Patrol filed a formal deportation proceeding against Mezer and detained him on a \$15,000 bond.

On January 27, 1997, Mezer attended his first immigration court hearing in Seattle, Washington, where he admitted entering the United States illegally. Mezer said he feared deportation to Israel because Israeli authorities would continue to persecute and detain him. Because the Canadian government refused to accept Mezer back into Canada, Mezer was able to apply for political asylum in the U.S. that would ultimately allow him to apply for a green card if approved. Mezer applied for political asylum at his second court hearing on February 6 and requested a reduction in his \$15,000 bond. Immigration judge, Judge Anna Ho, granted Mezer's request for a reduced bond and decreased the amount to \$5,000. On February 14, Mezer was released from the INS when a friend posted the \$5,000 bond with money from Mezer's uncle in Saudi Arabia.

On June 11, Mezer contacted his attorney, Karen L. Barr, and informed her that he would like to withdraw his asylum application in the belief that his current refugee status in Canada would prevent him from obtaining asylum in the United States. Mezer also informed Barr that he would voluntarily leave the United States and return to Canada. On June 14, Mezer reported to Barr that he was currently residing in Canada (despite his two criminal convictions and the Canadian government's refusal to accept Mezer back into the country). Informed of Mezer's asylum withdrawal, Judge Ho issued a 60-day period for voluntary departure from the United States, meaning Mezer could be deported if found anywhere in the U.S. on the 61st day. In response, Mezer fled to Brooklyn, New York, where he would ultimately be introduced to Lafi Khalil.

Lafi Khalil was born on October 24, 1974, in Ajoul, Ramallah, on the West Bank of Israel. On June 26, 1995, Khalil traveled to Amman, Jordan, where he acquired a Jordanian passport, valid through 1997. Once Khalil obtained a Jordanian passport, he immediately traveled to Ramallah, Jordan, to meet Abu Shanab. He gave Shanab his Jordanian passport and agreed to pay Shanab several hundred dollars in exchange for a visa to Ecuador. On November 14, 1996, Khalil met with Shanab for a second time to make the exchange. Khalil was now in possession of his original Jordanian passport, along with a valid Ecuador visa, allowing Khalil multiple entries into Ecuador for a 90-day period.

On November 25, 1996, Khalil traveled to the American Consular Office in Jerusalem, Israel, and met with Officer Kathleen Riley to apply for a United States visa. Khalil explained that he was applying for a U.S. visa because he needed authorization to transit through the U.S. en route to visit his uncle in Ecuador. In addition, Khalil informed Riley that he intended to stay in the U.S. for only one or two days. With Riley's assistance, Khalil filled out his visa application and stated that he was a Jordanian national, born in Ajoul, Ramallah, on the West Bank in 1974, and that he owned part of a farm. Riley noticed that some of Khalil's information was somewhat misleading, such as his home address in Israel, home or business phone numbers, and how he would support himself while in the U.S. and Ecuador. As a result, she approved Khalil for the minimum visa category of a C-1 transit visa, which states that aliens must be in "immediate and continuous transit through the United States." However, a C-1 transit visa also allows aliens to stay up to 29 days in the U.S. en route to their final destinations.

When Khalil arrived at JFK Airport in New York on December 7, 1996, he was confronted by the Primary Immigration Inspectors. Inspector Joubert Dupuy handled Khalil's "secondary" inspection, personally reviewing Khalil's immigration documents and questioning Khalil's travel arrangements. Khalil cooperated with inspector Dupuy by answering all questions and by displaying his Jordanian passport, which included the C-1 transit visa. Inspector Dupuy acknowledged Khalil's compliance and admitted Khalil into the U.S. However, when Khalil displayed to Inspector Dupuy his Jordanian passport and C-1 transit visa, Inspector Dupuy mistakenly stamped Khalil's visa with a "B-2" tourist stamp. This error gave Khalil authorization to remain in the U.S. for six months instead of the original 29 days.

Khalil traveled to Syracuse, New York where he lived with relatives for two-and-a-half months.

In February 1997, Khalil moved to Nashville, Tennessee, to stay with his cousin, Majda Yasin. Khalil, unwilling to look for a job, stayed with Yasin for two weeks before Yasin contacted a friend in Palm Springs, California, asking for an employment position for Khalil. Yasin's friend, Moustafa "Tony" Zeidan, ran a janitorial service and agreed to offer Khalil a job. A week later, Khalil flew to Palm Springs.

In Palm Springs, Zeidan assigned Khalil to a local Gold's Gym fitness center and welcomed Khalil to live in his apartment until he became financially stable. Khalil quickly ran into problems with the Gold's Gym management. Zeidan was told that Khalil was not performing his duties appropriately, lying, and harassing female

customers during their workouts. Frustrated, Zeidan told Yasin that he wanted Khalil to return to Tennessee, after which he confronted Khalil and terminated him.

Khalil became upset with Zeidan and demanded payment for a full month's work, so he could go to New York. When Zeidan refused, Khalil threatened to physically assault him and blow up Gold's Gym. Reluctantly, Zeidan paid Khalil's airfare to New York, to get rid of him.

At the beginning of May, Khalil arrived in New York and found an apartment in Brooklyn for \$175 a month. While in Brooklyn, Khalil met a Nezar Al Sharef who helped Khalil get work at Dynasty Supermarket in Queens. Ironically, Gazi Ibrahim Abu Mezer was also in Brooklyn at this time and had been asking Sharef for his assistance in committing an act of terrorism against the United States. Although Sharef was not interested in Mezer's proposal, he did introduce Khalil to Mezer, and the two began a close association. Approximately three weeks after being introduced to Mezer, Khalil was fired from his job at Dynasty Supermarket for neglecting his responsibilities.

Sometime during the first week of July 1997, Khalil and Mezer went to North Carolina in search of employment provided by Mezer's acquaintance, Azzam Innab. Innab owned a store in Rocky Mount, North Carolina, and hired Mezer, but did not have an additional position for Khalil. Innab contacted a relative who owned a store in Greenville and was willing to offer Khalil a job. On July 6, Khalil traveled to the Ayden/Greenville area for employment.

An hour apart, Mezer and Khalil continued to stay in contact with one another as they discussed such topics as becoming a martyr, building explosives, and committing acts of terrorism. Ironically, on July 9, Mezer relocated to the Ayden/Greenville area and checked into the nearby Camelot Motel. Although Mezer and Khalil continued their jobs, Khalil frequently visited Mezer at his motel room where the two began to organize materials for constructing a pipe bomb. At this point, Mezer and Khalil were creating not only a pipe bomb, but a deadly terroristic plot as well.

TIMELINE

July 16, 1997

Mezer and Khalil relocated again, this time to The Village Trailer Park in Ayden, North Carolina, where they constructed a pipe bomb and brainstormed an attack scheme.

July 18, 1997

Mezer moved back to Brooklyn, to meet his friend from Palestine, Abdelrahman Mosabbah. Mosabbah had arrived in the United States on July 16 and was currently living in Mezer's former Brooklyn apartment. Mosabbah, unaware of Mezer's terroristic ideas, allowed Mezer to reside in his apartment.

July 26, 1997

Khalil traveled to Brooklyn, where he was reunited with Mezer. Mosabbah allowed Khalil to stay in his apartment for a few days as Mezer and Khalil continued to mold their bombing plot in secrecy from Mosabbah.

July 30, 1997

An event occurred in Jerusalem that would ultimately ignite Mezer and Khalil's martyr dreams of fulfilling their bombing plot. Two Palestinian bombers had detonated themselves in the busy Mahane Yehuda fruit and vegetable market of Jerusalem, killing 15 and injuring 170 people. The bombings occurred after the United States began attempts to revive the peace talks between the Palestinians and Israelis.

Later that day, Mezer and Khalil openly discussed the events in Jerusalem with Mosabbah present. Mezer told Mosabbah that he intended to send "messages" to the United States and showed Mosabbah the pipe bomb that Mezer kept hidden in a black bag. Mosabbah was told that the pipe bomb would be used the next day on a subway train in Brooklyn.

That evening, Mosabbah quietly left his apartment and headed straight to the New York City Police Department, where he informed the NYPD and FBI of the planned assault set for the next morning on a Brooklyn subway train. He also supplied authorities with a layout of his Brooklyn apartment, a description of the pipe bomb, and where it was located.

July 31, 1997

At approximately 4:30 a.m., authorities drove Mosabbah to his apartment where Mezer and Khalil were sleeping.

At 4:40 a.m., New York City police officers entered the apartment with a key Mosabbah had supplied them. Officers David Martinez and Joseph Dolan were the first to enter the apartment, and they quickly secured the main living quarters. At this point, Martinez and Dolan heard some "rustling" noises coming from behind the closed bedroom door. When Martinez forced open the bedroom door, Mezer attacked him. Martinez instinctively fired, wounding Mezer. Mezer struck again before being shot and wounded again by Martinez. During the fight, Martinez noticed Khalil reaching for a nearby black bag. He shot and wounded Khalil. As events rapidly progressed, Officer Dolan entered the bedroom to find Mezer making yet a third attempt on Martinez. Dolan shot as Mezer fell to the floor for a third time. Both suspects were rushed to Kings County Hospital as NYPD searched the remainder of the apartment and discovered the black bag containing the pipe bomb. The apartment was evacuated and the NYPD Bomb Unit was called in.

OUTCOME

- On August 20, 1997, Gazi Ibrahim Abu Mezer and Lafi Khalil were indicted and charged with four criminal counts: conspiring to use a weapon of mass destruction, intentional use and carry of a firearm, knowingly and intentionally conspiring to use and carry a firearm, and intentionally possessing/obtaining a counterfeit alien registration receipt card. Mezer admitted that he planned to detonate the pipe bomb in a suicide mission on Brooklyn subway train “B” at 8:00 a.m., because “many Jews road (sic) that train.”
- Gazi Ibrahim Abu Mezer received a life sentence for his involvement in the 1997 New York City subway bombing plot.
- Lafi Khalil was sentenced to a 120-month maximum prison term.

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4.5 OMEGA 7

BACKGROUND

Omega 7 was an anti-Castro group of Cuban nationals. In 1975, they began bombing Cuban individuals and/or enterprises “providing support to the Cuban regime.” They operated in three states: Florida, New Jersey, and New York. The original members included Eduardo Arocena, leader and bomb-maker, Eduardo Losada-Fernandez, Pedro Crispin Remon, Andres Garcia, Ramon Saul Sanchez, Alberto Perez, and Jose Julio Garcia, Jr. The group’s name comes from their own statement: “We shall continue to struggle in foreign lands until we reach the ‘Omega’ stage to complete plans of bringing the struggle to Cuban soil.” Omega is the last letter of the Greek alphabet, and seven stands for the number of members of this terrorist organization.

The Omega 7 leader, Eduardo Arocena, was born February 1943. He fled Cuba in 1965, hidden aboard a cargo ship. The next year he came to the United States as a stowaway on a passenger ship from Spain. Before he fled Cuba, he worked for a clandestine anti-Castro group, where he learned the techniques of sabotage. In 1969, he was trained in the Everglades of Florida for a Cuban invasion that was never carried out. The training involved infiltration, attacks, and destruction of enemy installations (the communist regime of Cuba). The American agent trainers provided knowledge on explosives, weapons, surveillance, infiltration, taking photographs, and demolition techniques. Arocena remained in the United States and started attacks against Cuban targets in 1975. During his time in Omega 7, he demonstrated an extensive knowledge and understanding of bombmaking. Other members engaged in surveillance and counter-surveillance activities.

