THE ROOTS OF TERRORISM

Domestic Terrorism

Jack Levin

Series Consulting Editors
Leonard Weinberg and William L. Eubank

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DOMESTIC TERRORISM

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Middle Eastern Terrorism

The Roots of Terrorism

What Is Terrorism?

Who Are the Terrorists?

Will Terrorism End?

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INTRODUCTION

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Terrorism is hard to ignore. Almost every day television news shows, newspapers, magazines, and Websites run and re-run pictures of dramatic and usually bloody acts of violence carried out by ferocious-looking terrorists or claimed by shadowy militant groups. It is often hard not to be scared when we see people like us killed or maimed by terrorist attacks at fast food restaurants, in office buildings, on public buses and trains, or along normal-looking streets.

This kind of fear is exactly what those staging terrorist attacks hope to achieve. They want the public, especially the American public, to feel a profound sense of fear. Often the leaders of terrorist groups want the public not only to be frightened by the attack, but also angry at the government because it seems unable to protect them from these violent assaults.

This series of books for young people has two related purposes. The first is to place the events we see in context. We want young readers to know what terrorism is about: Who its perpetrators are, where they come from, and what they hope to gain by their violence. We also want to answer some basic questions about this type of violence: What is terrorism? What do we mean when we use the term? Is one man's terrorist another man's freedom fighter? Is terrorism new, a kind of asymmetrical warfare just invented at the beginning of the twenty-first century? Or, does terrorism have a long history stretching back over the centuries? Does terrorism ever end? Should we expect to face waves of terrorist violence stretching into the indefinite future?

This series' second purpose is to reduce the anxieties and fears of young readers. Getting a realistic picture of what terrorism is all about, knowing what is true and what is not true about it helps us "get a grip." Young readers will learn, we hope, what constitutes realistic concerns about the danger of terrorism versus irrational fear. By understanding the nature of the threat, we help defeat one of the terrorists' basic aims: spreading terror.

The first volume in the series, *What is Terrorism?*, by Leonard Weinberg and William L. Eubank, begins by defining the term "terrorism," then goes on to explain the immediate aims and long-term objectives of those who decide to use this unconventional form of violence. Weinberg and Eubank point out that terrorism did not begin with the 9/11 attacks on the United States. In fact, terrorist violence has a long history, one the authors trace from its religious roots in the ancient Middle East up to current times.

For those who believe that terrorist campaigns, once started, are endless, Jeffrey Ian Ross's *Will Terrorism End?* will come as a useful antidote. Ross calls our attention to the various ways in which terrorist episodes have ended in the past. Many readers will be surprised to learn that most of the terrorist organizations that were active in Latin America, Western Europe, and the United States just a few decades ago have passed from the scene. For example, the Irish Republican Army (IRA), long active in paramilitary operations in Northern Ireland, is now in the process of turning to peaceful political participation.

Between accounts of the beginning and end of terrorism are books that approach the problem in two different ways. Dipak K. Gupta (*Who are the Terrorists?*) and Assaf Moghadam (*The Roots of Terrorism*) answer general questions about the origins of terrorists and terrorist organizations. Gupta provides profiles of individual terrorists and terrorist groups, in addition to exploring the issues that inspire terrorists. Moghadam, on the other hand, is more concerned with the organizational and social roots of terrorism. For example: What causes people to join terrorist groups? What are the grievances that often give rise to terrorist campaigns?

While Gupta and Moghadam examine the roots of terrorism in general terms, Jack Levin and Arie Perliger's books each have a specific geographic focus. Levin's *Domestic Terrorism* brings the story close to home by describing domestic terrorist activity in the United States over the last half century. Perliger's book, *Middle Eastern Terrorism*, offers an account of terrorist activity in the region of the world with which such violence is most closely identified.

Finally, we believe that young readers will come away from this series of books with a much clearer understanding of what terrorism is and what those individuals and groups who carry out terrorist attacks are like. ■

PREFACE

Terrorism is an emotionally charged word, conjuring up frightening images of suicide bombings, mass shootings, and planes flying into buildings. Especially since the attacks on America on September 11, 2001, terrorism remains on people's minds and in their conversations.

Before reading this book, you should understand that what makes something an act of terrorism and what makes someone a terrorist has absolutely nothing to do with the cause or concern to which they have dedicated themselves, but rather the methods they use to further their objectives. Terrorism refers to tactics and strategies. Even the most honorable and worthwhile causes have, on occasion, been championed by individuals who resort to employing dishonorable and immoral means of attaining their goals.

Most citizens work within the system to influence change. They might vote for a candidate who promises to make important political or economic reforms, donate money to a charitable organization that represents the needs of those afflicted with poverty or illness, volunteer to work in a soup kitchen or an elementary school, run for political office, work hard at their jobs to gain raises or promotions,

or participate in a nonviolent demonstration or rally in support of a particular cause.

By contrast, terrorists do not work within the framework of the law. They also do not wage war on a battlefield. Instead, they target innocent civilians or government officials. Whatever their cause or concern, they are terrorists because their attack is designed to spread fear, anxiety, and terror through a given population. It is this characteristic, fear, that makes terrorism a threat to decent people everywhere.

In this book, we examine a broad range of terrorist attacks committed by Americans on American soil. In Chapter 1, we define the term *terrorism* and then attempt to place domestic terrorism in a larger perspective. Using FBI data, we explore the targets, methods, and sources of terrorist attacks, and compare international assaults to domestic incidents. In Chapters 2 and 3, we focus on various episodes of domestic terrorism coming from the broad political spectrum, including both left of center (or liberal) and right of center (or conservative) causes. In Chapter 4, we explore terrorist attacks motivated by hate and prejudice, including terror spread by bigoted individuals and by organized hate groups. In Chapter 5, we discuss acts of terrorism designed to address a particular issue or concern—such as animal abuse, the environment, or abortion—rather than a broad political position or ideology. Chapter 6 addresses the problem of terrorism motivated by personal gain; there are certain criminals who have employed terrorist tactics to make money or attract attention. Finally, in Chapter 7, we offer a few suggestions for understanding the appeal of terrorism as a method of change and make recommendations for reducing terrorist acts committed by Americans.

CHAPTER 1

DOMESTIC TERRORISM IN PERSPECTIVE

A WORKING DEFINITION OF TERRORISM

It was 10:34 A.M. on April 19, 1995. Oklahoma police officer Charlie Hanger had been patrolling up and down Interstate 35 when he stopped a lime green Mercury Marquis speeding north toward the state border. Not only was the driver violating the speed limit, but his car was also missing a license plate. Even worse, the driver had a loaded Glock semiautomatic pistol in a holster over his shoulder.

Not wasting time or taking any chances, Officer Hanger immediately took into custody the driver, a 27-year-old man named Timothy McVeigh. Little did Hanger realize at the time that he had just arrested one of the terrorists responsible for the bombing of the

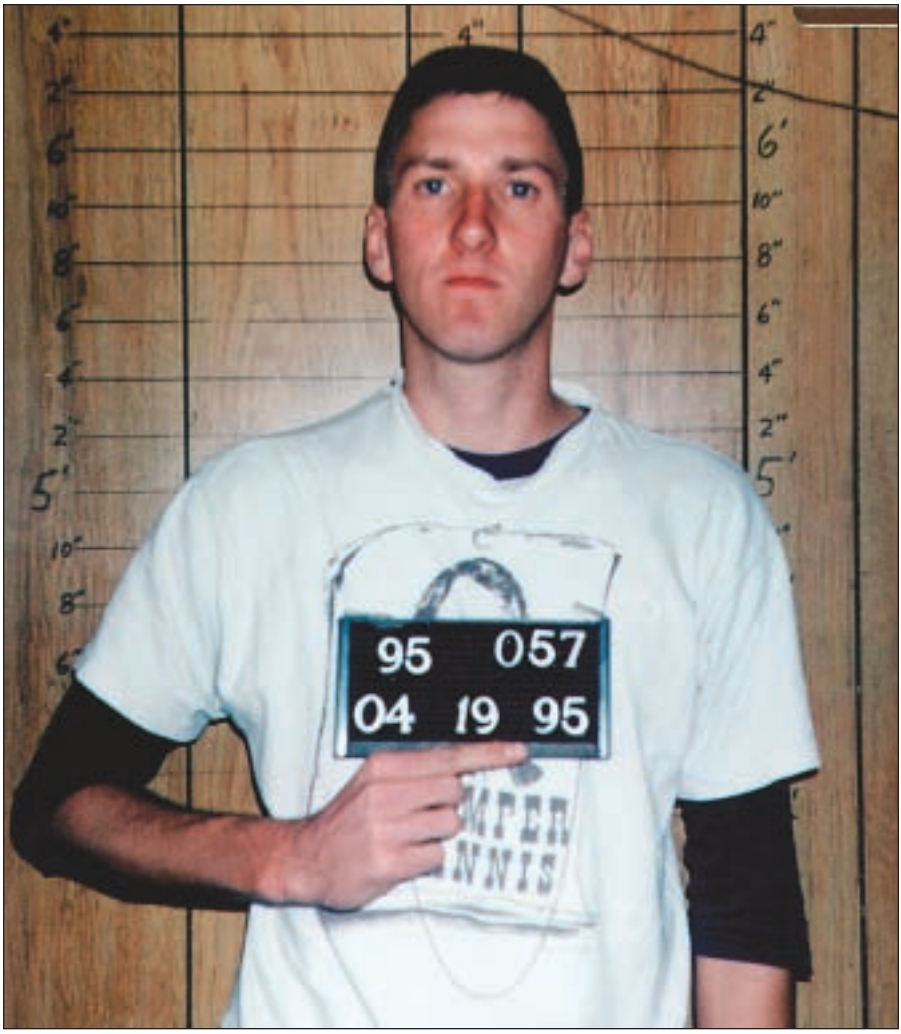
Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. The explosives that McVeigh and his associate had planted in a rented Ryder truck brought down the nine-story building, taking the lives of 168 innocent people, including 19 children.

Throughout history, desperate individuals like Timothy McVeigh have resorted to terrorism as a strategy for achieving their political or personal objectives. Terrorism has been used not only by the weak and the marginalized to overthrow unpopular political regimes and provoke social change but also by the strong, the rich, and the powerful, for the purpose of maintaining their advantaged position in society.

Serving as a branch of the federal government responsible for bringing political criminals to justice, it should come as no surprise that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) definition of terrorism emphasizes the *political* motivation of the perpetrators: "The unlawful use, or threatened use, of violence by a group or individual . . . committed against person or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives."[1]

It should be emphasized from the outset that researchers who study terrorism do not agree about the best way to broadly apply the term. Some take the FBI's position and include only those attacks that are politically motivated. They are primarily interested in understanding the roots of terrorist attacks designed to influence government policy. Others take a broader perspective on what is and is not considered terrorism, including not only political acts but also acts committed for personal reasons. From this standpoint, terrorism refers to a strategy, regardless of the objectives of the criminal perpetrator. If you spread terror by attacking civilians or government officials, for whatever reason, you are considered a terrorist.

Most criminals are not terrorists. The last thing they want is to call attention to themselves or their criminal offenses. Indeed, they typically go out of their way to conceal their



Timothy McVeigh is shown here in a mug shot taken when he was arrested the same day of the bombing at the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. McVeigh was pulled over for speeding and driving without a license plate as he was making his getaway.

identities and disguise their crimes. A killer might dump his victim's body some distance from the crime scene in order to reduce the chances that investigators will locate implicating physical evidence. A burglar might clean the crime scene before

making his escape. Criminals might be motivated to make money or silence a witness, but they are generally not interested in making a population anxious or sending a message of intimidation. Spreading terror is simply not on most criminals' minds.

At the same time, at least a few criminals use terrorist tactics in order to draw the attention of the public to their offenses. Not unlike their political counterparts, criminally motivated terrorists hope to spread fear among a population. Rather than wanting to change government policy, however, they have a personal motivation—to make a profit, become famous, or get even with their enemies.

Notwithstanding the FBI's emphasis on political motivation, a terrorist attack usually has an important psychological intention. It is a premeditated act of violence, or threat of violence, that aims to generate a climate of fear and anxiety, but not as an end in itself. Spreading terror by means of a bombing, a mass shooting, a kidnapping, or an assassination is only a means toward the terrorists' larger goal of coercing government officials to modify some policy, inspiring revolution, maintaining the status quo, gaining attention, getting even, or making money. Thus, terrorism is usually aimed not just at a set of immediate victims, but also at a much broader audience—perhaps at an entire city, a region, or a nation.

We define terrorism in this book based on the FBI's definition of the term, but in expanded form: For our purposes, terrorism is regarded as "the unlawful use, or threatened use, of violence by a group or individual . . . committed against person or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political, social, or *personal* objectives." Many terrorist attacks are politically motivated, but many others are criminal acts inspired by some personal goal.

Whatever their motivation, terrorist attacks are typically random and symbolic. They are designed to spread shockwaves of fear and anxiety, to send a message to government officials,

military leaders, or some segment of the public. Moreover, because it is widely regarded by society as a deviant act, terrorism causes a general sense of outrage among the population. Deaths on the battlefield are usually thought of differently: Citizens are saddened by the loss of life, but they can typically accept battle casualties as an inevitable, but legitimate, outcome of warfare. By contrast, the average citizen regards terrorist tactics as illegitimate, even immoral or evil. Terrorists who target innocent victims or well-liked government officials are regarded as nothing less than monsters who exist outside the rules of a civilized society.

It should be noted that terrorist tactics can be employed in the interest of almost any political, social, or personal issue, no matter how honorable or worthwhile. Millions of decent Americans support policies to erase poverty and discrimination, reduce abortions, eliminate animal abuse, and protect the environment; but terrorism is about strategies and tactics, not about the substance of any particular political or personal concern. Terrorists do not work within the framework of the law. They have given up supporting candidates for office, voting, running for office themselves, working for a change-oriented government agency or a progressive corporation, or protesting in a nonviolent manner.

They have decided to go outside of mainstream society, to employ violent means against civilians or government officials, to demand social or personal change through the barrel of a gun or the threat of a bomb. Even if their cause is just, their illegal, violent methods are difficult, if not impossible, to justify—at least in the eyes of the overwhelming majority of Americans or representatives of the criminal justice system. The international terrorists who flew planes into New York City's World Trade Center may have felt justified in protesting the U.S. government's policies around the world. To most Americans, however, there is no justification for taking the lives of thousands of innocent people.

TARGETS OF TERROR

The September 11 attack on America contains all the elements associated with an act of terror. Its perpetrators, the 19 suicide bombers who flew planes into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, had planned their attacks for years, hoping to optimize their impact in spreading anxiety across the United States. Thousands of innocent people lost their lives in the assault, tens of thousands more lost a friend or relative, but almost every American was affected in some way. Afterward, millions refused to take a plane or travel abroad; for a period of time, they wished to stay close to home. Flag-waving became a national pastime. Many Americans felt personally threatened.[2]

Terrorist attacks and traditional forms of warfare differ in their essential aspects.[3] As shown in Figure 1.1 on page 9, political terrorism is typically aimed directly at civilians and government officials, not at military targets on the battlefield. Thus, American and Iraqi soldiers shooting at one another in Baghdad can be considered direct warfare, not terrorism. By contrast, in January 2002, 38-year-old Daniel Pearl, a reporter with the *Wall Street Journal*, was kidnapped and murdered by terrorists in Karachi, Pakistan. In June 2002, as Philippine soldiers sought to rescue an American couple being held hostage, Martin Burnham was murdered, and his wife was injured by members of the Abu Sayyat terrorist group. In October of the same year, a car bomb detonated by terrorists in a crowded resort area of Bali, Indonesia, killed more than 200 tourists from 24 countries. On March 11, 2004, exactly 911 days after the September 11, 2001, attacks on America, terrorists set off a series of bombs on trains in Madrid, Spain, killing 191 rush-hour commuters and injuring 1,500 people. The radical Islamic group al Qaeda claimed responsibility. Three days later, Spain's Popular Party headed by Prime Minister José María Aznar, who had supported the Bush administration's invasion of Iraq, was roundly defeated at the polls by the antiwar Socialist Party. Some argued that terrorism had been effective

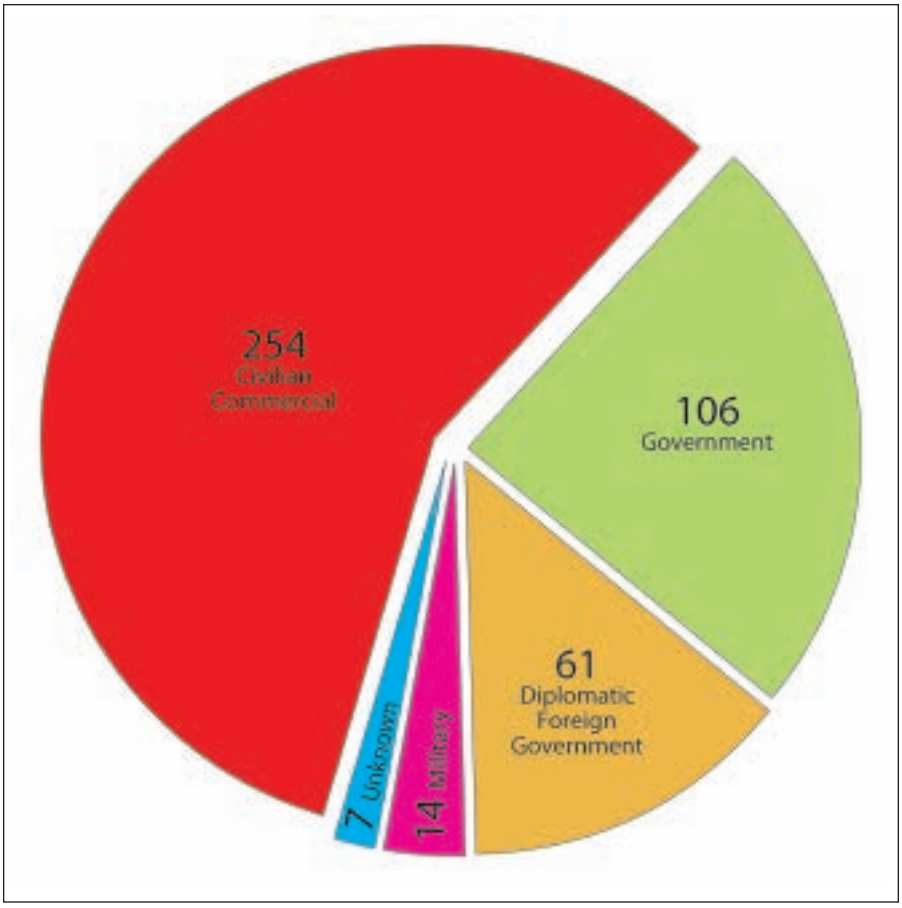


Figure 1.1 **From the FBI's *Report on Terrorism*, 2001, this graphic shows the number of terrorist attacks from 1980–2001, broken down by type of target.**

in influencing national policy; others believed that the outcome of the national election in Spain was a result of Aznar's support of an incredibly unpopular war.

METHODS FOR SPREADING TERROR

As in the Madrid bombings, most politically motivated terrorist attacks are perpetrated with the aid of explosives (see Figure 1.2 on page 10), so that the property damage and/or the number of fatalities (and therefore the publicity) are maximized.

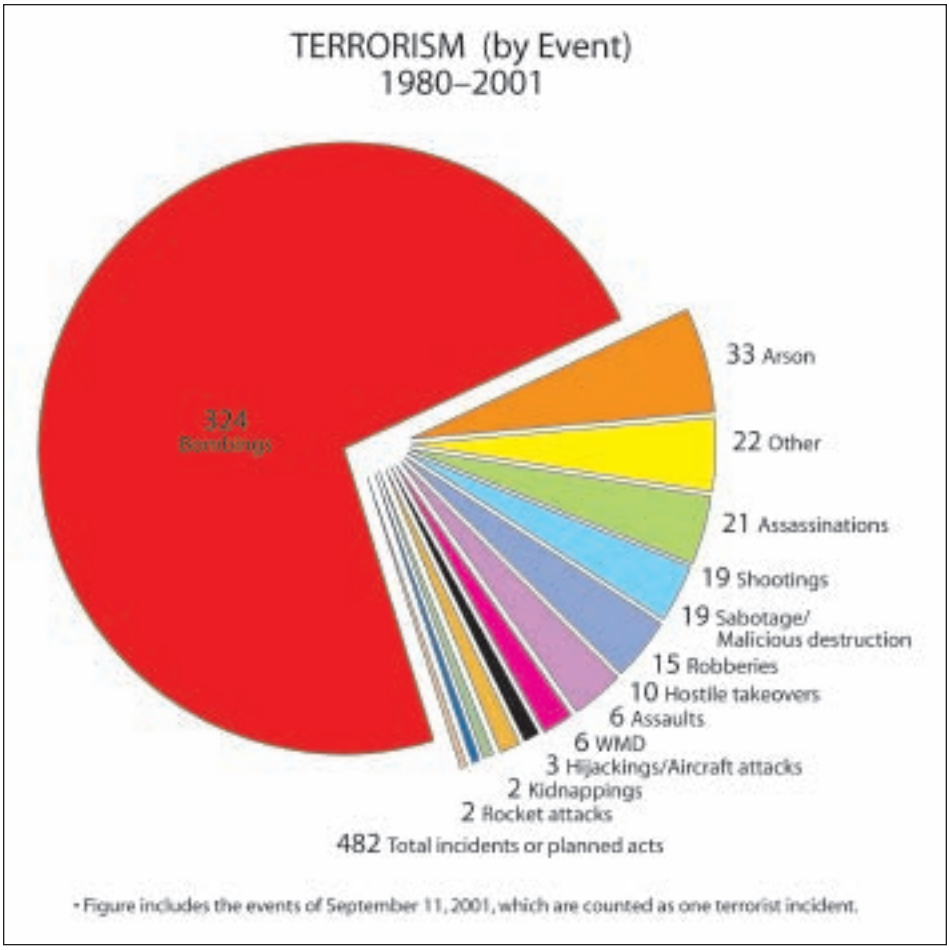


Figure 1.2 **From the FBI's *Report on Terrorism*, 2001, this graphic shows the number of terrorist attacks that took place in the United States from 1980–2001, broken down by method used to commit the act.**

Sometimes, property is destroyed; other times, human lives are lost. In 1995, Timothy McVeigh bombed a federal building, killing 168 of the people inside. In 2001, ecoterrorists (short for "ecological terrorists") firebombed hundreds of SUVs in California. On July 7, 2005, more than 50 commuters in London, England, lost their lives as terrorist bombs exploded on a city bus and three subway trains.

An entirely different approach for political terrorists is to target particular individuals for assassination, rather than to victimize large numbers of ordinary citizens on a random basis. The United States has seen a number of assassinations not only of presidents and other political figures—Abraham Lincoln, John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King Jr., and Malcolm X—but also popular entertainers, such as ex-Beatle John Lennon. Even the threat of violence can persuade compliance with a terrorist's demands. The Unabomber, who turned out to be Theodore Kaczynski—a terrorist who spent 17 years making bombs to send through the U.S. mail to blow up innocent victims—warned that he would kill again if his 35,000-word political manifesto was not published in its entirety, and the *Washington Post* complied with his demand.

INTERNATIONAL VERSUS DOMESTIC TERRORISM

Since September 11, 2001, the nation's political leaders have focused a good deal of attention and federal funding on efforts to counteract international terrorism. At the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., and in a field in rural Pennsylvania, almost 3,000 people lost their lives on September 11, and Americans have understandably sought new policies, new approaches, and new leadership to prevent future attacks.

Many Americans were affected, either directly or indirectly, by the staggering loss of life in the September 11 terrorist attacks. Millions mourned for fellow Americans they never knew personally, and, for the first time ever, many Americans felt vulnerable to terrorist attack.

It is interesting to note, however, that terrorism was actually a threat to our country long before the tragic attacks on September 11, 2001.[4] Indeed, this was not the first time that the World Trade Center in New York City had been bombed. In February 1993, terrorists caused the deaths of 6 people and injured 1,000, when they ignited a bomb in the underground

parking garage of the building. Their plan was to cause New York City's tallest tower to topple onto its twin. If the terrorists had situated their explosives more effectively, thousands of people might have lost their lives at the World Trade Center in 1993, rather than eight years later.

The 1993 World Trade Center attack was far from an isolated episode. According to FBI data presented in Figure 1.3 on page 14, there were 345 acts of political terrorism on American soil between 1980 and 2001,[5] and this number is

The Unabomber

The bombing offensive committed by the Unabomber, Theodore Kaczynski, represents one of the deadliest examples of domestic terrorism committed by an individual. Not only did the Harvard-educated mathematician single-handedly perpetrate an 18-year killing spree, but he was also a loner who despised technology. In order to communicate his message of high-tech destruction, he decided to literally blow it up through the mail. Injuring 23 and killing 3 was as close as he came.

Before his identity was known, the FBI referred to Kaczynski as the UNABOM (from "*university* and *airline* bomber," based on the affiliations of most of his victims with academics or the airline industry). Variants of this moniker appeared later, including Unabomer, and Unabomber.

Kaczynski spent his days in an out-of-the-way Montana cabin, constructing bombs to be sent to his "enemies" and typing his manifesto, in which he railed against the evils of a postmodern, technology-dependent America. Kaczynski's main argument was that technological progress was undesirable and should be reversed, so that members of society could return to a simpler (and therefore happier) life, close to nature, rather than being dominated by computers and other machines. His bombs were meant to terrify leaders in the fields of higher education and technology, to warn them that their lives were in jeopardy as long as they continued to lead American society in the wrong direction.

most likely an underestimate because it includes only political violence but excludes any terrorist acts carried out for personal reasons. Indeed, some observers have suggested that most American terrorism is criminal, not political, deriving from the psychopathology of the perpetrator rather than his political or religious beliefs.[6] Figure 1.3 also shows that acts of domestic and international terrorism were particularly common during the early 1980s, long before al Qaeda and its leader, Osama bin Laden, became household names.[7]

Kaczynski's manifesto was printed in its entirety—just as he had demanded—in the *Washington Post*, where it accomplished its twofold purpose. First, from the point of view of the killer, it made the Unabomber into some kind of folk hero—a high-tech Robin Hood, the image of a well-meaning, if misguided, humanitarian who had dedicated his life to saving us from ourselves. From the viewpoint of the FBI, however, printing the manifesto had a different result—it provided a set of clues that could be matched with the Unabomber's background, which ultimately contributed to his apprehension. In the end, both objectives may have been realized: Some Americans organized Unabomber fan clubs and defense funds; they wore Unabomber T-shirts and watched as Jay Leno participated in Unabomber skits on his nightly TV show. At the same time, the Unabomber's brother, David Kaczynski, easily recognized certain idiosyncrasies in the syntax and substance of the Unabomber's antitechnology manifesto, which, according to the FBI, ultimately led to Theodore Kaczynski's arrest. Thanks to a family that turned in one of its own in order to save the lives of people they didn't know, Kaczynski is presently serving a life sentence in a California prison.*

* James A. Fox, Jack Levin, and Kenna Quinet, *The Will to Kill: Making Sense of Senseless Murder*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2004, p. 156.

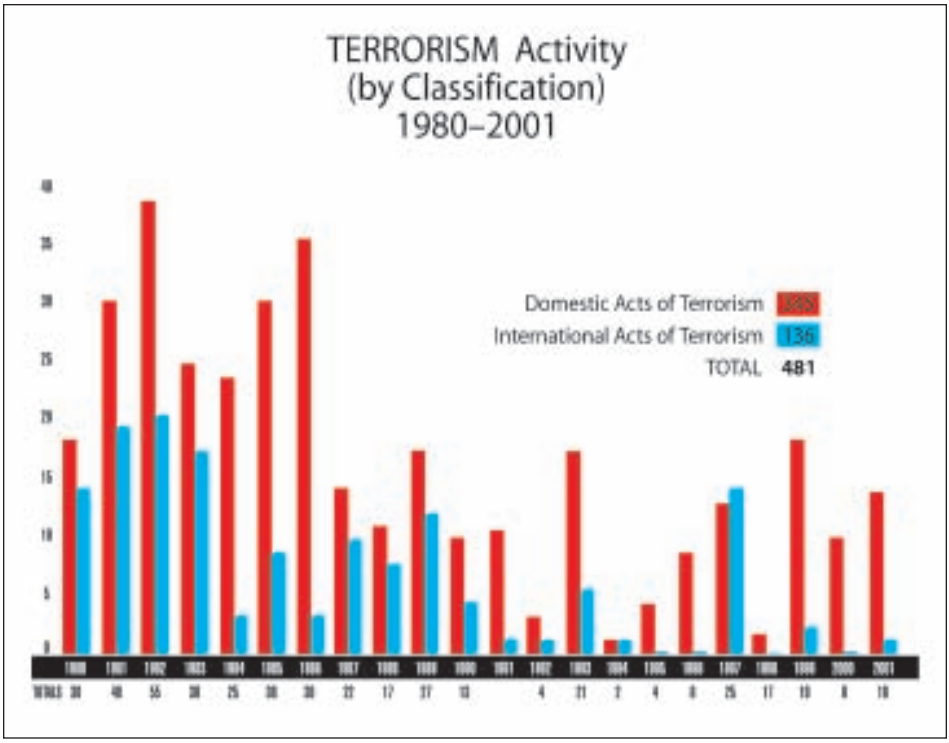


Figure 1.3 **From the FBI's *Report on Terrorism*, 2001, this graphic shows the number of terrorist attacks that originated domestically (within the United States) and internationally, broken down by year.**

SOURCES OF TERRORISM

Given the magnitude of the September 11 tragedy, it is all too easy for Americans to assume that most terrorists are international in origin. The typical political terrorist is widely viewed as a person of Middle-Eastern descent, a dedicated disciple of Osama bin Laden or some other Muslim militant, and one who seeks to destroy the United States in the interest of waging holy war, or jihad, against Western culture, government, or economics.

As indicated in Figure 1.4, almost two-thirds of all acts of political terrorism in the United States between 1980 and 2001—at least 310 out of 482 episodes—were home-grown—

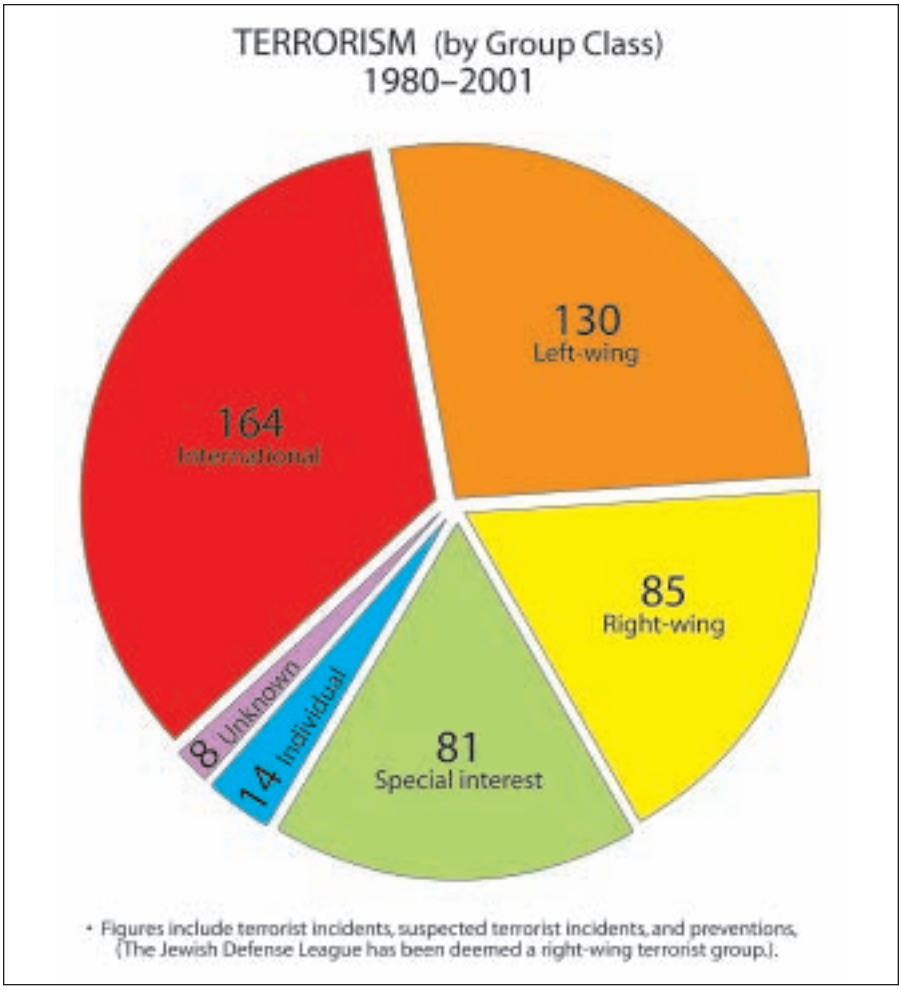


Figure 1.4 **From the FBI's *Report on Terrorism*, 2001, this graphic shows the number of terrorist attacks from 1980–2001, broken down by ideological class.**

right-wing, left-wing, or special interest, originating not in Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, or Iran, but in the anger and hostility of 100-percent Americans.[8] This distorted perception may cloud our judgment as to the actual nature of the terrorist threat.