TIMELINE

February 1, 1975

Members of Omega 7 placed an improvised explosive device in front of the Venezuelan Consulate on 51st Street in New York. The low-order plastic bomb exploded at 11:40 p.m. No injuries were reported; however, the explosion shattered windows on a ground level office and slightly damaged the four-story structure. About an hour after the explosion, a man identifying himself as a member of a secret Cuban organization called two television stations and claimed responsibility for the bombing. He said the group was opposed to the recent resumption of diplomatic relations between Venezuela and Cuba.

February 11, 1975

Two bombs were placed at the Town and Campus Restaurant on Edgar Road in Elizabeth, New Jersey. The first bomb exploded in the shrubbery outside the restaurant shortly after noon; the second one was found in the rear of the building. It was defused and taken to police headquarters. A woman who identified herself with Omega 7 called

the local newspaper before the first bomb exploded and indicated where the bombs had been planted. She asked them to notify the police, because she “didn’t want anyone hurt.” She said the bombs were retaliation for the appearance of pro-Castro Cuban exiles at the restaurant.

June 6, 1976

An improvised explosive device was planted in the doorway of the Cuban Mission to the United Nations in New York City. It exploded at 1:10 a.m., when the guard left his post for 10 minutes to use the men’s room. The explosion caused damage to windows on the first two floors. A man later identified as Pedro Remon called United Press International (UPI) and CBS shortly after the explosion and said an anti-Castro faction was responsible.

September 16, 1976

At 12:40 a.m., a bomb exploded on a 530-foot Soviet cargo ship and put a small dent in the starboard side of the hull. The explosion was followed by an anonymous phone call to the press. A man claiming to represent an anti-Castro group, Omega 7, explained that a frogman had attached the explosive to the bottom of the ship earlier that night. The ship’s crew had notified the Coast Guard of a possible swimmer in the vicinity 30 minutes before the explosion.

June 14, 1977

An artillery simulator and smoke grenade were set off at the Cuban Mission to the United Nations, located at 6 East 67th Street.

December 20, 1977

Almacen El Espanol, an enterprise operated by Cuban-Americans that ships medical supplies to Cuba, was targeted. One bomb exploded at their offices on Elizabeth Avenue in Elizabeth, New Jersey. Another bomb was found near their offices on New York Avenue in Union City. The improvised explosive device did not explode. An anonymous caller (Pedro Remon) claimed responsibility for the two bombs on behalf of Omega 7. He said the bombings would continue, but on a larger scale.

December 26, 1977

The Venezuela Mission to the United Nations at 7 East 51st Street, across from St. Patrick’s Cathedral, was targeted for a second time. Omega 7 called the local news shortly after the 1:00 a.m. explosion and claimed responsibility. The bombing was a protest to the imprisonment of Dr. Orlando Bosch in Venezuela. An exiled leader, Bosch was seized by Venezuelan authorities a few days after a Cubana Airlines plane exploded near Barbados on Oct. 6, 1976.

September 9, 1978

The Cuban Mission to the U.N. was bombed once again. Omega 7 took responsibility in a phone call to WCBS Radio.

October 5, 1978

An explosion occurred at the Gerry Cosby Sporting Goods store across from Madison Square Garden. The timing of the bombing coincided with a boxing match that day featuring a Cuban boxing team.

December 5, 1978

The Mexican Consulate located on 41st Street in New York City was bombed.

December 28, 1978

Several minutes before midnight, the Cuban Mission to the United Nations was bombed for the fourth time.

Several minutes after midnight (December 29), another bomb exploded at the Avery Fisher Hall in Lincoln Center. The 12-piece Orquestra Aragon from Cuba had performed earlier and was scheduled to perform again on December 29. Property damage was quite extensive, but no one was injured. The performance for the next day, however, was cancelled. News media services received calls shortly after the blasts from a male with a Spanish accent (Remon) claiming that Omega 7 was responsible.

March 24, 1979

A bomb was found on West Flagler Street, Miami, Florida, the address of Pardon Cigar Company. The improvised explosive device, planted by Omega Seven, did not explode.

March 25, 1979

This date marked the first potentially fatal bombing. The target was Trans World Airline Flight 17 to Los Angeles. Pedro Remon and Eduardo Arocena arrived at JFK International Airport carrying a suitcase packed with high explosives on a timer. Remon purchased a plane ticket for the Los Angeles flight and checked the suitcase in. The plane was scheduled to take off at 9:00 p.m., with 157 people on board. The bomb exploded at 8:48 on a ramp leading from the terminal's baggage assembly area to the tarmac, injuring four ramp service employees. The suitcase was labeled for storage in a section of the baggage compartment directly under the fuel tanks. Had the bomb exploded when the plane took off, the potential for deaths among passengers and crew would have been high. The bomb had a force equivalent to three sticks of dynamite.

At 8:55 p.m., TWA received a phone call. A male caller with a Hispanic accent warned that Omega 7 intended to blow up the plane without anyone on it. Because it was the first time and place where injuries or other damage was highly likely, Omega 7 made three more attempts to warn of a bomb on the plane. At 8:58 p.m., a TWA reservation clerk received a phone call from a man who told the operator about the bomb. At 9:10, police emergency number 911 received a similar call, and the last warning message was communicated to the New York Telephone Company at 9:15.

The same night, two other bombings took place in New Jersey. At 11:06 p.m., Almacen El Espanol in Union City was targeted for the second time. This time, the bomb exploded. At 11:10, another blast occurred at Programa Cubano, a Cuban refugee organization's storefront in Weehawken.

The Associated Press (AP) and UPI received calls claiming responsibility for all three bombings. The calls to AP and UPI claimed the bombings were aimed at agencies and enterprises that agreed with the tyranny of Fidel Castro. The caller promised that the bombings would continue until Castro's source of revenue was cut off, and until Castro's servants in the United States quit trying to confuse the Cuban people with false promises of reunification. He accused the U.S. of pushing a reunification without dignity and ignoring thousands of Cuban patriots killed or incarcerated by Castro.

May 18, 1979

A bomb exploded behind the three-story building that houses the Cuban Interests Section at the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington D.C. Two men were seen running down the street next to the building around the time of the explosion. An anonymous caller to the AP left a short message on behalf of Omega 7: "We demand the withdrawal of Cuban troops on the African continent."

July 26, 1979.

Four months after the first bombing, the Padron Cigar Company in Miami was bombed again.

September 8, 1979

The Christian Evangelical Reform Church in Hialeah, Florida, was bombed. The pastor of the church, Manuel Espinosa, was a pro-Castro activist. The material used in the bombing was a half stick of dynamite and detonating cord.

On or before October 12, 1979

A firing system was assembled for a bomb to assassinate Fidel Castro when he attended a session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York. According to information provided to the AP two weeks later (after a bombing of the Cuban Mission to the U.N.), "the New York police did a damn good job of protecting Fidel Castro during

his visit to the U.N.” The attack was aborted because Omega 7 members could not get the bomb close enough to Castro. The explosive materials were stored for later use.

The End of October 1979

At 9:50 p.m., The Cuban Mission to the U.N. was bombed for the fifth time. The mission had moved from 6 East 67th Street to 315 Lexington Avenue. Two men were seen running away from the site around the time of the blast. The flying debris injured two civilians who were passing by and two policemen who were patrolling the site. Damages were extensive; the side entrance (on 38th Street) to the mission was damaged and windows in some 30 buildings nearby were shattered.

AP and UPI both received anonymous phone calls. The caller claimed responsibility and said the explosives used had been intended for Fidel Castro’s visit to New York on October 12, but police protected him too well. The caller claimed the Castro assassination was called off because Omega 7 did not want to kill any policemen. According to police, the explosives were probably plastic and packed a force equal to several sticks of dynamite.

November 25, 1979

At 9:50 on a Sunday morning, Eulalio Jose Negrin, 37, the director of Programa Cubano, was shot down in a hail of gunfire on a street in downtown Union City, New Jersey. Five bullets from a MAC-10 machine gun with silencer struck Mr. Negrin in the upper body as he stepped out of his car. His 12-year-old son was sitting in the car. The killers were described as two men wearing ski masks and driving a silver car with a red top. In preparation for this murder, Pedro Remon rented an automobile from Dollar Rent A Car at Newark International Airport on November 24, 1979. The car was returned at 10:44 a.m.—approximately 50 minutes after the Negrin murder. Andres Garcia was an accomplice in the crime.

Eulalio Jose Negrin was a member of the Committee of 75, a group that had gone to Cuba and negotiated the release of 3,000 political prisoners. He was the second member of the group killed in 1979. Negrin was a prominent figure in the predominantly Hispanic area, known for his work in reuniting divided Cuban families and helping Cubans visit their homeland. His work grew out of the “dialogue” between the Castro regime and the moderates in the exile community.

An anonymous male caller notified the AP that Omega 7 was responsible for the killing, and that the group would continue these executions until they had eliminated all of the traitors living in the United States. At this point, the FBI entered the investigation.

December 7, 1979

The Cuban Mission to the United Nations was targeted for the sixth time. The blast occurred before midnight on Lexington Avenue and shattered hundreds of windows in surrounding buildings. At least two policemen on guard duty were injured. The

perpetrators of the attack were Pedro Remon, Andres Garcia, Eduardo Losada-Fernandez, along with Eduardo Arocena.

Two men had been seen planting the bomb, but they managed to escape. According to the testimony of the policemen, the man who placed the bomb had carried it in a shopping bag and approached the mission building shortly before 11:30 p.m. The bomb was smoking, and the person carrying it warned a woman walking down the street to “get away, a bomb will go off.” As he moved away from the building, he noticed an elderly couple and told them the same thing.

Omega 7 called the AP and claimed responsibility, demanding that the Cuban delegation be removed from New York City.

December 11, 1979

The Soviet Mission to the United Nations was hit by an explosive device planted by Pedro Remon, Andres Garcia, and Eduardo Losada-Fernandez. The blast occurred on 67th Street, 15 feet from the entrance to the garage. The bomb probably consisted of 12 sticks of dynamite, and the explosion injured four policemen and two mission employees. The blast also blew a gaping hole in the driveway, shattered windows throughout much of the block (as high as 17 stories above the street), and caused structural damage to the building. It reportedly damaged ten 90-year-old stained-glass windows at the Park East synagogue across the street. A reception at the Soviet Mission for some 200 people had ended shortly before the explosion.

Forty minutes after the explosion, UPI and AP received calls from Omega 7 saying the bomb was set off as a repudiation of Soviet colonialism.

Two suspicious-looking men were seen near the mission before the bomb exploded. They were described as stocky men in their late 40s, about 5 feet 9 and 5 feet 10 tall, and wearing trench coats.

Following the bombing of the Soviet Mission, the FBI declared apprehension of Omega 7 members as a highest priority. A New Jersey unit of the FBI was directed to put together a racketeering case against Omega 7 members.

January 13, 1980

For the third time, a bomb exploded on West Flagler Street against the door of the Pardon Cigar Company in Miami’s Little Havana section. There were no injuries, but significant damages were reported. Omega 7 called AP and claimed responsibility.

On the same day, Pedro Remon and Andres Garcia bombed the Aeroflot Soviet Airlines Ticket Office on Fifth Avenue in New York City.

The end of the month was marked with yet another bombing of Almacen El Espanol in Union City, New Jersey.