When the federal building in Oklahoma City was leveled by a bomb in 1995, killing 168 men, women, and children, many Americans initially suspected it to be the work of

Middle-Eastern terrorists. Newspapers around the country reported that two Middle-Eastern–looking men with dark skin and beards were seen leaving the scene of the crime. When the actual terrorist was apprehended, he turned out to be an American citizen, Timothy McVeigh, who lacked any connections to the Middle East and didn't have a beard or have dark skin. His accomplice was another clean-shaven and light-skinned American, 48-year-old Terry Nichols, an Army veteran from Kansas who despised the federal government. He purchased the explosives that Timothy McVeigh used in the bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building. Many Americans were shocked, because they had become convinced that all terrorist acts emanate from foreign soil, especially from the Middle East. It was very hard for Americans to believe that a fellow citizen could perpetrate such a hideous act.[9]

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we sought to place the issue of domestic terrorism into a broad perspective. Terrorism was defined with reference to its tactics and strategies rather than its objectives. A terrorist attack was regarded as the illegal use of violence by a group or individual seeking to intimidate or coerce a government or the civilian population in order to further some political, social, or personal objective. Terrorist attacks have typically been carried out with explosives, but other weapons have also been employed. Notwithstanding the enormous amount of publicity given to international terrorism in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks on America, the majority of terrorist acts in the United States have actually been committed not by people from the Middle East, but by Americans.

CHAPTER 2

LEFT-WING TERRORISM

VIOLENCE FROM THE LEFT VERSUS THE RIGHT

Much domestic terrorism can be linked to the operation of organized groups "on the left" or "on the right," whose members plot and conspire to carry out the political objectives of some radical master plan. The terms *on the left* (also *left wing*, *liberal*, *leftist*, and *the political left*) and *on the right* (also *right wing*, *conservative*, *rightist*, and *the political right*) date back to the early days of the French revolution. At that time, in the French National Assembly (or parliament), reformers sat on the left side, whereas supporters of the monarchy and nobility sat on the right side of the assembly hall. Over a span of hundreds of years, the meaning of the terms *left* and *right* has been modified. Leftists or liberals are now usually associated with policies

addressing the rights of workers to higher pay and better working conditions, supporting government programs to improve the lives of the poor, putting aside national interests to cooperate with other countries, and reducing the income gap between rich and poor. Rightists or conservatives are associated more with policies protecting our constitutional rights including freedom of speech, maintaining a competitive marketplace in which company profits and jobs are maximized, bringing Americans together in a spirit of cooperation, reducing the size and scope of the federal government, and cutting taxes so that citizens keep more of the money that they earn. While there are right- and left-leaning politicians in both political parties, many Americans would argue that more Democrats tend to be left-wing while more Republicans are likely to be right-wing. Moreover, extremists on the far left are usually regarded as communists or socialists, whereas extremists on the far right are often viewed as fascists.[10] According to a recent Gallup survey, 19 percent of all adult Americans consider themselves to be "liberal," while 40 percent regard themselves as "conservative." Most Americans, however, are in the political mainstream. Whatever their political leanings—slightly to the left or to the right—they do not support or encourage terrorist activities.[11]

REVOLUTIONARY TERROR

For much of the twentieth century, and especially between 1960 and the mid-1980s, murderous domestic terrorism came, for the most part, from political extremists on the far left—from Marxist-communists, socialists, militant minority groups, and Puerto Rican nationalists who espoused revolution. Left-wing terrorists tended to be young, well-educated, upper-middle-class people from urban areas. Many were African- and Latino Americans; almost one-third were women.[12] Their acts of terror were designed to call attention to national policies they regarded as immoral and in need of change. At the extreme, they sought to eliminate capitalism

from the American economic and political system, and replace it with a communist alternative.

Twenty-four-year-old Lee Harvey Oswald had long been fascinated by Soviet communism. He taught himself Russian at the age of 17 and then migrated to Russia, where he renounced his American citizenship and married a Russian woman. Eventually returning to the United States, Oswald and his wife settled in Fort Worth, Texas. He continued his obsession with communist ideology, subscribing to Soviet magazines and corresponding with the left-wing Socialist Workers Party.

Oswald felt personally and politically abused by the government policies of President John F. Kennedy. Not unlike other radical leftists, he was convinced that his Russian wife was being persecuted by members of the FBI, who had her under surveillance. Moreover, Oswald argued that the president had failed to condemn the anti-communist rantings and ravings of Senator Joseph McCarthy during the 1960 election campaign, had been slow to support the civil rights movement, and had humiliated Communist dictator Fidel Castro during the Cuban Missile Crisis. The assassination of President Kennedy would, from Oswald's viewpoint, represent an opportunity to move the United States away from its fascist tendencies while advancing the Communist cause.[13] John F. Kennedy was a popular president. The only realistic way to eliminate him from office was to assassinate him. In the process, Oswald had hoped to help modify the policy of the United States toward the Soviet Union and toward Castro's government in Cuba. At the root of the assassination was the notion of planting the seeds of destruction for America's capitalist government—to foment a revolutionary movement in the United States.

Most Americans agree that Oswald was at least partially responsible for the November 22, 1963, assassination of President Kennedy. Both Kennedy and Texas Governor John Connally were riding in a convertible limousine with the top

Surrounded by reporters, Lee Harvey Oswald, the man accused of assassinating President John F. Kennedy, is led down a corridor at the Dallas police station on November 23, 1963. Oswald was killed the next day when he was shot by Jack Ruby, a nightclub owner with ties to the Dallas Police Department.

down as part of a motorcade through downtown Dallas. They were smiling and waving to the crowds when they were struck down by an assassin's bullets.

Oswald apparently owned the firearm that was used to kill the president and injure Connally. The gunman waited in the Texas School Book Depository with this rifle on the morning of the assassination, and at 12:30 P.M.—the hour President Kennedy's car passed by—was positioned at the window of the building, from which at least some of the shots were fired. Some Americans believe that Oswald was falsely accused of committing Kennedy's murder, but many more continue to be convinced that Oswald was only partly

Political Assassinations

The term *assassination* is derived from the word *assassins* or *hashshashin*, which refers to a band of Muslims in Persia and Asia Minor in the 1100s who killed their enemies while under the influence of psychotropic drugs (e.g., hashish.)* In its modern usage, however, the term *assassination* no longer implies drug dependence. Political assassination is regarded as a form of terrorism in which certain victims—persons who hold a position of importance—are targeted for their celebrity status and decision-making abilities. The objective in an assassination is to remove a political enemy who holds tremendous power and, indirectly, to terrify the masses. On occasion, the assassin is also motivated by money—to profit from his "hit" or earn a reward. In most cases, however, the assassin aims for more than just ending the life of a leader. He is sending a message of terror to world leaders, future national leaders, and the general public, indicating that the assassinated leader was weak and that the policies he or she espoused were weaker.

Four United States presidents have been assassinated: Abraham Lincoln in 1865, James Garfield in 1881, William McKinley in 1901, and John F. Kennedy in 1963. A number of other important political figures have also been targeted for murder in the United States. During the civil rights era of the 1960s, the United States lost several heroic political figures to assassins: In June 1963, field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Medgar Evers was shot down in his front yard by a white supremacist—that is, by an individual who believed that blacks were inferior to whites and therefore deserved to remain in a segregated and subservient position in society. In April 1968, legendary civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. was gunned down outside his Memphis motel room; in February 1965, the founder of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Malcolm X, was killed while delivering a speech in New York City; and in June 1968, presidential candidate (and brother of the murdered president) Robert F. Kennedy was assassinated while campaigning in the ballroom of the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles, California.

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* World Book Online Reference Center, "Assassination," World Book, May 13, 2005. www.aolsvc.worldbook.aol.com/wb/Aricle?id=aR033880.

responsible and that he had unknown accomplices who were never identified and apprehended.

The reason for skepticism about the "lone assassin" theory has to do, at least in part, with the number of shots fired versus the number of victims hit by bullets. Only three fired slugs have ever been accounted for. Yet, by some credible accounts, Kennedy was hit twice, Connally was hit at least once, and an onlooker from the crowd was hit once. The official explanation was that a single bullet from Oswald's rifle had caused all of the wounds in President Kennedy and Governor Connally. Those observers who are inclined toward the conspiracy theory have found this account very difficult to believe.

Two days following the assassination, on Sunday, November 24, the opportunity to interrogate Oswald about his possible accomplices was eliminated forever when he was shot and killed in the basement of the Dallas Police Department while being transferred to the County Jail. National television cameras were rolling as a local nightclub owner, Jack Ruby, fired the fatal shot.[14]

THE WEATHER UNDERGROUND

The 1960s were filled with political assassinations and other acts of terrorism from the left. Into the 1970s, civil rights, women's liberation, and the antiwar movement were on the minds of millions of Americans. Left-wing terrorists found considerable support and encouragement for their revolutionary activities. College students around the country demonstrated against "establishment" policies on and off campus; the women's movement gained momentum; the civil rights movement captured the imagination of many young Americans; and members of the antiwar movement became increasingly strident.

In 1970, a radical group known as the Weather Underground declared war against the government of the United States. A splinter group of the campus-based Students for a Democratic Society, the Weather Underground espoused the belief that the need for

Katherine Powers, right, a former member of the Weather Underground, is shown here in 1999, leaving the Massachusetts prison where she served six years. Powers hid for 23 years after taking part in an armed robbery that ended in the death of a Boston police officer before turning herself over.

change within the United States was so great that only violent action could bring it about. While preparing a bomb in a New York City safe house, three Underground members were accidentally killed. Other members later bombed the Capitol, the Pentagon, and police and prison buildings.

Weather Underground members committed a number of murders during a series of bank robberies. In September 1970, campus revolutionary Katherine Powers and three companions set fire to the National Guard Armory in Massachusetts, robbing it of a truck and ammunition, which they supplied to another radical leftist group known as the Black Panthers. Three days later, the same group of Underground members robbed the Brighton Bank in Boston, stealing $26,000, which they hoped to use to fund their revolutionary army. In the process, they murdered Walter Schroeder, a 42-year-old police officer who had responded to the bank's call for help. Her four accomplices were apprehended and convicted, but Powers remained a fugitive for 23 years before she surrendered to authorities. For her conviction on armed robbery and manslaughter charges, she was paroled after serving six years.

Another member of the Weather Underground, Kathy Boudin, participated in the 1981 robbery of an armored truck in suburban Nanuet, New York. During the robbery, Boudin and her friends shot and killed a security guard and two police officers. They made off with $1.6 million. For her part in the crime, Boudin was convicted of second-degree murder and served 22 years in prison. She was released on parole in September 2003.

THE KIDNAPPING OF PATTY HEARST

The Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) was another radical group that appeared during the politically turbulent era of the 1970s. This collection of revolutionaries was accused of murdering a popular school superintendent in Oakland, California; abducting heiress Patty Hearst; and going on a robbery spree that ended in the shooting deaths of six SLA members by Los Angeles police officers, all during the group's underground fugitive period between 1973 and 1975. Yet, during this period, the group never had more than a dozen or so members.

The SLA kidnapping of 19-year-old Patty Hearst, granddaughter of newspaper mogul William Randoph Hearst, became

After being kidnapped and held for two months by the so-called Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), Patty Hearst began aiding her captors. This photograph, released by the FBI, shows Hearst holding a machine gun and standing in front of the symbol of the SLA.

one of the most publicized stories of the decade. On February 4, 1974, the young heiress was snatched from her Berkeley apartment at the University of California and taken to the headquarters of the SLA, where she was kept in a closet, tied up and blindfolded, for almost two months.

On the morning of April 15, however, surveillance cameras caught Patty Hearst brandishing an automatic rifle and wearing a black beret as she participated—apparently of her own free will—with three other women and one man in the robbery of

the Hibernia Bank branch in the Sunset section of San Francisco. In less than four minutes, the gang stole more than $10,000 and, while making their getaway, injured four passersby.

Calling herself "Tanya," Hearst also distributed "communiqués" to the public, in which she railed against the "fascist establishment." It appeared that Patty Hearst was no longer a captive, but a full-fledged "soldier of the people's army."

In September 1975, Patty Hearst was arrested with two other SLA members and charged with bank robbery. Her trial lasted more than a month. Hearst's defense was that she had been brainwashed. Not only had she spent 53 days in a closet, but she had also been physically and sexually abused by members of the group. They isolated her, convinced her that she might be killed, and suggested repeatedly that their group was being oppressed by the American government. Moreover, Hearst was forced to record audiotapes in which she lambasted her fiancée and members of her family.

Deliberating for 12 hours, the jury found Hearst guilty. She served her sentence in the Federal Correctional Institute at Pleasanton, California. After she had served 21 months, President Jimmy Carter commuted her sentence in 1979. Patricia Hearst received a pardon from President Clinton just before he left office in January 2001.

THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

Left-wing terrorism has also come from the ranks of organizations and individuals dedicated to the cause of gaining independence for the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Many Puerto Ricans have sought to maintain their status as a protectorate or territory of the United States—they cannot vote in federal elections, but they also do not pay taxes to the Internal Revenue Service. Others seek to make the island of Puerto Rico the fifty-first state. A small but obtrusive minority of Puerto Ricans seek nothing less than full and complete independence from the United States.

In the 1970s and early 1980s, the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN, after its Spanish name), a Puerto Rican independence group, was responsible for more than 100 bombings in New York City and Chicago, resulting in at least 5 deaths, 83 injuries, and more than 3 million dollars in property damage.[15]

The most spectacular and deadly attack perpetrated by FALN occurred in New York City's crowded financial district on January 24, 1975, when a terrorist bomb ripped through Fraunces Tavern, shattering the windows of the building, obliterating its wooden front door and an internal wall, and tearing apart its marble staircase. The force of the explosion was so intense that it shook surrounding skyscrapers, smashing their windows. Thousands of shards of glass sprayed passersby on the sidewalk below.

The tragedy of the Fraunces Tavern attack was very much a human one. Inside the tavern, dozens of Wall Street workers having lunch in the crowded dining room were badly injured. Four died in the bombing; one was decapitated by flying debris. An hour later, wire service reporters received a phone call from a representative of FALN, claiming responsibility for the terrorist attack and demanding the release of Puerto Rican prisoners. The caller explained that the deadly bombing was in retaliation for the CIA's killing of supporters of Puerto Rican independence.[16]

Not unlike most other terrorist acts, however, there was also a larger purpose: To convince the government of the United States that its "occupation" of the island of Puerto Rico was too costly in human and economic terms to continue.

CONCLUSION

Terrorism designed to support and encourage revolution peaked in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s, when radical youth seemed to dominate the margins of the political scene. The Weather Underground and the Symbionese Liberation Army consisted of a relatively small number of committed

extremists whose objective was to overthrow the American government. In addition, the Puerto Rican independence movement sought to move the island away from American influence and to create for its inhabitants an autonomous existence in the Caribbean. By the mid-1980s, thanks to effective federal prosecutions as well as the growing popularity of conservative ideology, groups such as the Weather Underground and the Symbionese Liberation Army had lost much of their appeal to America's youth.

CHAPTER 3

RIGHT-WING TERRORISM

THE RISE OF CIVILIAN MILITIA GROUPS

Most of the terrorist murders committed from 1960 through the early 1980s involved left-wing revolutionaries in groups like the Weather Underground or the FALN. By contrast, Americans who have committed acts of organized domestic terrorism since the mid-1980s have tended to represent right-wing extremist causes, often involving hatred toward the federal government and/or a belief in white supremacy—a conviction that the white race is superior to other racial groups. In a sense, these right-wing terrorists can be regarded as vigilantes who seek to maintain the status quo, as they see it, or to retreat to an earlier, more secure period in history. They might operate on their own as lone wolves and in small cells involving a

few people, or they might join national organizations of like-minded extremists. Their tactics have varied from holding meetings, distributing propaganda, and developing Websites to firebombing buildings and assassinating important people.

Contributing to the rise of right-wing terrorism during the 1980s was the rapid growth of civilian militia groups (such as the Patriot movement). Their members despised the federal government, communists, international bankers, and the United Nations, and were proponents of what they considered to be a "one-world order." Militia members were convinced of the presence of a conspiracy in high places to destroy Americans' constitutional rights. Some observers considered civilian militias to be private armies.

Militia members argued that the sovereignty of the United States was under attack, communists had already taken over the White House, and revolution was just around the corner. As a result, many of them stockpiled weapons, built shelters in secluded areas, and rehearsed collectively for what they saw as an inevitable war against the federal government.

The ideological thinking of militia members often had a basis in personal catastrophe. When economic recession hit the United States in the early 1980s, many farmers, ranchers, miners, and timber workers in small towns and rural areas across the country lost their jobs or were put out of business.[17] Having suffered financial disaster, they believed that an inordinate amount of the attention in the nation had focused on the plight of minorities residing in large cities rather than on the troubles of the white residents in small towns and rural areas.

Toward the middle of the 1990s, the militia or Patriot movement had reached its pinnacle of success in terms of recruitment. Through the 1980s and into the early 1990s, more and more Americans—having seen their fortunes dwindle under the impact of economic recession and having witnessed major blunders of federal law enforcement officials at Ruby Ridge and Waco—were attracted to the cause. Many of the

Trends in Right-Wing Terrorism

Allen Sapp has identified three trends in the right-wing movement beginning in the mid-1980s.* The first involves Americans having group affiliations that read like a "Who's Who" of organizations promoting white supremacy—Aryan Nations, Arizona Patriots, Ku Klux Klan, the Order, and Posse Comitatus. Their main objective in perpetrating terrorist acts is to prevent minority Americans from exercising their constitutional rights by sending them a message of fear and terror. The second trend consists of survivalists who withdraw from conventional society in order to construct armed compounds in rural areas. They build bunkers, in which they can stockpile weapons and food, and await the demise of the federal government. The third and final trend in right-wing extremism, according to Sapp, involves the growth of the Christian Identity movement, a set of religious tenets that provides a theological basis for believing that white Christians are intellectually and morally superior to people of color and Jews. White supremacist organizations such as Aryan Nations now often cloak their hatred of blacks, Latinos, Asians, and Jews in the aura and dogma of religion. Followers of the Identity Church claim they are only "doing the work of God." At Sunday services, they preach that white Anglo-Saxons are the true Israelites depicted in the Old Testament, God's chosen people, while Jews are actually the children of Satan. They maintain that Jesus was not a Jew, but an ancestor of white northern European peoples. In their view, blacks are "pre-Adamic," pre-Old Testament, a species lower than whites. In fact, they claim that blacks and other nonwhite groups are at the same spiritual level as animals and therefore have no souls.

Members of the movement also believe in the inevitability of a global war between the races, which only white people will ultimately survive. The survivalists among Christian Identity followers prepare for war by moving to communes where they can stockpile weapons, provide paramilitary training, and pray. According to an Identity directory, in the 1990s there were Identity churches in 33 states, Canada, England, South Africa, and Australia.

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* Allen Sapp, "Basic Ideologies of Right-Wing Extremist Groups in America." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences. Las Vegas, NV, 1985.

legal principles espoused by militia members continued to have a financial basis. Members were brought into court over matters such as foreclosure on farm property, back taxes, and unpaid debt.[18]

Then, in 1995, Timothy McVeigh and his accomplice, 48-year-old Terry Nichols, blew up 168 men, women, and children at a federal building in Oklahoma City, and even the most ardent of antigovernment extremists simply felt that McVeigh and Nichols had gone too far. Recruitment to the militia cause became all but impossible. Finally, as the turn of the millennium came and went without revolution, many more militia members found themselves completely disillusioned. The militia movement was beginning to look frail and tired. Many Americans lost interest in it.

Rather than operate on their own, however, many former members of the Patriot movement transferred their allegiance to the white supremacist movement, causing the number of such groups to grow through the opening years of the new millennium. During the same period, the structure of the white supremacist movement shifted away from large and highly organized groups to small cells consisting of a few close friends or acquaintances—lone wolves who operated alone and were only loosely connected to any larger movement. In addition to causing organized hatemongers to lose power and influence, this transition also served to increase the difficulty with which federal investigators were able to infiltrate and investigate groups of extremists.

The convergence of interests between the militia movement and white supremacist groups can be seen in the collective response to the financial disaster of a group of American farmers who had borrowed heavily to enlarge and upgrade their farms, but ended up owing large sums of money they could not repay. During the farm crisis of the 1980s, a tax-resistance movement known as the Posse Comitatus (power of the county) attracted a growing number of farmers who had been displaced

from their land. By arguing that the only legitimate government was local government, they resisted the payment of federal taxes in a last-ditch effort to maintain their agrarian lifestyles.[19]

In the early 1990s, a group of financially strapped Posse members established a tract of land close to Jordan, Montana, which they claimed was not part of the United States and thus outside of the jurisdiction of its laws.[20] Calling themselves the Freemen of Montana, they proclaimed that they were to be sovereign citizens who obeyed only the Constitution of the United States and its first ten amendments, and were no longer legally responsible for repaying their debts.

THE CRIMES OF ERIC RUDOLPH

More recently, on July 27, 1996, lone wolf Eric Rudolph caused a deadly pipe bomb explosion that ripped through crowded Centennial Olympic Park in Atlanta, Georgia, during a concert, killing 44-year-old Alice Hawthorne of Albany, Georgia, and injuring more than 100 people. To maximize the damage, Rudolph had packed his 40-pound pipe bomb in a knapsack filled with screws and nails.

During his appearance in federal court in April 2005, Rudolph admitted to committing the Olympic Park bombing as well as three others. During his two-year series of attacks in the Deep South, he also injured four people in an explosion at the Otherside Lounge, a lesbian nightclub located on the northeast side of Atlanta, and killed 35-year-old Robert Sanderson at a women's health clinic in Birmingham, Alabama. In the same bombing, nurse Emily Lyons was seriously injured. Rudolph also confessed to bombing a women's clinic in Sandy Springs, Georgia, where abortions were performed.

Hiding in the hills of North Carolina, Rudolph was able to avoid capture for five years. He was finally apprehended in 2003 while rummaging through a dumpster behind a restaurant to find food. Though Rudolph fit the profile for a typical lone-wolf terrorist, who operates alone for the most part, the

Eric Rudolph is led to a police car after a hearing at a federal courthouse in Alabama. Rudolph was convicted of carrying out a bombing at the 1996 Summer Olympics in Atlanta, as well as bombings at a lesbian nightclub and a women's heath clinic.

FBI suspected that he had help securing food and shelter from local individuals who were ideologically friendly to the fugitive.

Having murdered two innocent people, Rudolph was definitely eligible to be executed by the federal government. Instead,

he was sentenced in a plea bargain to four consecutive life sentences without parole. He escaped death by confessing to his crimes and divulging to authorities the location of hundreds of pounds of dynamite he had stockpiled while hiding in the hills of North Carolina. In an 11-page manifesto released by his lawyer, Rudolph claimed that his objective was to stop the "holocaust of abortion." He reasoned that abortion was a form of murder, and any government official who tolerated abortion was acting as an agent of mass murder. According to Rudoph, his July 27, 1996, attack during the Summer Games in Atlanta was meant to "confound, anger, and embarrass the Washington government in the eyes of the world for its abominable sanctioning of abortion on demand." [21]

Rudolph also referred to the true purpose of the Olympics as promoting a political and economic system he called "global socialism." His string of bombings targeted not only abortion clinics and Centennial Olympic Park, but also a gay nightclub. On the surface, Rudolph appears to be a single-issue terrorist, whose attacks were exclusively in response to legalized abortion. Rudolph's choice of targets, however, suggests that his motivations may have been far more complex. His attack at the Olympics in Atlanta was meant to be part of a larger campaign to shut down the games and embarrass the federal government.

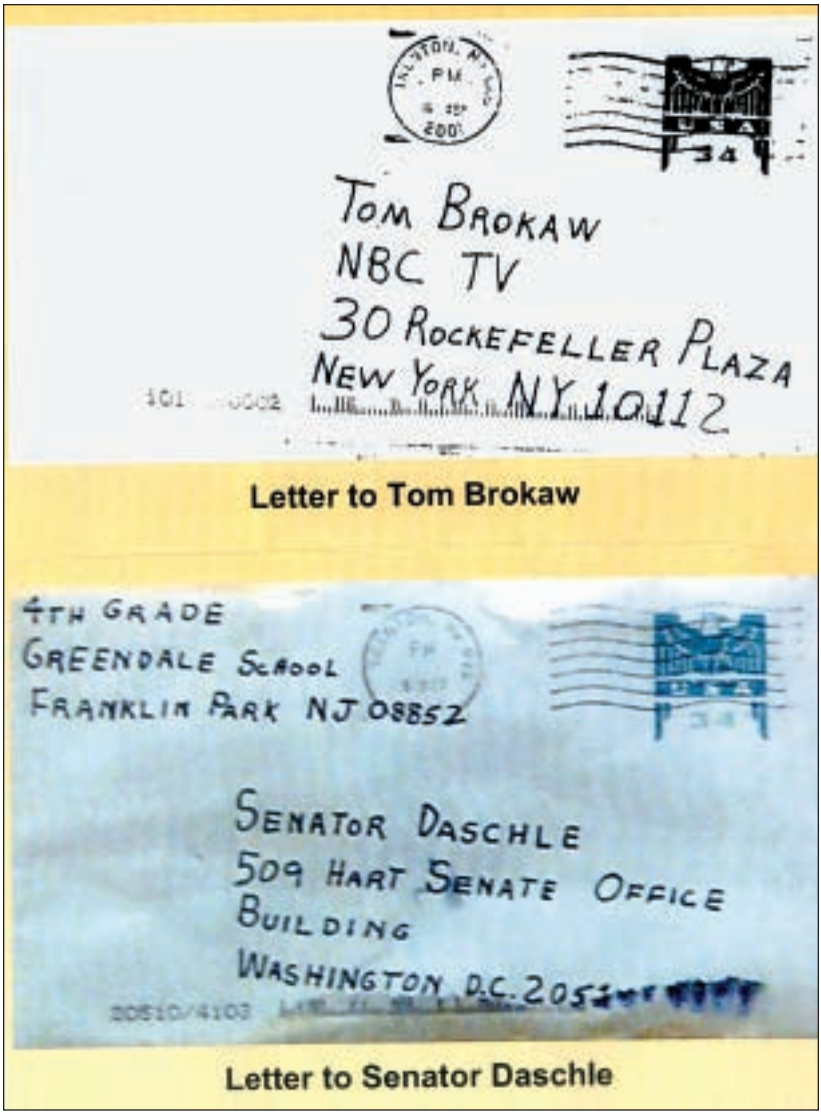
BIOCHEMICAL TERROR

One of the greatest threats to the peace and tranquility of the nation is the growing possibility that terrorists will be able to amass chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction. In the case of anthrax poisoning, domestic terrorists may have already attained a level of sophistication necessary to spread illness through a targeted population or to target specific individuals for fatal disease.

Anthrax is a serious infectious disease that is caused by the bacterium *Bacillus anthracis*. In human beings, an anthrax infection can purposely be transmitted to serve as a deadly

weapon by causing victims to breathe spores. Anthrax poisoning often causes death or severe skin disease. In 2001, just after the September 11 attacks on America, anthrax spores, in powder form, were sent through the mail in seven letters from Trenton, New Jersey, to two senators and five media outlets in New York, Florida, and Washington, D.C. After inhaling the poisoned white powder, 5 individuals (including 2 postal workers) died, 18 more were infected but lived, and 35,000 took prophylactic doses of antibiotics. A number of office buildings and post office facilities were contaminated and had to be vacated. Moreover, the original attack inspired numerous anthrax hoaxes at office buildings around the country.

As a result of their proximity to the September 11 attacks, authorities initially thought that the anthrax attacks might have been initiated by some foreign terrorist group, such as al Qaeda. Over time, however, most observers, including the FBI, came to believe instead that a right-wing American terrorist, who held a grudge against the "left-wing press" and "liberal forces" in the federal government, was more likely responsible for the attacks. Both of the targeted senators—Tom Daschle of South Dakota and Patrick Leahy of Vermont—were considered by many to be liberal Democrats who supported policies unfriendly to the extreme right. The five media outlets targeted covered a broad spectrum of "liberal thinking"—the *New York Post, American Media* (publisher of the *National Enquirer*), the newsroom of ABC, Dan Rather of CBS, and Tom Brokaw of NBC. If Osama bin Laden had chosen the victims, he would more likely have targeted right-wing Republicans or conservative members of the press who supported American involvement in Iraq and the Middle East, and whose agendas might have seemed especially at odds with the focus of radical Islam. Moreover, the process of manufacturing the finely milled form of anthrax used in the attacks probably required advanced scientific training. The terrorist was most likely a Ph.D. in microbiology who had worked in a scientific program with the U.S. government.



This photograph shows the envelopes that contained the letters and anthrax powder that were sent to NBC news anchor Tom Brokaw and Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle.