March 25, 1980

A sophisticated, remote-controlled bomb, containing extremely powerful plastic explosives, was attached by magnets to the underside of a car parked near the Cuban Mission to the United Nations. The intended victim was Cuban Ambassador Raul Roa-Kouri. The car was driven to a residential area in Manhattan, but the bomb fell off the car as it was being parked. The chauffeur-bodyguard discovered the device at 10:30 a.m. while the car was parked in front of the delegate's residence. He placed the bomb in a trashcan and went to call the police. While he was gone, a sanitation crew emptied the trashcan into their truck. The would-be assassins made no attempt to retrieve the bomb during this time, but bomb specialists managed to retrieve the package and defuse the bomb.

In preparation for the assassination, Omega 7 members conducted extensive surveillance around the Cuban Mission. Eduardo Arocena rented a car from Avis at Newark Airport and transported the explosive device to Manhattan. Pedro Remon and Andres Garcia attached the remote-controlled bomb to Mr. Roa's car, while Eduardo Losada-Fernandez provided a truck to block the car from any onlookers. The perpetrators planned to follow the ambassador's car in another vehicle and trigger the bomb. The material for this bomb was also part of that intended for Castro's visit in October 1979.

September 11, 1980

Felix Garcia Rodriguez, an attaché with the Cuban Mission to the United Nations, was killed at 6:30 p.m., while driving on the three-lane service road of Queens Boulevard in Woodside. The assassins possibly bent the license plates of the victim's car (diplomatic plate 599-DPL) to identify it as it moved along the boulevard. Three .45-caliber bullets were fired at the car, and the fatal bullet struck the victim's left shoulder and entered the side of his head.

Rodriguez performed administrative duties at the Cuban Mission, served as a chauffeur, and possibly performed intelligence duties. Minutes after the shooting, AP received an anonymous call from a man with a Spanish accent. He said the victim had been driving a station wagon bearing the license DPL-599 (a reverse of the actual digits and letters). He went on to say that the victim was a Communist and the next target would be Cuba's chief delegate to the U.N., Raul Roa-Kouri.

Several activities preceded the shooting of Rodriguez. Members of Omega 7 test-fired a MAC-10 upstairs in the Fruit Meat King Store, a business owned by Eduardo Losada-Fernandez. Fernandez assisted the triggerman, Remon, and the driver, Garcia, in the homicide. Eduardo Arocena rented an automobile from Hertz at the Newark Airport on September 8. The same automobile was ticketed on September 11 at 10:13 a.m., across from the Cuban Mission in Manhattan. On the same day, Arocena returned the car to Hertz and exchanged it for another one, after falsely reporting that the brakes were not working.

For about two weeks before the murder, Arocena and others conducted surveillance at the Cuban Mission. On September 11, 1980, at 12:30 p.m., a telephone call was made to

Remon's employer from a pay phone located a block from the Mission but charged to Remon's home phone. Toll records also revealed multiple telephone conversations between Arocena, Remon, and Fernandez. Within a ten-day period following the murder, at least 12 phone calls were documented among the individuals. Their discussions may have involved issues arising from the murder, as well as planning the next target.

After the murder of Rodriquez, federal agents established a confidential phone line to receive information from persons who might know the details of the murder of the Cuban attaché. The city and the Federal Government offered rewards totaling \$35,000 for information leading to the conviction of the killer or killers.

September 24, 1980

Shortly after the September 11 murder, Omega 7 targeted Ramon Sanchez Parodi, the Chief of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington D.C., for execution. Arocena drove Remon and Fernandez to Belleville, New Jersey, where they were to steal a car from Bessie Smith. When Arocena returned to the scene, his accomplices had been arrested. During a search, a fully loaded 9mm Browning automatic handgun was found in Remon's possession. The plans to murder Ramon Sanchez Parodi were cancelled because of the arrests.

Sometime between late September and December 1980

An ideological split occurred within the group. Pedro Remon, Ramon Sanchez, Eduardo Ochoa, Alberto Perez, and Jose Garcia Jr. aligned themselves with CID (Cuba Independiente y Democratica), a new organization founded by former Castro Commander Huber Matos. Its primary base was Miami, Florida, and its philosophy was transitional change in Cuba, not a violent overthrow. They did, however, denounce the human rights abuses in Cuba. Arocena considered Matos an opportunist with socialist and communist tendencies. At the same time, Pedro Remon and Remon Sanchez attempted to gain control of the remaining members from Arocena.

The split between Remon and Arocena in late 1980 complicated the investigation of Omega 7 when Arocena relocated to Florida and an entirely new group of individuals were recruited for Omega 7 (Ernesto Gomez, Gerardo Necuze, Ignacio Gonzalez, and Justo M. Rodriguez). The geographic area of operation for the organization had shifted from northern New Jersey and the New York City area to Miami, Florida. This change in geographic area of operation, coupled with an influx of new members, made the group appear larger and better organized than was originally believed. It also provided Omega 7 with a new area of operation in which individual members were unknown and new members could be recruited from the previously untapped Cuban exile community in Florida. The New Jersey cell stayed together and perpetrated an attack on the Cuban Consulate in Montreal, after which FBI began to investigate them.

December 22, 1980

An improvised explosive device was planted near the Cuban Consulate in Montreal, Quebec. Four Omega 7 members transported a bomb from New Jersey to Montreal.

They traveled in two separate rental cars, one from Avis at the Newark Airport and the second rented by from Thrifty.

Later in the day, the U.S. Border Patrol stopped a car coming back into the U.S. Pedro Remon and Remon Sanchez were in it. Jose Julio Garcia Jr. and Alberto Perez also crossed the border that evening. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police noted a car with NY license plate. When the FBI learned of the Canadian border-running incident, surveillance and investigation was focused on the four individuals.

December 30, 1980

In the meantime, Eduardo Arocena carried on terrorist actions in Miami, Florida. A grenade and dynamite were placed at the office of American Airways Charter Company on 49th Street. The devices did not explode.

September 11, 1981

A year after the murder of Felix Garcia Rodriguez, new bombings occurred in the Miami area. Arocena agreed to commit arson, by incendiary device, at the offices of *Replica Magazine* in Miami.

In the late evening, the Mexican Consulate in Miami was set on fire. No injuries were reported. Several hours later, around 1:40 a.m., another bomb set the Mexican Consulate in New York on fire. The bombs shattered windows and caused extensive damage to the consulates.

September 21-24, 1981

Replica Magazine was the target of two more bombings. An improvised bomb exploded at their location on North West 7th Street in Miami. Three days later, another bomb was planted. This one failed to explode.

February 9, 1982

Replica Magazine was again targeted with an improvised explosive device.

May 17, 1982

A bomb blew up at Almacen El Espanol in Union City, New Jersey. The perpetrators were probably members of the Omega 7 New Jersey branch that split away from Eduardo Arocena in late 1981.

August 16, 1982

Some identified Omega 7 members were served with Grand Jury subpoenas.

September 1982

Arocena continued his bombings in the Miami area. On September 2, a bomb exploded against the office door of the Venezuelan Consulate on North Biscayne Boulevard in Miami. Omega 7 took responsibility; a protest, they said, of Venezuelan treatment of imprisoned terrorist, Orlando Bosch. On September 25, another bomb was planted at the Nicaraguan Consulate on South West 9th Street in Miami. It failed to explode.

Late September 1982

Arocena decided to cooperate with the authorities because he believed other Omega 7 members were cooperating and would implicate him in the murders and bombings. He made extensive admissions about his role in Omega 7. He described some of the group's criminal acts in detail and stated that Pedro Remon, Eduardo Losada-Fernandez, and Andres Garcia were active members of the New Jersey cell of Omega 7. Arocena provided information on two murders committed by Omega 7, as well as other attacks that were planned but not conducted. He admitted he personally constructed the bombs and explosive devices used in most of the Omega 7 operations. Bombs consisted of either Gelodyne, dynamite, or military C-4, and were constructed using detonating cord as a booster. Arocena primed the detonation cord with the blasting cap, knotted the detonation cord on the other end, and placed the knot into the main explosive charge. After five days of cooperation, Arocena ran away on October 1, 1982.

October 2, 1982

Three men identified as Andres Garcia, 43, and Alberto Perez, 27, both of Elizabeth, and Eduardo Losada-Fernandez, 46, of Newark, were arrested at about 8 a.m. at their homes in New Jersey. The fourth man, Pedro Remon, was arrested and arraigned on the same morning in Miami. The fifth man arrested was not identified, but was also believed to be from the Miami area. They all declined to testify about the attempted assassination of Raul Roa and were subsequently jailed in November 1982. On October 19, November 3, and December 3, respectively, Eduardo Losada-Fernandez, Andres Garcia, and Pedro Remon disobeyed lawful court orders that provided them with statutory use immunity and required them to testify before a Federal Grand Jury regarding Omega 7 crimes.

January 1983

Another wave of bombings on Cuban-related targets in the Miami area occurred. On January 11, the Padron Cigar Company was bombed, followed by blasts at *Replica Magazine* and at Paradise International Company on January 12.

February 17, 1983

At 11:23 p.m., a blast shook the offices of Soviet Airline Aeroflot in Washington D.C., but there were no injuries and damage was light.

May 27, 1983

The last bombing by Omega 7 in Miami occurred. The target was the Continental National Bank, where an improvised explosive device detonated. No injuries were reported.

OUTCOME

- On July 22, 1983, 10 agents arrested Eduardo Arocena at a small house in the Little Havana section of Miami. Agents confiscated 30 handguns and rifles. In a subsequent search, they seized a submachine gun, several .45-caliber automatic pistols with silencers, and two walkie-talkies, as well as more than 15 large plastic bags of material. This ended the Miami unit of Omega 7.
- On February 12, 1985, in Miami, Eduardo Arocena was convicted on 25 counts under RICO, 23 counts of weapons and explosives charges, first-degree murder, and attempted murder of two foreign diplomats. He was sentenced to serve 20-40 years before being eligible for parole. He was sentenced to another 20 years to serve concurrently with the above sentence.
- On June 26, 1984, in New York, Pedro Crispin Remon was convicted of criminal contempt and failure to testify before a federal grand jury and sentenced to five years. On February 6, 1986, he pleaded guilty to conspiracy to murder a foreign official and conspiracy to bomb and destroy property of a foreign government. He received 10 years plus a \$20,000 fine.
- On April 6, 1984, in New York, Andres Garcia was convicted of criminal contempt and failure to testify before a federal grand jury. He was sentenced to five years. On February 6, 1986, he pleaded guilty to conspiracy to murder a foreign official and conspiracy to bomb and destroy property of a foreign government. He also received 10 years plus a \$20,000 fine.
- On June 21, 1984, in New York, Eduardo Losada-Fernandez was convicted of criminal contempt and failure to testify before a federal grand jury. He was sentenced to five years. On February 6, 1986, he pleaded guilty to conspiracy to murder a foreign official and conspiracy to bomb and destroy property of a foreign government. He, too, received 10 years plus a \$20,000 fine.
- On May 7, 1984, in New York, Ramon Saul Sanchez was convicted of criminal contempt and failure to testify before a federal grand jury. He was sentenced to nine years.
- On May 7, 1984 in New York, Alberto Perez was sentenced to four years for criminal contempt and failure to testify before a Federal grand jury.
- On May 7, 1984, in New York, Jose Julio Garcia Jr. was sentenced to five years for criminal contempt and failure to testify before a federal grand jury. All except four months of federal probation in Newark, New Jersey, was suspended.

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4.6 PROVISIONAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY

BACKGROUND

PIRA is the provisional wing of the outlawed Irish Republican Army. The organization has found considerable support and funding from the Irish-American population in the United States, particularly in New England. While PIRA has not engaged in terrorist activities in the U.S., it uses the U.S. for funding, and political support, and weapons procurement. This case study deals with two weapons-smuggling operations involving IRA members in the United States. The first is the Valhalla incident. The second is the Tucson incident.

PIRA VALHALLA INCIDENT

BACKGROUND

In April 1984, seven men associated with the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) began buying large quantities of weapons, rockets, weapons manuals, bulletproof vests, and other pieces of military equipment throughout the United States. In addition, large amounts of drugs were obtained across the country and stored with the weapons. The intent of the seven PIRA members was to successfully smuggle their collection from Gloucester, Maine, to Northern Ireland via boat.

TIMELINE

Early April 1984

PIRA members Robert Andersen, John Crawley, John McIntyre, Joseph Murray, Patrick Nee, Michael Nigro, and William Winn began devising a large, and lucrative, smuggling ring in the United States to support their PIRA associates back in Northern Ireland. Organizing in Gloucester, Maine, the group began collecting an assortment of materials to transport. On April 8, Barnacle Wharf Trading Company in Newark, Ohio, received a mail order for three specific model number missile warheads to be sent via the United Parcel Service (UPS) to:

Patrick Mullen c/o Columbia Yacht Club
1825 Columbia Rd.
South Boston, MA 02127

Payment for the warheads was a money order and the package was accepted at the Yacht Club on April 13.

April 1984

On April 9, Sierra Supply Company in Durango, Colorado, received a mail order for miscellaneous weapons manuals and related items with directions to ship by UPS to Patrick Mullen at the same Columbia Yacht Club address. Once again, payment was an enclosed money order and the UPS package was received at the Yacht Club on April 20.

On the same day, Amherst Arms, Inc. of Laurel, Maryland, received a mail order for similar weapons manuals with the same shipping directions and method of payment. The UPS delivery was received at the Yacht Club on April 20.

On April 10, Jolly Roger Surplus Company of Pennsylvania received a mail order for five cases of .50 caliber ammunition cans with the same delivery instructions and method of payment. The UPS package was received on April 12 at the Yacht Club.

On April 11, two white males walked into Numrich Arms Company in New York and ordered 1,000 nylon rifle clips, 1,000 rifle covers, M-2 linker and 50 side-mount ammunition cans, and miscellaneous related items under the name of Patrick Mullen with the same address. This time, however, the two men arranged to pick up their order directly at the Numrich Arms Company several days later. On April 19, the two men returned to the store, paid cash for their order (\$7,128), and walked out with the entire order.

On April 18, Sherwood Export Company in Northridge, California, received a mail order for 100 Ruger Mini-14 ammunition clips, three specified parts for a .45 government model handgun, and miscellaneous manuals and related items. The delivery instructions and method of payment (\$1,206) were identical to the previous mailings and delivery by UPS was made on May 10.

On April 23, Federal Ordinance Company of El Monte, California, received a mail order for 200 Rhodesian ammunition pouches. Mailing, delivery instructions, and payment (\$2,112) remained consistent and delivery by UPS was made on May 1.

June 1984

Sarco, Inc., in New Jersey, received a telephone call from Patrick Mullen who ordered a long list of munitions-related items for purchase and pick-up. Some of the items ordered included: 100 AR-15 bipods, 1 M-1 Garand barrel, 100 9mm Sten loaders, 3 rockets, 1,000 M-1 Garand clips, 1,000 rounds of .50 caliber ammunition, and 15 boxes of 7.62 x 39 Weichern ammunition

The total order was valued at \$20,000 and Mullen sent 10 money orders by mail. On June 29, four white males arrived at Sarco, Inc. to pick up the order. Two men loaded the items onto a truck while “Mullen” and another man seemed to be in charge of the paper work.

July-August 1984

A corporation known as Leeward purchased a large boat called the Valhalla at a forfeiture auction hosted by the U.S. Marshal’s Service. Throughout the summer, the

Valhalla was dry docked in Gloucester, Maine for repairs. By mid-August, all necessary repairs were completed and Captain Robert Andersen began to arrange for its departure out to sea.

September 1984

Andersen had ice and fuel loaded on the Valhalla and informed the Gloucester Marine Railway that he was going swordfishing off the Grand Banks. Before setting sail, however, Robert Andersen, John Crawley, John McIntyre, Joseph Murray, Patrick Nee, Michael Nigro, and William Winn all reunited in Gloucester to pack the Valhalla with their collection of acquired cargo. With the Valhalla now stocked with its precious cargo, Captain Andersen, John Crawley, and John McIntyre departed the Gloucester port on the morning of September 14, and sailed East towards Ireland.

The Valhalla would not be seen again for nearly a month.

On September 21, a week after the Valhalla sailed, records from the Aer Lingus airlines revealed that a party of six traveled from Boston to Dublin, Ireland. The six tickets, purchased in Boston by Patrick Nee with cash, listed the travelers as P. Nee, M. Nee, M. Murray, J. Murray, and S. Murray. Customs declaration forms in Ireland identified four of the travelers as Patrick Nee, Mary Nee, Mickey Murray, and his wife Mary. Ironically however, there were no identifying forms for the remaining two travelers.

Shortly after arriving in Dublin, Patrick Nee, Joseph Murray, Michael Nigro, and William Winn boarded a vessel called the Marita Ann and sailed off into the Atlantic Ocean.

On September 28, the seven PIRA members reunited in the open waters of the Atlantic as the Valhalla and Marita Ann joined. Cargo from the Valhalla was transferred to the Marita Ann in a quick and stealthy manner. However, what the crews of the Valhalla and Marita Ann did not realize was that they were not alone in the choppy waters that day.

OUTCOME

- Two weeks after the Valhalla left the coast of Gloucester, Maine, Irish naval authorities spotted the vessel in international waters just off the coast of Ireland. There, authorities observed as weapons and other military items were transferred to the Marita Ann. Two days later, on October 1, the Marita Ann was seized by Irish law enforcement authorities in Irish territorial waters. Over 150 firearms, including many new assault rifles, over 71,000 rounds of ammunition, and various other military hardware were confiscated. American authorities were notified to watch for the return of the Valhalla. Sometime in early October, the Valhalla was seized when it arrived at Pier 7 in Boston Harbor.
- As the investigation unfolded, it was determined that the seven PIRA members were attempting to smuggle firearms and munitions to the PIRA organization in

Northern Ireland. In addition, 1,000 pounds of marijuana was confiscated, the drugs evidently a means of financing their operations.

- Joseph Murray and Robert Andersen were convicted in 1987 for smuggling weapons and drugs into a country, in addition to violations of the Export Administration Act and RICO statutes. They were originally given 10-year sentences.
- John Crawley, John McIntyre, Patrick Nee (a.k.a. Patrick Mullen), Michael Nigro, and William Winn were all given 4-year sentences for participation in the conspiracy.

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PIRA TUCSON, INCIDENT

BACKGROUND

Beginning in July 1989, and continuing until June of 1992, Gerard Anthony Brannigan, Patrick Moley, Denis Leyne, Kevin Joseph McKinley and Seamus Moley, along with a few others, conspired to illegally obtain weapons and munitions for the Provisional Irish Republic Army (PIRA) based in Ireland. The munitions bought for the conspiracy included a “Stinger” surface-to-air missile, detonators used in bombs and .50 caliber sniper rifles.

Gerard Anthony Brannigan, also known as Tony Brannigan, resided in New York at the time of the case. Intercepted phone calls indicate that Brannigan stored some of the detonators in New York and also provided funds to help pay for the Stinger missile. Patrick Moley, an Irish citizen, attempted to obtain funds for the Stinger missile.

Denis Leyne, a Canadian, was a leading figure of PIRA activity in Canada. He was involved in munitions procurement and he also shipped some detonators to Ireland.

Kevin Joseph McKinley, a citizen of the Republic of Ireland, lived in Florida. He often met with undercover agents in order to acquire the Stinger missile.

Seamus Moley, also known as Hugh Nolan, tried to obtain a Stinger missile for use by the Irish Republican Army to shoot down British military helicopters in Northern Ireland.

Thomas Oliver Maguire provided funds, which he received via wire transfers from Ireland. The funds helped the group obtain the detonators in Tucson as well as the almost successful purchase of the Stinger missile in Florida.

Joseph McColgan assisted in the attempted purchase of the Stinger missile. The Irish citizen was in charge of inspecting the missile before the purchase was made final.

Randall Folgate was an associate of McKinley. He helped secure the detonators.

TIMELINE

July 1989

Kevin McKinley, an associate of the PIRA based in Riviera Beach, Florida, began the search for weapons to help the PIRA in Ireland. During the second or third week of July, McKinley met with Marvin Jameson and others at the Paradise Marina in Sebastian, Florida. McKinley asked Jameson about his access to weapons and detonators, saying there was a lot of money available if a .50 caliber rifle were acquired.

October 1989

On October 10, Jameson telephoned McKinley to ask what detonators would be needed. McKinley stated that the PIRA was sending over a man who would know exactly what type of detonator was needed. October 13 and 14 Seamus Moley and Denis Leyne, both of Canada, and Aiden Moley and James Martin, both of Ireland, met in Toronto, Canada.

November 1989

Thomas Maguire received a call from Denis Leyne's office on November 19. McKinley, on the same day, telephoned Jameson to tell him that he would be arriving in Tucson to pick up the detonators on November 25. The next day, McKinley had his first meeting with undercover agents in Lake Park, Florida. He told the agents that the acquisition of a Stinger missile was the top priority. McKinley also inquired about .50

caliber rifles to use against British soldiers stationed on the Northern Ireland/Republic of Ireland border.

On November 21, Maguire withdrew \$8,000 US from Chemical Bank in the name of his corporation, Fermanagh-Lietrim Corporation. Three days later, Maguire withdrew an additional \$8,300 US, and Moley withdrew \$10,000 Canadian from his bank in Toronto, which he converted to US currency.

On November 25, McKinley flew to Tucson, Arizona, using the alias John Reinhartsen. Moley also flew to Tucson and met with Jameson and McKinley. During their meeting, Moley asked Jameson if he could get three or four .50 caliber rifles to use against British vehicles and body armor. He also pulled out a stack of \$100 bills, US. Jameson later said that he believes Moley gave McKinley \$15,000 US.

On November 27 McKinley, Moley and Jameson traveled to Ireco, Inc., a federally licensed explosives manufacturer and distributor, in Tucson, Arizona, to pick up 2,900 detonators for use in PIRA bombs. The keys to the explosive bunker were unavailable, making the detonators unavailable at the time. The same day, Maguire received a transfer of \$9,000 US into his account at the Bank of Ireland in New York. The transfer came from the Bank of Ireland in Ireland. The \$9,000 US was made into checks payable to Maguire's corporation, and deposited into Chemical Bank's account on November 29. On the 27th, Maguire also deposited \$10,000 US into his Chemical Bank account.