Despite a massive effort on the part of the FBI to identify the bioterrorist responsible for the anthrax attacks, the case remains unsolved.[22]

The threat of biochemical terrorism continues today. During the fall of 2004, the FBI arrested 39-year-old Demetrius "Van" Crocker when he allegedly tried to purchase sarin nerve gas and explosives from an undercover agent. As reported in an arrest affidavit, Crocker confessed to admiring Adolph Hitler and wanting to build a concentration camp for Jewish insurance executives. He also expressed hatred toward the government of the United States. He told a government informant of his desire to "build a bomb to be detonated at a government building, particularly a courthouse, either federal or state.[23]

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE RISE AND FALL OF THE EXTREMIST RIGHT

Author Kenneth Stern has noted three important events and issues that were responsible for reinvigorating the extremist right, beginning in the closing decade of the twentieth century.[24] First, federal gun control legislation (especially the five-day waiting period for purchasing a firearm initially included in the Brady Law) caused white supremacist organizations to downplay their racist rhetoric in favor of espousing the belief—much more appealing to mainstream America—that the federal government was out to eliminate gun ownership. Second, the mishandled attempt on the part of federal undercover agents working for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) to arrest white supremacist Randy Weaver on firearms charges galvanized right-wing forces that were already convinced the federal government was their enemy. During a prolonged standoff outside of Weaver's mountain cabin in Ruby Ridge, Idaho, in 1992, federal snipers killed the white supremacist's pregnant wife and young son. Third, distrust of the federal government was further reinforced by the 1993 FBI siege of the Branch Davidian compound outside of Waco, Texas, which ended in a tremendous conflagration in which some 80 cult members, including 24 children, lost their lives. (It is no coincidence that Timothy McVeigh's bombing of the federal

building in Oklahoma City occurred exactly two years after the Waco tragedy.) Botched attempts on the part of federal agents to arrest extremists on weapons charges—episodes such as those at Ruby Ridge and Waco—only added fuel to the fire of discontent among Americans who already doubted the competence and trustworthiness of their government. For a relatively few extremists, such incidents inspired organized efforts to "defend the Constitution" and served to justify their acts of murderous terrorism. Membership in right-wing citizens' militias and survivalist groups, together comprising the so-called Patriot movement, has been estimated at between 15,000 and 100,000.[25]

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), a civil rights organization in Montgomery, Alabama, that tracks hate crimes, suggests that these militia groups have declined every year since 1996, when the militia movement reached its peak with 858 groups. The widespread impression was that the perpetrators in the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City were connected to the militia movement. Just prior to the bombing, Timothy McVeigh had visited an Arizona chapter of the Patriot movement. According to criminologist Mark Hamm, McVeigh most likely also had a continuing relationship with members of a white supremacist organization known as the Aryan Republican Army.[26]

Such accusations caused many Americans to turn away from right-wing extremist groups. More importantly, the enormity of McVeigh's attack—taking the lives of so many men, women, and children—apparently disgusted potential members of the Patriot movement. Then, at the turn of the twenty-first century—the new millennium—militia leaders warned that New Year's Eve would bring widespread computer breakdowns, causing failures in the distribution of basic services. Many people took these warnings seriously enough to stockpile food and water, purchase wood-burning stoves, and even build shelters. When the predicted catastrophic results

failed to materialize, the credibility of the militia movement was thrown more deeply into disrepute.[27] By 2002, the number of groups in the Patriot movement had dropped to only 143. According to the SPLC, many Patriot groups simply disappeared. Not unlike international terrorists around the world, Patriots have organized themselves into small cells with no centralized leadership.[28] Others who might have joined a militia instead became members of a white supremacist group, whose members hated Jews and people of color, but also hated the federal government. According to Daniel Levitas, author of *The Terrorist Next Door*, those who remained in the militia movement were even more dedicated to their antigovernment position and more likely to resort to violence in order to fulfill their political objectives.[29]

Although this lack of structure possibly limits the ability of right-wing groups to amass resources, it also restricts the effectiveness of any surveillance efforts on the part of federal security forces in their efforts to track political extremists. In addition, the militia movement in the United States is diverse. Some members, who are clearly bigoted in their beliefs, despise Jews and blacks. But there are also Jewish and black militia members.[30] The constitutionality of militia activities has been challenged by observers who regard them as illegal private armies.[31] In addition, there seems to be some degree of overlap in the memberships of white supremacy groups and militias, perhaps accounted for by their shared conspiratorial thinking and their hatred for the federal government.[32]

The distinction between radical Islamic militants in the Middle East and white supremacist groups in the United States has blurred occasionally in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks. August Kreis, who previously held membership in Posse Comitatus and the Ku Klux Klan before assuming the leadership of an offshoot of the racist group Aryan Nations, has recently referred to those members of al Qaeda who flew planes into the World Trade Center as "freedom fighters," rather than

terrorists. He has applauded the "jihadic feeling" among the Middle-Eastern extremists responsible for the September 11 attacks on America and has expressed a desire to see the members of the "Aryan race" develop the same commitment to fight the United States government and the Jews.[33] Even more, Kreis has reached out to militant Muslims in an effort to form an alliance between Islamic terrorists and American Nazis.[34]

CONCLUSION

Beginning in the mid 1980s, American terrorism became dominated by extremists on the political right—vigilantes who sought to maintain the status quo or to retreat to an earlier, more secure period in history. At the center of terrorist activities were civilian militia groups whose members (and admirers) stockpiled weapons in anticipation of foreign influences allegedly attempting to erode American sovereignty. In response to perceived atrocities at Ruby Ridge and Waco, Texas, militia members acted out of a conviction that government forces had developed contempt for the constitutional rights of American citizens. The horrendous 1995 bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City embarrassed right-wing extremists, inspiring a reduction in the membership and influence of militia groups across the country.

CHAPTER 4

HATE CRIME AS TERRORISM

HATE-MOTIVATED TERROR

Hate crimes are directed against individuals who are considered different with respect to race, religion, sexual orientation, national identity, or disability status. Terrorism is often designed to send a message that terrifies a civilian population. The two types of attacks—hate crimes and terrorism—are not mutually exclusive. An individual who, for reasons of prejudice and hate, incites terror among a population can be regarded as a terrorist, based on the consequences of his or her behavior. He or she has also committed a hate crime.

Moreover, someone who hates Jews, Asians, blacks, Latinos, Muslims, or any other group of Americans, and commits a crime

against them, although he or she is not a member of a terrorist group, has also committed a terrorist act. Simply attacking as an individual rather than as a group does not nullify the FBI's definition of a terrorist. Not every terrorist act is a hate crime; not every hate crime is an act of terror; but the line between hate crime and terrorism is not always clearly drawn.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

Much of the domestic terrorism inspired by right-wing political extremism is punctuated with examples of racial and religious hatred. Indeed, the majority of right-wing terror in the last couple of decades has been perpetrated either by individuals or organizations that despise Jews, people of color, immigrants, or homosexuals, and seek to eliminate these "outsiders" from their community, nation, or the face of the earth.

Unfortunately, prejudice and hate have long played a leading role in the history of the United States. The Ku Klux Klan began in 1865, in the aftermath of the Civil War, at first as a social fraternity for ex-Confederate officers and later as a white supremacist organization with the purpose of terrorizing newly-freed slaves. Although its influence was initially rather small, the Klan was soon notorious for its use of white robes and hoods, and the burning of large crosses at its meetings, all designed to intimidate black Americans into accepting the status of second-class citizens. During a short period of reconstruction following the Civil War, under the law, ex-slaves were granted genuine opportunities to achieve a significant degree of equality. During this time, there was an escalation in the number of blacks murdered by hooded Klansmen. In the South, slavery was soon replaced by violent acts of intimidation and segregation as methods of racial domination.[35]

In the 1920s, the Klan was the main organization dedicated to reactionary politics in the United States. Concentrating its activities in rural areas, the Klan was able to capitalize on the frustrations and anxieties of Americans who were eager to resist

This 1923 photo shows the Ku Klux Klan, one of the most notorious hate groups in American history, parading through the streets of Tulsa, Oklahoma. During the 1920s, Klan membership peaked at about 4 million.

the growing importance of new technologies and the cultural dominance of the cities.[36]

By the 1920s, membership in the Klan had peaked at about 4 million, as more and more Americans, especially from rural areas and small towns, felt a growing sense of anxiety and loss in the face of massive cultural change.[37] For farmers, ranchers, and small-town business proprietors, the cities represented a convergence of evil influences—the encroachment of unwanted technological innovations, immorality, separation of work from the home, and foreign sources of change. To some, the traditional American way of life seemed to be disappearing under the impact of an unprecedented level of immigration from Southern and Eastern European countries. The advent of the

automobile (known derisively as "an apartment on wheels"), American involvement in the League of Nations, sex and violence portrayed in Hollywood movies, and the appeal to young people of working in large corporations away from the family farm or family business also played a part in some people's level of discontent. In addition, income inequality left relatively few Americans between the rich and the poor. The Klan blamed blacks, Jews, Catholics, immigrants, and other minorities for the failing economy and what it regarded as widespread cultural depravity.

For several decades following the "Roaring 20s," the Klan gradually lost its popular support. Americans increasingly became aware of and appalled by its role in intimidating the black community and civil rights activists with murders, bombings, and cross-burnings. The problems for America's farmers continued to escalate, however. Beginning in the period following World War II, the number of farms fell dramatically across the country. In one county in upstate New York, for example, the number of farms dropped from 3,914 in 1945 to 1,427 in 1969. Some of this decline was a result of the concentration of farm ownership. During the same period, the average farm in this upstate county grew from 131 acres to 228 acres. The more general trend was simply for farmers to go out of business. In 1945, 79 percent of the land in the county was devoted to farming; by 1969, farms only occupied 50 percent. Exactly the same trend was profoundly changing the landscape of America.[38]

WHITE SUPREMACY SINCE THE EARLY 1980S

By the early 1980s, white supremacists had switched their allegiance from the Klan to one of the newer hate groups—for example, the Order, White Aryan Resistance, Aryan Nations, Posse Comitatus, and Church of the Creator. From the 1920s to the 1980s, Klan membership had declined from millions down to about 5,000; the combined membership of all other white supremacist groups was estimated to be approximately 17,000.

White supremacist organizations in rural areas were especially devastated by lawsuits. In the 1980s, Morris Dees of the Southern Poverty Law Center successfully sued a local chapter of the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia for its role in the lynching of a black man. A few years later, a South Carolina Klan chapter was similarly sued, this time for a church burning in rural Clarendon County. Also in the early 1990s, Dees sued Tom Metzger, former Grand Wizard of the Klan and leader of California's White Aryan Resistance, for his part in the brutal murder of an Ethiopian man on the streets of Portland, Oregon. The SPLC won a judgment for the victim's family in the amount

Hate Crime, Terrorism, or Both?

At Los Angeles International Airport (LAX) on the morning of July 4, 2002, Hesham Mohamed Ali Hadayet waited patiently in line at the El Al Airlines second-floor ticket counter. Then, without uttering a word, he opened fire with his .45 Glock semi-automatic handgun. Before security guards could wrestle him to the ground, the Egyptian immigrant had managed to spray a dozen bullets into a crowd of people, fatally gunning down two innocent victims, both of whom were Israeli citizens.

The 41-year-old assailant was a Cairo-born accountant who had migrated to the United States ten years earlier. Unfortunately, his personal life had recently fallen apart, when the small limousine service he had been running out of his apartment in Irvine became mired in debt. In addition, a few days before his deadly rampage at LAX, Hadayet's wife and two sons left him to return to Egypt.

Hadayet's grievances were political as well as personal. He was outraged by the policies of the United States toward Palestinians. He had long argued that the government of his Egyptian homeland should be overthrown. He told an ex-employee that he despised all Israelis. He had vented his anger at a neighbor for flying an American flag after September 11, 2001. Somehow,

of $12.5 million. More recently, Dees successfully sued Aryan Nations for its assault on a visitor to its compound in Hayden, Idaho. As a result, the white supremacist group was forced to vacate its compound and relocate to rural Pennsylvania.

In the mid-1980s, a white supremacist militia group known as the Order sought to make good on its promise to rid the nation of Jews, people of color, and liberals. In December 1984, Order leader Robert Mathews was shot down in a confrontation with FBI agents on Whidbey Island in Washington State. Andrew Macdonald (a.k.a. William Pierce, a long-time white supremacist leader) wrote a novel called *The Turner Diaries*,

Hadayet's political views and personal problems intersected in his mind, as he searched in vain for some reasonable resolution to the circumstances that had left his life in shambles. In the end, however, he tried to solve his problems by committing murder.

From the standpoint of the Israeli government, there was no doubt from the beginning that Hadayet had committed an act of terrorism. Rather than target Aer Lingus, Air Canada, or Alitalia, he had directly and exclusively attacked the Israeli national airline. Further, Hadayet was an Egyptian who despised Israelis. His attack on Israel's national airline had the dual purpose of terrifying anyone thinking of flying El Al or visiting Israel as well as exacting a measure of revenge against the Jewish state. From the FBI's viewpoint, however, the assailant had more likely committed a hate crime. He had personal problems: His wife and children had left him, he had recently suffered financial disaster, and he hated Jews. In addition, there was no evidence that Hadayet was a member of any organized terrorist group. Almost one year after the assault at LAX, however, the FBI changed its position and admitted publicly that Hadayet's hate crime was also an act of terrorism.*

* Eric Lichtblau, "Threats and Responses: The Airport Attack," *The New York Times* (September 25, 2002), p. 1.

about the inevitability of a global race war. The book came to the attention of the U.S. Department of Justice when members of the Order committed a number of robberies and murders in an effort to ignite the same kind of bloody war as was depicted in the book. The group committed crimes ranging from robbing armored cars and counterfeiting to gunning down a Jewish talk-show host in the driveway of his Denver home. Twenty-eight members of the Order were eventually taken into custody, but several million dollars that they had taken during their robberies was never recovered.[39]

Other white supremacist groups continued to make their presence felt. Following McVeigh's bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building, five law-enforcement officers were murdered by white supremacists or by antigovernment extremists.[40] Moreover, according to an SPLC estimate, the number of racist skinhead groups in the United States—that is, skinheads who believe in the inferiority of black Americans—grew 167 percent over a three-year period, from 18 such groups in 2002, to 39 in 2003, and 48 in 2004. More generally, active hate groups of all kinds—those whose members engaged in marches, rallies, meetings, speeches, leafleting, publishing, or criminal acts—experienced some increase in their numbers, growing from 751 such groups in 2003 to 762 in 2004.[41] These figures include Klansmen, Nazis, black separatists, Neo-confederates, racist skinheads, and members of Christian Identity.

Such groups were found in the largest numbers in the most populous states of California, Texas, and Pennsylvania, but they were also overrepresented in the Deep South—in Georgia, Tennessee, Louisiana, Alabama, South Carolina, and Mississippi. These states represent 10.55 percent of the population of the United States, but account for 26 percent of the membership in all organized hate groups.

A RECENT CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP IN THE HATE MOVEMENT

Notwithstanding the rising memberships in their groups,

organized hate organization also experienced major difficulties during the last few years, owing in large part to the failure of their leadership. For a couple of decades, the white supremacist group known as the National Alliance, headquartered in West Virginia, had a formidable presence among neo-Nazis who sought to create an all-white society. According to the Website of the National Alliance,

> This means a society in which young men and women gather to revel with polkas or waltzes, reels or jigs, or any other White dances, but never to undulate or jerk to negroid jazz or rock rhythms. It means pop music without Barry Manilow and art galleries without Marc Chagall. It means films in which the appearance of any non-White face on the screen is a sure sign that what's being shown is either archival newsreel footage or a historical drama about the bad, old days.[42]

In July 2002, William Pierce, the former physics professor who founded the National Alliance, unexpectedly died, leaving his white supremacist group with a serious leadership vacuum. The National Alliance has more recently been headed by neo-Nazis Shaun Walker and ex-boxer Erich Gliebe, and it has experienced a number of major problems with funding and membership. More specifically, the organization has seen its membership rolls dwindle and many of its staff desert to other organizations. Some disaffected National Alliance members have "reconstituted" the organization under the name National Vanguard. Other former members have waited patiently on the sidelines for organizational stability to return. The overall effect has been to place the very existence of the National Alliance in jeopardy.

World Church of the Creator is another white supremacist group that, as a result of a crisis in leadership, has recently fallen on hard times. Its members claim to practice a religion,

according to which Christian whites are regarded as superior to other groups. Jews and nonwhites are, by contrast, treated as subhuman "mud races" and therefore natural enemies of the white race. The church preaches that there is no heaven or hell. Members do not believe in God or an afterlife, but seek to promote the advancement of the white race here on earth—to eliminate "alien control" of the world's resources, the "mongrelization" of America by means of biracial dating and marriage, and the Jewish presence.[43]

In April 2005, Matt Hale, a 33-year-old resident of East Peoria, Illinois, who has led the hate group since 1996, was sentenced to 40 years in prison for attempting to solicit the murder of U.S. District Judge Joan Lefkow in Chicago. While leading World Church of the Creator, Hale, who is a lawyer, was rebuffed, on ethical grounds, in his attempt to obtain a license to practice law in the state of Illinois. The tremendous media attention and Internet activities generated by Hale, however, attracted hundreds of young people to his organization.

In July 1999, one particularly dedicated member of World Church of the Creator, Benjamin Smith, a student at Indiana University, went on a suicidal rampage after becoming incensed when the state of Illinois refused to permit Matt Hale to practice law. Smith intended to send a message of hate and bigotry, and to exact a measure of revenge. Before killing himself, he shot to death a Korean graduate student on his campus and a popular black basketball coach at Northwestern University. Smith also injured six Orthodox Jews but failed in his attempt to kill them.