Seamus and McKinley finally picked up the detonators on November 28. Jameson was paid to purchase the detonators in order to evade completion of the "Explosives Transaction Record" which Jameson completed in his name. Jameson claimed to purchase the detonators for mining in Santa Cruz County, Arizona. He picked up 2,500 electric detonators as well as 400 non-electric fuse caps from Ireco. The detonators were packed in three plain cardboard boxes and shipped to New York City on a Greyhound Bus to Matt Hamner, who was to pick up the boxes upon arrival. The return address on the boxes was a fictitious address in Tucson, Arizona.

The next day, after returning from Tucson, McKinley met with another potential weapons source. McKinley told the source about acquiring the 2,500 detonators, but stated that he was still interested in purchasing more.

December 1989

On December 2, McKinley met with undercover agents again. The agents stated that a Stinger missile could be obtained for \$50,000 US, which McKinley would agree to accept after receiving permission from Ireland. At this meeting, McKinley also stated that he was a member of the IRA and that his unit had been responsible for a number of bombings in Ireland.

On December 4, an individual who signed the name "Matt Hamner," provided a social security number and picked up the detonators at the Bus station in New York. A Mathew Hamner with that social security number was located. He stated that he never picked up any packages at Greyhound or provided his social security number to anyone. Later that same day, a letter was sent from a PIRA weapons procurer in Ireland, Philipo

McCluskey, to Seamus Moley, congratulating him on acquiring the detonators and fuse caps and telling him to ship the stock as soon as possible.

Denis Leyne mailed some of the detonators from Toronto to Ireland on December 13. On December 14, Moley and McCann came to the U.S. from Canada by way of the Alexandria Bay, New York Port. Customs and Immigration searched their vehicle and found a munitions shopping list that included: night vision glasses for a Ruger mini-14; .22 conversion kit for an M-16; .22 conversion kit for an AR-15 rifle; Berdan depriming tool; .38 special bullet puller; 300 mag ties; bullet molds for 9mm's; .38 specials, 5.56, and 7.62; 2,000 open D's (detonators); 200 electric igniters; slips of paper with names of chemicals used to make explosives; address books (believed to be Moley's) with the names and telephone numbers of Tony Brannigan and Thomas Maguire in New York, and also a handwritten note that said "contact DEN (Denis Leyne) Canada through Tom (Maguire) in New York." Also found during the search were a current Irish passport in the name of David Joseph Kiernan, a birth certificate in Kiernan's name, a certified birth certificate in the name of James Joseph Ryan, and a certificate of birth and baptism in the name of Kevin Sean O'Grady.

Moley and McCann, after entering the U.S., met with Maguire in New York. Two days later, Moley left for West Palm Beach, where he stayed at McKinley's residence. While with McKinley, Moley was introduced to the undercover agents. After meeting them, Moley agreed to pay the agents \$50,000 US for the missile. The payments would be in increments with \$5,000 US for expenses and an additional \$15,000 US would be shown to the agents at the next meeting, which was scheduled after the first of the year. After the missile was obtained and inspected by Moley and another person, another \$20,000 US would be handed to the agents. The rest of the \$50,000 US would be paid when the missile was delivered to the port of shipment.

On December 24, Moley telephoned Northern Ireland to speak with one of the individuals Leyne and Moley had originally met with in October. Moley told the person that he could get .50 caliber rifles, but he needed to know how many. Moley was told that more detonators were needed in Ireland. Moley held another conversation with an unknown individual 5 days later to discuss funding for the Stinger missile. Moley indicated that Patrick Moley would approach "the money man downtown" about getting the necessary funds.

Seamus then called his brother, Patrick, in New York on the 29th to discuss the need for funds and possible sources of funds. Patrick told Seamus to try calling Tony Brannigan. That same day, Seamus telephoned Brannigan, who told Seamus to pick up some detonators, which he (Brannigan) had been storing. Brannigan also discreetly told Moley that he had some funds for the Stinger missile.

January 1990

The first day of the New Year Seamus Moley received a call from McCluskey, who was in Ireland, asking for detonators. Moley called Maguire the next day to arrange for him to be at the airport when Moley arrived in New York the next day.

Moley arrived in New York City on January 3. Maguire met him at the airport and the two headed to The Kilarney Rose Bar to meet Brannigan. Moley called Florida and wanted McKinley to get in touch with Randy Folgate, an associate of McKinley's involved with the detonators. Moley wanted to verify if Folgate could cash a bank draft under a fictitious name for \$7,000 US or \$9,000 US.

January 4 focused on funding. Calls began early, at around 9:00 a.m., as the group worked to get bank drafts cashed and funds transferred to pay for the missile. This was necessary to avoid any "large currency transaction reports." Subpoenas later served to the banks did not uncover any transactions made to Moley, Maguire or their aliases.

Moley returned to Florida on January 4. The following day, Moley and McKinley again met with undercover agents in Florida. Moley showed the agents \$15,000 US and gave the agents \$2,500 as a down payment. McKinley and Moley, who at the time went by Hugh Nolan, rented a safe deposit box at the First Union National Bank of Florida.

On January 9, McKinley and Joseph McColgan, the person who would help evaluate the Stinger, met with undercover agents. McColgan stated that he would control the delivery and pay for the missile after a satisfactory inspection of the weapon.

Moley and McKinley met the next day with the undercover agents to plan the logistics of transferring the Stinger. McKinley said that the money for the missile was available and would be placed in a joint safe deposit box and that the missile would be delivered the following day. Also on the 11th, a wire transfer totaling \$16,247.55 US was arranged.

OUTCOME

- On January 12, Moley and McKinley met with the undercover agents to finalize plans to transfer the Stinger. Moley then went with an agent to get a joint-access safe deposit box at Barnett Bank. After the money (\$47,500 US) was deposited, the agents demonstrated the Stinger missile to McColgan. McColgan was arrested after agents realized that he would not give up the missile after inspecting it. Moley, McKinley and McCann were arrested shortly after McColgan. The next day, Leyne called Maguire in New York to see if anything could be done. Maguire told Leyne to just wait.
- Maguire's account was credited \$16,247.55 US on January 16. Maguire withdrew \$12,000. He bought two money orders, each for \$1,000 US, both payable to Des Dillon. Another money order, this time for \$500 US, was made payable to Henry Diamond. Maguire left the rest in currency. Agents searched the joint safe deposit box acquired by Moley and the agent on January 18. In the box agents found \$10,500 US. A little over a week later, Leyne met with Maguire in Toronto, Canada to discuss moving potential evidence and detonators to Canada in order to conceal them.
- From January 1991 until June 1992, the PIRA used the detonators obtained in Tucson and shipped to Ireland for bombs made in Northern Ireland. Also during this time, there were additional requests for more detonators.

- On November 11, 1992, four men were arrested in connection with the detonators. Arrested were Maguire, Brannigan, Moley and Leyne, who were charged with being financial and logistical links in the conspiracy chain.
- The Florida case went to trial in November of 1990. On June 7, 1991, McKinley, Moley and McColgan were sentenced to 51 months in prison.
- 1994 brought an end to the detonator trial being held in Tucson. On April 26, 1994, Maguire, Brannigan, Moley, and Leyne were all found not guilty on charges of conspiracy, shipping and transporting explosives, and possession of property in aid of foreign government.
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4.7 NEW YORK CITY CONSPIRACY

BACKGROUND

On the night of November 5, 1990, Rabbi Meir Kahane was scheduled to speak to the Zionist Emergency Evacuation Rescue Operation (ZEERO) at the East Side Marriott Hotel in midtown Manhattan. Kahane was the founding father of the Jewish Defense League (JDL) and since its inception in 1968, had been very active in Israeli politics, both on and off American soil. By 1984, Meir Kahane advocated the complete expulsion of all Arabs from Israel, as well as occupied areas.

After his speech, Kahane was autographing books for his followers when a young Arab man wearing a yarmulke approached him. The Arab, who had been mistaken for a Sephardic Jew, raised a gun and shot Kahane in the neck, then turned and ran toward the exit. A few spectators attempted to stop the gunman, but he shot at them, wounding seventy-three-year-old Irving Franklin, a follower of the Rabbi.

The gunman hopped into a cab, but when the cab was too slow, he jumped out and ran straight into a postal police officer. Postal Officer Carlos Acosta drew his gun when he saw the Arab's gun. The gunman managed to fire once at the officer, hitting him before he himself was shot in the neck. The assailant, now bleeding just a few hundred yards from where Meir Kahane lay dying, was an Egyptian named El Sayyid Nosair.

El Sayyid Nosair came to America in 1981 and stayed with a host family in Pittsburgh where he seemingly enjoyed his new life. By 1983, his opinion had changed. A religious zealotry had grown in Nosair, and his proselytizing cost him his job at a jewelry store. He eventually went to New York to stay with his cousin, Ibrahim El-Gabrownny, a building contractor well known in the city's Muslim community. Nosair devoted most of his time to his religion. Unlike El-Gabrownny, Nosair chose to split his time between attending the Masjid al-Salaam, a small mosque in New Jersey, and aiding in the work of the Alkifah Refugee Center located within the mosque. Four months prior to the shooting of the rabbi, al-Salaam began to see a new emir. Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman began preaching at the mosque immediately upon his arrival in the United States in July of 1990.

Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman was born in northern Egypt in 1938 and blinded by diabetes by the age of ten months. Raised by his uncle, a devout Muslim, Omar was forced into a religious life, and by the age of eleven had memorized the Koran. Although graduating with top honors in 1965 from Al-Azhar University, Sheikh Omar was not offered an appointment in one of Egypt's state-run universities. Instead, he was assigned to become imam, or prayer leader, in a small village along the Nile.

By 1967, the Arab world had suffered a brutal defeat at the hands of the Israelis in the Six Days War. During this time Sheikh Omar appeared at Cairo University for further schooling. When he returned to preaching in his small village, his sermons turned political and focused on Egypt's governmental shortcomings. One year later, he was banned from preaching after speaking out against Egypt's leader, Gamal Abdel Nasser. He felt that the Arab world was being betrayed by its secular leaders, and believed it his

personal duty to return Islamic rule to the region. The Egyptian government placed Omar under house arrest in 1969. Despite the attempt to quell Omar's preachings by sentencing him to an additional 8 months in prison, his sermons had already taken root among an increasing number of Egyptians.

The blind Sheikh began a dissertation in the early 1970s revolving around the Koran's teachings on violence in the political realm. He focused his studies on the claim by a fourteenth-century scholar who believed that all Muslims have an innate duty to strike against those leaders who fail to rule by Islamic law. These beliefs were instrumental in the birth of Gamma al-Islamiyya, or Islamic Group (IG), an extremist group in the Sheikh's home country, specifically the small town where the Sheikh was assigned. The Sheikh became the symbol for the region's Islamic revival. As this revival grew, Egypt's new president, Anwar Sadat, began targeting fundamentalists for political persecution. With the rising threat of again being incarcerated for dissent, the Sheikh fled to Saudi Arabia in 1977 where his preachings spread into the Islamic world.

The year 1979 brought about an historic event in the Middle East. Anwar Sadat signed a peace treaty with Israel. This enraged the Sheikh and his disciples. When Sadat was assassinated two years later, five of the Sheikh's followers were arrested. The Sheikh was subsequently charged for inciting followers to kill the leader. He was cleared of all charges in 1984, and by 1986, was issued the first of four visas to enter the United States. By the next year, the State Department had placed him on its 'undesirables' list for his role in Sadat's assassination.

Toward the end of the 1980s, Sheikh Omar's Islamic Group was breaking into various factions, one of which considered the Sheikh an infidel and placed him on their death list. Omar fled to Peshawar, Pakistan, a growing center for Afghan resistance. Funding for such a staunch resistance continued to pour into the region even after the Soviets began to pull out. The CIA also supported the mujahedeen (the opposition 'holy warriors' who fought against the Soviet Union) by funneling arms to the fighters. Because of the fighters and weapons being filtered into the area, it became known as "Jihad University." Omar was impressed by the high-tech weapons being used by the mujahedeen to fight off the invading Soviets and soon became the liaison in the arms shipments from the CIA to the Muslim freedom fighters. The CIA feared the Sheikh would become as influential as Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran, and instead of waging war with the prominent Sheikh, they sought to charm him, as well as keep a close eye on his activities.

As the war in Afghanistan came to an end the Sheikh finally took advantage of a visa issued three years earlier. In 1990, Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman brought his extreme Islamic teachings to the United States, despite having been placed on the U.S. State Department's watch list. Members of the Masjid al-Salaam greeted him upon his arrival into the U.S., particularly Mahmud Abouhalima, a giant, redheaded Egyptian who quickly offered to be the Sheikh's personal bodyguard and chauffeur,

Mahmud Abouhalima was born in a small town steeped in a tradition of political dissent. By 1980, Abouhalima had gone to university where he was drawn into Sheikh Omar's Gama'a al-Islamiyya movement. Abouhalima fled to Germany the day after Sadat's assassination to avoid prosecution and immediately applied for political asylum.

The German government declined his arguments and ordered him to leave the country. Just before he was to leave the country he married a German woman and was therefore granted citizenship. While living in Germany, Abouhalima remained active in the Egyptian resistance movement.

By 1985, Abouhalima had remarried and began to fear that his status in the country was in jeopardy. He decided to travel to America with his fledgling family under a tourist visa. He became a cab driver, and despite his visa running out, was granted a livery license by the New York City Taxi and Limousine Commission a year after his arrival. This occupation allowed the Egyptian to lead a solitary life in the taxi where he focused on reading the Koran and listening to sermons recorded by Sheikh Omar.

For the next three years Abouhalima was particularly active in the Alkifah Refugee Center. This Center, run by members of the Egyptian Jihad, helped refugees from the Afghan war resettle in the United States. In 1988, Mahmud, taking advantage of a loophole in the immigration law, declared himself a farm worker and was handed a green card and permanent residency. At the Center, he befriended El Sayyid Nosair. Over the next year and a half, Abouhalima made several trips to Afghanistan to fight against the Soviets.

At the request of the Sheikh, Nosair and Abouhalima began paramilitary training at a firing range in Connecticut, as well as one in Long Island. This included firing rounds from AK-47 and Kalashnikov automatic weapons. Soon Nosair was withdrawing from his brethren at the mosque. He chose to pray alone at his residence rather than with the other members of the Masjid al-Salaam. At this time, the Egyptian befriended a young impressionable Jordanian, Mohammed Salameh.

Born in the Palestinian West Bank, Mohammed Salameh, like El Sayyid Nosair, was a cousin of Ibrahim El-Gabrowni. After failing to be accepted into a program of law or engineering, he settled for studying Islamic law at Jordan University. However, his plans changed and he withdrew from university and traveled to the U.S. under a tourist visa. Long after his visa expired, Salameh remained in America and became active in the religious community, particularly the political activities of New York City's extremists. Salameh was attracted to Nosair's passion for fundamentalism and served as the Egyptian's disciple and, with Mamhud Abouhalima, participated in paramilitary training.

By January 1991, the routing of Alkifah Center funds was under scrutiny by the more conservative members. Mustafa Shalabi, the emir of the mosque at the time, believed it necessary to continue to focus the center's efforts on traditional Afghan plights. Sheikh Omar, on the contrary, wanted the resources used more wisely, specifically for paramilitary training of its young followers. On the night of February 26, 1991, Shalabi was brutally murdered in his own apartment just one day before he was to leave the country. He had voiced concerns for his safety in the wake of the disagreement with the Sheikh and decided to escape the conflict for a while. When investigators searched his apartment they found red curly hair gripped in Shalabi's hand and authorities immediately suspected Mahmud Abouhalima. The evidence was circumstantial, however, and the tall Egyptian was not charged.

TIMELINE

Unlike the timelines in other case studies, this one is unique, in that the individuals and groups involved in the NYC conspiracy were involved in the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center. Yet, it was the investigation into Rabbi Kahane's murder and the NYC conspiracy that finally tied Sheikh Omar and his followers to the WTC bombing and finally led to their arrests and convictions.

1990-1991

Just hours after Kahane's assassination, authorities went to Nosair's New Jersey house and found both Abouhalima and Salameh waiting there. The two men were taken in for questioning. In addition, some forty-seven boxes of evidence collected from the home were gathered and taken to the 17th Precinct for examination. Among the items found were various maps and drawings of New York City landmarks, top secret training manuals from the John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center at Fort Bragg, N.C., manuals and formulas for bomb making, many writings and recordings in Arabic, as well as 1,440 rounds of ammunition.

The NYPD was not the only one interested in this case. Joint Terrorist Task Force (JTTF) agent John Anticev, of the FBI and his NYPD counterpart, Detective Lou Napoli, were familiar with Nosair before the Rabbi's death. In July 1989, Nosair and his cohorts, Abouhalima and Salameh, were under surveillance for their suspicious paramilitary training in Connecticut and Long Island. The JTTF had tailed them on numerous occasions that year and obtained many photos placing not only Nosair and his Egyptian friends together, but also in the company of many other middle-eastern men, including Siddig Ibrahim Siddig Ali, a Sudanese national, and an American, Clement Rodney Hampton-El.

Although the FBI and the JTTF suspected a wider conspiracy, the NYPD was hesitant to accept such a theory and instead dubbed Nosair "a lone gunman." After transferring the evidence and the case to federal prosecutors, the State of New York reclaimed the case and the forty-seven boxes of material confiscated from Nosair's residence. NYPD's Chief of Detectives, Joseph Borelli, felt there were insufficient indicators tying Meir Kahane's murder to a wider conspiracy on American soil.

The prosecution was confident that they had a solid case against Nosair. He had been seen at the ZEERO meeting, and they could tie him to the .357 that killed Kahane. Even the defense, headed by the legendary William Kunstler, suggested that his client claim insanity. However, as the trial date neared, the defense changed its tactic and claimed their client was innocent.

On December 7, 1991, the jury returned a verdict of not guilty on all counts except the weapons charges. This shocked even the defense team, who, along with the prosecution, expected a conviction of the Egyptian. Judge Alvin Schlesinger, who presided over the trial, was stunned and gave Nosair the maximum sentence for which he was found guilty, 71/3 to 22 years in Attica Penitentiary.

1993

After the explosion at the World Trade Center the FBI called upon a previous confidential informant, Emad Salem. The Egyptian and the FBI had parted company in 1992 over Salem's refusal to wear a wire. However, the bombing at Tower One had an impact on Salem and he had a sudden change of heart.

Since many of the World Trade Center bombers were either followers of, or connected to, Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman, authorities had reason to believe he was connected to the incident. Salem was given approximately \$1.5 million for his role in tying Sheikh Omar to the February bomb. The agreement now included Salem wearing a wire that would be used as evidence and would require him to testify. By March 1993 he no longer struggled with this dilemma. Salem was finding it difficult to get the Sheikh to implicate himself in the WTC blast, and instead, found the imam supporting a plan to attack various New York landmarks.

Siddig Ibrahim Siddig Ali, a Sudanese national, was active within the al-Salaam mosque in Jersey City. A former taxi driver in New York, he was now a personal translator to Sheikh Omar. Siddig Ali first surfaced in 1989, prior to the WTC attack. He had been one of the paramilitary trainers photographed along with Nosair and Abouhalima at the Long Island gun range. It was not until April 6, 1993 when the Sheikh, flanked by Siddig Ali, publicly denounced the United States' relationship with Egypt, that authorities noticed Siddig Ali's rank among the emir's followers.

By the end of April Siddig Ali began discussing his plans for a massive bombing conspiracy that would place bombs near various buildings with the intention of detonating them within minutes of one another in order to paralyze Manhattan. Salem had heard this plot before from Nosair and immediately notified Anticev and Napoli. While Siddig Ali started staking out potential targets, Salem was given the task of locating a safe house in which these bombs could be built. By the end of the month Salem had led Siddig Ali to an empty warehouse in Queens, which had been pre-wired with recording devices by the FBI.

During the month of May, Siddig Ali had narrowed down his potential targets beginning with the United Nations, which he dubbed 'The Big House,' as well as other New York City landmarks. In addition to buildings being targeted, the plan began to encompass potential areas to achieve the purpose of bringing lower Manhattan to a standstill. The George Washington Bridge, which links upper Manhattan to New Jersey, was quickly added to the list as well as the Lincoln and Holland Tunnels, and the subway systems under the Hudson River. The plan also included 26 Federal Plaza, which housed the New York headquarters of the FBI.

During the first bombing plot, Siddig Ali had named Clement Rodney Hampton-El as the primary source for weapons and ready-made bombs, and Salem assumed this was the same reason Hampton-El would be needed. As an American Muslim extremist, Hampton-El had been the same "Dr. Rashid" Salem had encountered in the spring of 1992. It was not until this second plot unfolded, that Hampton-El confessed to Salem that he was the back-up assassin for the Meir Kahane murder. The second plot was to be carried out with a different type of explosive. In order to execute such an attack Siddig

Ali needed to procure the chemicals to make the ammonium-nitrate-fuel oil (ANFO) bombs. Salem, with the assistance of the FBI, had offered to supply the group with what they thought were the ingredients necessary to complete the bomb recipe.

OUTCOME

- Through the spring of 1993, Salem recorded some sixty conversations incriminating not only Siddig Ali, but also the Sheikh, and ten other terrorists. By the third week of June the FBI had enough evidence to stage a raid on the warehouse in Queens. The Sheikh was not around when the authorities went in to round up the cell.
- On the morning of June 24, 1993, FBI agents surrounded a warehouse in Queens and quickly carried out the raid. Inside, twelve assailants were in the process of mixing chemicals that would have ignited a terrorist campaign across Manhattan. Among those arrested was Emad Salem, the Egyptian confidant who had repeatedly informed the FBI about talk of Muslim extremists' plan of manufacturing explosives.
- John Anticev and Lou Napoli of the JTTF believed that there was enough evidence to charge Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman with seditious conspiracy against the United States, but it was not until the next month that U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno agreed. On July 3rd, following a siege outside of the Brooklyn Abu Bakr mosque, Sheikh Omar was taken into custody.
- In February 1995, Sheikh Omar and his "jihad army," including Siddig Ali, Hampton-El, Ibrahim El-Gabrowni, and El Sayyid Nosair, were tried and subsequently convicted for their roles in the Day of Terror conspiracy.
- A federal prosecutor in the trial of the Sheikh described the necessity of the court's primary witness, Salem, during the course of an investigation of such magnitude.
- Even the supervisory Special Agent in Charge of the JTTF agreed that the loss of Salem as an informant during the summer of 1992 impacted the investigation's outcome: "I've always thought that the 26-month period between the Kahane assassination and the first World Trade Center bombing was a key period. A time when we could have really made a statement."
- Following the arrest of the Sheikh and his followers, FBI headquarters ordered a complete internal probe investigating the way in which Emad Salem was handled. Despite ASAC Carson Dunbar's name appearing on many future inquiries by the Office of Professional Responsibility, he was never charged with any delinquencies in his conduct towards Salem.