The status of Hale's organization plummeted after his arrest in 2003 on the arranged murder charge. World Church of the Creator has curtailed its activities, eliminating most of its rallies, protests, public meetings, and efforts to distribute literature. Moreover, in 2000, the white supremacist group lost a lawsuit brought by the TE-TA-MA Truth Foundation contesting the use of its trademarked name—Church of the

Matthew Hale, leader of the white supremacist group World Church of the Creator, gestures while giving a speech during a "recruitment drive" in York, Pennsylvania. Hale was sentenced to 40 years in prison for attempting to solicit the murder of a U.S. district judge.

Creator—by Hale's organization. As a result of the court's decision, in December 2002, Hale changed the name of his group to the Creativity Movement. It was this court order, however, that led to Matthew Hale's conviction for asking a "hit man" (who was actually an undercover FBI agent) to murder the Chicago-based judge who had ruled against his group. In May 2005, a second U.S. district judge ordered Hale and his followers to pay more than $450,000 in attorney's fees. Matt Hale remains incarcerated in a federal prison.

Just weeks after Benjamin Smith's rampage through Indiana and Illinois, 37-year-old white supremacist Buford Furrow walked into the North Valley Jewish Community Center in

Los Angeles with a semiautomatic weapon. He fired more than 70 bullets, wounding six people. While attempting to avoid the law, Furrow approached an Asian-American letter carrier and asked him to mail a letter. Before the postal worker could reply, Furrow shot him to death. In March 2001, in a Los Angeles courtroom, U.S. District Judge Nora Manella imposed a life sentence without the possibility of parole. "Your actions were a reminder that bigotry is alive," the judge told Furrow. "If you've sent a message, it is that even the most violent crimes can strengthen a community."[44]

Buford Furrow had connections to Aryan Nations, a white supremacist organization, and to Christian Identity, the theological arm of a number of different hate groups around the country whose members believe that blacks and Latinos are subhuman and that Jews are the children of the devil. As a card-carrying member of Aryan Nations, Furrow had a mission to carry out: He sought to eliminate from the face of the earth as many blacks, Latinos, and Jews as possible.

THE CRIMES OF LEO FELTON

Terrorist threats in the form of organized hate can be found on both sides of the prison walls. Leo Felton, a white supremacist inmate, was a member of a prison hate group known as the Aryan Brotherhood, whose members despise blacks and Jews. Felton, age 31, whose body was literally covered with Nazi and anti-black tattoos, enjoyed listening to "white power" CDs that urged listeners to execute blacks and Jews. After serving his sentence for beating up a black cab driver, Felton made plans to get even with his black and Jewish enemies and to heighten racial tensions. In order to inspire a race riot, he and his 22-year-old girlfriend, Erica Chase, plotted to blow up monuments dedicated to civil rights leaders, and Holocaust survivors and to kill black leaders such as Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton. Felton collected bomb-making materials, but was apprehended before he got a chance to use them.

Felton and Chase were arrested on April 19, 2001, while attempting to spend a counterfeit $20 bill at a local Dunkin Donuts. A police search of their Boston apartment turned up a number of books on explosives, newspaper articles about the New England Holocaust Memorial, and cartoons penned by Felton, in which a white supremacist is depicted planting bombs at the offices of the Anti-Defamation League and at black housing projects. Felton and Chase were tried together on charges of conspiracy to make a bomb, firearms violations, counterfeiting, and obstruction of justice.

On July 26, 2002, Felton and Chase were found guilty on all charges. Felton is now serving a sentence of 22 years. Chase received a lesser sentence. Ironically, Leo Felton's mother is a white civil rights leader; Felton's father is biracial and considers himself a black American.[45]

INDIVIDUAL TERRORISTS

Most Americans reputedly involved in hate-inspired terrorism do not resemble Leo Felton, Matt Hale, or Benjamin Smith with regard to age or social class. In these respects, hate-inspired terrorists more closely resemble Buford Furrow. That is, they are likely to be middle-aged, white males who lack college degrees and are either unemployed or impoverished.

Moreover, not each and every hate-motivated terrorist is a card-carrying member of some organized group. For example, Ronald Taylor, a 39-year-old black resident of Wilkinsburg, Pennsylvania, a Pittsburgh suburb, decided to settle the score with all those bigoted white people he held responsible for his miseries. Through violence, he would show whites and other groups exactly what they could expect to encounter if they didn't change their racist behavior.

On March 1, 2000, disturbed that the superintendent of his apartment building had not yet repaired his broken front door, Taylor reportedly first set his apartment on fire and then shot five people, three of whom died. According to investigators,

Taylor targeted only whites. At one point in his rampage, while waving his gun and making threatening gestures toward a group of people, he yelled at a black woman, "Not you, sister." In his apartment, the police found letters written by Taylor, in which he expressed anger toward Asians and whites, including Jews, Italians, and law-enforcement officers.

Just weeks after Taylor's rampage, 34-year-old Richard Baumhammers, an out-of-work white immigration lawyer, also from suburban Pittsburgh, went on a rampage of his own. Baumhammers despised immigrants, blacks, and Jews; he feared that white Christian Americans were being pushed out by a growing presence of "third-world upstarts." He believed that American citizens would soon have to reside in isolated suburbs surrounded by immigrants from impoverished nations. From his point of view, our government was doing nothing to stop the onslaught. So, it was up to him. He would send a strong signal to inspire a violent reaction from Christian Americans like himself who were fed up with the invasion.

Baumhammers' first victim was his Jewish next-door neighbor, a woman he had known since childhood. After shooting her to death, Baumhammers set her house ablaze and drove off toward two local synagogues, where he fired bullets into their windows. He then drove from place to place over a 20-mile area, searching for anyone who might possibly be an immigrant or a person of color. An hour later, Baumhammers had killed four more people: a man of Indian descent who was exiting a local grocery store, a Vietnamese-American worker, a Chinese-American manager of a popular Chinese restaurant, and an African-American man as he was leaving a karate school.

Church Burnings as Individual Acts

Most church burnings in rural areas of the United States in the mid-1990s were not part of a wide-ranging conspiracy involving organized groups of white supremacist extremists. The evidence suggests, instead, that the majority of these racially

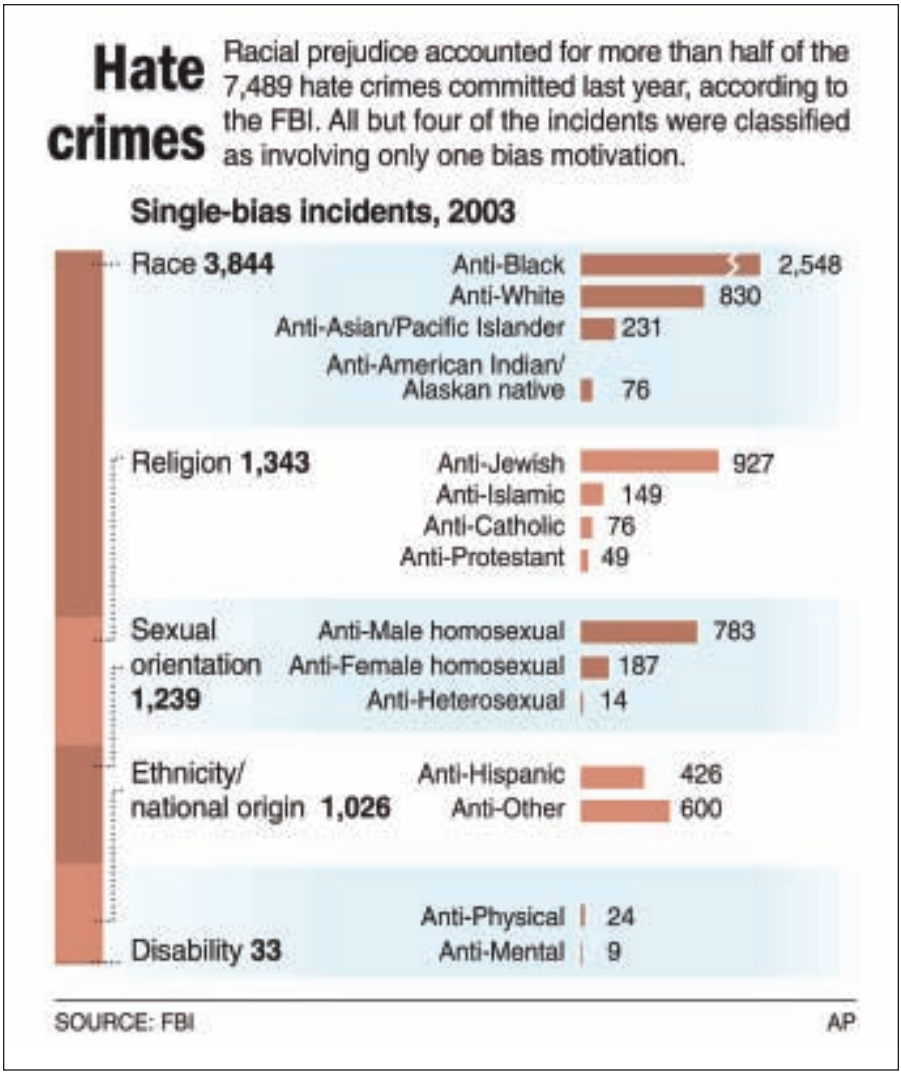


Figure 4.1 **This graphic from the Associated Press shows the FBI's categorization of the biases that prompted 7,489 hate crimes in 2003. Except for four incidents, all of the crimes were classified as being motivated by only one type of bias.**

inspired acts of arson were the work of America's young people, most of whom had no connections with organized hate groups, but were rather themselves out to eliminate African

Americans from their communities. Their message was clear: "If you are black, you are not safe in this neighborhood."

In June 1996, for example, a 13-year-old girl was arrested and charged for an act of arson that destroyed the Matthews Murkland Presbyterian Church in Charlotte, North Carolina. Shortly afterward, three men in their early 20s were prime suspects in the burning of the Lighthouse Prayer Church in Greenville, Texas. A year earlier, two boys, ages 9 and 10, were charged with destroying the Life Christian Assembly Church in North Charleston, South Carolina. And a 17-year-old was charged in the burning of Pleasant Hill Baptist Church in Roberson County, North Carolina.

Organized hate groups did, however, play a role in certain church burnings. Although the youthful perpetrators in the church burnings discussed here acted on their own, the Ku Klux Klan was implicated in many of the torched black churches in southern states. In June, 1995, the 125-year-old Macedonia Baptist Church located in rural Clarendon County, South Carolina, was burned to the ground by four members of the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). Three years later, trial attorneys from the Southern Poverty Law Center, including Morris Dees, filed a civil suit against the local chapter of the KKK on behalf of Macedonia Baptist Church, winning a $37 million judgment that effectively put the South Carolina Klan out of business.

POPULIST MOVEMENTS

During periods of economic decline, left-wing Populist movements have often sprung up in rural areas of the United States. Stressing democratic suspicion of federal power in the hands of a few, the Populists typically sought to encourage a society that was run "in the interests of the common people." Along with such radical economic views, however, they often also espoused ideas that were socially discriminatory and reactionary, including anti-Semitism, nativism, and racism. In the late 1800s,

Populist leaders translated the revolt of poor whites into the ideological justification for white supremacy. The contemporary Populist movement in the United States has apparently abandoned the left-wing economic theories espoused by its earlier counterpart, but has retained an anti-Semitic conspiracy theory in which Jews are regarded as the international oppressors, an anti–affirmative action stance, and an America-first policy opposing immigration.[46]

CONCLUSION

Certain hate crimes are also acts of domestic terrorism because they are designed to send a threatening message to a particular group or to society in general. Following the American Civil War, the Ku Klux Klan attacked newly freed slaves in order to discourage them from competing for jobs previously held by whites only. Later in the twentieth century, the Klan also attacked Catholics and Jews. From the 1980s on, however, the Klan lost much of its influence, when members of the hate movement opted to join organizations that preached hate, but sought to project a more conventional image. In the last few years, certain organized hate groups have suffered a crisis of leadership. Still, many hate crimes continue to be committed by hate-filled individuals who, although they might not hold membership in any particular hate group, are inspired by those groups.

CHAPTER 5

SINGLE-ISSUE TERRORISM

A SINGLE CAUSE AS THE BASIS FOR TERROR

Left- and right-wing terrorists tend to act from a more-or-less consistent ideological position. If they identify with values that are left of center on the political spectrum, they might be expected to attack political and economic forces they associate with exploiting labor or generating poverty. If they identify with a more conservative right-wing position, they might instead direct their assaults at groups and individuals seen as a threat to their constitutional rights.

By contrast, acts of single-issue terror—for example, acts directed against environmental pollution, animal abuse, genetic engineering, abortion, or particular company policies—may not be derived from some broad ideological position, either left or right of the political

center. Instead, single-issue terrorist attacks are typically perpetrated by persons operating on their own or as part of a group that argues that the "evil" they hope to undermine has received the protection of society's legal system. They are therefore left with no other option but operating outside of the law to get their point across.

ABUSE OF THE ENVIRONMENT AND ANIMALS

The Earth Liberation Front (ELF) and the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) are two major organizations with the aim of uniting individuals in the United States who are willing to take illegal measures against environmental destruction or animal cruelty. Until recently, ELF and ALF were widely regarded as misguided but essentially benign organizations with idealistic members who had worked toward the same goals—a cleaner environment and humane treatment of animals—both of which goals most Americans support.

During the last decade, however, ELF and ALF have escalated their unlawful tactics. The FBI estimates that, since 1996, they have committed more than 600 criminal acts, resulting in damages of more than $43 million. Claiming to be "the voice of the ALF," the North American Animal Liberation Front press office reports that, in a single year (2001), activists carried out 137 illegal actions in North America, including 72 for "animal liberation," 51 for "earth liberation," and 14 against genetic engineering.[47]

In the United States, even the most strident ecoterrorists have never crossed the line into making violent attacks on human beings. Representatives of ALF and ELF are always quick to point out that their members have not injured or killed anyone. They would, however, have no problem breaking into a mink farm to free thousands of animals. Or, they might set fire to sport utility vehicles (SUVs). During the month of August 2003, William Cottrell, a 24-year-old graduate student in physics at Cal Tech, accompanied by two friends, went on a

rampage in which they damaged or destroyed 125 SUVs at four dealerships. In November 2004, Cottrell was convicted of causing nearly 5 million dollars in property damage. His motive was to protest the automobile industry's record of polluting the environment with gas-guzzling SUVs. Cottrell's partners in crime, who were named as co-conspirators, are believed to have fled the United States rather than stand trail. Both actions were thought to be associated with the Earth Liberation Front, which claimed responsibility for the arson and vandalism. Many single-issue terrorists have come from the environmental movement. Their primary goal is to add significant discomfort to the lives of those contributing to animal or environmental abuse.

ABORTION

Some American terrorists, as their primary objective, have focused their efforts on reducing the prevalence of abortion by attacking workers and locations where abortions occur. During the 1980s, there were 39 bombings of abortion clinics in the United States. Between 1993 and 1998, seven abortion providers were injured or killed, as anti-abortion extremists around the country resorted to a particularly violent means for dramatizing their cause. In their minds, they were committing justifiable homicide, not murder; they felt it was essential to send a message of violence that would stop those who were taking human life.[48]

On the morning of December 30, 1994, John Salvi, a 22-year-old aspiring hairdresser from New Hampshire, walked into a Planned Parenthood clinic in Brookline, Massachusetts, and pulled out a .22 caliber rifle. He immediately started shooting and, in the process, took the life of 25-year-old receptionist Shannon Lowney and injured three others. Then, Salvi jumped in his car and drove a mile west to Preterm Health Services, another local clinic, where he shot to death 38-year-old receptionist Leann Nichols and injured two more people. While pointing his rifle at Nichols, the gunman shouted: "That's what

A firefighter keeps watch at an auto dealership that sold Hummers and Chevrolets. A fire destroyed several SUVs and a warehouse in West Covina, California, in 2004. The group Earth Liberation Front claimed responsibility for the arson and destruction.

you get. You should pray the rosary." Both clinics offered abortion services to their clients. Again, Salvi was able to get to his car and speed away from the crime scene. This time, he drove more than 12 hours to Norfolk, Virginia, where he opened fire on the Hillcrest Clinic, another facility where abortions were performed. He shot at its walls and shattered its windows, but failed in his attempt to cause personal injury. Salvi also failed in his bid to escape. A police officer followed Salvi from the clinic and apprehended him, not realizing that he was the same terrorist responsible for the abortion clinic murders in Massachusetts.