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4.8 WORLD TRADE CENTER 1993

BACKGROUND

Emad Salem, a former Egyptian intelligence officer had been working as an informant for the FBI since September 1991. Initially his work did not entail infiltrating any Middle East groups, only informing his handler, Nancy Floyd, about various illegal activities involving Russians in the New York City area. Floyd was well aware that Salem had fabricated much of his history. He claimed he had once been a part of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's elite security team after serving as a major in the Egyptian army. Although Floyd knew the Sadat aspect of his life was fabricated, Salem had actually served in the military, and he had been a valuable asset when it came to busting a ring that sold false green cards as well as contributing to the arrest of many illegal aliens.

It was not until October 1991, that he approached Agent Floyd with a lead about dangerous Egyptians residing in America. By agreeing to match the \$500 a week he was making at his hotel security job, Salem was willing to go undercover for the FBI with one stipulation; he would not testify against any of those he incriminated. According to FBI policy, witnesses could only be forced to testify if they wore a wire while serving as a confidential informant. Without a wire, Salem was not obligated to testify. As the trial of El Sayyid Nosair, for the murder of Rabbi Meir Kahane in 1990, was about to begin, the Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF) had no choice but to concede to Salem's demand.

Emad Salem proved to the FBI that he was indeed a valuable asset as well as a clever one. In a matter of weeks the former Egyptian officer began showing up at rallies outside the Manhattan courthouse in support of Nosair's defense. He quickly won the trust of the Egyptian community's radicals and was subsequently recruited into a very select group of conspirators.

After Nosair's acquittal for the murder of Meir Kahane and his conviction on weapons charges, Salem had a lot to report to the FBI. During the trial the defendant's friends had discussed various way of getting back at those who were prosecuting the accused Egyptian. After Nosair was convicted and went to prison, the plan grew to include striking out against those who were even remotely responsible for putting Nosair behind bars. It was during this period that Salem brought to the FBI's attention a plot aimed at not only releasing Nosair from Attica, but also reeking havoc in the Manhattan area. Nosair's assassination plan included revenge on the judge who had sentenced him, as well as the outspoken Jewish New York assemblyman, Dov Hikind. In May 1992, Salem visited Kahane's killer in Attica. He was urged to become a Muslim martyr by building bombs in order to allow Nosair's plan to come to life. In the meantime, JTTF detectives Anticev and Napoli discovered Nosair had a connection to Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman's terrorist group Gama'a al-Islamiyya.

In June, Salem visited Nosair again and was asked to rent a safe house in which to build bombs. The inmate offered Salem the aid of Mohammed Salameh, a loyal servant, and suggested the two consult the cleric, Sheikh Omar, for further guidance. The blind Sheikh was now emir for the Abu Bakr mosque and apparently the mastermind behind

the bombing plot. He had taken the helm of the mosque following the mysterious death of its former emir, Mustafa Shalabi. Despite Anticev and Napoli's investigation into the Shalabi murder, it was only when the FBI began talking with Salem did authorities actually find out the connection between the Sheikh's sudden rise to the Mosque's leadership and the death of one of the Muslim community's most loved, yet moderate, emir. From the first meeting with Salem, Sheikh Omar attempted to solicit the former Egyptian intelligence agent to assassinate President Mubarak. This, however, was the only assassination the Sheikh overtly advocated to the informant. El-Gabrownny, Nosair's cousin, also discussed the bombing campaign but was not keen on assassinations, preferring to concentrate on the bomb plot that would lead to the release of kin.

The plan began as a series of pipe bombs to be coordinated by El-Gabrownny, while Salem provided the technical expertise. Twelve bombs, in all, would destroy many targets aimed at avenging Nosair's accusers, more specifically, the Jewish community. El-Gabrownny had hinted there were others willing to participate in the plan, and by June Salem had convinced him to introduce these new accomplices. "Dr. Rashid," as he was referred to amongst his peers, was actually Clement Rodney Hampton-El, an American Muslim who had been photographed by the FBI with Nosair, Salameh and Mahmud Abouhalima during their many trips to Long Island's Calverton range in 1989.

Just as the terrorist group was unsuspectingly providing Salem with a substantial amount of evidence, the relationship between the informant and the FBI went awry. As soon as he informed his FBI handlers about the sheer size of the plot, the investigation turned into a criminal one and the terms of their agreement had to be redrawn.

In order for authorities to prove such a deadly conspiracy, they needed more evidence. They needed recorded conversations between Salem and 'the organization' to identify those involved, but more importantly, the FBI wanted a clear picture of the Sheikh's role. However, the informant was adamant and again refused to wear a wire for fear of having to testify in court later. He believed his life would be in danger if he testified and no amount of protection would prevent the repercussions.

During this time, the Terrorism branch of the FBI's New York office was under new supervision. The newly appointed Assistant Special Agent in Charge, Carson Dunbar, wanted Salem reinvestigated despite Agent Floyd's assurance of his reliability. Dunbar requested not one, but three lie detector tests administered to the seemingly arrogant Egyptian. During the spring and summer of 1992 the FBI forced Salem to take the polygraph tests. The first test was inconclusive, and the second and third tests deemed Salem deceitful.

Conflict developed between Agent Floyd and ASAC Carson Dunbar. After all, the FBI explained, they had more reliable and credible informants within the Sheikh's congregation who were working for less than Salem.

Up until the early 1990s Ahmad Ajaj, a Palestinian, was a career petty criminal. By 1991, his most serious crimes included forgery and counterfeiting in Israel. In May of 1991 Ajaj's criminal record took a violent turn. The Israeli government deported Ajaj for five years because of his role in smuggling weapons into the Palestinian occupied territories. Four months later he boarded a plane for the United States to live with an uncle in Houston. He claimed political asylum.

In April 1992 Ajaj was afforded a chance to travel to Peshawar, Pakistan to join fellow Muslims mujahedeen of various nationalities. It was on this confrontational border of Afghanistan that Ajaj learned the art of guerilla warfare. It was there he encountered the person who would eventually be known as the mastermind behind the World Trade Center Bombing, Ramzi Yousef. Ramzi Ahmed Yousef was born in a suburb of Kuwait City to a mother of Palestinian descent and a father raised in Baluchistan, Pakistan. His mother was extremely influential in his political beliefs towards the Israelis, while his religious affiliations were reinforced by his father's Sunni background.

In search of a good education, Yousef traveled to South Wales and enrolled at West Glamorgan Institute of Higher Education where he studied computer-aided electrical engineering. He took a brief sabbatical to attend paramilitary training while a member of Salafis, an extreme fundamentalist group. When he returned to school he concentrated on a project of applying computer design to geometric Islamic patterns, plus microelectronics. In the spring of 1989 he finally completed the requirements of the program and received his Higher National Diploma.

His whereabouts between 1989 and 1992 are speculative due to a lack of consistent reports suggesting one specific place of residency. In the summer of 1992 Ajaj encountered Yousef while developing paramilitary instruction in Peshawar. It is reported that Yousef underwent extensive training in bomb production in this region, utilizing his education to its fullest. He eventually became known as an explosives genius and began teaching influential young Muslims on the Afghanistan border.

TIMELINE

September 1, 1992

Yousef and Ajaj entered the U.S. aboard flight #703 from Pakistan and headed straight for customs agents along with other international passengers. Ajaj, brandishing a Swedish passport in name of Khurram Khan, was quickly taken into custody where his bags were subsequently checked. What customs agents found was a terror kit; various videos and bomb making manuals as well as various forged passports from the Middle East and Europe. Authorities in Manhattan found similar paraphernalia located in Nosair's apartment following Kahane's assassination.

At the same time Ajaj was being detained and questioned, Yousef, who used his Iraqi passport with his actual name on it, was undergoing similar treatment. He managed to avoid the detainment cell on a technicality; the cell was full. Customs officials let him go. Yousef quickly met up with Abouhalima at the Alkifah Refugee Center. Their relationship dated back to the late 1980s when Abouhalima aided Afghanistan's fight against the Soviet Union. The Egyptian introduced Yousef to Sheikh Omar as a "person who will do anything." At the center, located in the Al Farooq Mosque, Yousef was introduced to Salameh, who was immediately drawn to the Iraqi and invited the newcomer to stay with him in his apartment in Jersey City.

Later in September 1992

After investigating phone records following the killing of Kahane, the FBI called in various Egyptians who had been associated with Nosair. Authorities interrogated Abouhalima, El-Gabrowni and even the former FBI informant, Emad Salem, in an attempt to acquire information about Sheikh Omar and any potential terrorist activities. With nothing to go on, the authorities were obligated to release them with promises of further surveillance. However, in the next few months the JTTF was finding it more difficult to track Mahmud Abouhalima.

October-December 1992

Ayyad, together with his childhood friend Salameh, had opened a joint bank account with an initial deposit of \$8,567. Less than two weeks after the deposit Salameh withdrew \$8,560 and transferred it into his own bank account. The timid Palestinian had consistently sent money back to his family in the Middle East, but with the arrival of Yousef his money was being filtered towards his new focus; jihad. During the next few months these and other bank accounts associated with the two and their cohorts had around \$100,000 funneled through to aid them in their plan.

After the incarceration of Nosair, a plan had been in the works to plant pipe bombs in various areas of New York in an effort to force the American courts to release him from prison, as well as wreak havoc on the American people. In particular, various public officials were targeted as well New York City landmarks. This conspiracy of terror took a darker turn with the arrival of Yousef who had been trained on not simply pipe bombs, but more elaborate explosives, including ones that could potentially destroy large structures.

A new target was selected--the World Trade Center, an icon Sheikh Omar described as the "edifices of capitalism." With the Sheikh's endorsement, the World Trade Center became the prime target of the attack. The conspirators needed a secluded place to build such an elaborate and destructive bomb, and on November 30, Salameh, using an alias, rented a storage unit from Space Station Storage in New Jersey. That same day Yousef ordered chemicals, including urea and nitric acid, to be delivered to the storage facility, paying more than \$3,000 in cash.

Ahmad Ajaj, still in jail, remained in contact with Yousef through a series of phone calls. He had assisted Yousef in coming up with the exact chemical components in order to create a massive explosion regardless of the target. By the end of December the U.S. agreed to return Ajaj's belongings that customs agents had confiscated when he first entered the country. Although he was still in custody, the items were to be sent to his local address in Texas. He had told authorities that he had been using these various manuals and videos to compile an encyclopedia.

Despite the falling out between Emad Salem and the FBI, in December 1992, Salem contacted the FBI to make them aware that Mahmud Abouhalima was in the Manhattan area after he had heard that the authorities were having difficulties locating the redheaded giant's whereabouts. Abouhalima had left a cryptic message on Salem's answering machine.

January 1993

Yousef and Salameh moved into a new apartment on Pamrapo Avenue in New Jersey, and begin mixing the chemicals for the bomb. Here, the Iraqi's plot escalated and Yousef devised a plan to add compressed hydrogen to cause an explosion that would bring both towers crashing to the ground.

During the same time period Abouhalima and El-Gabrownny staged a coup at the Abu Bakr mosque in order to establish Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman as leader. The mosque rapidly turned from Islamic moderate to militaristic religious.

February 1-21, 1993

Ayyad made several attempts to obtain more chemicals from their previous supplier using his position at Allied Signal. Finally, Yousef contacted an old friend, Emad Ismail, who lived in Dallas, Texas. Twelve days later, on February 21, 1993, Ismail boarded a flight from Dallas headed for New York City.

February 23, 1993

Mohammed Salameh entered DIB Leasing in New Jersey and used a cash deposit of \$400 to rent a yellow Ford Econoline van with the name 'Ryder' on each side.

February 25, 1993

Salameh reported the van stolen from the Pathmark Plaza shopping center in New Jersey. When the police arrived they found an anxious Middle Eastern man, but the officers eventually refused to file a report because Salameh could not provide the correct license plate number for the rented vehicle.

Earlier on the same day, Nidal Ayyad made another phone call in a final attempt to acquire the compressed hydrogen tanks Yousef had requested. This time he succeeded. Later that night, the tanks were delivered to the storage facility in New Jersey. However, an observant employee told Salameh and Yousef to remove the hazardous material from the premises. Shortly after the brief confrontation, the management of the New Jersey location notified the head office of DIB Leasing in Tennessee to request a master key. They were suspicious of the activities of Salameh and his acquaintances. The hydrogen tanks were taken to the "bomb factory" on Pamrapo Avenue.

February 26, 1993

At about 4 o'clock in the morning the homemade bomb, including the hydrogen tanks, were loaded onto the Ryder van. Along with two additional vehicles in its caravan, the bombers traveled the short distance to a Manhattan hotel where Ismail waited. He took the place of Salameh as the driver and the group pulled into the World Trade Center parking lot shortly after 12 p.m.

At approximately 12:17 p.m. on Friday February 26, 1993, an explosion tore through the B-2 level of the parking garage at the World Trade Center. By the time the smoke cleared, six people were dead and more than 1,000 injured. The blast made a 22 foot-wide, 5-story crater directly under the Vista Hotel located in Tower One of the World

Trade Center complex. As lower Manhattan was engulfed with rescue personnel, FBI authorities were attempting to determine the exact cause of the explosion. After they determined the destruction had not been created by a blown transformer, the JTTF concluded that the World Trade Center was bombed. The problem the JTTF faced was to find those responsible for what was dubbed at the time the most destructive act of terrorism on U.S. soil.

Later in the day, Mohammed Sallameh entered DIB Leasing in his first attempt to retrieve his \$400 deposit on the van he had rented three days earlier.

Unlike terrorist attacks in the past, no one initially claimed responsibility for the horrendous act. The day after the bombing authorities announced that they suspected the bomb was delivered in a vehicle of some sort, most likely a cargo truck or van. After further investigations, authorities traced a vehicle identification number (VIN) back to DIB Leasing in New Jersey where a Ford Econoline van had been rented just three days prior to the bombing by Mohammed Salameh, a Jordanian living illegally in the New Jersey area.

OUTCOME

- By March 4, 1993, the FBI had their first suspect in custody. As March came to an end, the investigating authorities noticed a pattern with every suspect detained; all of the conspirators were closely linked to Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman.
- As Ramzi Yousef sat in first class aboard Pakistani International Airlines on his way to Karachi, authorities in New York were beginning to put together the pieces of an elaborate conspiracy against America. Due to a recent bombing campaign in the Balkans, the attack was initially believed to have been Serbian fundamentalists retaliating against the U.S. foreign policy in the region. Even Pablo Escobar, the notorious drug lord of the Medellin cartel in Colombia, issued a letter denying any connection to what had become known as the most deadly terrorist attack to date on domestic soil.
- One call did make it directly to the local police precinct as opposed to the rash of phone calls being made to 911. This caller claimed the bombing was the action of the 5th Liberation Battalion of the Islamic Jihad. Authorities had confirmed that the explosion was a bomb; air tests confirmed traces of nitrates. The FBI investigation focused on the notion of a vehicle bomb.
- On Sunday, February 28, authorities were handed a break in the case. Searchers with the BATF had recovered a vehicle fragment that contained the Vehicle Identification Number. After tracing the VIN, they realized it had been rented from a New Jersey leasing company and the person had used his real name. Salameh was taken into custody on March 4, after he again tried to retrieve his deposit money in order to upgrade a previously purchased child's airline ticket into an adult one. The address on his driver's license led officials to the apartment of El-Gabrownny, who was subsequently taken into custody for resisting a search and assaulting the officers.

- The same day Salameh and El-Gabrowny were arrested, the managers at Space Station Storage received the master key for the storage unit the young Arabs had rented. When they entered the 10' x 10' unit they walked into a virtual chemistry lab. Authorities were notified and within hours the obscure New Jersey storage facility was crawling with agents.
- Ajaj, who had been mistakenly released on March 1, was quickly taken into custody a second time by INS to await deportation proceedings. It was not until a month later that authorities were able to connect him to the bombing by tracing telephone calls he had made to Yousef. After searching Salameh's bank accounts, Nidal Ayyad was arrested the next day at his home and his computer was confiscated. It was on this computer that authorities found a letter written from the Liberation Army, Fifth Battalion claiming responsibility for the attack. The following is the letter, in its entirety, published in the New York Times:
- The following letter from the Liberation Army regarding the operation conducted against the WTC. We...the fifth battalion in the Liberation Army, declare our responsibility for the explosion on the mentioned building. This action was done in response for the American political, economical, and military support to Israel, the state of terrorism, and to the rest of the dictator countries in the region.
 - o Our demands are: Stop all military, economical and political aids to Israel. All diplomatic relations with Israel must stop. Not to interfere with any of the Middle East countries' interior affairs. If our demands are not met, all of our functional groups in the army will continue to execute our missions against military and civilian targets in and out of the United States. This will also include some potential nuclear targets. For your own information, our army has more than hundred and fifty suicidal soldiers ready to go ahead. The terrorism that Israel practices (which is supported by America) must be faced with a similar one. The dictatorship and terrorism (also supported by America) that some countries are practicing against their own people must be faced with terrorism. The American people must know that the civilians who got killed are not better than those who are getting killed by the American weapons and Supports. The American people are responsible for the actions of their government and they must question all of the crimes that their government is committing against other people or they, Americans will be the targets of our operations that could diminish them. We invite all of the people from all countries and all of the revolutionaries in the world to participate in this action with us to accomplish our just goals. If then anyone transgresses the prohibition against you, transgress ye likewise against him. Liberation Army, fifth battalion. Al-Ferrek Al Rokn, Abu Bakr AL Makee.
- Mahmud Abouhalima, who had fled the country on March 2, eventually wound up at his father's home in Egypt where he was arrested by Egyptian military police on March 14. It would take eleven days before Egyptian authorities turned the fugitive over to their American counterparts.

- At the beginning of September 1993 Abouhalima, Ajaj, Ayyad, Salameh, and Yousef were indicted for their roles in the World Trade Center attack. A few weeks later the trial for all the defendants began. In March 1994 all four were found guilty and later sentenced to 240 years each.
- Ramzi Yousef, still a fugitive at the time of the 1993 trial, was apprehended in February 1995 in Pakistan and subsequently returned to the United States where he was tried and, in 1997, he sentenced to the same fate as his co-conspirators.

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Appendix to Section 1: Background Information

The Turner Diaries

In 1978 William Pierce, whose pen name is Andrew Macdonald, published a novel called *The Turner Diaries*. Pierce was a former physics professor at Oregon State University and had previously been a follower of George Rockwell, the founder of the American Nazi Party who was assassinated in 1967. Pierce went on to form the Washington D.C. based neo-Hitlerian organization, the National Alliance.

His novel begins in 1991 and is written as the diary of a man named Earl Turner, a 35-year-old racist revolutionary. Turner records how a group of white supremacists form an underground paramilitary movement, known as the Organization, and put in place a murderous operation to overthrow the American government and rid the land of “mongrel” races, including Jews, blacks, and white women who had relationships with any of them. The murders of non-whites are described in great detail. Jews are dismembered with hatchets or knives and hundreds of white women who had relationships with blacks hang from telephone poles.

The Organization sees the FBI as one of its major enemies; it believes that through the use of computers and other means the federal government is trying to turn America into a police state. The Organization also has a great hatred for the American news media, which they believe is controlled by Jews. To finance their activities, the Organization conducts robberies and a nationwide counterfeiting operation. They also conduct assassinations of politicians and carry out guerrilla warfare against the Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG).

White supremacist groups embraced *The Turner Diaries*. It became the organizational handbook for many of these groups. When Timothy McVeigh, the man responsible for the Oklahoma City bombing was captured, he had a copy of the *Diaries* in his pocket. This book also had a heavy influence on group members of The Order.

Christian Identity Movement

The Christian Identity movement believes there were two creations in the Book of Genesis; white Aryans who are the children of Adam and Jews who are children of the serpent’s (Satan’s) seduction of Eve in the Garden of Eden. Aryans, according to Identity Christians, are those of Scandinavian, Germanic-Teutonic, and British ancestry --“the lost Sheep of Israel for whom Jesus was sent to Earth.” Proof that the Jews descend from Satan can be found in the Gospel of St. John, Chapter 8, when Jesus tells the Jews, ‘Ye are of your father, the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do.’ Blacks and other non-whites are considered ‘pre-Adamite’ peoples—halfway between apes and human beings. They are considered servant races but are not necessarily evil, just subhuman.”

Elohim City

Elohim City, founded in 1973 by Robert G. Miller, is a settlement of Christian Identity in Adair County, Oklahoma. Miller’s settlement is located on 400 acres of

rugged and mountainous land on the Oklahoma- Arkansas border. Christian Identity is a religious sect notorious for its racist and anti-Semitic tenets. The residents of Elohim City have ties to The Order, various Klan divisions, and other white supremacy groups.

It is reported that members of the Aryan Republican Army were frequent visitors, and that ARA may have recruited there and may have sent recruits to Elohim City for “re-education.” Reports also indicate that Elohim City may have provided ARA with training grounds and assisted them in distributing monies received from other groups.

Allegedly, Timothy McVeigh stayed at the compound at least once in 1993.

Anglo-Israelism

In the mid-nineteenth century a small English group, following a doctrine that would in due course be known as Anglo-Israelism, became confused by a quotation from the Bible’s Old Testament. “Be fruitful and multiply,” God had said to Jacob in the book of Genesis. “A nation and a company of nations shall be of thee.” In the Bible, Jacob was the grandson of Abraham, Abraham the father of the Israelites, and the Israelites were the chosen people of the Lord. Because the country of Israel did not exist, let alone “a company of nations”- the members of the group could (and probably should) have decided that God’s prophecy had gone unfulfilled. Instead of coming to this conclusion, they alleged that the chosen people were not the Israelites but instead were Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians who had escaped the Middle East in ancient times and traveled to the north of Europe. These “lost tribes of Israel” had formed a group of nations: England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, Sweden, Norway, and the United States, which they believed were the long-prophesied Promised Land. They also believed that Jews were homeless, cursed impostors, who had come fulfill the wishes of Satan.

Anglo-Israelism was not widely acknowledged and soon they and their doctrine went into disorder. Much of this changed when a man named Richard Butler began teaching Anglo-Israelism. Butler was a student of aeronautical engineering at Los Angeles City College. He had also been an air force flight engineer instructor during WWII. In the early 1960s Butler helped establish the Christian Defense League, a right-wing paramilitary group. Butler also took over a congregation of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian and temporarily tried to join forces with the Ministry of Christ Church and another white pride sect, The National Emancipation of the White Seed. Butler went on to found Aryan Nations in the mid-1970s.

[bls1]Same heading as previous