In February 1996, Salvi was indicted by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. His attorneys argued that the defendant was

delusional and psychotic, that he believed, for example, that Catholic children were being injected with a substance that induced sterility, and that all Americans were being monitored by bar codes. Despite evidence that Salvi suffered from profound mental illness, the jury found him guilty of first-degree murder.

Nine months into his life sentence, John Salvi apparently asphyxiated himself with a plastic trash-bag. In the days prior to his death, he reportedly was disheveled, confused, and incoherent—similar to how he was characterized while on trial. To the end, Salvi continued to espouse his belief that American Catholics were being profoundly persecuted and that large-scale powerful forces were attempting to destroy the religion he claimed to love.[49]

Almost four years later, on October 23, 1998, in Amherst, New York, 48-year-old James Kopp fired a high-powered rifle through a window of the suburban home of Dr. Barnett Stepian, a 51-year-old obstetrician-gynecologist who performed abortions. Stepian was killed in the attack. Kopp was also suspected in the 1997 attempted murder of a doctor in Rochester, New York. On March 18, 2003, Kopp was convicted of second-degree murder, and, on May 9, 2003, he was sentenced to 25 years to life in prison.

It might seem curious that extreme elements in the pro-life, anti-abortion movement, *not* extremists in the pro-choice movement, have turned to terrorism in order to further their cause. The answer may lie in the simple fact that, since 1973, the pro-choice position has been legally protected at the federal level. Under the privacy provision of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Supreme Court decision in *Roe* v. *Wade* affirmed the constitutionality of a woman's right to have an abortion during her first trimester. Thus, pro-lifers have sought to eliminate *Roe* v. *Wade*, hoping that some future Supreme Court decision would overturn it. Not willing to wait for the legal consequences to change, a few extremists on the anti-abortion side of the issue have taken the law into their own hands. We can only speculate

Are Ecoterrorists Becoming More Violent?

Since the late 1990s, ALF and ELF seem to have escalated the destructiveness of their tactics to include death threats, assaults, and firebombings. According to the National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism, all but 3 of the 25 terrorist acts carried out in the United States between January 2003 and January 2005 were the work of militant ecological groups. In 2004, the FBI reported ecological extremism as the number-one threat of domestic terrorism.*

Defenders of ALF and ELF continue to suggest that these groups have committed "victimless crimes." Indirectly, however, they have caused injuries. In 1998, for example, a firefighter was treated for injuries incurred in a Vail, Colorado, resort fire set by ELF. In addition, the increased use of such tactics as firebombing property and spiking trees has increased the potential for injury and death as well.

Finally, although deaths have not yet occurred in connection with the domestic protests of ELF and ALF, the same can no longer be said for the tactics of ecoterrorists in other countries. In the Netherlands, less than two weeks before voters went to the polls to select a new government, animal-rights activist Volkiert van der Graaf shot to death a right-wing candidate for prime minister who had supported pig farmers in their battle against the animal rights movement.

Ecoterrorists have also begun to broaden their targets, to include laboratories in which genetic engineering research is conducted. In May 2003, at the University of Washington Center for Urban Horticulture, for example, terrorists burned down the facility where scientists were seeking to improve the hardiness of urban forests and wetlands. At Michigan State University, terrorists firebombed a laboratory in which researchers were developing a sweet potato capable of thriving in the unfriendly environment of famine-plagued Africa.**

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* Gail Gibson, "War on Homegrown Terrorism Proceeding With Quiet Urgency," *Baltimore Sun* (April 17, 2005), p. 1A.

** "Former ELF Spokesmen Form New Revolutionary Group," Associated Press Website, May 12, 2003.

as to whether dogmatic pro-choice supporters would turn to terrorism if abortions were illegal and the shoe (and the Supreme Court) were ever to be on the other foot.

TERRORISM AT WORK

Terrorism has also been employed historically by workers and bosses to establish gains in the workplace. Certain companies have used terrorist tactics to maintain their control over workers and labor unions. In the late 1800s, for example, private corporations terrorized workers to keep them from disrupting production. On the other side, labor unions also employed violent means for gaining advantages within companies.

Single-issue activists have occasionally employed biochemical terrorism. In late 2003 and early 2004, white powder was discovered in government offices in South Carolina and Washington, D.C., including in a letter-opening machine located in Senator Bill Frist's office. It appeared that another anthrax attack had occurred. An analysis of the powdery substance instead revealed the presence of ricin, a deadly poison easily made from the castor bean and for which there is no known antidote.

Suspected of being an American terrorist, the letter-writer complained about new Department of Transportation trucking regulations mandating more rest time for long-haul truckers.[50] Addressed to the Department of Transportation, the first letter, accompanied by a vial containing the poison, was discovered on October 15, 2003, at a post office facility near Greenville Airport in South Carolina. The writer, who claimed to be the owner of a tanker company, had marked the envelope "Caution, RICIN POISON enclosed in sealed container. Do not open without proper protection." He threatened to release large amounts of the poison if new rules governing the increased length of required breaks for truckers were enacted. On November 6, 2003, a second letter containing ricin was found at a postal facility in Washington, D.C. The letter, sprinkled

with the ricin powder, was addressed to the White House. It included the message, "If you change the hours of service on January 4, 2004, I will turn DC [*sic*] into a ghost town. The powder on the letter is RICIN. Have a nice day." The writer, who signed his name "Fallen Angel," has never been apprehended.

CONCLUSION

Earlier in this book, we focused on acts of terrorism derived from some broad ideological position in the political system, either left or right of center. In this chapter, we examined terrorist attacks based on a single issue—for example, animal abuse, environmental pollution, or abortion. Until recently, organizations representing animal rights and environmental concerns have targeted property rather than people. Their illegal activities have escalated in recent years, however, and they have threatened to take a more violent stance in response to issues of concern. By contrast, in what they regard as "justifiable homicide," a few extremists in the anti-abortion movement have taken the lives of doctors who perform abortions.

CHAPTER 6

PERSONAL MOTIVATIONS FOR TERRORISM

AMERICAN TERROR WITHOUT POLITICS

In the Middle East and Latin America, most terrorist acts have political motivations. They generally come either from revolutionary forces seeking to overthrow an authoritarian regime or from government forces attempting to maintain power and control over a population.

In the United States, however, there has been surprisingly little terrorist activity with a political motivation. Instead, much U.S. terrorism is personal in nature, arising not from political objectives but from personal goals such as seeking revenge, gaining attention, or making money.[51]

Even assassinations carried out in the United States are sometimes the result of psychopathology rather than politics. That is, they

are driven by the delusional personal beliefs of the assassin, rather than by any opposition to the leadership style or beliefs of the victim.

ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT REAGAN

On March 30, 1981, at the front entrance to a Washington, D.C., Hilton hotel, 25-year-old John Hinckley Jr. opened fire on President Ronald Reagan as he walked briskly to a waiting limousine. Hinckley failed to kill the president or anyone else, but he managed to injure the president, a secret service agent, a police officer, and Press Secretary Jim Brady, who was permanently disabled and confined to a wheelchair for the remainder of his life.[52]

John Hinckley was hardly interested in politics, but he suffered from a severe mental illness known as schizophrenia. Symptoms include delusional thinking, hallucinations, and an inability to experience normal emotional arousal. Hinckley had recently become obsessed with the popular motion picture *Taxi Driver*, featuring actor Robert De Niro as a mentally ill cab driver in New York City; Cybill Shepherd as an attractive, blond woman who rejects him; and Jodie Foster as a 12-year-old prostitute who is worldly beyond her years, yet extremely vulnerable. In the movie, De Niro's character arms himself for the purpose of rescuing Jody Foster's character from the mean streets of the big city. He also plans to execute a presidential candidate.

Hinckley identified closely with De Niro's character and became obsessed with actress Jodie Foster. Like the cinematic cab driver, Hinckley bought a .38 caliber handgun. He also stalked President Jimmy Carter with the intention of killing him, but never got the opportunity. Also like De Niro's character, he sought to rescue Jody Foster, who was then a 19-year-old student at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut. Hinckley sent her love letters containing both prose and poetry. He also had two telephone conversations with her. In the end, Foster flatly rejected his advances.

Hinckley wouldn't give up, however. He devised a plan that he was convinced would impress Jody Foster so completely, she would have no choice but to return his affection. Hinckley would assassinate a president of the United States, causing Foster to see him as a very important person, a big-shot celebrity who was able to command the attention of the nation. Instead, Hinckley's attempted assassination of President Reagan got him the infamy deserved only by a deranged murderer. After a lengthy federal trial, he was found not guilty by reason of insanity and, for the past 25 years, has remained incarcerated in an institution for the criminally insane. Thus, whereas political terrorists might seek to assassinate a president for the sake of terrifying the nation and changing federal policy, Hinckley hoped to assassinate a president in order to terrify the nation, gain national prominence, and win Jodie Foster's admiration.

TERRORISM AT SCHOOL

Some American terrorists have murdered in order to send a message of revenge. They seek to get even, but not necessarily with a single target, such as the president of the United States. Instead, some terrorists have a long list of enemies to blame for all of their personal problems. They typically externalize responsibility for every misery in their lives. In the process of committing a violent act, criminal terrorists hope to attract the attention of the nation and become celebrities.

On April 20, 1999, after making preparations for more than a year, 18-year-old Eric Harris and 17-year-old Dylan Klebold, armed with guns and explosives, headed off to Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado, to celebrate Adolf Hitler's birthday. By the time their assault ended with self-inflicted fatal gunshots, a dozen students and one teacher had been killed.

The horrific actions of schoolyard snipers, such as Harris and Klebold, cannot be understood without also understanding their relationships with their schoolmates. At Columbine, Harris and Klebold were regarded by other students—and

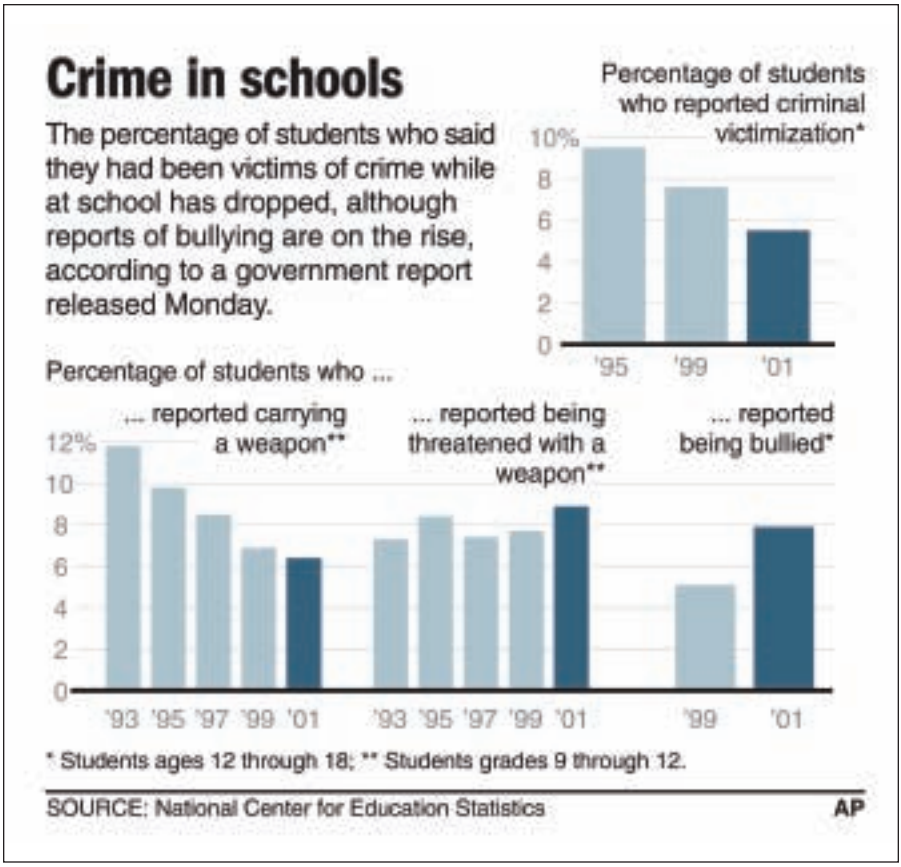

Figure 6.1 **This chart shows the percentage of American students who said they had been victims of crimes while at school, from 1993 through 2001.**

especially by the "jocks" (the school's athletes)—as geeks, dorks, dweebs, or nerds. Throughout their years of school, they had been excluded from mainstream culture, teased, bullied, and harassed. In reaction, the two friends banded together and bonded with several of their fellow outcasts as members of what what they came to call the "Trench Coat Mafia." The image they attempted to portray was clearly one of power and dominance—including "goth" incivility, the forces of darkness, preoccupation with Nazism, and celebration of evil and villainy.

Harris and Klebold desperately wanted to be like the popular students—to feel important among their peers—and also to get even with those who had shunned them. In murdering their classmates, the two got exactly what they wanted. They plotted, planned, colluded, and conspired to put one over on their schoolmates, teachers, and parents. They amassed an arsenal of weapons, discussed logistics, and made final preparations for the onslaught. Incredibly, not a single adult—not a teacher, a principal, a police officer, or a parent—had any idea what Harris and Klebold intended to do.[53]

TERROR FOR PROFIT

Like Harris and Klebold, some American terrorists are motivated to exact a measure of revenge and become celebrities or, like John Hinckley, to gain national prominence and impress others. For a few American terrorists, however, violence also has a more practical meaning. It provides a path to follow in order to acquire enormous wealth. In October 2002, ten innocent people lost their lives when John Allen Muhammad and Lee Boyd Malvo, two down-and-out criminals—one an American citizen, the other a teenager originally from Jamaica—conspired to hold the Washington, D.C., area hostage to their demands for 10 million dollars. Their three-week killing spree was meant to intimidate or coerce government officials, and their targets were not soldiers, but civilians. Their initial motivation was apparently to extort a fortune from authorities. In the process, they also acquired a taste for getting even with Americans for their treatment of immigrants and Muslims after the September 11, 2001, attacks. They also gained a sense of power by taunting the police and becoming celebrities in the process. Money, however, was their primary objective.

On the cold, clear Wednesday evening of October 2, 2002, 55-year-old James Martin was gunned down as he walked to his car from a grocery store in Wheaton, Maryland. Nobody suspected at the time that Martin's murder marked the onset of

a three-week-long shooting spree in and around Washington, D.C. By the time residents became aware of the deadly attacks, 24 hours had passed, and four more victims had lost their lives.

What made these terrorist attacks so terrifying was that they apparently occurred randomly, in a variety of public places. Whites, blacks, men, women, and children—anybody and everybody was at risk. One victim was shot while cutting the grass in front of a car dealership; another was gunned down as he walked outside a post office. Two victims died as they were filling their car's gas tank or vacuuming their vehicle at local service stations. One was taking a leisurely stroll down a city street at night. Some of the attacks occurred in the Maryland suburbs or in Washington, D.C., but others happened in Virginia, some 70 miles south of the capital.

The killers had constructed an effective killing machine by drilling holes in the rear of their blue 1990 Chevrolet Caprice—one for the muzzle of their military assault rifle and a second for its telescopic sights. They had lowered the rear seats, allowing one of them to lie in the back and take aim at their target.

Initially, the police had searched for an older-model Caprice that had been observed near the scene of one of the shootings. They shifted the target of their investigation, however, when a white van or box truck reportedly was spotted near several of the crime scenes. Acting on what turned out to be unreliable eyewitness reports, the police cordoned off roadways and stopped any white vans in proximity of the shootings.

Three weeks later, three hours after a description of Muhammad and Malvo's car was broadcast to the public, a vigilant truck driver spotted the snipers' car at a rest stop off the side of a Maryland highway and phoned the police. The two killers were found asleep in the car and were arrested.

Unlike sexual serial killers, Muhammad and Malvo chose to kill their victims from a distance with a firearm. For the pair, murder was a means to an end. Their motive initially was not to sexually assault or torture, but to extort a large amount of

money. In a note left for the police at a crime scene near a Ponderosa restaurant in Ashland, Virginia, the snipers explained that they had phoned the tip hot line on four different occasions, hoping to begin negotiations with the sniper task force. Believing the calls to be a hoax, however, the tip line operator repeatedly hung up on the pair. In their note, Muhammad and Malvo ordered the police to place ten million dollars in a Bank of America account in order to stop the sniper attacks.

Where Does Terrorism End and Criminal Behavior Begin?

It might seem absurd to include the Columbine High School bloodbath in a book about domestic terrorism. After all, Harris and Klebold were teenagers who went on a suicidal rampage. They certainly lacked any political aims. Nor were they motivated to kill government officials or change society. Further, Columbine was only one of many school shootings around the country. From 1997 to 2000, Americans concerned about the personal safety of students and teachers became all-too-familiar with otherwise obscure and out-of-the-way towns where school violence had unexpectedly occurred—Littleton, Colorado, joined the ranks of Pearl, Mississippi; Springfield, Oregon; Jonesboro, Arkansas; Moses Lake, Washington; and West Puducah, Kentucky.

Not unlike most of the other school shooters, Harris and Klebold held a grudge against students and teachers at their school. Their thirst for revenge and attention apparently went far beyond a few popular students and insensitive teachers, however. The police later found an entry in Harris's diary, in which he discussed the pair's plans to blow up Columbine High, hijack a plane, and fly it into the New York City skyline! Although never carried out, their plan was concocted in 1999, long before 19 Middle-Eastern terrorists attacked New York City and Washington, D.C., on September 11, 2001, killing 3,000 innocent people.[59]

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* Katherine S. Newman, *Rampage: The Social Roots of School Shootings.* New York: Basic Books, 2004, p. 139.

While the attacks continued, some believed that the killer was one person, an isolated individual operating on his own. Based on the historical record, it was indeed hard to believe that partners in murder had communicated with the police. Teams of serial killers are generally concerned only about communicating with one another, not with society, the media, or the police. The messages sent by Muhammad and Malvo began to make sense only when it was discovered that their true purpose for killing was, by means of spreading terror throughout the community, to extort money from the authorities. The only way possible for them to do so was through their negotiations with Police Chief Moose and the task force.

In December 2003, Lee Boyd Malvo was convicted of capital murder and sentenced to life in prison. Forty-two-year-old John Allen Muhammad was sentenced to death.[54]

CONCLUSION

In the Middle East and Latin America, most terrorist acts have political motivations, either from revolutionary forces seeking to overthrow an authoritarian regime or from government forces attempting to maintain power and control over a population. In the United States, by contrast, at least some terrorist activity has been motivated by personal gain. Terrorist tactics have been used to make money, seek revenge, and gain publicity. The motive lacks a political basis, yet the strategy is to terrify a population in order to achieve some personal objective.

CHAPTER 7

CONFRONTING DOMESTIC TERRORISM

TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS UNDER ATTACK

What would cause Americans to turn to the margins of society— rather than to the mainstream—for solutions to their personal problems? Why would they employ terrorist tactics rather than nonviolent, legitimate means (for example, voting, lobbying, writing letters, working hard, or demonstrating) to achieving their objectives? Twenty-five or 30 years ago, citizens searching for spiritual guidance would, in all likelihood, have received comfort and reassurance from their church and family; those seeking a political answer would have found it in a major political party. Now, they are more likely to join an obscure group of malcontents, go into the woods on Sunday afternoons to rehearse for the coming

apocalypse, or flaunt the law in their search for a solution to their personal problems.

The appeal of domestic terrorism is, in part, the result of a larger trend in society. All of our traditional institutions have come under attack. Postmodernists turn their backs on the scientific method, claiming that it has helped to destroy civilization; skeptical patients turn to herbal or homeopathic medicine, megavitamin therapy, acupuncture, or tai chi; and increasing numbers of parents have given up on the public schools, opting for a private-school alternative or choosing to educate their children at home.

DECLINING CREDIBILITY OF LEADERSHIP

Many of our leaders have suffered declining credibility in the eyes of the American people. In a recent Gallup poll (June 1, 2005), only 28 percent of all adult Americans voiced "a great deal" or "quite a lot" of confidence in TV news or newspapers and only 22 percent expressed that same level of confidence in Congress or "big business." These were the "bottom-tier institutions," yet declines in confidence were also recorded for the presidency, the criminal justice system, Congress, organized labor, and the U.S. Supreme Court. Only three institutions—the military, the police, and churches—received "a great deal" or "quite a lot" of confidence from more than 50 percent of the American people.[55]

ECLIPSE OF COMMUNITY

Part of the reason for the erosion of trust and confidence in traditional institutions involves the eclipse of community that we have recently experienced as a nation. Many Americans feel they have no place to turn when they get into trouble—they are unable to find a sense of belonging and importance at work, among friends, or in their own families. Numerous children come home from school to an empty house. Anxious not to be fired or laid off, their parents are too busy at work to get to know

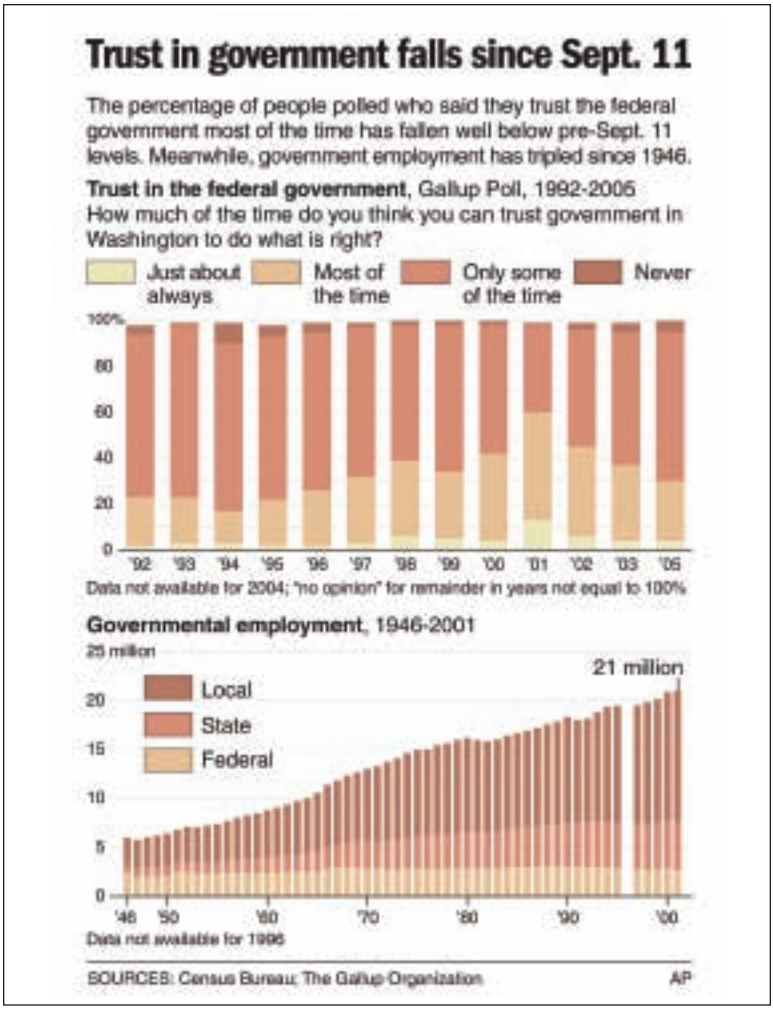

Figure 7.1 **The top chart, based on Gallup polls from 1992 to 2005, shows that overall trust in the federal government has fallen since the events of September 11, 2001. For comparison, the chart on the bottom shows how many people have been employed by the federal government from 1946 to 2001.**

their neighbors or participate in community activities. Those who have moved their residence for the sake of a job no longer have friends, family, or fraternal organizations to help them through tough times. Their support systems are now hundreds,

perhaps thousands, of miles away. Even if they have remained in the same community, growing numbers of families are without the assistance of extended kin, especially grandparents, or two parents who can share the tasks of child-rearing and earning an income for the family. As income inequality continues to rise, the eclipse of community becomes increasingly burdensome.[56]

SCANDALS IN HIGH PLACES

The decline in institutional credibility is the result of more than 35 years of scandals involving leadership at the highest levels of government, business, and entertainment—including Chappaquiddick, Abscam, Irangate, Watergate, S&L, Travelgate, Filegate, Enron, Worldcom, and recent campaign financing revelations—not to mention the assumed and actual transgressions committed by Robert Packwood, Newt Gingrich, Bill Clinton, Michael Milken, Joan Kennedy, Tom Delay, Leona Helmsley, Martha Stewart, and Michael Jackson.[57]

Radical environmentalists apparently have plenty of company in their skepticism about mainstream politicians, government, and businesses protecting the environment. According to a recent Gallup poll, only 15 percent of all Americans reported a "great deal" of trust in the ability of the Democratic Party to protect the quality of our nation's environment. Nine percent reported a great deal of trust in the Republican Party; and only 11 percent trusted the U.S. Congress.[58]

Public confidence in the ability of the business sector to protect the nation's environment was as low or even lower than it was for political parties or Congress. Only 15 percent reported trusting "small business," while only 7 percent reported having trust in "large corporations."

COUNTERACTING DOMESTIC TERROR

Most Americans who are dissatisfied with our institutions and our national leadership would never consider committing an act of terrorism. It only takes a small number of domestic

terrorists to create havoc and crisis in a community or even an entire society, however. Knowing this, federal agencies have become extra vigilant in their efforts to counteract terrorism.

FBI Deputy Assistant Director for Counterterrorism John E. Lewis gives credit to the formation of joint terrorism task forces for uncovering a number of domestic terrorism plots before they were carried out. Many still agree, however, that another act of domestic terror on the scale of the Oklahoma City tragedy will happen again.[59]

The Patriot Act

In October 2001, shortly after terrorists hijacked jet airliners and flew them into the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., Congress passed the USA Patriot Act, a law designed to expand the investigative and information-sharing powers of the federal government in dealing with potential and actual terrorists. The Patriot Act permits law enforcement officials to obtain access to sensitive, private documents—library, medical, and financial records, without even establishing "probable cause" or proof of criminal behavior. Federal agencies are also allowed to share information and track suspected terrorists with "roving" wiretaps.

Those who support the Patriot Act argue that it has strengthened protections against future terrorist attacks. They claim that, thanks to the Patriot Act, federal agents have charged more than 400 suspects and have convicted more than 200. Terrorists and their supporters have been prosecuted in ten states.

Opponents of the Patriot Act have voiced their concern that it unnecessarily curtails our civil liberties. They suggest that, in the absence of the Patriot Act, the U.S. government already had the necessary powers to investigate and prosecute suspected terrorists. Moreover, allowing the FBI to seize personal records without any suspicion of criminality or the oversight of a judge takes the undemocratic, perhaps unconstitutional, approach of presuming individuals guilty until proven innocent. Some opponents

According to Mark Potok, who edits the Intelligence Report for the Southern Poverty Law Center, such a terrorist tragedy is "inevitable." Potok suggests that the bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building in 1995 was unprecedented. Previous large-scale acts of domestic terror had targeted specific victims, such as car dealers, the timber industry, and leaders of high-tech firms. By contrast, McVeigh's mass murder took the lives of a cross section of Americans—men, women, and children who came from every walk of life.[60]

are also troubled by a provision that allows federal agents to enter houses and businesses without informing the owners. Still others question the effectiveness of the Patriot Act in prosecuting terrorists. They argue that only 39 people—not the much larger number claimed by proponents—have actually been convicted of terrorist acts or national security crimes. The other convictions were for relatively minor offenses unrelated to terrorism, such as violating immigration law and making false statements to federal agents.

The truth about the Patriot Act is probably somewhere in the middle. There must be some balance between the need for protection from the threat of domestic and international terrorism, on the one hand, but there must also be safeguards against a law that chips away at our civil liberties, on the other. The Patriot Act was passed quickly by Congress in the aftermath of the September 11 tragedy, when a crisis mentality prevailed in Washington, D.C., and throughout the country. Congress also included a provision under which some of the law's provisions can be reviewed and, if necessary, reversed.*

* Andrew Donovan-Shead, "Patriot Act Threat to America's Civil Liberties," *Tulsa World,* June 12, 2005, p. G4; "Security Short-cuts Changes in Patriot Act Require Scrutiny," *Sacramento Bee*, June 12, 2005, p. E6; "Extend the Patriot Act," *Post and Courier*, June 12, 2005, 12A; "Approach Renewal of Patriot Act Thoughtfully," *Portland Press Herald,* June 13, 2005, p. A8; "Terror Convictions Fewer than Said," UPI, June 12, 2005.

The worst act of international terrorism ever committed occurred in the United States on September 11, 2001. Coordinated by the al Qaeda terrorist network, the attack involved four jet hijackings by 19 terrorists: an American Airlines flight from Boston to Los Angeles that was instead crashed into the North Tower of the World Trade Center in New York City, a United Airlines flight from Boston to Los Angeles that was deliberately flown into the South Tower of the World Trade Center, a United Airlines flight from Newark to San Francisco that crashed in Stony Creek Township, Pennsylvania, and an American Airlines flight from Washington's Dulles Airport to Los Angeles that was guided into the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia. Three thousand people—citizens of 78 nations—lost their lives in those attacks.

In response, President Bush sought to eliminate the base of operations and training facilities for worldwide terrorism. On October 7, 2001, he initiated Operation Enduring Freedom, a military operation designed to destroy the al Qaeda training camps and Taliban military installations in Afghanistan, where intelligence had suggested that Islamic extremists from around the globe—North America, Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia—had assembled. As a result, the Taliban governing body was forced from power and 1,000 members of al Qaeda were arrested.

Also following September 11, the Bush administration expanded the power of federal law enforcement to detain, investigate, interrogate, and prosecute suspicious individuals in this country. Congress made it easier to conduct searches, wiretap telephones, and secure electronic records. Attorney General John Ashcroft approved giving FBI agents increased powers to monitor the Internet, rallies and demonstrations, and mosques.

Although increasing the legal repertoire of surveillance and investigative techniques of federal agents was aimed primarily at deterring international terrorists, the same strategies also have an impact on American terrorists. Almost 80 percent of

Americans expressed their willingness to give up certain freedoms for the sake of security. Still, it is important to balance the need for vigilance against the rights of citizens. During World War II, citizens were asked to give up rights temporarily. The war on terrorism, however, seems to have no end. Therefore, at least some curtailment of civil liberties could be permanent.

To the extent that a sizable number of Americans remain alienated and marginalized, murderous acts of domestic terrorism cannot be expected to disappear entirely from the social landscape. Depending on the state of the economy, the effectiveness of the government's policies, and the ability of society to reach residents who feel angry and ignored, there are bound to be violent and explosive outbursts, from time to time, aimed at terrifying citizens or eliminating government officials. No matter how effectively we deal with the problem, it is impossible to reduce terrorist attacks to zero.

CONCLUSION

It is possible, however, to take steps that might effectively minimize the threat of domestic terrorism. As individuals, many Americans may feel powerless to influence the course of events at the federal level. All of us can assume a special sense of responsibility for what happens in our own backyard, however—at work, in our neighborhoods and schools, and at home. It is at the "grassroots" (community) level that we might begin to repair the credibility of our traditional institutions. This is where we can make an effort, on behalf of our fellow citizens in trouble, so they feel important and special, and have a sense that they really count. Bringing Americans back into the mainstream may be our most effective long-term strategy for preventing future acts of domestic terrorism.

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